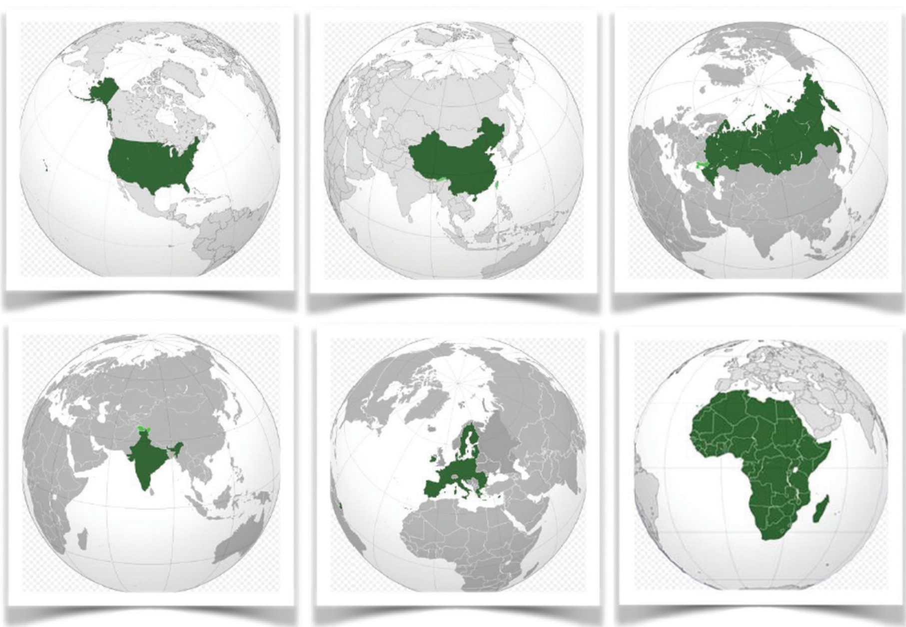
# *Kissinger's Challenge*

*Establishing Regional and Global Order*
*That Improves Collective Action*



Russell Blair

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This essay is dedicate to my daughter

Caroline Lai Hung Blair,

her contemporaries, and all future generations

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*(The Commonwealth* was the first essay to use the term *complementary bilingualism.)*

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*How Brexit Can Save the EU* (2017)
S*peaking For Europe's Future* (2019)
*A World of Regions* (2019)

*(A World of Regions was the first essay to use the metaphor of survival vehicles.)*

**India**

*Modi's Moment, India's Future* (2019)

**Global Language Rationalization**

*Balancing Eurasia: The Foundation for Global Collective Action* (2020)
*UN 2021: Regional Coherence, Global Community and Three Things to Do Right Now* (2021)
*(UN 2021 was the first essay to add 2 MT to complementary bilingualism.)*
*Our Bilingual Future: A Global Community of Communication* (2021)
*Look Up: Effective Collective Action to Stop the Slow Motion Intergenerational Genocide of Global Warming* (2022)
*Collective Action: Absolute Fitness and the Creation of a Global Survival Vehicle* (2023)

# Contents

> "A reconstruction of the international system is the ultimate challenge…. The contemporary quest for world order will require a coherent strategy to establish a concept of order within the various regions, and to relate these regional orders to one another."
>
> Henry Kissinger *World Order* (2015)

# Introduction:

# Kissinger's Challenge

In the quotation at the top of this page, Kissinger challenges scholars, statesmen, politicians and ordinary citizens. It should become a meme: *Kissinger's Challenge*. Accepting Kissinger's Challenge and establishing order at both the regional and global level is essential, if we are to design and implement equitable solutions to our current and future global problems.

## The Elevator Pitch

1) We are a global community of common fate. But, we are a dysfunctional global community. We are not yet able to respond adequately to our global problems with global collective action. Our proximate goal must be global linguistic congruence. The ultimate goal is effective, efficient and equitable collective action on a global scale.

2) A functional global community requires a common narrative and an associated identity. Establishing both a common narrative and a common identity requires linguistic congruence. Identities are not like hats, you can wear more than one.

3) Historically, linguistic congruence has been achieved by language rationalization policies that reduce diversity. Instead of reducing diversity, while privileging a few elite languages, the 21st Century needs inclusive linguistic congruence that both preserves linguistic and cultural diversity and enables the direct communication required for a community, regardless of size, to be efficient and equitable. Regional and global linguistic congruence using monolingualism is not an option. The only way to create successful multilingual communities, regionally and globally, is with a language rationalization policy of complementary bilingualism.[1]

4) Complementary bilingualism preserves unlimited linguistic diversity by providing a single common language across any number of discrete language communities. The most efficient, effective, and equitable form of complementary bilingualism is 2 MT (Mother Tongue) Bilingualism. It both permits universal communication and best supports a common identity.

5) 2 MT Bilingualism with an easily learned and universally exogenous language can be accomplished in a single generation. All that is required is for any large polity (UN), G 77 (135)[2], BRICS+, China, USA, Russia, India, EU, AU, etc.) to tip the first domino.

6) The establishment of global complementary bilingualism will be an inflection point in human history. It will increase our capacity for the regional and global collective action that is needed to deal with our current problems, emerging problems and future problems.

7) Not only is complementary bilingualism necessary, it is also the low-hanging fruit of regional and global cooperation. 2 MT Bilingualism, the optimal form of complementary bilingualism, will be less expensive and vastly more successful than the inefficient and

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1 Definitions are found at the beginning of the first chapter.

2 Originally composed of 77 members, membership has grown to 135.

ineffective teaching of a few elite *foreign* languages, as is currently the norm. Why continue failing with elite bilingualism when, at a lower cost, you can succeed with 2 MT Bilingualism?

8) We need regional survival vehicles to address Kissinger's call "to establish a concept of order within the various regions." Regional survival vehicles, such as the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) need greater political (high politics) and civic (identity) integration in order to balance the excessive international agency of the three empire-states (USA, China and Russia). We also need a global survival vehicle that addresses Kissinger's call "to relate these regional orders to one another." Without an effective global survival vehicle we will not be able to adequately respond to problems that require global collective action.

9) Survival vehicles of all sizes need linguistic congruence for adequate communicative capacity, a common narrative, and a common identity. Empire-states and nation-states have linguistic congruence. To be successful, regional survival vehicles and our global survival vehicle (UN) must also have linguistic congruence.

## Maximizing Human Potential

There are about 7,000 languages, of which 500 are endangered and 500 are safe. The fate of the other 6,000 will be determined by future language rationalization policies in the world's nearly 200 sovereign states. The 10 most common languages (Putonghua, English, Hindi-Urdu, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Bengali, Portuguese, Bahasa Indonesia, and French) are spoken by two and a half billion people. The top 20 languages account for half the world's population. The 500 "safe" languages are spoken by 90% of the world's population.

Not speaking one of the top 20 languages, a circumstance affecting ≈ 4 billion people, limits their ability to fully benefit from the global exchange of information and ideas. The 10% of the world population who do not know one of the 500 safe languages are even more severely marginalized. These ≈ 800 million people are often isolated from other language communities. Their languages generally lack a standard dialect or written form.

Please pause and reflect on these staggering statistics. Half of the world's population needs bilingualism to fully participate in the modern world while retaining their birth languages and associated cultures. This unfulfilled need is one of the largest human development issues of the 21st century and is being ignored. 2 MT Bilingualism is the corresponding opportunity to promote human development and reduce both inequality and isolation.

Everyone will benefit from 2 MT Bilingualism with an easily learned and universally exogenous language: 1) parents who prioritize their children learning an international language need 2 MT Bilingualism, 2) parents who prioritize the preservation of their children's linguistic and cultural heritage need 2 MT Bilingualism, 3) people from different language communities with shared goals and problems need 2 MT Bilingualism, 4) people from smaller language communities need 2 MT Bilingualism to fully access global information resources, and 5) people from the elite language communities need 2 MT Bilingualism in order to connect with the majority of the world's population – both to provide and to receive information on matters of regional and global concern.

> "My most optimistic vision would be that the whole field of cognitive science suddenly woke up to the centrality of analogy...."[3]
>
> Douglas Hofstadter, *Analogy as the Core of Cognition* (2007)

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[3] Douglas Hofstadter won the 1980 Pulitzer Prize for general non-fiction, for his book *Gödel, Escher, Bach: An Eternal Golden Braid.* The above quotation is from his 2007 President's Speech at Stanford University.

## Two Metaphors

Two metaphors, *survival vehicles* and *Matryoshka dolls,* make this essay's message clearer. Survival vehicles come in two types. One type is the genetic (biological) survival vehicle, which protects the self-replicating information in our genes. The other type is the memetic (cultural) survival vehicle that protects our memes. Both are survival vehicles for self-replicating information and this fact connects them. Genetic and memetic survival vehicles are nested, like the famous Russian Matryoshka dolls. The innermost content of this nesting is the genetic information inside of a cell nucleus, which in turn is inside a cell wall, which in turn is inside of a phenotype (organism), which in turn is inside of a kinship group.

The interface between genetic and memetic survival vehicles is the family. The family is both a genetic and a memetic survival vehicle. Memetic information is further preserved and reproduced in linguistic communities that encode cultures, which are nested inside of societies, which are nested inside of polities (states). Unfortunately for our species, the nesting process has not *yet* taken the final step: nesting our existing polities inside of an inclusive and equitable global survival vehicle – the ultimate Matryoshka doll.

## Dissection by Parts

The essay has four parts and twelve chapters. The titles of the four parts are: 1) *Information Needs Survival Vehicles*, 2) *Survival Vehicles Need Linguistic Congruence*, 3) *Linguistic Congruence Permits Larger Survival Vehicles*, and 4) *The United Nations: Our Global Survival Vehicle*. The essay explains both our need and our capacity to achieve the regional and global linguistic congruence that is necessary for collective action by communities of common fate. Like all communities, regional communities and our global community need both a common narrative and a common identity which are impossible without a common language.

Part I, *Information' Needs Survival Vehicles,* uses the metaphor of survival vehicles to explain the survival, maintenance, and transmission of our self-replicating information: both our genes and our memes. The metaphor of the survival vehicle, originally expressed as a survival *machine*, was used by Richard Dawkins in his book *The Selfish Gene*. In the same book, he also coined the word *meme,* which is also used throughout this essay.

Our genes and our memes are an information continuum. *They define us – both individually (genes) and collectively (memes)!* Part I also explains why the nature vs nurture debate needs to be re-conceptualized as a competition between two types of memes: anchored memes and springboard memes. The endless debate around the dichotomy between nature and nurture completely misses the main point – memetic evolution has replaced genetic evolution in the evolution of our species. Part I ends with a discussion of the two functions of any language: communication and identity.

Part II, *Survival Vehicles Need Linguistic Congruence*, examines nation-state monolingualism which is the default form of language rationalization for unit-level coherence in the survival vehicles we call nation-states. The European nation-state model was exported globally by colonialism, but it was incompletely realized in the critical aspect of linguistic congruence. Part II, therefore, also looks at the 20th Century experiences of former European colonies, in both Africa and Asia, as they attempted and continue to attempt to adapt the European model to co-exist with post-colonial multilingualism. Part II ends with a discussion of 2 MT Bilingualism.

Part III, titled *Linguistic Congruence Permits Larger Survival Vehicles,* discusses the major conflicts in the 20th Century and the current world order, which is based on three empire-states that are clashing as they strive to increase their relative international agency. It then discusses the potential for the regional aggregation of nation-state sovereignty in order to achieve international agency. The European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) need bilingual congruence in order to increase their political legitimacy, become more competitive with the three empire-states, and balance against the current empire-states' competing revisionist policies. India needs bilingual congruence in order to establish domestic ethnolinguistic parity and become the fourth empire-state.

Part IV, *The United Nations: Our Global Survival Vehicle*, discusses the need to update the UN, our inchoate global survival vehicle, as it approaches its 2045 centennial. Reorganizing the Security Council is necessary to remove the last vestige of colonialism. Reorganizing the General Assembly will permit it to play a greater role in international relations and to expand international law. Reorganization can be assisted by a UN policy of complementary bilingualism for global linguistic congruence. Bilingual language rationalization is needed for our global community to coalesce sufficiently for the necessary global collective action to effectively, efficiently and equitably addresses our global problems. The starting point is the designation of a seventh official UN language.

## Dissection by Chapter

Chapter 1, *Preliminary Matters*, introduces some necessary terms. Several of these terms are neologisms, including c*omplementary bilingualism and region-state*. The chapter also explains the unmet need to look beyond quotidian and proximate problems to the ultimate problem of human nature. The chapter also corrects six myths that are widely and uncritically accepted. Two key myths are (#3) that linguistic congruence between citizens and governments requires monolingualism, and (#5) that English has an insurmountable lead in the establishment of global linguistic congruence.

Chapter 2 is titled *Information's Survival Vehicle Continuum*. While the 21st Century is often referred to as "the age of information," this chapter makes the point that, at the most fundamental levels of both biology and culture, every century since the emergence of life has been about information's preservation, replication and evolution. Genetic survival vehicles protect information that is encoded in DNA. Memetic survival vehicles protect information that is encoded in the world's ≈7,000 languages.

Chapter 3, titled *Coding Memetic Information: The Two Functions of Languages*, distinguishes the two functions of languages: communication and identity. Because memetic survival vehicles preserve most of their information verbally, a common language is essential for all memetic survival vehicles: cultures, societies and polities (states).

Chapter 4, titled *Monolingual Congruence: The European Nation-States,* begins Part II of the essay by discussing the history of monolingual congruence in the creation of the European nation-states. Monolingual congruence was achieved in either of two distinct ways: 1) state-first, as exemplified by France, and 2) nation-first, as exemplified by Germany. Monolingual congruence, though inadequate for the needs of the 21st Century's multilingual states, is still the default language rationalization policy.

Chapter 5 is titled *Europe's Unexceptional Exceptions.* This chapter looks at three European states which are often cited as examples of multilingual European nation-states. These three unexceptional exceptions (Luxembourg, Switzerland and Belgium) actually demonstrate the crucial role of monolingual congruence in the European nation-state model.

Chapter 6 is titled *Learning From Post-Colonial Bilingual Congruence.* It looks at the efforts of two post-colonial nation-states, Indonesia and Tanzania, to use an indigenous trade language for linguistic congruence. Other former colonies are also discussed, more generally, based on their choice of an exogenous European language for their attempt at linguistic congruence. The former European colonies, whether using an indigenous or an exogenous language, are devising language rationalization policies that foreshadow complementary bilingualism. 2 MT Bilingualism is introduced as the best option for complementary bilingualism.

Chapter 7, *The 20th Century Rise of the Empire-States*, begins Part III of the essay. It explains the current dominance of three monolingual empire-states: the USA, China and Russia. The current world order, and disorder, reflect: 1) the extinction of the multilingual empires, revisionist empires, and colonial empires, 2) the collapse of an ideological empire (USSR) and reemergence of its core Russian empire-state (Russian Federation), and 3) the revival of the Chinese empire-state. India is a multinational and multilingual empire that was created in the collapse of the British colonial empire, but which has not yet established the linguistic congruence necessary for it to become the fourth empire-state.

Chapter 8 is titled *Empire State Revisionism in the 21st Century*. The three empire-states are competing for an even greater share of international agency. The inevitable result will be the further marginalization of the nation-states. The only remedy is nation-state aggregations into region-states capable of both balancing and competing with the empire-states.

Chapter 9 is titled *Balancing Against the Empire-States' Revisionism.* It begins with a look at the improved collective security that is possible, for the EU and AU, if they establish linguistic congruence. A regional security community is essential if the nation-states are to reduce empire-state suzerainty. The revisionism of all three empire-states, in the 21st Century, increases the need for regional polities that provide their members with greater international agency. To accomplish this they need to increase their legitimacy sufficiently so as to match that of their nation-state members. This chapter discusses the potential for 2 MT Bilingualism to help them to better aggregate socially, economically and politically.

Chapter 10 is titled *A New UN: Updating Our Global Survival Vehicle.* It begins the final part of the essay. Congruence with 2 MT Bilingualism will be useful in updating both the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly to meet the need for global collective action in the 21st Century. This will permit the UN to better orchestrate global collective action.

Chapter 11, titled *Global Linguistic Congruence: Three Approaches,* takes the final step of looking at options for selecting a common regional and global language. It does not reach a conclusion, because the final decision must be made by people and institutions with political authority and responsibility. Ideally, this would be the members of the UN's General Assembly. It could also be the legislative branch of the EU or the AU or it could be the government of India. The first domino could also be tipped by any large and diverse nation-state or a collection of nation-states, such as BRICS+ or the G 77 (135).[4]

[4] The G 77 has grown from the original 77 members to 135 members. Thus, it is referred to as the G 77 (135).

Chapter 12, titled *Conclusion: Collective Action for Collective Fitness*, recapitulates the argument for using linguistic congruence to create multiple regional survival vehicles and one global survival vehicle. Our common fate requires a level of collective action that is only possible with both a greater dispersal of international agency through the creation of region-states and a global community that can create an inclusive narrative of our common destiny and a global identity that compliments our many other identities.

"Communication is what makes us human; and if history were written with this simple notion in mind, networks of communication would become the center of attention, and a more satisfactory history of the world (and of all the innumerable subordinate groupings of humankind) might emerge."

W. H. McNeill, foreword to *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (1992)

# Part I

# Information Needs Survival Vehicles

"Compared to language, all other inventions pale in significance, since everything we have ever achieved depends on language and originates from it."

G. Deutscher, *The Unfolding of Language: An Evolutionary Tour of Mankind's Greatest Invention* (2005)

# Chapter 1

# Preliminary Matters

Understanding the current global order, as well as the necessity and opportunity for changes to the *status quo*, requires the use of terms that are absent or obscure in most discussions of international relations. Some of the terms are neologisms, which help to focus on new concepts or on phenomena whose existence is overlooked or, at least, under-appreciated. Understanding our opportunities also requires the correction of six prevalent myths.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less."

Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There* (1871)

## 1.1 Necessary Concepts

Like Humpty Dumpty, the author's use of words can be idiosyncratic. Hopefully, these definitions will lower the risk of miscommunication. The idiosyncratic use of standard terms and the judicious creation of neologisms is useful, perhaps essential, for the reconsideration of conventional beliefs and practices.

## Cultural Concepts

(1) Survival Vehicles: In addition to inventing the word *meme*, Richard Dawkins used the metaphor of a *survival machine.* I use *survival vehicle* in order to emphasize movement – a metaphor for change.[5] Survival vehicles protect self-replicating information: both genes and memes. The protection provided by survival vehicles is essential for both genetic and memetic survival and reproduction, as well as for genes and memes to evolve.

*Genetic* Survival Vehicles. Our potentially immortal genes are fragile and need protection in order to remain intact and to function. They get protection from a cell wall. In eukaryotic cells, they get additional protection from a nuclear membrane. An organism's multicellular form, the genes expressed in a phenotype, is a larger survival vehicle for the same genes. Close relatives in a kinship based community are members of a kinship survival vehicle with respect to their shared genes.

*Memetic* Survival Vehicles. Memes also need survival vehicles. Communities are memetic survival vehicles with their fundamental memes encoded in one of the world's seven thousand languages. Communities conserve and reproduce memes. They can also modify them, which is memetic evolution.

THE MEMETIC SURVIVAL VEHICLE CONTINUUM


The *Nesting* of Survival Vehicles. Like the iconic Russian Matryoshka Dolls, survival vehicles can nest inside of one another. Cells are genetic survival vehicles nested within a phenotype survival vehicles. Genetic

[5] Genetic evolution does not have a direction, but mimetic evolution has complex and varied vectors, often with directions supplied by the net effects of oppositional ideologies, as in Fichte's thesis-antithesis-synthesis analytic structure, which has its roots in classical Greek philosophy (Circa 5th-4th Century BCE).

information is shared by multiple phenotypes in kinship groups which are also genetic survival vehicles. They are survival vehicles in which genes are mixed into new combinations for preservation, reproduction, and evolution, in support of fitness. Families are the interface between the genetic and memetic survival vehicles. They are both. Beyond the family, the survival vehicles are memetic communities: cultures, societies, and polities.

(2) <u>Meme</u>: A meme is the cultural equivalent of a gene. It is any element of a culture that can be passed from one person to another by either imitation or teaching. The analogy between genes and memes was introduced by Richard Dawkins in his book *The Selfish Gene*. Memes can replicate individually or collectively. If a meme is part of a group that reproduces together, that group of memes is a *memeplex*. For example, a religious community will have many memes and, if the religion spreads, all of its essential memes will spread together. A nation-state, or other polity, also protects one or more memplexs.

In Chapter 2, this essay distinguishes two types of memes, *anchored* memes and *elevating* memes. Not all memes fall into one of these two categories, but the dichotomy is important because it replaces the nature-nurture dichotomy with an anchored meme vs elevating meme dichotomy. This allows the humanities and sciences to declare a truce and largely avoid the nature-nurture dichotomy, which has unnecessarily and often unintentionally opened the door for the naturalistic fallacy and genetic determinism.

<u>Anchored Memes</u>. Some memes are consistent with our genetic proclivities and may even amplify them. They reinforce our genetic inheritance, for better *and* for worse. Consistency between the genetic and memetic information makes anchored memes easier to create and maintain. It also helps them to proliferate. Where our genetic proclivities have lost their Paleolithic utility and become counterproductive in the 21st Century, *anchored* memes must be identified and replaced with useful *elevating* memes. That replacement is not easy, but it may be essential for the future well being of our species.

Elevating Memes. Memes which replace anchored memes are referred to as elevating memes. For example, it may have been evolutionarily advantageous in the Paleolithic era for individuals to be fearful, or at least very cautious, in their encounters with strangers. At the group level, it may have been similarly advantageous to assume that conflict was more likely than cooperation. This was the Paleolithic (hard) version of the "Us" vs "Them" dichotomy. Its amplifying anchored memes include xenophobia and racism. These counterproductive anchored memes need to be offset with pro-social and inclusive elevating memes, because we need collective action at a scale which our Paleolithic ancestors never imagined. Unfortunately, establishing elevating memes that replace anchored memes is an uphill struggle – essential but not easy.

(3) Community. Communities are based on memes. The essential conditions for community creation are proximity and a common language. Communities need a common language for efficiency and effectiveness in communication and for the maintenance of a common identity. Proximity and communicative capacity, given the social nature of humans, are all that is required for a community. Common interests will naturally arise and a community will coalesce. Cultures, societies and polities are our largest and most important communities.

> "[Culture is] … that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."
>
> E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol 1 (1874)

(4) Culture. A culture is the totality of the memetic information that a distinct, by self definition, group acquires by being taught or by simply observing the behavior of the more admired or powerful members of the group.[6] It can be distinctive in multiple ways, such as food preferences and their preparation, clothing and bodily adornments, music and dance,

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[6] Defining the word culture can be contentious. This is my contribution to the cacophony. It's fit for the purposes of this essay and makes no other claim.

symbols, and, critically, a common language and narrative of unity and exceptionalism. A culture's beliefs and patterns of behavior are the heart of a society.

(5) Society. A society is a group with both a common culture and a social structure. A society will generally have a discreet territory and social and economic integration. The etymology of the word *society* traces back to the Latin noun *socius*, which refers to a friend or ally – us, not them.

(6) Polity. A polity is a society which has an institutionalized capacity to purposefully act collectively, using oral or written rules. A state is an advanced form of polity. In the famous words of Max Weber, it "claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a particular territory."

## Linguistic Concepts

(7) Plurilingualism (Individual) verses Multilingualism (Community). Plurilingualism refers to an *individual's* ability to use more than one language and move between them (code switching). Multilingualism is the community-level cohabitation of more than one language. For example, the European Union (EU) has an aspirational policy of trilingual *plurilingualism* for its individual citizens. The EU's *de facto* institutional policy is *elite multilingualism* (English, French and German).

> "Of all state simplifications, then, the imposition of a single, official language may be the most powerful, and it is the precondition of many other simplifications."
>
> James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (1998)

(8) Language Rationalization. Language rationalization has historically been a matter of reducing linguistic diversity, often using monolingual congruence to align a population (demos) and the institutions of governance (polity). Congruence is automatic with monolingualism. Linguistic congruence is useful in all forms of governance, especially for democracy. Congruence, however, does not require monolingualism. As

defined below, complementary bilingualism is a single policy for both citizen plurilingualism and community multilingualism. It provides linguistic congruence without the loss of linguistic diversity.

(9) Linguistic Congruence. Linguistic congruence is the alignment of a language community with a culture, society or polity. Hegemonic monolingualism ensures linguistic congruence. Complementary bilingualism is an alternative way to establish linguistic congruence. It is the only way to expand congruence in a linguistically diverse environment without a loss of linguistic diversity.

LESS CONGRUENCE ⟷ MORE CONGRUENCE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *laissez faire* multilingualism | elite bilingualism | complementary bilingualism | hegemonic monolingualism |
| (archaic – medieval) | (post-colonial) | (2 MT) | (*status quo*) |

There are four points of reference on my language rationalization continuum. The absence of rationalization, on the left end of the continuum, is *laissez faire* multilingualism. *Laissez faire* multilingualism doesn't necessarily occur in the absence of an official language. Elite bilingualism or even *de facto* hegemonic monolingualism can emerge without an official language. English in the USA is an example of *de facto* hegemonic monolingualism.

(10) Complementary Bilingualism. In linguistically diverse environments, complementary bilingualism combines a common second language with every individual's mother tongue. This creates bilingual congruence. Complementary bilingualism can add either an indigenous (internal) or an exogenous (external) language. Complementary bilingualism permits unlimited direct communication, the creation of a shared narrative, and a common identity in a linguistically diverse community. Simultaneously, it maintains the existing linguistic diversity and preserves the associated cultures. Global congruence with a single common language is the ultimate form of complementary bilingualism and would greatly increase our capacity for global collective action.

(11) Elite Bilingualism. The incomplete form of complementary bilingualism is elite bilingualism. An elite language can be a barrier to upward

mobility by restricting elite status and its associated privileges. The identity function of the complementary language has been co-opted by an elite minority. Instead of creating an inclusive identity, it creates elite closure. Elite bilingualism is common, at least initially, in post-colonial governance. It can be converted to full complementary bilingualism by providing adequate educational support for multiple indigenous languages, in those places where each is predominant, and also for a common language.

(12) 2 MT (Mother Tongue) Bilingualism. 2 MT stands for "two mother tongues." Complementary bilingualism is most equitably, effectively, and efficiently achieved with 2 MT Bilingualism. The key to 2 MT Bilingualism is early bilingual education in both each child's family language and in a second MT, the common language. Children easily learn two languages simultaneously and starting in the home is both cost effective and dual identity enhancing. For monolingual parents who are not comfortable with bilingualism at home, the early introduction of the common language in schools will be sufficient (early consecutive bilingualism)

## Political Concepts

(13) Coherence. Coherence is the sum of multiple types of memetic congruence. For example, political congruence plus linguistic congruence gave the monolingual nation-states greater total coherence than the empires that they replaced. Other forms of congruence include religious and ideological congruence. Congruence can include a common currency (11 countries have adopted the US dollar as their country's official currency) which creates a common monetary policy. Common weights and measures, common electric outlet types, and many other types of memetic congruence add to cumulative coherence.

(14) Nation-State. In this essay, the term nation-state is used for countries with linguistic congruence, or which aspire to having linguistic congruence. The difference between my usage and the standard usage is clarified by considering Spain. Because it includes the Basque, Catalan, and Galician ethnolinguistic nations, Spain is sometimes referred to as

a multinational state rather than a nation-state. This is a useful distinction in some contexts but is not relevant here. Because Castilian is hegemonic, Spain has linguistic congruence and is considered a nation-state. States that are truly coextensive with a single nation, like Japan, North and South Korea, and Iceland, are rare.

(15) Empire-State. An empire is a large and powerful polity that was created by the incorporation of one or more ethnolinguistic minorities. An empire-*state* also has the critical attribute of linguistic congruence. Because of the powerful combination of size *and* linguistic congruence, the three monolingual empire-states (USA, China, and Russia) currently monopolize international agency. Inclusion in this category is necessarily subjective, as the words *large* and *powerful* are subjective.

(16) Region-State. A region-state is an aggregation of nation-states into a regional polity with the coherence provided by linguistic congruence. This reflects the common characteristic of linguistic congruence that it shares with both nation-states and empire-states. Currently, there are no true region-states, but there are two *inchoate* region-states that lack linguistic congruence. I refer to them as region-states in this essay, but the adjective *inchoate* is implied. Their lack of linguistic congruence is a critical and potentially fatal flaw. If they establish linguistic congruence, the European Union (EU) and African Union (AU) will be able to achieve the political integration necessary to be competitive with the empire-states. The desire to be competitive motivates their current attempts to evolve from diverse nation-states with individual sovereignty into region-states with international agency.

## 1.2 The Ultimate Problem: Us vs Them

This section distinguishes three types of problems: quotidian, proximate, and ultimate problems. It focuses on ultimate problems. They are the most important and least tractable of our problems. Sadly, the leaders in all survival vehicles focus on quotidian and proximate problems and are minimally, if at all, engaged with our ultimate problems. That omission needs to change. The three problem types can be clarified with an example. The captain and crew of the Titanic had problems that fell into each of the three categories.

Quotidian (Daily) Problems. Quotidian problems are mundane and repetitive. They are captured in the phrase "rearranging the deck chairs." During the day, the preferences of variously sized groups of passengers created a variety of deck chair arrangements. Overnight, the staff rearrange the deck chairs to facilitated the next day's idiosyncratic reshuffling. Another quotidian problem on the Titanic was the efficient feeding of 2,240 passengers. By their nature, quotidian problems are not amenable to a final resolution. They recur but are not resolved.

Proximate Problems. The captain and crew of the Titanic were confronted by a proximate (immediate) problem in the iceberg that they encountered shortly before midnight on Sunday, April 14, 1912. The Titanic was designed to withstand flooding in up to four of its 16 below the water line compartments. When a fifth compartment flooded, the proximate problem was evacuating the passengers and crew with only 20 lifeboats.

The lifeboats on the Titanic were not intended to be a solution for a sinking ship. The Titanic was supposed to be its own lifeboat and the 20 lifeboats it carried were only supposed to be necessary to ferry the passengers to a rescue vessels that would take them to their final destination. When a fifth compartment began to flood and the captain discovered that the nearest rescue vessel, the RMS Carpathian, would not arrive for over nine hours, the ferry concept was not a viable solution to the proximate problem. Consequently, there were only 710 survivors from amongst the 3,140 passengers and crew.

> "I have met the enemy and he is us."
>
> Walt Kelly, on a poster for the first observance of Earth Day (April 22, 1970)

The Ultimate Problem. The Titanic's ultimate problem was the hubris of its designers, owners, and operators. They believed that they had foreseen and provided for all contingencies. Hubris led to inadequate safety standards.

The tragic sinking of the Titanic led to the establishment of the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea in 1914.[7] The new and less hubristic solution was not an unsinkable ship but a requirement for lifeboats with a carrying capacity sufficient to handle 125% of a vessel's passengers and crew. Had these standards been in operation on April 12, 1912, instead of 20 lifeboats with a carrying capacity equal to 30% of the passengers and crew (1,176), the Titanic's lifeboats would have had a capacity of 3,925.

Unlike the passenger and crew of the Titanic, the 8 billion people on our planet have *no* lifeboats for our proximate and global problems. Our global icebergs include but are not limited to global warming, future global pandemics, nuclear weapons and their proliferation, and the major disruptions that will be caused or exacerbated by artificial intelligent.

As was the case with the Titanic, our ultimate problem is human nature. The analog for the owners and operators of the Titanic, is the leadership of our various survival vehicles (polities) who fail to consider the need to address ultimate problems.

Like the crew and passengers on the Titanic, we are overly impressed by the often unwarranted self-confidence of our leaders. We are also overly impressed with our own society and contemptuous of other societies. Global leaders, in 2024, are no better than the marine architects, owners and operators of the Titanic were in 1912.

Humans preferentially follow leaders who exhibit great self-confidence, not thoughtful individuals who modestly and honestly do not claim to have unrealistic capacities.

Our propensity to follow overly self-confident leaders combines with a propensity to let ourselves be divided into competitive and even predatory subgroups based on a subjective *us* that disregards or even denigrates the interests and even the humanity of any *them* which is external to our own group.

The author proposes and argues for the adoption of a policy that is, at least partially, an antidote to the ultimate problem (hubris + Us vs Them).

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[7] Updated in 1929, 1948, 1960 and 1974).

Human nature, in the absence of adequate elevating memes, inhibits global collective action. We need a global identity – a global *us* and a global survival vehicle that combines authority with responsibility in much the same way as the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea combined authority with responsibility.

A global identity can most easily and perhaps only be constructed with a global language rationalization policy that supports a new and inclusive – not exclusive – identity. We need a global identity that can further legitimize and empower the United Nations.

The UN: Our Ultimate Survival Vehicle. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is floundering on the basis of human hubris and the self-interested "free-riding' of UN members (survival vehicles) seeking relative advantage at the expense of cooperation. Simply mimicking the current climate change model for other global problems will be equally problematic without substantial changes to the UN Charter, perhaps along the lines outlined in Part IV of this essay.

We can mitigate the damage of selfish survival vehicles, operating in an anarchic global order, by creating a stronger common identity and a global order that respects all survival vehicles. It must prioritize finding solutions to ultimate problems and the creation of an equitable global hierarchy without, at least in the foreseeable future, a global government (Chapter 10).

Regionalism. In addition to updating the UN as our ultimate survival vehicle, the proposed language rationalization policy can facilitate the political integration of the inchoate region-states, the EU and AU, whose further development is currently stalled by excessive nationalism that cripples interstate collective action. Region-state success is essential for balancing the disproportionate agency of the three empire-states (USA, Russia and China) who are competitively seeking regional or global pre-eminence and, ultimately, hegemony. We need regionalism to succeed, as a key part of a less anarchic global environment. As Henry Kissinger clearly expressed: "The contemporary quest for world order will require a coherent strategy to establish a concept of order within the various regions, and to relate these regional orders to one another."

## 1.3 Six Myths Corrected

Our beliefs are typically handed down from previous generations and diffuse through social contacts within a community of which we are a member. We do not think about most of them, much less analyze them. The following are six myths that are relevant to an understanding of this essay, followed by their correction.

**Myth #1**: Nation-states are the basis for modern governance and geopolitical order.

**Correction**: Europe developed the monolingual nation-state model over hundreds of years of coercion and bloodshed. Its earliest form emerged from the Treaties of Westphalia in 1648 and the model matured in Europe in the 19th Century. The European model was exported globally, primarily through colonialism and almost always with an elite language of colonial administration. The global export of the European nation-state model, often imperfectly realized with elite bilingualism, caused the number of nation-states to increase and appear to be the basis of global order.[8] However, this perspective overlooks the dominant empire-state model which is represented by the three contiguous and monolingual empire-states and India, which is an empire and an inchoate empire-state.

*Multilingual* empires, *revisionist* empires and *colonial* (noncontiguous) empires were destroyed in the 20th Century. The result was additional countries (nation-states) and the return of a monolingual Russian empire-state. The three empire-states are hiding in plain sight. Their hegemonic monolingualism leads people to misperceive them as examples of the

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[8] I refer to countries as nation-states, even if they do not yet have linguistic congruence, as it is a common goal for polities. Even if a country has more than one official language, there is a community enhancing bias towards a single language for the same reason that the European state's established linguistic congruence.

monolingual nation-state model. A more productive view is to recognize them as empire-states. Empire-state status is an emergent property. At imprecise and subjective points on a continuum of size and power,[9] a further quantitative increase has qualitative consequences. Like beauty, it is hard to define but you know it when you see it. Nation-states may be ubiquitous, but empire-states are preeminent and dominant.

> "There can be little doubt that size itself can be a group-level adaptation. Larger societies tend to replace smaller societies *unless their larger size is offset by problems of coordination* and internal conflicts of interest." (emphasis added).
>
> D. S. Wilson, *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion and the Nature of Society* (2002)

**Myth #2**: Sovereignty confers international agency.

**Correction**: Sovereignty is the *de jure* right, under international law, to choose internal policies. Agency is the *de facto* power to influence the terms of the available policy choices. International agency requires a polity with a combination of size (geographic, demographic, military, and economic) and the coherence of linguistic congruence. Currently, international agency is monopolized by three empire-states: China, Russia and the USA.

**Myth #3**: Achieving linguistic congruence between citizens (demos) and governments (polities) requires monolingualism. French citizens speak French. German citizens speak German.

**Correction**: This myth creates an apparent conflict in language rationalization between the benefits of congruence and the desire to preserve linguistic diversity. Monolingual congruence prioritizes efficiency and effectiveness over the preservation of diversity. Complementary bilingualism,

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[9] The power continuum has an important discontinuity based on the possession of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons are a necessary, but not sufficient (eg. Pakistan and North Korea) condition for international agency. A new and potentially more problematic discontinuity will emerge with the growth of artificial intelligence (AI), to the extent that it is not widely shared or is weaponized.

because it uses two languages, can preserve diversity while providing linguistic equity, efficiency and effectiveness that is comparable to monolingualism.

**Myth #4**: Nation-states are too different from each other for regional governance to successfully unite nation-states to the degree required for them to overcome the confounding force of nationalism.

**Correction**: Nation-state and regional (European Union, African Union, etc.) governance are not mutually exclusive. Governance can be thought of as the layering of appropriate competencies. A good metaphor is the famous Russian Matryoshka Dolls. Competencies are already layered within nation-states. It takes only a little imagination to extend the idea of layering appropriate competencies between individual nation-states and their region-state aggregations.[10] Assigning high politics (defense and foreign relations) to a region-state is crucial for it to have international agency. Region-state high politics and linguistic congruence are the necessary minimum for regions to successfully compete with the empire-states.

> "If in the Middle Ages you had dared to predict the death of Latin as the language of education, people would have laughed in your face..."
>
> David Crystal, *English as a Global Language* (1997)

**Myth #5**: English has an insurmountable lead as the language of global communication.

**Correction**: To appreciate the potential for the displacement of any *lingua franca*, including English, consider the recent experience of Russian as a *lingua franca*. When the USSR adopted policies of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) in 1985, Hungary began retraining 1,000 Russian language teachers to teach German. As reported in the Moscow Times on November 28, 2019, Russia's Education Ministry estimated that the number of students learning Russian as a second language dropped by almost 50% after the collapse of the USSR, from 74.6 million

[10] The EU has attempted to do this, but primarily using economic integration. Its collective *aquis communitaire* often undermines the delegation of *competencies*.

to 38.2 million. Outside of the former USSR Republics, the number of students learning Russian fell by **95%**, from 20 million to 1 million.

Even the former members of the USSR, especially after the Russian invasions of Ukraine, have begun to reduce the role of *lingua franca* Russian. In 2023, Kyrgyzstan required that all civil servants be fluent in Kyrgyz and that all official documents be in Kyrgyz. In addition, 60% of media content must be in the Kyrgyz language. Neighboring Kazakhstan raised its requirement for media use of Kazakh from 50% to 70%, increasing by 5% each year from 2025.

English as a *lingua franca* is equally fragile. For example, translation technology will replace much of the utility of any *lingua franca.* Not just English but all *lingua franca*. An elite *lingua franca* like English is primarily useful for elite congruence and elite closure. Like Medieval Latin, English is adequate for international relations, multi-state commerce and academic exchange. But, to create a global culture, a global society or a global polity, we need equitable, efficient, and effective linguistic congruence without elite closure. Most of all we need for global linguistic congruence to be relatively easy to implement, including acquisition, maintenance and intergenerational transmission.

**Myth #6**: Democratic governments cannot engage in language planning and policymaking because, in the 21st Century, citizens (demos) will not let states (polity) rationalize their language use.

**Correction**: Democracy required language rationalization. It was only because the monolingual nation-state model provided linguistic congruence that democracy was possible. But, an inevitably coercive policy of monolingual congruence is not an option for regional aggregations like the EU and the AU or in a linguistically diverse nation-state like Cameroon, and many others. Multilingual polities can, without coercion, achieve linguistic congruence with a new language rationalization policy: 2 MT Bilingualism. Once people realize that language rationalization does not require coercion or loss of linguistic or cultural diversity, they will embrace bilingual language rationalization for its many important benefits.

> "The story of human evolution, then, shifts gradually at first and then with increasing frequency from Darwinian selection on individuals and the evolution of gene pools to socio-cultural selection on the structural and cultural formations, such as groups and all of the structures built from groups and their cultures."
>
> S. Abrutyn and J.H. Turner, *The First Institutional Spheres in Human Societies* (2022)

# Chapter 2

# Information's Survival Vehicle Continuum

Both our genes and our ideas are potentially immortal. Their longevity is increased by two types of survival vehicles: genetic and memetic. From single cells in our bodies to the largest international organization, self-replicating information is fundamental to all life and all social order. I am not using "information" as a metaphor. Life at every scale is and always has been about self-replicating information. Our self-replicating information exists in a continuum of nested survival vehicles – like Russian Matryoshka dolls.

## 2.1 *Genetic* Survival Vehicles: Genotypes and Phenotypes

The bonds between the complementary base pairs in DNA are weak (hydrogen) bonds. This weakness is essential in order for the base pairs to unzip during gene expression. An obvious disadvantage of weak bonds is the random breaking of bonds. To function appropriately and maintain integrity between expressions, our potentially eternal genes need protective survival vehicles. A useful metaphor is the shell of turtle.

Cells. A cell wall protects the enclosed genes. A cell, therefore, is a simple survival vehicle that allows DNA – genes – to function over time. It is the genome's *encoded information* that is protected. In the prokaryotic cells, there is a single cell wall. In the more complex eukaryotes, the cell wall surrounds and protects the entire cell and an inner membrane surrounds and provides additional protection for the nucleus and its DNA. The analogy would be to a castle's *keep* inside of the castle's outer wall.

> "It has been often remarked that a hen is only an eggs way of making another egg."
>
> Samuel Butler, *Life and Habit* (1878)

Phenotypes. An aggregation of cells under the direction of DNA, when fully expressed as an individual plant or animal, is a *phenotype*. A phenotype is a larger survival vehicle created by aggregating smaller (cells) survival vehicles. Over long periods of time, genetic information built (evolved) more and more complex and useful phenotype survival vehicles to better protect genetic information and to facilitate reproduction with variation. All living things are survival vehicles that help their potentially immortal genes persist, reproduce, and evolve.

Kinship. Our potentially immortal genes are found not just in the cells of our own body but also, in varying amounts, in our relatives. Although the term kin selection was not popular until the mid-1960s, the idea of selection being applied to a genetic family was discussed by Darwin in *On the Origin of Species*.[11]

Kin preference for acts of altruism (kin altruism) improves the reproductive success of any organism's genetic information by supporting the success of the common genes in close relatives. Kin altruism occurs when individuals are able to recognize relatives. It also occurs, even without kinship recognition, in groups in which kin relationships are common due to limited population dispersal. Collective parenting by relatives other than

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[11] Darwin's comments were triggered by consideration of eusocial animals with predominantly sterile members, specifically bees.

the biological parents or by other group members is an important form of kin altruism.

Although kin altruism can have negative effects, such as nepotism, it is beneficial for the common genes in the kinship group. Motivated by natural affection, individuals provide resources to their children, siblings and aging parents, as well as more distant relatives in some circumstances. This support would otherwise not be provided or, if provided in an advanced and affluent society, would require a less efficient and more costly bureaucracy.

A family or kinship group, sharing a common language, is both a genetic and a memetic survival vehicle. A common language permits the aggregation of *genetic* survival vehicles into larger *memetic* survival vehicles.

> "Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation."
>
> Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (1976)

## 2.2 *Memetic* Survival Vehicles: The Rise of the Memes

Memetic information is generally coded in a language. Thus, a language is almost as important to a memetic survival vehicle as the DNA's chemical code is to a genetic survival vehicle. Without a language that includes both a large lexical inventory and a grammar for combining its words, there is no memetic culture beyond that of the unique group of Koshima macaques who wash sweet potatoes before eating them – a culture limited to imitation. A written language is critical for expressing complex memetic information, increasing the speed of its dissemination, expanding its range and increasing the accuracy of replication. It unshackles memetic information from the limits of an individual's memory to a marketplace for ideas that can persist indefinitely and spread without geographic limit.

> "The Baldwin effect … explains how evolutionary selection can give rise to improved learning capacity. This effect may have served as a foundation for the emergence of human intelligence …."
>
> J.C.J.M. Van Den Bergh, *Human Evolution Beyond Biology and Culture* (2018)

2.2.1 The Baldwin Effect: Imitation and Learning. Individuals do not generally inherit behaviors, because most behaviors are not genetically encoded. But humans do inherit genes that give them the capacity to imitate as well as to learn, both formally and informally, with a language. These capacities can be specific to brain modules, such as language, or can involve a more general capacity – sometimes called the Baldwin Module. The Baldwin effect was first mentioned in 1873.

The Baldwin effect does not free us completely from our genes, but it does allow the creation of memes which are not anchored to our genes and can even counteract our gene based proclivities. Perhaps it is as simple as our limbic system anchoring us to our Paleolithic past, while our neocortex uses the Baldwin effect for rapid cultural evolution.[12] An individual or an entire species with a greater genetic capacity to acquire new behaviors through imitation or learning can have greater reproductive success. This is particularly the case in a changing environment or when the individual or species is migrating into a new environment.

When our ancestors left Africa, they encountered unfamiliar hominids – Neanderthals and Denisovans. In the ensuing competition for resources, our ancestors prevailed. Success was, in major part, probably

[12] The human brain, of course, is much too complex to discuss in detail. The limbic – cortex dichotomy is a simplification (triune brain theory) that is fit for the limited purposes of this essay.

due to our ancestor's greater language capacity.[13] Meanwhile, the human population that remained in Africa experienced profound environmental changes over millennia. In addition, Africa's huge size and north-south orientation meant that the continent contained the full range of habitable environments, lacking only a tundra. Internal African migration was very similar to external global migration in the degree to which the challenges of new environments were experienced and overcome. For example, as the Bantu languages communities spread across sub-Saharan Africa, the Koi-San languages communities were reciprocally forced to retreat. In the process, both experienced and adapted to the full range of environments across sub-Saharan Africa.

Language expands the scope of the Baldwin effect from imitation, based on observation, to informal and formal learning based on a common language. Language is what makes us human. Language is also what makes us able to continually and massively change our environment.[14] The power of language has created a rapidly moving target for our much slower genetic evolution. Our genetic evolution is still aiming at a Paleolithic fitness target even though we have moved very far from our Paleolithic past. If not adequately controlled by our memetic survival vehicles, our anachronistic genetic proclivities may even drive us to extinction. Anchored by our Paleolithic genes, but empowered by our memes, we are chimpanzees with razor blades – an ugly metaphor, perhaps, but given the power of nuclear technology it is a metaphor that understates our jeopardy.[15]

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[13] Based on DNA (the presence of the foxp2 gene) and ear morphology, *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis* is believed to have been able to speak at the level of a 3 year old. Lacking syntax, the linguistic skill of even the most advanced of the other *hominids* was inferior to that of our ancestral *Homo sapiens sapiens*.

[14] Beavers build dams, so there is environmental modification in other species. We just do it so much better because of our language encoded memetic survival vehicles.

[15] Academic studies of the genetic basis for human action are not negated by this shift of emphasis to memetic competition, rather it is a way to isolate and quarantine both genetic determinism and the naturalistic fallacy – that what is natural is *ipso facto* either good or inevitable.

2.2.2 Horizontal Transmission: The Speed of Memetic Evolution. Unlike vertical genetic transmission between generations, memes are transmitted both vertically and horizontally. Horizontal transmission is rapid and limited only by the size of the population that shares a common language – the medium of memetic transmission.

Continuum of Information Evolution

slow (genes) faster (culture) fastest (technology)

The *relative* speed of evolution for different types of information is crucial. Mimetic evolution has eclipsed and essentially replaced genetic evolution due to horizontal memetic transmission. At the same time, rapidly evolving technology memes have eclipsed the slower cultural memes. Cultural memes are conservative and generally support a community's *status quo*. Technology memes generally disrupts the *status quo*. To adequately buffer the disruptive effects of technology memes, our cultural evolution must accelerate with more and better elevating memes.

> "Mismatch happens when an evolved adaptation, either physical or psychological, becomes misaligned with the environment.... The modern world is replete with things that make our once-adaptive instincts go awry."
> Jose Yong, Prof. of Psychology, Northumbria University. (June 3, 2024)

2.2.3 Anchored Memes vs Elevating Memes. In the endless debate about nature versus nurture, some take the position that nature is dominant. Others take the opposite position – that nurture is dominant. The former see our genetic inheritance as an anchor that limits cultural evolution. The latter focuses on our capacity to rise above the tyranny of our genes.[16] The far more consequential dichotomy is

[16] Bioengineering may complete our escape from genetic control and unleash a host of new problems that will require global collective action in order to mitigate the potentially negative effects.

not the one between nature (genes) and nurture (memes) but a dichotomy between two types of memes. One type of meme reflects our genetic inheritance and the other type of meme elevates us beyond our instincts. I refer to the former as anchored memes and the latter as elevating memes.

Anchored Memes. However useful they may have been in our Paleolithic past, anchored memes are often (but not always) dysfunctional in the 21st Century. Elevating memes can prophylactically negate or replace anachronistic anchored memes that are now dysfunctional. This meme vs meme dichotomy can be fully handled within the humanities and social sciences. When nature is used as an excuse for failing to take full advantage of our incredible memetic superpowers, the argument is illogical (naturalistic fallacy) and the position espoused is often harmful to our collective and long term interests.

> "The growth of modern contraceptive techniques is a splendid example of the use of reason to overcome the normal consequences of our evolved behavior. It shows that reason can master our genes."
>
> Peter Singer, *The Expanding Circle: Ethics, Evolution and Our Moral Progress* (1981)

Racism and xenophobia are anchored memes, grounded in our Paleolithic ancestors' rational fear of strangers. We also see this fear in the dehumanizing anchored memes that proliferate during wars. If the enemy is a lesser class of human, using highly subjective criteria, killing them is easier to justify. We also see it in the sometimes xenophobic reaction to foreigners and immigrants. More broadly, Us vs Them anchored memes must be replaced by more inclusive, elevating memes.

> "The simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point being once reached,

> there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to all men of all nations and races."[17]
>
> Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (1871)

Elevating Memes. Chivalry is one of my favorite examples of an elevating meme, perhaps because of its ironic history and misappropriation. Chivalry was invented by monks in France, in the 10th century, and was promoted by the Catholic Church as a way to curb the excessive violence of the Frankish aristocracy. It was brought to England with the Norman invasion in 1066.[18]

The Arthurian legends and the famous roundtable of King Arthur are chivalry's apogee in the English literary canon. This however was the rediscovery of chivalry in Victorian England by an aristocracy that was being marginalized by capitalism. They repurposed the chivalric memes for an ego boost and public relations – elite capture.

Chivalry had originally attempted, in addition to reducing elite violence, to elevate the status of women by giving them power over the knights who were expected to treat them with reverence and unrequited love. (Perhaps an echo of the Virgin Mary.) In practice, this rarely worked, as the elevated status was reserved for well-born ladies. Chivalry was repurposed for hypocritical Victorian morality and the exclusion of women from politics and the economy.

An elevating meme that was originally intended to reduce elite violence, especially against peasants, was repurposed to promote anachronistic class and gender privileges. Our memes are what we make of them – buyer beware. They must be continuously updated in a world that is changing – and the pace of that change is accelerating at an unprecedented rate.

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17 The quotation makes it clear that Darwin was not a Social Darwinist. On the voyage to the Galapagos Islands, Darwin clashed with the ships Captain, a supporter of slavery, so vehemently that he was nearly put ashore permanently in South America.

18 N. Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England* (2011)

Critically, in the 21st Century, inclusive and elevating memes must replace the Us v. Them anchored memes. Instead of basing our collective action on zero-sum competition between groups, we need to promote memes that recognize that we have become a global community of common fate. Elevating memes are the appropriate tool.

> "War makes the state, and the state makes war."[19]
>
> Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States AD 990-1990* (1990)

## 2.3 Survival of the Fittest Memes and Memeplexes

Charles Darwin is the most famous biologic evolutionist. His contribution to evolutionary theory (along with Alfred Russell Wallace) was the process of natural selection: reproduction with variation and subsequent selection (survival of the fittest). Evolutionary theory, however, long predates Darwin's contribution. His grandfather, Charles Robert Darwin, anticipated survival of the fittest. In his book *Zoomania* (1796), he wrote that: "…the strongest and most active animal should propagate the species, which should thence become improved." (*Of Generation*, Section XXXIX, Subsection IV. 8.).

Evolution, defined broadly, can be generalized and extended *as a metaphor:* mimetic evolution.[20] Focusing on cultural memes, the generalization says that cultures (memeplexes) will reproduce with variation. A subsequent

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[19] Tillie understood that war could also unmake a state. On at least one occasion, he said that it would be better to say "transforms" than "makes."

[20] Some have tried to develop a science of memetic evolution. That is a bridge too far. Memetic evolution is a wonderful metaphor and, at least in this essay, is not intended as anything more. Biologists ignore memes, because memetic evolution combines Darwinian and Lamarckian inheritance and omits Mendellian inheritance. Social scientists ignore memes because they have enough diverse and contentious terminology and because their "serious" work needs data, not metaphor. Metaphors, however, are essential for teaching and for expository essays such as this. They are central to understanding any new subject.

selection of the "fittest" culture necessarily involves memetic *competition*, but can also encompass a culture's relative capacity and propensity for memetic *cooperation*. Today's cultures are in competition (selection) based on military and/or economic strength (hard power) and cultural dominance (soft power) as the selection processes. But they also compete for relative fitness through their relative capacity to cooperate. Trade and military alliances are the key examples.

> "Memes may partially blend with each other in ways that genes do not. New "mutations" may be "directed" rather than random with respect to evolutionary trends."
>
> Dawkins, R. T*he Extended Phenotype* (2000).

Evolutionary success for memes, including both competition and cooperation, is not measured in the size and range of biological populations. It is measured in terms of the conjoined twins – economic and military power, which are most significantly expressed in cultural colonialism and international agency. This essay explores the evolution of polities based on the survival of the fittest mimetic survivor vehicles. Currently, three empire-states (USA, China and Russia) are prevailing over the nation-states and the inchoate region-states. The empire-states monopolize international agency through a combination of hard and soft power competition and multi-state (survival vehicle) cooperation (Bretton Woods vs BRICS+).

> "There can be no doubt that a tribe including many members who, from possessing in a high degree the spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage and sympathy, were always ready to aid one another, and to sacrifice themselves for the common good would be victorious over most other tribes; and this would be natural selection.
>
> Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (1871)

2.3.1 Polities as Antagonistic Survival Vehicles. For communities to prevail in the memetic competition for survival of the fittest memes, there must be a testing of the respective power of different memetic survival vehicles. Since soft power competition, as with trade and alliances, involves a degree of voluntary interaction, it is not the clearest measure of relative fitness. The result of warfare, however, is often very clear. It is the ultimate test for memetic survival vehicles. Warfare requires a cultural survival vehicle to have a polity – a government.

> "A language is a dialect with an army and navy."[21]
>
> Max Weinreich (1945)

A polity in competition with other polities will, at least intermittently, need to employ an "army and navy" to protect itself and expand its access to resources. Survival vehicle cohesion and collective action beyond hard power is necessary to provide the surplus resources needed to maintain a military force. Thus, memes to support intra survival vehicle bonding and collective action are essential. They can be religious, political, or ideological but they must support both a demos and a polity, as well as motivate collective action. Patriotic memes, buttressed by cultural superiority memes – such as religious and ethnic superiority – are the result of a perceived need for aggressive meme based collective action, both internally for group cohesion and externally to increase the groups access to resources. This produces Max Weber's famous definition of a state as a polity that effectively establishes a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. War is the ultimate contest for the survival, reproduction and evolution of the fittest memplexes. However, the outcome is usually a function of technology meme rather than cultural memes.

2.3.2 <u>Technology Memes vs Cultural Memes</u>. Memes associated with technology are fundamentally different from memes associated with culture. There are two aspects to the difference and the distinctions are sufficient so that the dichotomy must be recognized in order to fully appreciate the nature and consequences of information's memetic evolution: (1) cultural memes, in general, support the *status quo* and technologic

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[21] He was repeating a comment made by an audience member, after one of his public lectures.

memes, in general, disrupt the *status quo*, (2) cultural memes, in general, are externally divisive. They create cultures based on a collective Us which necessitates a contrast with other cultures which define a distinct and threatening Them. Technology creates a cross-cultural and multi-national elite, which communicates with an elite *lingua franca*.

Cultural divisions, sometimes real but more often imagined or constructed, are currently expressed in the monolingual nation-state model. Technology memes are generally best expressed in the monolingual empire-state model and the largest and wealthiest of the monolingual nation-states. Large and linguistically coherent polities are best able to develop new technology and exploit it, domestically and internationally, for the benefit of their survival vehicle. Technology's accelerating speed of evolution and disruptive impact can be seen clearly in the evolution of three memetic categories: transportation, energy and information technologies.

<u>Transportation Technology</u>. The seminal transportation technology was the invention of the wheel and the subsequent construction of roads. More recently the invention of the steamship and the airplane extended the disruption from the land to the sea and air. Subsequent inventions such as the roll-on, roll-off container system for transporting cargo and the use of drones have further revolutionized transportation across the globe and, in the process, are synchronizing them by reducing the cost of cross-cultural memetic borrowings. This generally gives a disproportionate advantage to the technologically innovative, culturally flexible and economically more advanced polities and their elites. This may be a universal characteristic and effect of technological evolution.

<u>Energy Technology</u>. The technology for controlled burning, like the invention of the wheel, was a seminal disruptive technology. The transitions from wood to coal, oil, and gas were both driven by advances in technology and were also drivers of new technology. A reinforcing cycle. A cascade of energy related technologies followed each transition. Notably, these included the steam, gasoline, and electric engines. Steam engines introduced the Industrial Revolution. Gasoline engines redefined cities and their suburbs. Electric energy, in concert with battery technology, gives

us the cell phone. In each case, the effect was to globalize and privilege certain memes. Nuclear energy is a distinct, in many respects, energy technology whose disruptive potential is unbounded.

Even environmentally beneficial advances in energy technology, such as the use of non-fossil fuels (wind, solar, etc.) will be massively disruptive and will produce winners and losers. This is the primary reason why their adoption is contentious, despite the collective benefits. Embedded costs and the overweening interest of the owners of fossil fuel assets and technology motivate their antisocial opposition to the greater collective benefits of disruptive "green" technologies.

Information Technology. Language, the seminal invention for memetic information, was cultural rather than technological, but it triggered massive technology. Language, including jargons, pigeons, and *lingua franca* was such a basic and foundational invention that, like oxygen, language is taken for granted and not fully appreciated. The consequences of the invention of language were nothing short of the creation of *homo sapiens sapiens,* which was very disruptive for all other *hominid* societies and fatal for many *hominid* species.

After a long incubation, oral cultural evolution was accelerated by the modest technology associated with writing on clay and stone. In due course, movable type, typewriters, telegraphs, telephones, computers, and the Internet added to the technologic disruption of cultures. Each of these disruptive information technologies was highly advantageous to the innovators and early adopters. This will be equally true for artificial intelligence (AI) such as large language models like Chat GPT-4o and its many sibling. Inevitably, both the costs and benefits will be unevenly and inequitably divided. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Due to language's fundamental role in memetic evolution, from the invention of language to the future impacts of AI, the disruption caused by 21st century information technology will create winners and losers on an unprecedented scale and global inequality will increase to an alarming degree. The effects of this inequality may even exceed the genocidal disruption to the cultures of the Western Hemisphere wrought by the Spanish Empires's weaponization of its Toledo steel technology.

The potential harm from the uneven access to cutting-edge information technology can be mitigated and must be mitigated to the fullest extent possible. Mitigation will be  more difficult in a world with numerous and small polities and cultural silos. The harm inherent in numerous but small polities can only be mitigated with a language rationalization policy that both preserves cultural diversity, avoiding or limiting both displacement and hybridization, while promoting cross cultural contact and cooperation. There is only one language rationalization policy which has the capacity to accomplish this crucial, humanistic and morality enhancing task on the appropriate scale of a global language rationalization: complementary bilingualism.

> "... because of differences of language, all the similarity of their common human nature is of no avail to unite them in fellowship. So true is this that a man would be more cheerful with his dog for company than with a foreigner."
>
> St. Augustine, *The City of God* (Circa 400 AD)

## 2.4 Cooperation for Greater Memetic Fitness

Linguistic congruence is often the most critical factor in initiating and sustaining cooperation. The need for congruence motivated the invention of jargons and pidgins. *Lingua franca* became the ultimate tool for elite linguistic congruence. This should come as no surprise and they will be discussed in the next chapter. The reason why linguistic congruence is not fully appreciated for multi-state cooperation is simply a poverty of imagination and the myths, discussed above, which favor nation-state monolingualism with a dose of elite bilingualism, using English as the elite *lingua franca*. This essay proposes that complementary bilingualism and more specifically 2 MT Bilingualism be adopted to replace monolingualism and elite *lingua franca* privilege. It is, therefore, important to appreciate that multi-cultural survival vehicles like the EU, AU, and UN are needed and how they can use linguistic congruence to achieve their full potential for creating a more equitable international order. That appreciation will be the focus of Part II of this essay.

> "Tit for tat takes us way beyond kin altruism. It opens the possibility of forming cooperative relationships with strangers."
>
> J. Haidt, *The Happiness Hypothesis: Finding Modern Truth in Ancient Wisdom* (2006)

2.4.1 Fictive Kinship: Expanding the Us Category. One of the most important, but underutilized, things that memetic culture permits us to do is to extend our genetically based kin altruism with fictive kinship. At least rhetorically, fictive kinship has been extended to encompass "the family of mankind." However, such an extreme extension does not commonly amount to more than words in a sermon. On the other hand, when a disaster strikes and is well publicized, there is often a brief global response of individual and institutional assistance in addition to the local responses. This broad but shallow response can be memetically enhanced for both greater impact and an extended duration.

Fictive kinship relies on *recognition markers* or their absence. For example, racism is based on the observed lack of a similar skin pigmentation.[22] However, when people of different racial backgrounds are combined in a military unit with a common goal (perhaps victory or perhaps just survival)[23] and have a common dress as the recognition marker for their group (uniforms), the recognition markers and the superordinate goal of

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[22] A genetic propensity to be wary of strangers is not a justification for racism. An explanation is different from a justification. Memes anchored in a distant and anachronistic environment need to be replaced by elevating memes that are fit for a global community of common fate.

[23] Like soldiers in a war, our 21st Century community of common fate, in particular the post Baby Boom generations that will live in the second half of the century, will confront existential challenges but without the efficacious comradery of soldiers or an adequate capacity for collective action.

survival compensates for the absence of a dermal recognition marker. We have both a problem created by the different biological markers and a solution in our capacity to create memetic recognition markers. The most powerful fictive kinship marker is the most basic one – a common language. It is necessary, if not always sufficient.

2.4.2 Memetic Survival Vehicles Need a Common Narrative. Memetic communities are survival vehicles that both compete and cooperate with other memetic communities for material rewards and status. These rewards are the proximate goals of a memetic community. The ultimate goal is the reproductive success of the memetic information carried by the passengers on each memetic survival vehicle.

Memetic survival vehicles order their society and make decisions based on narratives. Narratives congeal within a circle of family, friends and acquaintances. A common language is necessary for direct communication. Direct communication is useful for creating a shared narrative and for establishing and maintaining trust. Trust is essential for cooperation and compromise. Survival vehicles that have established a high level of trust among their "passengers" are generally successful and relatively wealthy. Survival vehicles with less trust among their passengers are less successful and relatively impoverished.[24] They are also susceptible to hegemonic dominance and even absorption or extinguishment.

Genetic reproduction, in some cases, gets a free ride. In other cases, notably Japan and Korea in the 21st Century, it is the opposite. Economic success (memetic fitness) has reduced genetic fitness, in a strictly Darwinian sense. "The rich get richer and the poor get – children."[25] Affluence is bad for genetic reproduction. Thus, as discussed later, Africa has relatively greater genetic fitness, as measured in the size of its collective gene pool, despite slower memetic evolution. Is this a case of memetic fitness being inferior to genetic fitness? If the greater technological "fitness" of the

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[24] Fukuyama, F. *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (1995)

[25] F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (1925).

nuclear superpowers and the greater memetic "fitness" of the voraciously capitalistic Northern Hemisphere are not circumscribed by more appropriate elevating memes, the answer may well be a resounding YES!

2.4.3 Matryoshka Polities: Multilevel Identities With Bilingualism. Whether the contrasting metaphor is hats or pairs of shoes, we can all wear multiple identities: son, husband, father (or daughter, wife mother) in a family. Our employment (lawyer, politician, writer), or lack thereof (retired), creates another identity. Citizenship creates an identity, as does ethnicity and nationality. Religions provide a strong identity. The author was a son and husband, he is now a widower but still a father. He was a lawyer, a politician, and a judge, but is now a retired writer of essays. He is a citizen of both the USA and the EU (Republic of Ireland) and – well the list of different identities is long and need not be exhaustively listed. There may be a hierarchy to some identities, especially political identities. For example, in the USA, there is a national identity, a state identity and a local identity (city and county). Each level has its own government and elections – Matryoshka polities.

Getting from inter-state conflict to global cooperation will require the establishment of a global memetic community, with a common narrative in a language that has both a communication function and identity function – but does not threaten existing cultures or their languages. That will require bilingual language rationalization with complementary bilingualism. But, we must first understand the history and current role of language in diverse polities. That is the objective of Part II: Survival Vehicles Need Linguistic Congruence. But, before turning to that topic, the last chapter in Part I looks at the two functions of any language: communication and identity.

"If you talk to a man in the language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, that goes to his heart."

Nelson Mandela[26]

# Chapter 3

# The Two Functions of Languages

The great majority of information that is protected in memetic survival vehicles is coded in a specific language. There are about 7,000 such codes. Each of these codes performs two basic functions: a *communication* function and an *identity* function.

For people from different language communities to interact, a bridge language is needed. Communication with a bridge language does not invoke a common identity, although it can increase understanding, respect, and sympathy. This contrasts with a family language or mother tongue (MT), which unites the communication function with an identity function.

## 3.1 Communication: *Inter*-Survival Vehicle Bridges

Bridge languages come in two flavors: pidgins and *lingua franca*. A pidgin is a hybrid of two or more languages that is negotiated by

[26] This is a common reparaphrasing of his actual statement into a universal adage. The actual quotation is: "Because when you speak a language, [such as] English, well [then] many people understand you, including Afrikaners, but when you speak Afrikaans, you know you go straight to their hearts." Nelson Mandela, *Nelson Mandela by Himself* (2011)

speakers from different language communities. In contrast, a *lingua franca* is any available language that can be used for communication. Today, because a *lingua franca* is almost always available, pidgins are rarely created.

Jargons and Pidgins. The most rudimentary form of a bridge language is called a jargon. A jargon is created when two groups meet and start the process of communication from zero. This can occur either because the encounters are so infrequent that the jargon is forgotten or because the periodic encounters involve a significant change in the membership of the interlocutors.

A pidgin is created when there is *regular* contact between different language communities and no common language is available. It only develops to the extent necessary for specific objectives, such as trade. There are no native speakers of a pidgin. True pidgins are now rare, but some languages that began as pidgins are still called pidgins or even use Pidgin in their name. This reflects their origin, but they have become creole languages. Unless it becomes a creole language, a pidgin will last no longer than the circumstances that motivated its creation.

Pidgin to Creole. If a pidgin is their primary means of communication, children in a linguistically diverse community can elaborate it to meet all of their needs. By the time they become adults, the pidgin can have expanded into a complete language, which is called a creole. Locally, it may partially or completely displace one or more of its source languages. This is common when the source languages' communities are diasporas, as was the case in the creation of many plantation creoles. Like any other language, a creole can be used as a *lingua franca*.[27]

*Lingua Franca*. The proper name *Lingua Franca* means Language of the Franks and refers to a pidgin that was used in Mediterranean trade for centuries. The generic term *lingua franca* came into use much later and refers to any language that is used as a communication bridge. It can

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[27] Tok pisin (talk pidgin), an English-based creole, is the *lingua franca* in Papua New Guinea

be the first language of some people using it or a second language for all of the users. If the *lingua franca* is the first language of some users, they have a major advantage (e.g., English in Europe). This is why over 80% of Europeans have said that they do not want the EU to privilege the language of any EU member state (infra §9.2).

Although only a few languages are widely used as *lingua franca*, learning any second language makes it available as a *lingua franca* bridge for communication with its native speakers. In a world with thousands of languages, knowing a major *lingua franca* is very useful. It is especially useful for the members of small language communities. The following have been important *lingua franca*:

Aramaic. Imperial Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid (Persian) Empire. It is also a language in which parts of the Talmud and the Old Testament were first written. Jesus probably preached in an Aramaic dialect. Its historic use has been documented as far as China. Although now endangered, Aramaic dialects are still used by some communities in the Middle East.

> "A major source of tensions within the Axial mega-empires was their massively multi-ethnic character. In Achaemenid Persia, only a small minority of inhabitants spoke Persian. The main official language of the empire was in fact Aramaic."
>
> P. Turchin, *Ultra Society: How 10,000 Years of War Made Humans the Greatest Cooperators on Earth* (2016)

Greek. Greek was standardized for military and general government use (Koine Greek). Due to the conquests of Alexander the Great, Greek displaced *lingua franca* Aramaic in the Hellenized regions of the Mediterranean Basin and was the original language of the New Testament. It was prominent for 900 years (300 BCE to to 600 CE) and was used by the Byzantine government until the 15th Century CE. It is still used as a liturgical language. Greek, of course, is the national language of Greece.

Latin. Latin's use as a *lingua franca* flourished with the Roman Empire.

It survived the fall of Rome because it was the language of the Roman Catholic Church—whose clergy were the literate class in feudal Europe. As late as the closing decades of the 18th century, most books published in Europe were written in Latin.

French. Power, both soft and hard, made French the most important *lingua franca* in the Courts of Europe and in diplomacy from the 17th century until the 20th Century. The number of French speakers continues to increase, principally in Africa, and French remains an important *lingua franca* in both Europe and Africa.

English. When Eurasia was decimated by two wars in the first half of the 20th Century, economic and military leadership shifted to Great Britain's former settlement colonies. At the end of World War II, the USA produced almost half of the world's manufactured goods. As Eurasia recovered from its 20th Century wars, the use of *lingua franca* English did not decline. The development of the Internet and other improvements in communication and transportation technology increased the utility of *lingua franca* English—but primarily for elite communication and with an elite identity in places where it was not generally spoken. Global corporations value linguistic congruence but, since they are elite run organizations, elite bilingualism with *lingua franca* English meets their needs.

> "The emotional investment in the Chinese language, for those who have known it all their lives, is synonymous with being Chinese."
>
> Jing Tsu, *Sound and Script in Chinese Diaspora* (2010)

## 3.2 Identity: *Intra*-Survival Vehicle Bonding

Human languages, which are orders of magnitude more powerful than the rudimentary communication in other animals, are the defining characteristic of our species. Our language capacity makes our species unique. It is not surprising, then, that language differences are powerful recognition markers for differentiating between "us" and "them." This reflects the identity function of a language. Shared identities bond us and different identities divide us. If religion, history, and culture are variables, a common language may be the principal basis for cohesion in a pluralistic society.

3.2.1 Adding the Identity Function. There are at least four ways for an identity to attach to a language: 1) mother tongue (MT) identity, 2) a pidgin can become a MT creole, 3) part of a language community can differentiate its language use to create a distinct identity, and 4) a linguistically diverse population can converge on a single choice to become a unified language community.

From Pidgin to Creole. The capacity to create a pidgin and elaborate it into a creole was documented at two government schools in Nicaragua that taught deaf students. Until the late 1970s, the deaf in Nicaragua had no community. They used gestures that were created independently by each family. In 1977, a program for deaf children of elementary school age was established in Managua. In 1980, a vocational school for deaf adolescents was added.

These schools achieved modest success in their explicit goals of teaching written Spanish and lip reading. Spontaneously, in the schoolyard and going to and from school, the children taught themselves to communicate with gestures. It was a signing pidgin, a hybrid negotiated from their family signs.

Having difficulty understanding the students' signing and curious about its extent, the faculty asked for help and the Ministry of Education contacted the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Graduate students from MIT documented the students' signing and discovered that the younger students had a larger vocabulary and used a more complex grammar than the older students. Students who started school as adolescents usually stopped progressing once they acquired the pidgin. Younger students, exposed to the pidgin during the years when children learn a first language, playfully experimented and expanded the pidgin into a creole and became a normal language community. The pidgin of the older students was named Lenguaje de Signos Nicaragüense (LSN), and the creole created by the younger students was named Idioma de Señas de Nicaragua (ISN).

There is one concern about Nicaragua's unique sign language. The concern is that its users are isolated from deaf communities that use other sign languages. This is no different than the situation for other small language communities. Currently there is no global sign language. Like other languages, sign languages carry cultural information. Complimentary bilingualism for deaf communities globally would combine the local sign languages, like ISN, with a global sign language. This is something for deaf communities to consider, especially as members of the deaf community become more active globally.

Adding the Identity Function by Convergence: Hebrew in Palestine. Convergence has often been coerced monolingualism as part of the creation of a nation-state. However, even without a government policy, a linguistically diverse group can become a unified community by converging on a single language. One non-governmental example is the revival of Hebrew by Jewish settlers in Palestine.

The revival of written Hebrew for publishing was a project of the literary elite in the Ashkenazi diaspora. The subsequent addition of an identity function occurred in Palestine, where Hebrew moved from print to the street. The revival of Hebrew in Palestine is usually divided into three periods: the First or Farmer's Aliyah (1881-1903), the Second Aliyah (1904-1914), and the period of the British Mandate (1915-1948). In some agricultural settlements of the First Aliyah, notably in Rishon LeZion (First in Zion)[28] circa 1886, schools taught Hebrew and used it as the language of instruction for some classes. Problematically, both Ashkenazi and Sephardic dialects were used without standardization. To address this problem, in 1890 the Hebrew Language Committee (Va'ad ha-Lashon ha-'Ivrit) was established to standardize spoken Hebrew.

In the Second Aliyah, there was a strong desire to show commitment to Ērēts Yisrael by consciously separating one's identity from the former life in the diaspora. This encouraged the use of Hebrew and it expanded into public spaces, especially for gatherings that drew from multiple language

[28] Now the fourth largest city in Israel, with a population greater than 250,000.

communities. In 1909, Tel Aviv was established as a Jewish housing estate on the outskirts of the port city of Jaffa. In 1913, when the Company for the Aid of German Jews specified German as the language of instruction at a science and engineering school that they established in Tel Aviv, a backlash forced them to accept the use of Hebrew.[29]

The third period of Hebrew's revival followed the end of the Ottoman Empire at the conclusion of World War I.[30] In predominantly Jewish communities of the British Protectorate, the Legion of the Defenders of the Language used social pressure to get immigrants to learn Hebrew. Speaking any other language in public, even if merely overheard, could be met with the remonstration— "Ivri, daber ivrit" (Hebrews speak Hebrew). Thus, beginning decades before Israel was established in 1948, the groundwork was laid for Hebrew to be used as its identity language.

Adding the Identity Function By Divergence. When people who share a language want to create a distinct community, divergence in language use establishes distinct identities.[31] My favorite example of identity by divergence involves the intentional creation of a new dialect in Papua New Guinea. A group within the Buin language community created the Uisai dialect by switching the markers for words in different grammatical gender categories. This simple change was startling to speakers of standard Buin, and consequently, created a distinct identity for its users.

Divergence After Convergence. Identity by divergence is currently occurring in the Balkans in the aftermath of the breakup of Yugoslavia. It began with standardization and convergence in the 19th century. In the late 20th Century convergence was reversed, reflecting a desire to acknowledge and promote multiple identities.

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[29] The school, founded in 1912, was originally called the Technikum (now the Technion – Israel Institute of Technology.) The conflict over language use is remembered as the "war of languages."

[30] Sometimes divided to reflect a Fourth (1924-28) and Fifth Aliyah (1929-39).

[31] Teenage slang is an example. Minority and subculture slang is the same phenomena.

Historically, language use in the Balkans was a Slavic continuum. In the middle of the 19th century the literate elite championed standardization. Serbian and Croatian writers and academics created a standard that was based on the Slavic dialect spoken in Zagreb. Standardization would facilitate the printing and sale of books. The proposed standard was published in 1850 as the *Vienna Literary Agreement*, which unified a written language.

After World War I, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovens, renamed Yugoslavia in 1929, used the standard of the *Vienna Literary Agreement* as its written language. For the average and often illiterate citizen, the Slavic continuum was still their linguistic environment. In 1941, Germany occupied Yugoslavia. The anti-Nazi resistance ignored the elite written standard, as partisans came primarily from the less literate agricultural communities. After World War II, the newly established Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia initially recognized multiple dialects, rather than privileging one of them.

In 1954, Yugoslavia's writers and academicians renewed the call for standardization. In a declaration called the *Novi Sad Agreement*, they insisted on a single language, called Serbo-Croatian, with two dialects: Western (Zageb) and Eastern (Belgrade). It could be written in either the Latin or Cyrillic script. Serbo-Croatian was adopted by the communist government for all purposes, but especially for education, because language rationalization was increasingly appreciated as useful both for increasing literacy (communication) and for greater citizen solidarity (identity).

> "Yugoslavian unification was often accompanied by an arrogant disdain of differences that didn't take long to backfire into a delirious overemphasis of those same differences. In the hands of Serbian then communist authorities, language served as a tool for political unification. It has now become a tool for divisive nationalist representatives who seek to pursue their own designs."
>
> Paul Garde, *Unity and Plurality in the Serbo-Croatian Linguistic Sphere*, in T. Judt and D. Lacorne, Ed., *Language, Nation, and State: Identity Politics in a Multilingual Age* (2004)

Subsequent Divergence. In March 1967, 130 influential Croatian writers and academicians, published a *Declaration on the Status and Name of the Croatian Literary Language*. Unlike the authors of the *Vienna Literary Agreement* and the *Novi Sad Agreement*, they advocated for multiple and distinct languages. Many were Croatian nationalists who were upset that Croatian was treated as a provincial dialect. They wanted a distinct Croatian identity language, written and oral, especially for publishing and public education.

President Tito employed the necessary force to suppress nationalism, but he could not extinguish ethnolinguistic aspirations. To defuse tension, a new constitution in 1974 decentralized Yugoslavia's government. Authority and responsibility were significantly transferred to regions of greater ethnolinguistic congruence. The federal government retained limited powers. This devolution considerably increased the congruence between distinct linguistic communities and the primary institutions of their governance.

The 1974 changes presaged the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Skipping the bloody specifics, the result is four official languages: Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian, and Montenegrin. As the written forms of the four languages are based on the Serbo-Croatian of the *Novi Sad Agreement* and the *Vienna Literary Agreement*, they can be seen as variants of one poly-centric language. That is not, however, how their users perceive them. The languages are becoming identity languages for distinct communities. Differences are continually accreting, making them increasingly distinct in fact.

3.2.2 The Ritual and Symbolic Use of Languages. Polities (states) use symbols to represent themselves. Politically, there is always a flag. The same is true for other societies, as with "the cross" for Christianity. Symbols can be enhanced with the addition of a linguistic dimension, as in the case of oaths and songs, such as the Pledge of Allegiance and the Star-Spangled Banner in the USA, as well as with recitation of common prayers in a religious community.

> "When OpenAI launched its first large language model, known as GPT-1 in 2018, it had 117 million parameters…. Five years later, the company's fourth-generation model, GPT-4, is thought to have over a trillion."
>
> I. Bremmer and M. Suleyman, *The AI Power Paradox*, Foreign Affairs August 16, 2023

3.2.3 The Limits of Machine Translation. The EU Commission is one of the world's largest governmental users of Neural Machine Translation (NMT) technology, it has an online NMT service called eTranslation. The EU Council also has an NMT program called the EU Council Presidency Translator. It is connected to the Commission's eTranslation service. In 2021, the European Parliament selected a consortium to automatically transcribe and translate parliamentary debates into all 24 official languages in real time.

The UN, like the EU but with 75% fewer official languages (6:24), is pursuing a translation initiative through its Documentation Division, jointly with the Global Database Service of the World Intellectual Property Organization. In the private sector, Meta (Facebook) provides more than 20 billion translations per day, in 160 languages, for its News Feed.

For optimists, NMT is seen as providing access to greater diversity, which can broaden the outlook of its users. This replicates the optimistic view of the Internet in its early years. The Internet was expected to create broader communities and make users less xenophobic. Often the reality was not broader communities but the creation of geographically dispersed but culturally or ideologically narrow silos that acted as echo chambers and amplified narrow perspectives and interests. The internet created both small but intense communities (identity) and broader but looser (communication) communities.

Unintended consequences are ubiquitous with advances in technology. Undoubtedly, NMT will facilitate new transactional encounters (communication). Tourists will be able to venture further from resorts and other traditional tourist destinations. However, transactional encounters are impersonal and often transitory connections. Like the internet, NMT may even exacerbate existing divisions and create new ones, while spreading them globally.

Most of the benefits of learning a *lingua franca* will disappear in the next two decades. Fewer jobs will require plurilingualism, as translations will accurately and more economically be supplied by NMT based apps (applications). Why should employers pay a premium for bilingual employees when technology provides a more cost-effective alternative? As the benefits decline, so will the motivation to learn any *lingua franca*. Why should students spend countless hours trying to learn a language, often with little success, when NMT can provide the communication capacity of foreign language competency with an inexpensive application?

> "Identities are not like hats. You can put on more than one at the same time."
>
> Anonymous Maxim

The undeniable effect of NMT will be the separation of languages' communication function from their identity function. Complementary bilingualism, with two mother tongues, is a key part of a better future. It can create broad identities that increase both sympathy, based on communication, and empathy, based on a shared identity. An easily learned language in a policy of complementary bilingualism can produce greater unity within future region-states (EU, AU) and make India the fourth empire-state. It can even produce a global community of communication. That global community of communication can then evolve, through the creation of unifying narratives, into a global community with a supplemental identity that supports the essential collective action required for our global community of common fate.

# Part I

## The Take Away

1) Self-replicating information comes in two flavors: *genetic* information, coded in a the language of nucleotides (DNA), and *memetic* information, coded in one of ≈ 7000 languages.

2) Genes and memes use multiple and nested "survival vehicles" for their protection and to facilitate reproduction. Genetic survival vehicles occur from the cellular level to kinship groups. Genes reproduce slowly, through vertical replication between generations.

3) Memetic survival vehicles protect both genes and memes. They do so by aggregating phenotypes into memetic communities: cultures, societies and polities. Memetic survival vehicles need a common language.

4) Memes, like genes, reproduce vertically between generations. Memes also reproduce horizontally, through imitation or learning by individuals who are members of a memetic community. Horizontal reproduction makes memetic evolution much faster than genetic evolution.

5) The nature vs nurture dichotomy is far less consequential than the nurture (anchored) vs nurture (elevating) dichotomy. Anchored memes reinforce our genetic proclivities and elevating memes allow us to rise above our genetic proclivities.

"The strong European states that emerged in the nineteenth century were built around a national principle that made language and ethnicity the core of national identity."

Francis Fukuyama, *Political Order and Political Decay* (2014)

# Part II

# Survival Vehicles Need Linguistic Congruence

> "The contemporary national state, based on a common language, shared culture, and defined by territories… is a historically conditioned device for adjusting recognition markers to facilitate the intensification of economic and social cooperation in a highly competitive international system."
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> R.D. Masters, *On the evolution of political communities: a paradox of Eastern and Western Europe in the 1990s*, in Human Nature and the New Europe, Ed. M.T.McGuire, (1993).

# Chapter 4

# Monolingual Congruence: The European Nation-States

While only marginally relevant to global order, except when destabilizing a region or as part of an alliance, nation-states are numerous. Nation-state prevalence, popularity, and resilience are attributable to the strength of their national identities, which are based in part on linguistic congruence. French speak French. Germans speak German. The ideal form of a nation-state is "one-nation, one-state, one-language." The name of a country is often the same as that of its language, as a quick look at a map of Eurasia shows.[32]

There were two paths to achieving monolingual congruence in Europe: (1) state-first, which started with an existing state and established linguistic congruence by privileging a single language, and (2) nation-first, which drew a state boundary around an ethnolinguistic nation, real or imagined,

[32] Colonialism in the Southern and Western hemispheres are reflected in the divergence between a country's name and the name of its dominant language.

and added the institutions of governance. In the second case, the circumscribed population was either monolingual or part of a language continuum. If dialect diversity persisted, as in Germany, there was uniformity in the written language. In both cases, monolingual congruence aligned a language community (demos-nation) with the institutions of governance (polity-state).

## 4.1 State-First Monolingual Congruence

The borders of many European states reflect a long dead monarch's ability to project sufficient military power to hold the territory acquired by conquest, inheritance, and dowry. If natural barriers were significant, the border would generally conform. State borders often failed to reflect the distribution of language communities. Thus, because both the Catalan and Basque communities cross the Pyrenees, each is a minority community in both France and Spain.

France (Top-Down). In monarchies, language use primarily concerned the elite and language rationalization often began as a project by the literate minority to encourage the use of the vernacular in literature and to establish a standard for the printing of books. For example, the Académie Francaise began as a group of distinguished French citizens who were interested in establishing standards for printing in French. It was a group of nine individuals (now 40) who met at the residence (salon) of Valentin Courant, a councillor and secretary to the King.

In 1637, it was formalized and co-opted by Cardinal Richelieu, first minister of King Louis XIII. It was tasked with creating "rules to our language, to render it capable of treating the arts and sciences" and regulating its spelling and grammar. Cardinal Richelieu's objective was to consolidate the king's power by establishing a bureaucracy of lesser nobles and literate commoners (intendants) that used a standardized vernacular. Bureaucrats were geographically rotated to reduce provincial influence on them. A dependent bureaucracy that used a vernacular language diminished the power of both the high nobility and the clergy.[33]

> "The French Revolution had, moreover, unleashed not just demands for popular political participation but also a new form of identity by which a shared language and culture would be the central source of unity for the new democratic public."
>
> Francis Fukuyama, *Political Order and Political Decay* (2014)

Revolutionary France. The revolution of 1789 changed France dramatically. The adoption of a language rationalization policy of monolingualism was one of its most radical changes. A common language was deemed essential because the revolutionary government needed to communicate its authority and political message to each citizen. Minority language communities were often rural, religious, and politically conservative. These qualities made them ripe for counter-revolutionary efforts. Thus, the continued use of a regional language or dialect became a marker for failing to fully embrace the revolutionary order. For the first time, the language used by the people mattered to the government.

> "One can assure without exaggeration that at least 6 million Frenchmen, especially in the provinces, are ignorant of the national language; that an equal number is incapable of holding a sustained conversation; that in the last analysis the number of those who speak it fluently does not exceed 3 million ...."
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> Abbé Henri Grégoire, *Report to the National Convention* (1794)[34]

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[33] The Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts, in 1539, required the use of French in all legal acts, notarized contracts and official legislation. The intent, *inter alia*, was to make church produced documents (birth, confirmation and death records) more available to the general public. The target was Latin, not regional languages and dialects.

[34] The quotation from Abbé Henri Grégoire is well known. Less well known is that he added: "... the important thing is that all Frenchmen understand and speak the national language *without forgetting their individual dialects*." (Emphasis added.) He was an early advocate of what this essay calls complementary bilingualism.

In the first week of June 1794, an important document was submitted to the revolutionary government by Abbé Henri Grégoire, who had been in charge of the 1790 census. Its descriptive title was *On the Necessity and Means for Eliminating Dialects and Universalizing the Use of the French Language*. The same year, laws were enacted to require the use of standard French (Francien or the Île-de-France dialect) in public affairs.

Napoleonic France. The territorial monolingualism that the revolution established in principle, but lacked the time and resources to implement, was subsequently advanced by Napoleon's military campaigns. The Napoleonic Wars showed that a monolingual army performed better in combat. Speaking a common language avoided misunderstanding orders. Patriotism, based in part on an ethnolinguistic identity, also improved military performance. While Napoleon's army units were initially composed of soldiers from a single area and some units even used a regional language or a nonstandard dialect, replacements were assigned as needed and without regard to the dialect spoken by the replacement or by the unit to which they were assigned. As the campaigns consumed soldiers, all units became more reliant on standard French.

Modern France. From the 1880s, France mandated primary school education in standard French. The effects of the printing press, Cardinal Richelieu, the French revolution, Napoleonic conscription, and universal education combined to complete the transition from the *laissez-faire* multilingualism of feudalism to the monolingualism of a modern nation-state.

Precisely how long it took for France to become monolingual is difficult to establish. After the sobering revelation of the 1790 census, questions on language usage were dropped from subsequent surveys. However long it took, the results are clear: the French have great affection for their language. For example, to blunt the influence of the 1992 *European Charter of Regional or Minority Language*s, France amended Article 2 of its constitution to specify the following: "The language of the Republic is French." Not that there was any doubt, but the constitutional designation of a single official language impeded efforts to establish minority language rights.[35]

England (Bottom-Up). Establishing state-first congruence in Great Britain proceeded very differently. Linguistic congruence in France was top-down. English congruence was bottom-up. English became hegemonic because the Anglo-Norman feudal aristocracy needed to align its identity with the masses in order to win their full support for campaigns to seize territory in France during the Hundred Years' War. It may have, unintentionally, made it much more difficult for the English throne to incorporate French territory, due to different language use: a West Germanic language and a Romance language.

England and France were antagonistically intertwined for over seven centuries, from the Norman invasion in 1066 until 1811, when the British monarchs finally renounced all territorial claims in France. A milestone in the ascendency of English came in 1362, when Edward III broke a 300-year tradition of using French, dating back to the Norman Conquest, and addressed the Parliament in English. Bottom-up linguistic congruence was easier than trying to impose the Norman French language, especially as there was no educational infrastructure to support such an overwhelming enterprise.

## 4.2 Nation-First Monolingual Congruence

The second path to creating a nation-state drew a state boundary around a real or imagined nation, which was identified by the use of a common language or mutually comprehensible dialects. The nation-first model is exemplified by Germany.

[35] The president of France signed the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* in 1999. However, its ratification was rejected by the legislative branch. Ratification was rejected a second time in 2015. If ratified it would apply to at least seven languages (Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Dutch, German and Occitan.) The opposition to ratification alleged that it would apply to 24 European languages and 51 overseas languages. On April 8, 2021, the French National Assembly passed a law to allow schools to teach in a minority language for the majority of the school day. The French Constitutional Council found it unconstitutional.

Germany (Aggregation). Speakers of German dialects formed the core of the Holy Roman Empire (HRE)—which, however, included substantial populations that spoke dialects of Czech, Slovene, Dutch, Polish, Italian, and French. Starting with a multilingual empire composed of hundreds of mini-states, considerable effort was required to carve out a monolingual German nation-state.

In the century after the Reformation of 1517, Lutheranism became the official religion in many of the northern polities of the HRE. Roman Catholicism remained dominate in the South, so a religious fault line emerged. Eventually, a mix of religious intolerance and balance of power necessity (or imbalance aspirations) led to Europe's Thirty Years' War (1618–48) and the death of at least one-third of the HRE's German-speaking population. When the slaughter ended in 1648, the Peace of Westphalia expanded religious liberty and established exclusive sovereignty within defined state borders as well as the *de jure* equality of states under international law. States were no longer the private property of monarchs. The Peace of Westphalia was a search for a more stable order and the beginning of the European state system.

The Peace of Westphalia loosened Austrian control in the HRE and allowed Prussia to emerge as a rival for the leadership of the German-speaking people. The years between the Peace of Westphalia and the French Revolution saw Prussia assert itself in military conflicts, including the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) and the Seven Years' War (1756–63). In both cases, Prussia was part of the winning coalition and Austria was part of the losing coalition.

Napoleonic Consolidation. The multilingual HRE was the primary victim of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1805, at the Battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon's forces (including some defecting German states) defeated the HRE. The following year, Emperor Francis II abdicated. Napoleon replaced the HRE with the Confederated States of the Rhine and, in the process, reduced the number of government units in the HRE from over 300 to just 16.[36]

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[36] It later increased to 36. Ironically, Napoleon's consolidation benefited Germany more than he ever benefited France. Napoleon also did more for the USA, with the

The Confederated States of the Rhine only lasted for a decade. After Napoleon's disastrous winter in Russia, confederation members began switching sides to become part of the victorious coalition that would defeat Napoleon. At the Congress of Vienna (1814–15), in establishing a post war order, the leaders of the coalition did not want to re-establish the HRE, as German speakers were showing unmistakable signs of their potential collective power. Instead, the Vienna Treaties established a German Confederation of 39 predominantly German speaking states. It had only one institution of confederation governance, an assembly of the envoys of the nobility, called the Bundestag, with limited jurisdiction and a requirement of unanimity. Given the competition between Austria and Prussia, the Bundestag's design rendered it incapable of initiating reforms. The goal of the Congress of Vienna was a European balance in which no country was powerful enough to act unilaterally.

Influenced by the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and Napoleonic reforms, some states in the German Confederation drafted constitutions that included civil rights. There was a conservative backlash in the form of the Carlsbad Decrees, issued in 1819 by the Bundestag. The liberal reaction to the Carlsbad Decrees was decades of sporadic unrest in various parts of the German Confederation.

Kleindeutschland. Could the speakers of different German dialects, divided among dozens of governments, forge a single nation-state? An early proponent of an affirmative answer was the German philosopher Johann Fichte (1762–1814), who championed the idea that states must be ethnolinguistic communities. His belief in the imperative of a German-speaking nation-state was ardently and eloquently expressed in an influential 1808 book, *Address to the German Nation,* written while Napoleon's troops occupied Berlin.

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Louisiana Purchase, than he did for France. His birthday should be celebrated, with appropriate irony, in both Germany and the USA.

> "Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds ... they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole."

Establishing a German nation-state required a resolution of the rivalry between German-speaking Prussia and multilingual Austria. Led by Prussia but excluding Austria, most of the German Confederation formed a German speaking customs union in 1834 (Zollverein).[37]

Springtime of the Nations. In 1848 a series of liberal revolutions broke out across Europe, including France, Austria, and the German Confederation. In the German Confederation, the revolutions stressed both German nationalism and opposition to autocratic rule. The middle class demanded political rights with a lower property qualification, liberal policies, German unity, and a constitutional monarchy. The working class demanded better working conditions and universal male suffrage.

The combined strength of the middle class and working class succeeded in replacing the Bundestag with a parliament. A parliamentary compromise was reached, after 230 sessions, but it was between the conservatives and middle-class. It rejected the goals of the working class. The compromise was expressed in the Imperial Constitution of 1849. It provided for a bicameral parliament, adopted the "Lesser Germany" (Kleindeutschland) model, and established a constitutional monarchy. A provisional power replaced the German Confederation and the title of Emperor was offered to the Prussian King, Frederick Wilhelm IV. It was anticipated that he would accept the offer, as the

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[37] This is an interesting parallel with the establishment of the EU customs union in 1968. The difference, of course, is the linguistic congruence in the case of the Zollverein. Congruence within the Zollverein presaged the subsequent political unity of Germany. The lack of linguistic congruence may presage an EU political failure.

proposed constitution decided the competition with Austria in favor of Prussia.

Under intense pressure from the nobility and much to the surprise of the middle-class, Frederick Wilhelm IV declined the crown because of the constitution's limits on hereditary power and because it would require a separate constitution for Austria. Friedrich Wilhelm IV dreamed of a reconstituted HRE, not a Kleindeutschland. This sent a clear signal to the conservatives that their coalition with the middle-class should be abrogated. The earlier split, when the middle-class abandoned their working-class allies, now showed its significance. Division of the opposition permitted the Prussian military to suppress both the more radical working class and the liberal middle class. The Frankfurt Parliament was dissolved. The German Confederation was reestablished.

Bismarck's Germany. In the decade after becoming the Minister President and Foreign Minister of Prussia in 1862, Otto von Bismarck engineered and won three wars that united a monolingual Germany. Bismarck's first war, in 1864, was jointly with Austria against Denmark over control of Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg. The joint victory over Denmark led to the Gastein Convention and the administration of the acquired territory by Prussia and Austria. Prussian was given control of Schleswig and Lauenburg. Austrian was given control of Holstein. However, Holstein was sandwiched between Prussian Schleswig to the north and Prussian Lauenburg to the south.[38] The relationship of the acquired territories to the German Confederation was not established. Joint governance by two rivals was inevitably contentious and, unsurprisingly, led to Bismarck's second war.

In 1866, Prussia asserted that an Austrian attempt to reconcile the bilateral Gastein Convention with the rules of the German Confederation was a breach of the agreement. Using this pretense, Prussian troops

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[38] Prussia was also given transit rights through Holstein to Schleswig and the right to build a canal and a telegraph-line through Holstein. The agreement also established a Navy for the German Confederation and designated its headquarters at Kiel, in Holstein, but under Prussian sovereignty. In short, it was a mess.

entered Holstein, which lead to the outbreak of the Austro-Prussian War. Prussia's victory after only seven weeks of fighting established it as the leader of the German-speaking people.[39] In 1867, the German Confederation was replaced by a Northern German Confederation under Prussian leadership.

The third and final war of German unification was against France, in 1870, to bring the independent German-speaking states of Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, and Hesse-Darmstadt into the Prussian fold.[40] During the shelling of Paris, with victory imminent, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was crowned Emperor of Germany by the German Princes assembled at Versailles. The unification of Germany, based on the Lesser Germany model, established a monolingual nation-state using the nation-first model. The German nation-state was only slightly over-inclusive. It included French speakers in Metz-Château-Salins, Danish speakers in Northern Schleswig, and Polish speakers in Eastern Prussia.

Czechia and Slovakia: (Decomposition). The *aggregation* process used to create Germany is not the only nation-first method. The *decomposition* of a polity can also produce monolingual states. Among the most recent nation-first creations of monolingual nation-states in Europe, except for the still-evolving organization of the Balkans, was the 1993 breakup of Czechoslovakia into Czechia and Slovakia. The Constitutional Act on the Czechoslovak Federation, in 1968, unintentionally set the border for future dissolution. A quarter of a century later, after the fall of communism, a natural line of separation was already set by the constitutionally established internal ethnolinguistic boundary. The split is interesting because, at the moment of the dissolution, it seemed to happen spontaneously. The political elite chose

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[39] This war also allowed Italy to free Venice from Austrian control and add it to the Kingdom of Italy.

[40] This war also allowed Italy to incorporate the Papal states, which had been under the protection of France. The war simultaneously completed German unification and Italian unification.

to divide the country along a linguistic fault line, and the citizens responded with indifferent acceptance.[41]

The respective languages of the two new nation-states are Czech and Slovak, both of which are West Slavic languages and can be mutually intelligible in mundane daily conversations. The Czech language is now prescriptively regulated by the Institute of the Czech Language, and the Slovak language is similarly regulated by the Ľudovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Given the different identities and regulatory bodies, further divergence is inevitable.

> "In fact, every political order conceived as a lasting institutional arrangement aspires to evoke and nurture the belief in its legitimacy."
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> Christina von Haldenwang, *Measuring Legitimacy – New Trends, Old Short Comings* (2016)

## 4.3 Linguistic Congruence Increases Legitimacy

Increasing legitimacy is crucial because it greatly reduces the costs of governance. The greater the legitimacy, the more readily people comply with laws or policies. In contrast, governance without adequate legitimacy is either despotic or chaotic. Linguistic congruence increases three types of legitimacy: *process* legitimacy (democracy), *outcome* legitimacy (growth), and *affective* legitimacy (identity).

> "Democratic participation cannot be effectively institutionalized if people cannot talk to each other, nor can opportunities be equalized among citizens from all linguistic groups or feelings of solidarity develop, across ethnic boundaries."
>
> Philippe Van Parjis, *The Linguistic Territorial Principle* (2011)

41 The history of Czechoslovakia over a longer timespan shows that coercion and violence were required. The violent expulsion of German speakers after World War II is the most famous example.

4.3.1 Democracy: Process Legitimacy. It took decades of effort, usually bloodshed and always coercion to achieve the territorial monolingualism that provided the European nation-states with linguistic congruence. Despite the great cost, the payoff was also great. Linguistic congruence was an essential condition for democracy.

A successful democracy requires much more than free and fair elections. Elections are merely a tool with which citizens periodically expresses a collective opinion about the job performance of incumbents and the relative appeal of challengers. Between elections, only linguistic congruence permits the continuous civil dialogues which are a prerequisite to meaningful elections.

> "Among people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion necessary to the working of representative government cannot exist.... The same books, newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, do not reach them. One section does not know what opinions, or what instigations, are circulating in another."
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> John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861)

Consider the definition of democracy in Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address: "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Without linguistic congruence, there is not "the (singular) people." Majority rule only makes sense if it is the majority of a community that recognizes itself as "us." When elections are held, being outvoted by "others" is experienced as tyranny rather than democracy. A common language is necessary to avoid the feeling that you are governed by others.

Even if the individual member states in a region-state are not democracies, the collective polity must be democratic. Region-states must be democratic because the aggregation of nation-states in the 21st Century must be consensual. Nation-states will only consent to political aggregation if the collective entity operates democratically. Coercion is neither desirable nor feasible. A region-state democracy, like any other democracy, requires linguistic congruence. Anything else will be experienced as tyranny.

> "Democracy is inextricably bound with language and one wonders how it can be managed without a community of communication. Achieving meaningful, plurilingual democracy is a challenge that has not yet been taken up. It is perhaps the greatest obstacle to overcoming the EU's democratic deficit."
>
> Susan Wright, *Community and Communication: The Role of Language in Nation State Building and European Integration* (2000)

The EU acknowledges that it has a serious *democratic deficit*. Until there is linguistic congruence between EU institutions of governance and a European demos, the EU democratic deficit will greatly retard "ever closer union." Like Belgium, discussed in detail in the next chapter, the EU will be at perpetual risk of splintering.

Once there is region-state linguistic congruence, political parties will be able to compete everywhere in a single language that encodes the regional identity. Political parties can organize and campaign across a multilingual region, not just form into post-election coalitions of nation-state parties whose primary agenda is success in nation-state elections or the provision of well paying sinecures for the political elite. Media can reach all citizens simultaneously and with a single message, promote broader conversations, and document a common narrative. Candidates for a region-state office, such as for the presidency of the EU Commission, can debate in a common language. A directly elected Commission president who can speak to all Europeans in a common language would legitimize the EU in a powerful manner. Lack of linguistic congruence distances a regional government from its citizens, and distances citizens from different ethnolinguistic groups on matters of common concern.

> "The relationship between linguistic variables and economic variables is the focus of a growing body of academic literature on multilingualism."[42]
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> European Parliament, *European Strategy for Multilingualism: Benefits and Costs* (2016)

42 M. Gazzola, F. Grin and B. A. Wickstrom (2015). "A concise bibliography of language economics," in *The Economics of Language Policy*, pp. 53-72, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

4.3.2 Growth: Outcome Legitimacy. While no government can fully determine the performance of its economy, an improving economy increases the legitimacy of any government and economic failure decreases legitimacy. As increasing legitimacy makes governance easier, a growing economy is important for successful governance.

It is not controversial to note that a common language, even a *lingua franca,* substantially increases trade. In February 2009, the European Economic Review published a study by Jan and Janko Fidrmuc that looked at the economic influence of a common language (English) on EU trade.[43] They reached the following conclusions:

1) The availability of a dominant *lingua franca* (English) increases EU trade by 30% and is a main driver of international trade in Western Europe.

2) If EU countries increased their English proficiency by 10%, trade among them would increase by 14%.

3) If the other EU countries matched the success of the Netherlands in learning English it would increase their EU trade by 70%.

4) In the newer EU member states and candidate countries, the input of English is even greater. Trade is 74% higher than it would be without the current capacity in the dominant *lingua franca*.

4.3.3 Nationalism: Affective Legitimacy. The final stage of governance is civil union. It is the hardest to accomplish because it cannot be done through economic policies, treaties or legislation. Only the people themselves can forge a civil community. It is not driven by pocketbook

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[43] See also: J. Melitz. *Language and foreign trade*, European Economic Review 52(4), (2008). J. Fidrmuc and J. Fidrmuc. *Foreign Languages and Trade*, Discussion Paper No. 7228 C.E.P.R London. (2009) "*The language effect in international trade: A metaanalysis*," Economic Letters, 116, (2012). P.H. Egger and F. Toubal "*Common spoken language and international trade*," in V. Ginsburgh and S. Weber (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language*, (2016).

calculations or by the counting of the contents of ballot boxes, it is driven by mutual respect, empathy and solidarity. It can also be called affective legitimacy.

How easily civil solidarity can evaporate was demonstrated in the EU in the early summer of 2011. A serious outbreak of food borne illness in Germany affected almost 4000 people and killed over 50. On May 26, 2011, Germany blamed Spanish cucumbers, excluded them from the German market and notified other EU countries. The next day, the European Commission repeated the charge and specified two Andalusian farms as the source. The farms were closed and the sale of all Spanish produce was adversely affected. The losses to Spanish agriculture amounted to around $200 million per week. The source of the infection was later determined to be in Lower Saxony, Germany. The inevitable result was hard feelings and charges of German condescension and bullying. Similar charges were made by Greeks, during the Euro Crisis.

Trade and finance do not require a civil community or any community, although a community is a more efficient economic space.[44] However, both political and civil integration require direct and sustained communication. For the multi-state and multi-national EU, "ever closer union" now requires linguistic congruence that does not sacrifice diversity. That is only possible with complementary bilingualism.

[44] While the free movement of goods and capital does not require a community, the free movement of services and labor does.

"A language is the place from where we see the world and where we draw the limits of our thinking and feeling."

Vergílio António Ferreira, Portuguese author and professor (1916-1996)

# Chapter 5

# Europe's Unexceptional Exceptions

Not all of Europe's nation-states achieved the ideal of combining one nation, one state, and one language. Europe's three *unexceptional* exceptions are Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Belgium.[45] It is not a coincidence that all three are neighbors on the fault line between Europe's Germanic and Romance language communities.

Despite the linguistic fault line running through them, all three have achieved *de facto* linguistic congruence. They are exceptions because they are multilingual but unexceptional because they have monolingual congruence below the surface (Switzerland and Belgium) or the linguistic congruence of a unitary trilingual community (Luxembourg). Their significance lies not in their overall multilingualism but in the fact that they

[45] Other EU member states also have more than one official language. Ireland has English and Irish, but 93% consider English their mother tongue. In Malta, 97% consider Maltese their mother tongue, although English is also an official language. In Finland, only 5% consider co-official Swedish their mother tongue. In Cyprus, the North speaks Turkish and the South speaks Greek. In each part there is congruence with a single language and, due to Turkey's invasion in 1974, very little cross community contact.

still achieved congruence between unitary language communities and the institutions of their governance.

## 5.1 Luxembourg: Equal Sets Congruence

With a population of approximately 600,000 and an area of just 2600 km2, tiny Luxembourg is a case in which three languages (German, French, and Luxembourgish) establish trilingual linguistic congruence. In mathematical terms, Luxembourg's language communities are equal sets.[46] There is still the essential congruence between a single (trilingual) demos and a single polity.

Luxembourg is instructive because it demonstrates that a country can achieve trilingual congruence. Bilingual congruence will be 50% easier, with only one additional language. Here is some relevant background:

(1) Luxembourgish (Letzeburgesch) is the primary oral language. It is the default choice in less formal situations, such as daily encounters, emails, and text messaging. Its unified written form was first recognized in 1975. Luxembourgish had no official status until 1984, when it became the sole *national* language. Luxembourgish invokes a Luxembourg identity. This reflects a desire to be distinguished from the neighboring giants, France and Germany. Along with German and French, Luxembourgish is one of the three *official* languages of Luxembourg.

(2) French is a prestige language that primarily occupies functional domains. For example, French is the language of the legal system. Laws are enacted in French. This reflects the historic importance of French in the courts of Europe and in international relations, as well as Luxembourg's adoption of the Napoleonic Code. However, in Parliament, laws are generally introduced in German and debated in Luxembourgish.

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[46] Luxembourg citizens are trilingual in the same three languages: Luxembourgish 90% (77% native and 13% second language), German 92% (4% native and 88% second language), and French 96% (6% native and 90% second language). Thus, Luxembourg has linguistic congruence.

(3) Newspapers are predominantly printed in German, but with French interspersed. French is more common in advertisements for luxury goods, wedding and birth announcements, and stories with a European or cultural focus.

(4) The broadcast media predominantly uses Luxembourgish. News, however, is often presented in German or a mix of German and Luxembourgish.

(5) Government primarily writes in French or German, and only occasionally in Luxembourgish. However, a citizen's use of Luxembourgish is always accommodated by a response in Luxembourgish. Luxembourgish predominates in informal government communication.

The key to Luxembourg's successful trilingualism is its school system. Teachers must be proficient in all three languages. The students are taught all three languages as subjects and all three languages are used as languages of instruction.

Primary education has four two-year cycles. The first cycle, for ages 3 to 5, teaches in Luxembourgish and introduces French. In the second through fourth cycles, for ages 6-12, literacy is taught in German. German is also the language of instruction except for French lessons. Spoken French is taught in the second cycle. Written French is added in the third cycle.

Languages in secondary education vary depending on the system. German continues as the language of instruction in early secondary school, except that French and Mathematics are taught in French. The language of instruction shifts to French in the fourth year, in *classical* secondary schools.[47] In *general* secondary schools, German continues to

[47] English is taught from the second year except for pupils learning Latin. They start English a year later. Students who wish to do so can even learn a fourth language (Italian, Spanish or Portuguese) starting in the fifth year. Luxembourg's plurilingualism is remarkable. In comparison, complementary bilingualism is a radically easier way to establish congruence – even global congruence.

be the primary language of instruction. Students who are tracked to a vocational education are taught in German.

Luxembourg is an exceptionally wealthy country with a long history of multilingualism. Its citizens' unique trilingualism is unnecessary for linguistic congruence in any other country. In addition, the cognitive load of three or more languages displaces other educational goals. Luxembourg also has a high dropout rate in its lower socio-economic and immigrant communities and directs a larger than average percentage of students to vocational education. Finally, it is more difficult for immigrants to assimilate into a trilingual community. The point is that unitary trilingualism is possible, so a much less difficult policy of complementary bilingualism is practical.

## 5.2 Switzerland: Congruence by Segregation

Switzerland is the country most often cited as an exception to Europe's monolingual nation-state model. However, the Swiss live in monolingual communities and language rights are territorial, not personal. If you move to a different part of Switzerland you must use its official language when dealing with the government. Switzerland is linguistically segregated, with monolingual congruence behind a veneer of multilingualism. Citizens rarely relocate to a different language's territory.

> "Switzerland may be quadrilingual, but to all intents and purposes each point of its territory can be viewed as unilingual."
>
> Francois Grin, *Multilingualism and Government* (2000)

Most Swiss are either German speakers 2/3 or French speakers 1/4. Less than 10% are native speakers of Italian (8.4%) and Romansch (0.7%). Of Switzerland's 26 cantons, 22 have one official language (17 German, 4 French, and 1 Italian). Most government functions are performed by monolingual cantons or by monolingual districts and municipalities in the four multilingual cantons.

Of the four multilingual cantons, three are bilingual in German and French: Berne (Bern), Fribourg (Freiburg), and Valais (Wallis). Running through these three cantons, the linguistic fault line is commonly referred to as the *Röschtigraben*.[48] Congruence, in these cantons, is achieved with monolingual districts and municipalities. In Valais (Wallis), there are six French-speaking districts (Lower Valais) and eight German-speaking districts (Upper Wallis). In the Canton of Fribourg (Freiburg), the French districts are in the West and the German districts are in the East.

> "A German Swiss who settles in French-speaking Switzerland has to educate his children in French and cannot demand a German education for them by arguing that the country is multilingual."
>
> Uli Windisch, *Beyond Multiculturalism: Identity, Intercultural Communication, and Political Culture – The Case of Switzerland*, in T. Judt and D. Lacorne, Ed., *Language, Nation, and State: Identity Politics in a Multilingual Age* (2004)

Similar internal linguistic territoriality exists in Berne (Bern). Jura bernois is the name of its Francophone area. At the risk of including too much information, the history of Francophone Berne and the birth of the Canton of Jura is instructive concerning the interaction between linguistic and religious cleavages. The *Catholic* and *Francophone* Jura region, which had previously not been a part of Switzerland, was added to the *Protestant* and *German* speaking Canton of Bern at the Congress of Vienna (1815).

In 1979, a Francophone and Catholic Canton of Jura was created by separating out a portion of Bern (Berne). However, not all of Francophone Bern joined the new Canton of Jura. The areas that remained in Bern (Berne) were Francophone but Protestant. They are called Jura bernois, which should not be confused with the Canton of Jura.

In Jura bernois (Bern) Protestant religious congruence seems to have had greater salience than linguistic differences. It is also possible that the greater wealth and political importance of the more urban Bern tipped

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48 *Röschti* is a German dish made with grated potatoes. A *Graben* is a trench or other division.

the balance. This balance, however, proved unstable. Religion has become less salient relative to language. By 1994, the Francophone's remaining in Bern (Jura bernois) had become a disgruntled language minority and, a decade later, a federal commission proposed that Jura bernois be removed from the German speaking Canton of Bern and added to the French speaking Canton of Jura. On March 28, 2021, part of Jura bernois (Moutier) voted to leave Bern and join Jura. This change is scheduled to occur in 2026.

Even the trilingual Graubünden (Grisons) Canton is largely segregated by language. Italian speakers live in the South, in four of the canton's districts (Moesa, Bernina, the municipality of Bivo in Albula, and the municipality of Bregaglia in Maloja). Many of the residents in these districts commute for work to the adjacent Canton of Ticino, where Italian is the sole official language. As Italian speakers increasingly relocate to Ticino, German influence is increasing in Graubünden (Grisons). German speakers are three-quarters of the population and Italian speakers are 14%.

## 5.3 Belgium: Incomplete Congruence Problems

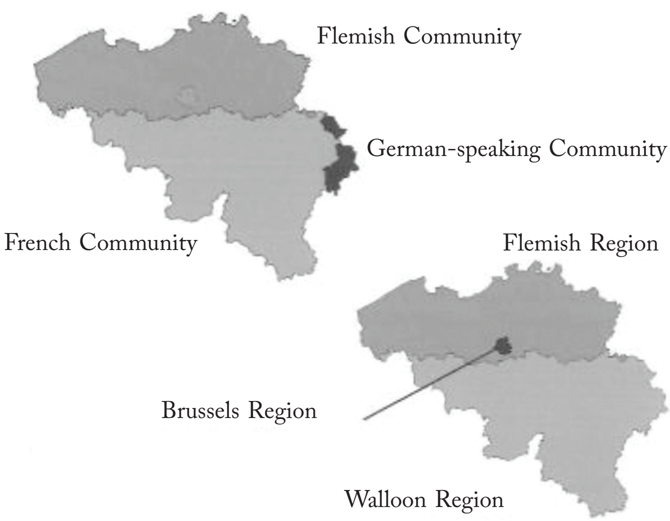
Like Switzerland, to achieve linguistic congruence Belgium combines monolingual territoriality with devolution. It is able to do this because its language communities are largely self-segregated. Dutch (Flemish) speakers live in the North (Flanders) and French speakers live in the South (Wallonia). A very small German-speaking population (<1%) lives in an area called Ostbelgien (East Belgium) that was added to Belgium after World War I. It is an enclave within the Francophone Liège Province, abutting Germany. German speakers do not have the right to use German in dealing with the Belgian government.

> "This line drawn in the Fifth Century has undergone little change in the course of ages ... the separation between Walloons and Flemings has remained more or less apparent down to the present."
>
> Leon Van Der Essen, *A Short History of Belgium* (2012)

Devolution of Competencies. Like Switzerland, Belgium also supports linguistic congruence with devolution. Its devolution was from a unitary federal system to linguistically segregated "Region" (territorial) governments and "Community" (cultural) governments. The separation of Flemish and Walloon governance began in 1921 and was accomplished in six state reforms, the last constitutional reform was in 2011.

(1) The Administrative Language Act of 1921 and its successor in 1932 established a policy of territorial monolingualism. Administrative bodies were required to use the language of the majority, as determined by census data. Minorities of greater than 30% were given services, to facilitate their interaction with the government.

(2) In 1962, Belgium abandoned the use of census data in establishing the boundaries of its territorial monolingualism. Municipalities were assigned to one of four language categories, including a bilingual Brussels. The Brussels Capital Region (BCR) was limited to 19 municipalities. Voeren (Fourons) was transferred from Wallonia to Flanders and Comines-Warneton (Komen-Waasten) was transferred from Flanders to Wallonia. In each case creating a linguistic enclave.



(3) In 1970, the First State Reform constitutionalized three Cultural Communities with cultural and language competencies, including control of broadcasting. This was desired by the Flemish, so that they could determine the future of their culture and language.

(4) The Second State Reform, a decade later, established two Regions (Flemish and Walloon) based on language use, each with jurisdiction over "territorial" matters. The Regions were desired by Walloons, as a way to increase economic self-determination. A BCR Region government was deferred. The Flemish combined their Region and Community governments. The Walloons did not.[49] The two language Community governments were renamed, dropping the term "cultural" in order to reflect a broader jurisdiction of matters pertaining "to the person." Communities and Regions were given Councils (later changed to Parliaments) and government structures.

(5) The Third State Reform, in 1988, added the BCR as the third Region. The BCR was given separate French and Dutch Community Commissions (VGC and COCOF) and a third Common Community Commission. Additional competencies, most notably education, were given to Communities and transport and public works devolved to the Regions.

(6) The Fourth State Reform, in 1993, Amended Art I of the Constitution to reflect that the Communities and Regions were the basic units of governance. The responsibilities and resources of the Communities and Regions were further expanded. Only the full extent of devolution remained to be decided. This reform also provided for the direct election of Community and Region parliaments. Brabant, 200 years after its boundaries were established under French rule, was split into Flemish Brabant and Walloon Brabant.

(7) The Fifth State Reform, in 2001, transferred more competencies, including agriculture, fisheries, and foreign trade to the Regions. The

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[49] The Walloons did not combine their Community and Region because of the large Francophone community in the BCR and the presence of a German Community within the Walloon Region.

Regions also became responsible for local and provincial governments, as well as a dozen regional taxes (the Lambermont Accord). Brussels institutional operations were sorted with consociational accommodations that mirrored the federal consociationalism, including guaranteed Flemish representation in the BCR Parliament (Lombard Accord).

(8) The Sixth State Reform, in 2011, transferred further competencies, including employment and economic matters, to the Regions. Additional competencies concerning health, elderly care and family policies devolved to the Communities. The Senate became an assembly of regional parliamentarians and its role circumscribed. Funding for the BCR was set at 0.1% of Belgium GDP.

Devolution, as completed in 2011, is so extreme that the jurisdiction of the Region and Community governments extends to foreign relations and international treaties that are within the scope of their extensive competencies. Thus, depending on the configuration of the Council of the EU (ministers), representation from Belgium can include multiple Region and Community officials, rather than having a single representative from the federal government. No other EU member state does this.

However, unlike Switzerland, Belgium has a bilingual capital region and 27 municipalities with large linguistic minorities where linguistic congruence by further devolution is not possible. In these mixed constituencies, consociational limits on majority rule and the use of the personality principle are both employed in an attempt to sufficiently reduce friction so that ethnolinguistic detente is possible. However, ethnolinguistic conflict in these departures from congruence often precipitate wider ethnolinguist conflict that makes governance in Belgium expensive, inefficient, and factional.

Cohabitation Strategies. Belgium facilitates the political cohabitation of its French (Wallon) speaking and Dutch (Flemish)-speaking citizens, both federally and in the bilingual Brussels Capital Region (BCR), in two ways: (1) anti-majoritarian (consociational) rules and procedures and (2) use of the "personality principle."

Examples of anti-majoritarian rules and procedures include the following:

(1) Ministers in the federal government are evenly divided between French and Dutch speakers, even though 60% of Belgians speak Dutch (Flemish) as their mother tongue. Decisions are made by cabinet consensus, which causes long delays and gives a veto to the Francophone minority.

(2) Belgium's federal parliament is divided into two language caucuses, French and Dutch, with requirements for a dual quorum and a dual majority vote on sensitive legislation. In addition, an "alarm bell" procedure allows a super majority of either the French or Dutch parliamentarians, even when it is a minority of the Parliament, to defer an issue to the evenly divided executive branch in an attempt to negotiate a compromise.

(3) In the BCR, the Dutch-speaking minority is protected by anti-majoritarian requirements similar to those used at the federal level, although they are less than 10% of the BCR population. In addition to anti-majoritarian procedures, the personality principle is also recognized. French and Dutch (Flemish) have equal status in the BCR. For example, every street has two names: one Dutch and the other French. This imbalance offends a part of the Francophone super majority. Francophone taxi drivers have been known to feign confusion, when the passenger uses the Dutch name.[50]

<u>Language "Facilities" in 27 Municipal Governments</u>. Other exceptions to Belgium's historic segregation are 27 *border* and *rim* municipalities. There are six rim municipalities on the periphery of the BCR and 21 border municipalities along the primary (East-West) linguistic border between Flanders (North) and Wallonia (South). In these constituencies, a limited form of the personality principle is used in an attempt to mitigate conflict.

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[50] The author experienced this on his first stay in Brussels.

The personality principle is incompletely expressed in the 27 rim and border municipalities by the provision of government "facilities" for speakers of the second most common language.[51] Education in the second language is provided through the elementary grades, but not at the secondary level. As a result of a perception of second-class status for the *de jure*, but not necessarily *de facto*, linguistic minority, the rim and border municipalities are a reservoir of friction from which conflict between French and Dutch speakers periodically emerges to divide all of Belgium along its linguistic seams.

> "Every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined."
>
> The Bible, Matthew 12:25

Dysfunction From Incomplete Congruence. Belgium's undemocratic and absurdly complex governance is a result of its lack of complete congruence. It is Europe's most dysfunctional nation-state. Ethnolinguistic division immobilized Belgium's federal government for approximately two of the five years between 2007 and 2011. In 2010–11, Belgium had no functioning federal government for a year and a half—a world record for failure to form a new government after an election.

Eight years later the split reemerged, nearly beating the old record for failure to form a government. Ten months after Belgium's 2019 federal elections, a caretaker federal government was formed on an emergency basis for a further six months. This was compelled by the need to respond to the COVID-19 crisis. When the sixth month ended, in September 2020, the caretaker government of Prime Minister Sophie Wilmès was extended for an additional month as part of the 12th attempt to form a governing coalition. It succeeded. Ironically, the new prime minister is Alexander De Croo. He was the leader of the Liberal Party which

[51] Some of the BCR rim municipalities, which are in Dutch-speaking Flanders, have or may have become majority Francophone. Their governments remain Dutch speaking, with facilities for their French speaking *majority*, as census data, since 1962, does not change the fixed linguistic hierarchy.

precipitated the record-setting 2010-11 crisis by withdrawing its support for Prime Minister Yves Leterme.[52]

> "Far from being a model to reproduce, the Belgian example is pertinent in the sole measure that it is used to prevent similar developments in other federations."
>
> C. Van Wynsberghe, *The Belgian "Example", Weakness of the Federal Formula as Implemented in Belgium* https://dial.uclouvain.be

In summary, to approximate congruence Belgium has a complex system of linguistically divided Community and Region governments, an anorexic and consociational (undemocratic) federal government, a *de jure* bilingual but overwhelmingly Francophone BCR, and 27 contentious municipalities with linguistic facilities. Only the inability to agree on the fate of the anomalous BCR, an overwhelmingly Francophone enclave inside of Dutch-speaking Flanders, prevents Belgium from dividing – like Czechoslovakia – into two monolingual countries. Belgium's problematic lack of complete congruence is perhaps the best evidence for the importance of congruence.

## 5.4 Belgian Unity: Complementary Bilingual Congruence

In the case of Belgium, there are three options for complementary bilingualism: 1) reciprocal bilingualism, 2) a global communication focused complementary bilingualism and 3) complementary bilingualism that maximizes individual choice. None is, as yet, being considered.

> "Men and women do not choose collective identification as they chose shoes, knowing that one could only put on one pair at a time."
>
> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (1990)

[52] The government collapsed, in 2010, after a seven-year-long dispute, from 2003 to 2010, over the boundaries of an election arrondissement (BHV) that combined the bilingual BCR with parts of Flemish Brabant (Halle and Vilvoorde).

## Option 1: Belgian Reciprocal Bilingualism

The simplest form of complementary bilingualism is reciprocal bilingualism. It is useful in situations, such as Belgium, where there are currently two competing languages. To maximize a common Belgian identity, reciprocal bilingualism would teach Dutch (Flemish) in Wallonia's schools and French (Walloon) in Flanders' schools. The strengthening of a Belgian identity will not come at the expense of the current ethnolinguistic identities. Belgians can have multiple identities and the discrete Walloon and Flemish identities can be harmonized with a plurilingual Belgian identity. The following tables shows how reciprocal bilingualism would work:

| Flanders | Wallonia | BCR | Ostbelgien |
|---|---|---|---|
| D (+ F) | F (+ D) | F(+D) / (D+F) | G (+ F) |

In the first column, French is added to the current Dutch linguistic hegemony in Flanders. Education in Flanders would include mandatory French classes and, in due course, some classes would be taught in French. Wallonia, in column two, would add Dutch, becoming the mirror image of Flanders. Column three, because the BCR currently uses the personality principle, shows both the addition of Dutch in French language schools and the addition of French in Dutch language schools. In column four, the German speaking Belgian community (Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft, also known as Ostbelgien) is part of the French Region and is sufficiently small (0.7%) that it can be an outlier of German + French bilingualism. About 99.3% of Belgians will be bilingual in Dutch and French. The 0.7% who are native German speakers will have a common language, French, with the rest of Belgium.

## Option 2: Global Communicative Capacity

Perhaps regional (EU) or global communication is so important that broader communicative capacity with exogenous complementary bilingualism is a higher priority than maximizing a Belgian identity using reciprocal bilingualism. Option 2 supports this priority. The chart shows the addition of English in all school systems, as the language for both Belgian bilingual congruence and global communicative capacity.

| Flanders | Wallonia | BCR | Ostbelgien |
|---|---|---|---|
| D + **E** | F + **E** | F+**E** or D+**E** | G + **E** |

Option 2 could be based on any common exogenous language. English is a placeholder for any language choice. English is neither inevitable nor optimal for multi-state complementary bilingualism, especially outside of Europe. (Chapter 11).

## Option 3: Individual Choice

Option 3 is a hybrid that prioritizes individual choice. It may be a viable compromise between those who want to prioritize the creation of a common Belgian identity and those who want to prioritize global communicative capacity.

| Flanders | Wallonia | BCR | Ostbelgien |
|---|---|---|---|
| D+F or D+E | F+D or F+E | D+F, D+E or F+E | G+E or G+F |

If you put a finger over the fourth column, the first three columns show the alternative of individuals choosing between reciprocity (reciprocal bilingualism) or broader communication (exogenous complementary bilingualism), depending on their personal preference. Almost all Belgians will still be able to communicate directly in at least one language. Column 4 represents only .07% of Belgians and most of these would still have a common language with other Belgians. Over 99.65% of Belgians would have a common language. In the real (nonrandom) world, proximity increases the probability of a common language, so it would be very rare for two Belgians to be unable to communicate directly.

Better Together. Belgium avoided the diversity suppression of state-first monolingual congruence. And, for lack of a way to allocate the BCR, it has not separated into two monolingual nation-states. Since neither monolingualism nor separation are options, Belgium should use reciprocal complementary bilingualism or exogenous complementary bilingualism to achieve unity and coherence at all levels of governance.

Irrespective of which of the three option is chosen, almost all Belgians will have a common language – although it will not necessarily be the same language for any random pair of Belgians. In many encounters, the choice of language will be circumstantial. In Wallonia, the default choice will most often be French. In Flanders, it will most often be Dutch. As full bilingualism becomes the norm, it will be a matter of personal and national pride for Belgians to be able to us two languages fluently.

> "Since the Belgian state model has reached its limits with regard to complexity and creativity, politicians and academics should begin to reflect on the seventh state reform with the aim of increasing the transparency of the current institutional labyrinth."
>
> J. Goossens and P. Cannoot, *Belgian Federalism after the Sixth State Reform,* Perspectives on Federalism, Vol. 7, issue 2, pp. 29-55 (2015)

A Seventh State Reform. Changes to Belgium's unnecessarily complex governance structure and procedures will not follow automatically from the adoption of a policy of complementary bilingualism. However, bilingualism creates opportunities for further state reform. Political divisions that were premised on the division between the ethnolinguistic communities will lose relevance and conflict will wane in a linguistically coherent Belgium.

During the transition the default position will be to maintain the *status quo* until the population is comfortable with specific changes. In the longer term, however, the bilingual transformation will permit the simplification of Belgium's exceptionally complex governance. Belgium can begin by revising the constitution to make language policy a matter for federal legislation. The current consociational (anti-majoritarian) safeguards in Parliament are sufficient to assure the appropriate exercise of this responsibility.

Political Parties. Given the importance of political parties and the current division of Belgium's political parties by language community, the reaction of political parties to the idea of complementary bilingualism will be important. Perhaps, in working on a Seventh State Reform, parties that previously split by language usage will decide to become national parties with national platforms. There will be a shift in the voters' perspective. Instead of choosing candidates on the basis of language, citizens will vote for the more usual reasons: is the incumbent government cost effective, are its decisions reached with adequate transparency, is this government responsive, and is a party's platform beneficial for the average citizen?

Media. The role of the media, both social and traditional, will be crucial in providing forums for the public discussion of bilingualism. Given the divisive nature of Belgian political discourse, it would be refreshing for the media to cover Belgians choosing policies that support unity. As complementary bilingualism takes hold, the media will be able to publish in a single language across the entire country. The common destiny of Belgians will be better reflected in editorial policy and news will not be biased to appeal to a regional audience.

Schools. In the 21st Century, schools are much more capable than they were during the 19th Century period of monolingual nation-state formation. Complementary bilingualism isn't radically different from current policies and practices regarding the teaching of foreign languages. Bilingualism just needs to be an explicit goal and there needs to be an earlier start to the acquisition of a second language. Once there is general understanding of the benefits of complementary bilingualism (reciprocal or exogenous) and a commitment by citizen's through their elected officials, successful bilingualism in Belgium will be 50% easier than Luxembourg's success with complementary trilingualism – only one additional language rather than two.

Belgium already has a policy of introducing its children to a second language. This existing educational foundation is a basis for a unifying language rationalization policy of complementary bilingualism that will result in every Belgian being able to interact with every other Belgian in a common language. Happily, the benefits of linguistic congruence will accrue to individuals (Chapter 6) as well as communities.

If the EU or the UN adopts a global policy of complementary bilingualism, their choice of a common language, using option 2, will accelerate the removal of the Belgian linguistic divide. All Europeans, including all Belgians, will have a common language and a stronger European identity. If the UN acts, everyone, everywhere on the planet can have the ability to communicate and a global community can emerge and flourish.

"… listening to people speak a language you can't understand is a strange and maddening experience. It can be more than that. It can be the origin of prejudice and hostility. If you are unable to talk to someone, it's hard to appreciate how much you have in common."

D. Shariatmadari, *Don't Believe a Word: The Surprising Truth About Language* (2020)

# Chapter 6

# Learning From Post-Colonial Bilingual Congruence

Complementary bilingualism is a neologism, but the phenomenon has a history that prominently includes post colonial language rationalization. The new governments in the former colonies needed a language of governance. Often there were many indigenous ethnolinguistic groups, so choosing any indigenous language would privilege its native speakers and outrage speakers of all other indigenous languages. Thus, choosing any indigenous language for linguistic congruence was rarely possible.

"The true creator is necessity, who is the mother of all invention."

Plato, *The Republic* (c. 375 BC)

## 6.1 Indigenous Bilingual Congruence

There were two former colonies that had an indigenous trade language not strongly associated with any single ethnolinguistic community. In choosing an indigenous trade language for linguistic congruence, these two governments set the stage for either monolingual congruence with the trade language or complementary bilingualism. In both countries, the ultimate result still remains to be determined. A desire to also learn a large international language has created tension between the proponents of combining the indigenous trade language with an international language, such as English (elite bilingualism), and those who prioritize preserving more indigenous languages by combining the trade language with all of the other indigenous languages (complementary bilingualism).

Indonesia: Bahasa Indonesia Congruence. Indonesia's national motto is: "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika." It means: "different, but the same kind." The phrase comes from a 14th Century poem celebrating tolerance between Buddhists and Muslims. Perhaps this helps to explain why Indonesia was able to appreciate the value of bilingual congruence.

With thousands of islands, hundreds of languages, and many different ethnic, racial, and religious communities, Indonesia is exceptionally diverse in both geography and demography. To overcome these obstacles to unity, newly independent Indonesia used a very powerful tool—a common language. It needed linguistic congruence but rejected both the colonial language (Dutch) and, at least so far, the monolingualism of the European nation-state model.

In his 2019 book *Upheaval: Turning Points for Nations in Crisis*, Pulitzer Prize winner Jared Diamond wrote:

> "Today, I share with Indonesians their appreciation for the advantages of the wonderful Bahasa Indonesia as their national language. It's easy to learn. Only 18 years after Indonesia took over Dutch New Guinea and introduced Bahasa there, I found it being spoken even by uneducated New Guineans in remote villages."

"Bahasa" means language and "Bahasa Indonesia" means the language of Indonesia. Riau Malay, a regional trade language, was chosen to be the Bahasa Indonesia of the newly independent country. It was the first language of only 10% of Indonesia's population. As with all trade languages, Riau Malay had lost some of the unnecessary complexity, irregularity, and adornment that otherwise become attached to natural languages. This made Bahasa Indonesia relatively easy to learn, which is a crucial advantage.

In implementing the decision to adopt Bahasa Indonesia, the government faced additional obstacles: (1) low literacy levels; (2) poor schools, if any, in many areas; (3) poor infrastructure for transportation and communication; and (4) little common history except for Dutch colonialism and Japanese occupation.

Bahasa Indonesia overcame all of these obstacles. The superordinate goal of learning a unifying language created solidarity and demonstrated the cohesive effect of becoming a unified linguistic community. Bahasa Indonesia allows Indonesians to travel anywhere in their country and communicate as fellow citizens.

> "Tanzania is often castigated for the failure of its socialist experiment, but it is seldom given credit for success in national integration on the mainland. KiSwahili is part and parcel of that integrative triumph."
>
> Ali A. Mazrai and Alamin M. Mazrai, *The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience* (1998)

<u>Tanzania: KiSwahili Congruence</u>. Indonesia is not the only former colony that achieved post-colonial linguistic congruence with an indigenous trade language. Tanzania did the same, using KiSwahili. The prefix "Ki" is functionally equivalent to "Bahasa." Like Riau Malay, KiSwahili was the first language of only approximately 10% of the population. Tanzania's population of 35 million uses 125 languages. KiSwahili is particularly important in the fast-growing cities, where the speakers of all of the indigenous languages use it to engage socially and economically.

<u>Indonesia and Tanzania: Diglossia or Complementary Bilingualism</u>? Did Indonesia and Tanzania choose complementary bilingualism, or are they on a path to state-first monolingualism? When France mandated universal education in standard French, it created a hierarchical relationship

between standard French and all of the other indigenous languages and dialects. This relationship is referred to as diglossia. In cases of diglossia, over time there is a shift to more prestigious languages and a decline in the use of the less prestigious languages. Are diglossia and language shifts occurring in Indonesia and Tanzania? If so, they have not established complementary bilingualism. Complementary bilingualism, especially 2 MT Bilingualism, preserves linguistic diversity and avoids diglossia.

Indonesia's Experience With Bahasa Indonesia. The 700+ languages of Indonesia (bahasa nusantara) include 13 languages that have at least a million speakers. These 13 languages are used by 70% of the total population. Many of the remaining languages are endangered, including approximately 450 with fewer than 1,000 speakers each.

Until 1953, local languages could be used as the language of instruction in elementary schools. This was a *de facto* policy of complementary bilingualism, with Bahasa Indonesia regarded as the unifying language (bahasa persatuan). From 1953 to 1975, the use of local languages was restricted to the first three years of schooling. This could be seen as a rebalancing of complementary bilingualism to accelerate the learning of Bahasa Indonesia.

However, in 1975 Bahasa Indonesia became the language of instruction at all levels. This replicated French education from the 1880's. Recently, after an increase in local autonomy, the teaching of some local languages has been included in the curriculum in some regions—but as a subject and not as a language of instruction. English is a mandatory part of the curriculum. This puts indigenous complementary bilingualism into competition with an elite exogenous bilingualism using a combination of Bahasa Indonesia and English.

Indonesian students are taught multiple languages,[53] but most indigenous languages are not taught in the education system and only Bahasa Indonesia is used as a language of instruction. Not surprisingly there has

53 In religious schools, Arabic is often added.

been a decline in the use of most indigenous languages, which sometimes correlates with a small increase in the use of a few of the larger indigenous languages in those communities where a larger indigenous language is taught as a mandatory subjects.

Does Indonesia have *incomplete* complementary bilingualism, with Bahasa Indonesia used as a *bahasa persatuan* and a few other indigenous languages being protected, or will the emerging diglossia continue, with Bahasa Indonesia and English being privileged as, respectively, the national and international languages and most indigenous languages declining? Does the current policy reflect local preferences, which should be respected? Are the preferences different in the cities than in the rural areas? Should Indonesia have an explicit national policy of complementary bilingualism to protect more indigenous languages? Is trilingualism possible with a third language for international communication? The answers to these questions can only emerge with time and the effects of changing government policies. Global complementary bilingualism, led by the UN, would resolve Indonesia's problem. All indigenous languages, including Bahasa Indonesia, would complement the language of global congruence.

> Instead of inculcating a sense of accomplishment and opening windows to education, English became a frustrating barrier to my students." (Arguing for the extension of Kiswahili to secondary school.)
>
> Deo Ngonyani, *The Failure of Language Policy in Tanzania Schools* (1996)

Tanzania's Experience With KiSwahili. In 1962, KiSwahili was designated as the official language of Tanzania. In 1967, it was adopted as the language of governance. In 1968, it became the language of instruction in primary schools, with English being pragmatically retained for secondary education and university study. In 1984, KiSwahili was designated as the language of the social and political sphere, as well as for adult education. In 2015, the Tanzania Ministry of Education and Vocational Training announced that KiSwahili would replace English in the secondary schools for the mandatory forms (1-4).

While primary education and the secondary schools' mandatory forms are taught in KiSwahili, the secondary schools' competitive levels, forms 5–6, are taught in English. Passing Form 6 is mandatory for continuing to university-level study, so English proficiency is a prerequisite for post-secondary education. This is elite bilingualism. Except for KiSwahili, indigenous languages are not languages of instruction.

A policy of complementary bilingualism would require the use of diverse indigenous languages, in the area where each is predominant, as languages of instruction in the elementary-level grades[54] and as an academic subject for older students. KiSwahili would be a primary school subject and the language of instruction in the secondary-level grades. English would be an elective foreign language. Given the strong support for English, especially in private schools, such a policy implies a trilingual education, which is too expensive for Tanzania—at least for now.

In cities, a *shift* to KiSwahili is replacing other indigenous languages. In rural areas, a language *drift* is being experienced. Other indigenous languages are adopting loan words from KiSwahili and experiencing "KiSwahilzation" of their grammar and pronunciation. In short, there is both language shift, primarily in cities, and language drift, primarily in rural areas.

The unanswered question is whether choosing KiSwahili as the sole language of instruction is a *de facto* policy of state-first monolingualism. Can and should Tanzania have an explicit policy of complementary bilingualism? The answer should depend on the desires of local linguistic communities. As in Indonesia, the other former colony with an indigenous common language, a choice has emerged between preserving maximum linguistic diversity or adopting elite bilingualism with Kiswahili and English. The KiSwahili-English combination undermines the preservation of diversity by promoting diglossia between KiSwahili and all other

[54] Such a policy would have the additional benefit of increasing the pool of potential teachers, making teacher training less arduous for future teachers and less expensive for the community.

indigenous languages. Many parents prefer the Kiswahili–English combination as a better option for securing their children's economic future. Others fear that English will remain an elite language that institutionalizes elite closure, while a diglossic shift to KiSwahili eliminates other indigenous languages.

As with Indonesia, the future course of language rationalization is uncertain. Also as with Indonesia, a global language rationalization policy of complementary bilingualism, especially if led by the UN, would resolve Tanzania's language policy quandary.

## 6.2 Exogenous Bilingual Congruence

Most former colonies did not have a convenient trade language, like Riau Malay or KiSwahili. Choosing any indigenous language was impossible because the privileging one language community would disadvantage and alienate all of the others. In these countries, as determined by their new governments, the least divisive option was to continue using the former colonial language of administration as the new language of governance.

There were other significant benefits in using the colonial language: it provided efficient access to colonial records, avoiding the need to translate them into multiple languages, and provided membership in a global linguistic network. However, as the colonial European language had been used for administration but not for governance, most of the population had little or no facility with the former colonial language.

Knowledge of the former colonial language was a marker of elite status. This resulted in elite bilingualism and elite closure. Because money for education was usually in short supply, wider dissemination of the elite language was slow. However, with sufficient resources allocated and an explicit policy of complementary bilingualism, elite bilingualism can be remedied by making the exogenous common language both a mandatory subject and a language of instruction. Indigenous languages, in the communities where they are predominant, will be languages of instruction, at least in the elementary schools, and will also be taught as academic subjects.

In establishing a policy of exogenous complementary bilingualism, it should always be kept in mind that elite bilingualism is a potential problem. This will be less of a problem if the exogenous common language is not the former colonial language. A universally exogenous language, as part of a regional or global language rationalization policy of complementary bilingualism, would solve the language rationalization policy problems everywhere, not just in former colonies.

## 6.3 2 MT Bilingual Congruence

Complementary bilingualism is a simple concept, but the impact will be profound. Because a common language is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the creation of a community, complementary bilingualism is the initial step in the creation of a regional or global community that can organize the necessary collective action for dealing with regional or global problems.

Almost everyone needs, or at least their desires, will benefit greatly from, complementary bilingualism with an easily learned and universally exogenous language: 1) parents who want their children to learn an international language need complementary bilingualism, 2) parents who prioritize their children's linguistic and cultural heritage need complementary bilingualism, 3) people from more than 6,500 relatively small language communities need complementary bilingualism to fully access global resources.

6.3.1 <u>Complementary Bilingualism is a Natural Phenomena</u>. The author's introduction to complementary bilingualism was both family plurilingualism and growing up in multi-ethnic and multilingual Hawai'i. It is worth a quick look at each of these experiences to show that complementary bilingualism is, in fact, a natural phenomena for both individuals and communities.

<u>Individual Plurilingualism: 2 MT (Mother Tongue) English and Japanese</u>. One of my brothers moved to Japan to teach English. He

married a Japanese woman and they have two children. The children grew up speaking English with their father and Japanese with their mother. They attended primary schools in both Japan and Hawai'i.[55] The son also attended high school at a boarding school in Indiana and took college courses in Hawai'i before graduating from Sophia University in Tokyo. The daughter studied English Literature at Doshisha University in Kyoto. She works as a translator. Both are comfortable in either Japanese or English. Transitioning easily between two very different languages and cultures, they are a good example of 2 MT Bilingualism.

There is a crucial difference between my niece and nephew's 2 MT Bilingualism, which combines the identity and communication functions, and learning a *foreign* language. Learning a *foreign* language does not include an identity function. A foreign language builds a *lingua franca* communication bridge, but even the most successful learner of a foreign language is not a member of both communities.

<u>Community Multilingualism: Hawai'i Creole English</u>. 2 MT Bilingualism can develop spontaneously. Before there was long-distance airline service, pineapple and sugarcane plantations were the foundation of Hawai'i's economy.[56] The plantations sourced their labor from several different countries and housed workers in ethnically segregated camps, in an ultimately unsuccessful effort to inhibit collective labor action. The primary labor sources were China, Japan, Portugal (Azores), Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The inevitable interaction of these language communities, with each other and with both English speakers and Hawaiian speakers, created a new pidgin that built upon an older English and Hawaiian hybrid. When the pidgin was used by the plantation workers' children as their primary language, it developed into a creole. Though still called

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[55] They attended elementary school in Hawai'i, while their father attended the University of Hawai'i for his Masters degree.

[56] The plantation economy was still important in 1967, when the author was a field laborer for Dole Pineapple at its Whitmore Village Plantation, on Oahu, during the summer between high school and college.

“Pidgin,” it is a complete language that linguists call Hawai’i Creole or Hawai’i Creole English (HCE).[57] Because of its identity function, HCE persisted after the end of the plantation economy.

Plantation field workers had limited contact with monolingual English speakers. When hotels replaced the agricultural plantations, tourism changed that. With millions of English-speaking tourists from Canada and the mainland USA arriving every year, as well as tens of thousands of in-migrants from the other 49 states, HCE could easily have been overwhelmed in a shift to English. HCE avoided linguistic death precisely because it expressed a “local” identity in a language that could not be fully acquired, even after a long residence, unless exposure began as a child. The prosody will not be accurate unless the creole language is learned at a very young age.

Hawai’i’s state government does not support HCE. The Department of Education is hostile, in the belief that any use of HCE at school undermines the student’s acquisition of standard English. Although discouraged in the classroom, HCE rules the hallways and lunchroom. Beyond school, it has primacy in informal discourse among those born in the islands. It is the language of courtship and gossip, to mention just two of its identity-affirming domains.

The “local” population of Hawai’i is 2 MT Bilingual in English and HCE.[58] English and HCE each encode an identity, like the identity bilingualism of my brother’s children. Standard English encodes a national (USA) identity and is used in formal domains. HCE encodes a local (Hawai’i) identity. There is also the indigenous Hawaiian language. Hawaiians[59] are the quintessential locals and Hawaiians who know their

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57 In 2015, HEC was included as a language choice by the US Census Bureau.

58 In rural and low-income communities, standard English is used less often and less completely. In higher-income areas, there is a degree of decreolization, in which standard English has diluted aspects of HCE.

59 “Hawaiian” refers to ethnicity. It is not a citizenship designation, like the word “Californian.”

indigenous language, along with HCE and English, are examples of identity trilingualism.[60]

6.3.2 Every Individual Deserves 2 MT Bilingualism. This essay is about the necessity for collective action, but bilingualism also has significant individual benefits.[61] Complementary bilingualism will help to maximize each individual's human potential, while better preserving all languages and their associated cultures. An appreciation of the individual benefits will increase public support for complementary bilingualism generally and 2 MT Bilingualism in particular.

> "In 3 eye-tracking studies we show that 7-month-old infants, raised with 2 languages from birth, display improved cognitive control abilities compared with matched monolinguals."
>
> Agnes Kovacs and Jacques Mehler, *Cognitive Gain in 7-month-old Bilingual Infants*, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 106 (16) (April 21, 2009)

(1) Lifelong Cognitive Benefits. The cognitive benefits of bilingualism are found in babies,[62] the elderly, and everyone in between. A study at the International School for Advanced Studies in Trieste, Italy, found that seven-month-old babies from bilingual homes were better at anticipating change, as measured by a faster switching of their anticipatory focus.

At the other end of the age spectrum, a study of elderly bilinguals by the University of California (San Diego) found that bilingualism delayed

[60] The author is fortunate to have two nephews who qualify.

[61] E. Bialystok, et al, *Bilingual Minds*, in Psychological Science in the Public Interest 10(2) (2009) and *Bilingualism: Consequences for Mind and Brain* in Trends in Cognitive Sciences 10(4) (2013).

[62] The benefits may even begin to accrue *in utero*. When exposed to more than one language before birth, newborns have a distinct brain response to speech sounds. They show greater sensitivity to a range of sounds and changes in pitch. Dr. Natàlia Gorin-Careta, Institute of Neurosciences, University of Barcelona. neurosciencenews.com (May 22, 2024).

the onset of cognitive decline and Alzheimer's. These benefits have also been documented in India.[63] Cognitive reserve, the capacity to both resist cognitive decline and compensate for its effects, is increased by bilingualism as effectively as by increased education.[64] The better the second language skill, the greater the delay in the onset of symptoms and the longer the individual's lifespan. Consequently, both quality of life and length of life are improved.

(2) <u>A More Nuanced Understanding of Words</u>. Children learning two languages follow the same path (milestones) at virtually the same rate as those restricted to a monolingual education. However, studies suggest that exposure to two lexical inventories gives bilingual children a better appreciation for the nuances of word meanings in each of the languages.

(3) <u>Enhanced Dual Processing and Inhibition of Distraction</u>. Bilinguals are better at focusing (inhibition of distraction), switching between tasks (dual processing), and retaining information while performing tasks (dual processing). These are gains to the brain's executive control. Bilingualism improves executive control because bilinguals practice executive control in using two languages (code switching).

(4) <u>Greater Creativity</u>. If all of its other benefits are not enough, the interplay between two languages appears to induce greater creativity and enhance problem-solving.

> "Some new parents trust ill-informed nurses, doctors, teachers, school administrators, family members, and even cabdrivers, following the mistaken advice to speak only one language to their children. In the process, they deprived their children not only of exposure to another language

[63] S. Alladi, et al., *Bilingualism Delays Age of Onset of Dementia, Independent of Education and Immigrant Status*, in Neurology 81(22) (2013).

[64] T. Gollan, et al. *Degree of bilingualism predicts age of diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease in low-education but not in highly educated Hispanics. Neuropsychologia*, Volume 49, Issue 14, December 2011.

and culture that would enrich their lives but also of the cognitive, neural, social, and economic advantages."

V. Mariam, T*he Power of Language* (2023).

This does not mean that bilingualism is a shortcut to producing superstar students. The scope and degree of the benefits need further study. The point is that parents should demand an early and effective bilingual education for their children because (1) it can improve their children's academic and cognitive performance, (2) second-language acquisition is more successful when started early, and (3) the benefits of bilingualism will continue throughout the child's life. Bilingualism is not just for school-age children. Adults also benefit.[65] People of all ages should study and practice a second language. It is never too late to start or to refresh an earlier bilingual capacity. Fluency is not necessary for benefits to accrue.

6.3.3 Preserving Choice Preserves Diversity. Ethnologue's 16th Edition lists 6,909 languages: 2,110 in Africa, 2,322 in Asia, 1,250 in the Pacific, 993 in the Western Hemisphere, and 234 in Europe.[66] Of these, approximately 500 are near extinction and a similar number are safe. That leaves almost 6,000 languages with fates yet to be determined. By removing much of the pressure for language shift, 2 MT Bilingualism will allow more languages to survive and even flourish, sustaining greater cultural diversity.

What, if anything, should we do for the six thousand language communities whose languages are not safe? In dozens of books and hundreds of academic articles, linguists and other language mavens grapple with questions such as:

1) How many languages do we need? Does Papua New Guinea need over 800 languages? Does Europe need over 200 languages?

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[65] T. H. Bak, et al., *Does Bilingualism Influence Cognitive Aging*, Annals of Neurobiology 75 (6) (2014).

[66] The number of languages varies among sources because of the subjective nature of distinguishing between a language and a dialect.

2) Which languages can be saved and which cannot? Is creating a written and oral record of a language enough, or must there be a population of speakers? If so, how many?

3) If there are multiple dialects with no consensus for selecting one as the standard, must we save every dialect? If not, how can we achieve sufficient agreement to produce a consensus dictionary and grammar? Who decides and what criteria should they use?

4) Can we put a value on a language? What does it cost to save a language? Who should pay? Who is willing to pay?

The answer to all these questions lies in preserving choice, which should be made as locally as possible. If people want to save a language, no other reason should be necessary. If they do not, no reason will be sufficient. The fundamental question is: "How can people exercise their language preferences and still participate fully in local, national, and international communities?" The only possibility is complementary bilingualism. Linguists who are documenting endangered languages should, of course, continue to do so. My point is that complementary bilingualism can help communities preserve their relatively small languages *in situ*, preserving not just the language but also its associated culture.

<u>Increasing Access to Diversity</u>. I know enough Spanish to read a newspaper (slowly) and it is interesting and enlightening to do so. Like most people, my curiosity exceeds my linguistic competence. One of the most appealing things to me about 2 MT Bilingualism, for me as an individual, is its promise of comprehensive access to information and viewpoints from cultures all across the globe.

In a 1964 essay, *The African Writer and the English Language*, Chinua Achebe explained his decision to write in English: it was flexible enough for him to use English to express his African experience and gave him a much larger audience than any African language. He recalled reading Jorge Amodo's *Gabriella* in an English translation. It gave him a glimpse "of the exciting Afro-Latin culture, which is the pride of Brazil and is quite unlike any other culture." He noted that there were hundreds of other Brazilian writers, but "the vast majority will be closed to the rest of the world forever, including no doubt the work of some excellent writers." He concluded, "There is certainly a great advantage to writing in a world language." Anyone who has read Mr. Achebe in English is grateful for his plurilingualism. With global 2 MT Bilingualism we would have access to thousands of comparably gifted writers and a correlative capacity to better understand their respective cultures.

The Anglophile position taken by Mr. Achebe has been criticized by some who wish to elevate the indigenous African languages and are concerned that elite bilingualism is detrimental to the prestige and development of indigenous languages. Neglect of indigenous languages can lead to diglossia and language shifts. Among these, the Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiongo is one of the most outspoken.

> "...the bullet was the means of physical subjugation. Language was the means of spiritual subjugation."
>
> Ngugi Wa Thiongo, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986)

Mr. Achebe's response to Mr. Thiongo was to point out that his native Igbo language has six major dialects and its unification was the product of missionary interest in translating The Bible. Missionaries created Union Igbo by assembling six Christian converts, one from each dialect community, and combining the dialects "in a strange hodge-podge with no linguistic elegance, natural rhythm or oral authenticity." 2 MT Bilingualism would help Igbo speakers preserve all six dialects, if they chose to do so.

Mr. Achebe's disdain for what he sees as an imposed (colonial) Union Igbo resonates with Mr. Thiongo's decolonizing position. Mr. Thiongo, writes in his native Gikuyu language but has been translated into English, in some cases by Mr. Thiongo himself. In service to his art, he is also practicing elite bilingualism. Complementary bilingualism with an easily learned and universally exogenous language would allow writers to avoid elite bilingualism.

Unquestionably, complementary bilingualism will increase the audience for writers from smaller language communities. This will benefit both the writers and their expanded audiences. In addition, all of the members of the small language communities will have access to global discourse, and other language communities will gain access to their ideas. At the same time, language shift and drift will be minimized.

> "… languages with more speakers tend to be more efficient from an information theoretical perspective…."
>
> T.M. Waring and Z.T. Woods, *Long-term gene culture co-evolution in the human evolutionary transition,* Proceedings of the Royal Society. Biological Sciences June 2, 2021

6.3.4 <u>Maximizing Human Potential</u>.[67] The 10 most common languages (Putonghua, English, Hindi-Urdu, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Bengali, Portuguese, Bahasa Indonesia, and French) are spoken by more than two and a half billion people. The top 25 languages account for more than half the world's population. The 500 "safe" languages are spoken by 90% of the world's population.

People who do not know one of the 500 safe languages are severely marginalized. These 800 million people are often isolated from other language communities. Their languages often lack a standard dialect or written form. Not speaking one of the top 25 languages, a circumstance affecting 4 billion people, also limits the ability to fully benefit from the global exchange of information and ideas.

Please pause and reflect on these staggering statistics. Half of the world's population needs complementary bilingualism to fully participate in the modern world while retaining their birth languages and associated cultures. This sad statistic reflects one of the largest human development

[67] This sub-part repeats language from the Introduction. The repetition reflects the author's belief in the moral necessity for global linguistic congruence as a matter of fundamental equity.

issues of the 21st century and it is being ignored. 2 MT Bilingualism is the corresponding opportunity to increase human development and reduce both inequality and isolation – as well as facilitating inclusive regional and global collective action.

6.3.5 The Cohesive Effect of a Common Goal. Linguistic congruence, comparable to the monolingual congruence of the nation-states and empire-states, is necessary in order for multilingual polities, such as the EU and the AU, to achieve comparable affective legitimacy (identity). Establishing 2 MT Bilingualism will be a superordinate goal that increases affective legitimacy *from the moment the policy is announced*. It is not necessary to fully achieve linguistic congruence for the positive effects to emerge. Working toward a common goal immediately strengthens a common identity, decreases suspicion and increases trust. An immediate effect is crucial because the region-states, India and the world need greater unity now, but 2 MT Bilingualism may take a generation to complete.[68]

The immediate effect of a superordinate (overriding) goal is best appreciated with an example of how working to achieve superordinate goals increases cohesion and cooperation. A University of Oklahoma study on group formation and intergroup dynamics recruited 22 boys to spend three weeks at a summer camp. Behind the facade of a summer's idyll, an experiment in socialization was conducted (Sherif, Muzafer, *Experiments in Group Conflict*. Scientific American vol. 195, 1956).

The boys were split into two groups and arrived at the camp separately. Initially, they were kept apart and were unaware of each other. During a six day group formation period, each group engaged in activities designed to foster a group identity and group cohesion. Each group lived in a single dormitory, chose a name (Eagles and Rattlers) and designed a shirt that displayed the group's name. Late in the first week, the groups

[68] The rapid adoption of Bahasa Indonesia, as noted by Jared Diamond in an earlier quote, strongly suggests that community acquisition can take less than a single generation.

were moved close enough to become aware of each other but not close enough to interact. Mere knowledge of another group's proximity created feelings of territoriality. Each group spontaneously expressed negative feelings about the unseen others.

Over the next five days, a conflict phase, the groups participated in intergroup, zero-sum competitions. As expected, competition increased each group's solidarity as well as antipathy toward the other group. By the end of the conflict phase the boys sometimes engaged in aggressive behaviors that required staff intervention. The Eagles burned a Rattlers flag. The Rattlers retaliated by trashing the Eagles' cabin. Hostility and conflict can easily be promoted with competition between groups that have distinct identities.

The next two days were a cooling off phase, during which the boys were asked (interviewed) by the camp staff (experiment monitors) about their impressions of each group. Unsurprisingly, the members of each group had a high opinion of their own group and a low opinion of the other group.

In the final week, the two groups were combined. Initially, the combinations engaged in neutral activities, like watching a movie together. There was no reduction in the polarization from participation in neutral shared activities. Subsequently, situations were contrived in which mutually desired results could only be achieved if the boys worked together or compromised. By the end of the final week, the original groups had lost most of their salience and a general camaraderie emerged. Working together to achieve superordinate goals replaced hostility with cooperation and solidarity.

Applying the lessons of the Robbers Cave Study to 2 MT Bilingualism is straight-forward. A superordinate goal of establishing direct communication with a common language is the easiest and perhaps the only way to initiate the creation of a global community. Linguistic congruence is the key to the creation of region-states that can aggregate nation-states and balance the disproportionate role and dysfunctional revisionism of the empire-states. It will have equivalent benefits in multilingual and multinational India and in nation-states with significant ethnolinguistic diversity. Globally, complementary bilingualism is necessary for the equitable and effective solution of global problems by our global community of common fate.

# Part II

## The Take Away

1) The European nation-state model relied on monolingualism for linguistic congruence. This model was exported by colonialism, but with incomplete linguistic congruence resulting in elite bilingualism and elite closure.

2) With colonialism's rapid contraction in the second half of the 20th Century, the former colonies needed to establish linguistic congruence, but also needed to avoid the coercion and violence that, over hundreds of years, created the European nation-states. The result was diverse language rationalization policies, in some cases using an indigenous trade language for broader communication and in other cases using an exogenous language. In the latter case they generally used the former language of colonial administration. This often led to elite bilingualism, rather than complementary bilingualism.

3) A language rationalization policy of complementary bilingualism with a universally exogenous common language is the only way to both achieve congruence and also preserve the maximum amount of linguistic diversity. The optimal form of complementary bilingualism is 2 MT Bilingualism with a universally exogenous common language

4) Multilingual nation-states, regional aggregations of nation-states and our global survival vehicle, the UN, can use linguistic congruence to increase both their legitimacy and capacity for collective action.

"Turning the clock back by several millennia, warfare was instrumental for the formation of larger human societies that in turn made larger civilizations possible."

B. Thayer, *Darwin and International Relations: On the Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict* (2004)

# Part III

# Linguistic Congruence Permits Larger Survival Vehicles

"The new world order is an order of empires – empires like China, like India, like Russia, like the United States of America... Only together in a real European union, can we succeed and survive."

Guy Verhofstadt, Candidate for EU Commission President and Former Prime Minister of Belgium (May 2, 2019)

# Chapter 7

# The 20th Century Rise of the Empire-States

World order in the 21st century is dominated by what Guy Verhofstadt (above) correctly classifies as empires. I differ from Mr. Verhofstadt only in recognizing India as distinct from the other three. The others have linguistic congruence, using a language rationalization policy of hegemonic monolingualism. They are empire-states. India's lack of linguistic congruence makes it the least cohesive of the four. India is an inchoate empire-state.

Understanding our prospects for successful global collective action begins with an understanding of the true nature of the current global order, which is almost universally represented as a system of nation-states. The failure to distinguish between nation-states and empire-states hampers an appreciation of both the present and the future.

The term "empire" needs to be parsed in order to understand the changes in the world order that occurred during the 20th Century. In the 19th century the empire model included both monolingual and multilingual empires. Some empires were contiguous, like the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, others were not, like the British and

French colonial empires. Only three empires were both contiguous and had linguistic congruence: USA, Russia and China.[69] The combination of linguistic congruence and contiguous size made them qualitatively different. They were empire-states.

Total warfare *among empires* in the first half of the 20th Century was transformed, in the second half, into limited conflict between two of the empire-states. (USA and Russia).[70] Due to the deterrence of nuclear weapons, situations that might have led to wars between empire-states resulted in proxy wars that directly involved, at most, one of the empire-states. This pattern of proxy warfare was clear in the Korean War,[71] and the Vietnam War. It was also the pattern in Africa and Latin America.

> "Twentieth-century violence is unintelligible if it is not seen in its imperial context. For it was in large measure a consequence of the decline and fall of the large multiethnic empires that had dominated the world in 1900. What nearly all the principal combatants in the world wars had in common was that they either were empires or sought to become empires."
>
> Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (2006)

The dominance of three empire-states was the primary effect of global conflict in the first half of the 20th Century. World Wars I and II are often seen as conflicts that overturned the empire model and universalized the nation-state model. In fact, the 20th Century only demonstrated the weakness of the multilingual and colonial (noncontiguous) empires and the greater fitness of the empire-state model. Nation-states were allies of the dominant empires. Implicitly, if not explicitly, degrees of suzerainty were central to these alliances. During the first half of the 20th Century, both the multilingual and colonial empires collapsed. Empires, though

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[69] Until recently, China's linguistic congruence was more aspirational than actual.

[70] The USSR was a coerced alliance, not an empire-state.

[71] In 1950, China was not yet an empire-state or, depending on subjective assessments, was an inwardly focused empire-state. Its first nuclear weapons test was in 1964.

fewer in number, remained dominant because the empire model was narrowed to the empire-state model.

## 7.1 World War I: *Multilingual* Empires Shattered

The weakness of the multilingual empires became evident in the second half of the 19th century. This was, not coincidentally, a golden age in the formation of monolingual European nation-states. The greater legitimacy of monolingual nationalism undermined the multilingual empires.

World War I resulted in the destruction of two multilingual empires (the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires) by the combined forces of two colonial empires (Great Britain and France), two empire-states (USA and Russia) and their allies.

Because Russia withdrew from the war after the overthrow of the Tzar, its territorial objectives at the start of the war are not well-remembered. If Russia had stayed the course, history would have been dramatically different. The Russian empire-state had three very ambitious goals: 1) destruction of Austria-Hungary, with the Carpathian Mountains as Russia's new southwest border; 2) destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the annexation of the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, Constantinople, and adjacent territory; and 3) the annexation of Armenia, Kurdistan, and Azerbaijan.

The Triple *Entente* (Great Britain, France, and Russia) opposed the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) and the Ottoman Empire, collectively called the Triple *Alliance*.[72] Russia withdrew after the communist revolution. This weakened the Triple Entente, but the USA provided a replacement empire-state. Troops from the USA tipped the balance on the Western Front and ended the stalemate. The Triple Alliance had achieved a temporary victory on the Eastern Front, leading to the Treaty

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[72] Prior to Italy's decision to switch sides, the Triple Alliance included Italy but not the Ottoman Empire. Italy's decision to switch changed the Triple Entente to the Quadruple Entente. Japan made it the Quintuple Entente, but the group became more commonly known simply as the Allies.

of Brest-Litovsk,[73] but the Triple Alliance collapsed when Germany lost on the Western Front. Victory on the Western Front and the withdrawal of Russia on the Eastern Front determined the post-war global order.

The war extinguished the multilingual Ottoman and Austro-Hungary empires. However, as a result of its withdrawal to consolidate its revolution, Russia did not achieve its territorial objectives. The victorious empires disassembled the Austro-Hungarian empire, ultimately resulting in modern Austria, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia. It also added territory to Poland, Romania, Serbia, Ukraine and other adjacent countries. The Ottoman Empire was divided into nation-states, with British and French zones of influence. Great Britain and France also divided the African colonial holdings of Germany. In World War I, empires defeated empires and the victorious empires reaped most of the spoils. Nation-states arose where and when it was convenient or necessary for a balance of power.

> "Only three countries aspired to territorial expansion and war as a means to achieve it. They were Italy, Germany and Japan."
>
> Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (2006)

## 7.2 World War II: Suppressing *Revisionist* Empires

Germany, Italy, and Japan, three Versailles Treaty revisionists, disrupted the *status quo* and precipitated World War II. They were aggressively expansionist, aspirational empires. Their violent bids for empire status and the implications for the balance of power, not their fascist ideology, created a security dilemma for the *status quo* empires. The security dilemma, not ideologic differences caused World War II.

All three revisionists lacked essential size and resources, within their

[73] This treaty, and the subsequent defeat of the Central Powers, was a major boon to the nation-state model. Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine gained independence.

borders, for successful competition with the world's *status quo* empires. This was particularly the case for oil. Most oil extraction occurred in the Western Hemisphere. The Middle East produced one-tenth as much. The British, French, and Dutch colonial empires—along with two empire-states, the USA and Russia—monopolized the world supply of many essential commodities.

To become competitive, Germany, Italy, and Japan were determined to acquire both space and essential natural resources. Free trade did not exist, so they saw not alternative. They knew the *status quo* empires would oppose their expansion. Mobilization sufficient to overcome this opposition required a fascist ideology. Fascism refers to the organization of a state on the principle of full mobilization of all resources, including human resources.

Fascism was deemed necessary for expansion because of the emergence of total warfare during World War I. Total mobilization in anticipation of total warfare was perceived as essential and could best be realized with fascism. It is often argued that fascism led to World War II. A more complete statement would be that a revisionist desire for empire caused both domestic fascism and World War II.[74]

A fascist state is autocratic and depersonalizing in exactly the same way as a military organization. All Germans, Italians, and Japanese were, at least metaphorically, conscripted for total warfare by the fascist ideology. Like all forms of authoritarianism it can be used by a charismatic leader for personal goals unrelated or even contrary to the logical and long term interests of the country. Nazism was fascism combined with Hitler's extreme anti-semitism.[75]

Fascism was no more antithetical to liberal democracy than was Russian communism. It was not fascism, *per se*, but revisionism that led to

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[74] I try to explain fascism for the same reason that Hannah Arendt tried to explain Nazi brutality in her book, *The Banality of Evil.* Explaining isn't justifying, it's understanding.

[75] Sadly, racism and xenophobia can coexist with almost any ideology or polity. Their waxing appeal in the USA in the second decade of the 21st Century is evidence of this capacity.

war. Fascist Spain and Portugal focused on consolidating domestic control (internal political coherence) and stayed out of the war, despite German support for Spain in its recent civil war. Spain and Portugal were not interested in challenging the *status quo* empires. After the war, Portugal was a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

> "Counterproductive aggressive policies are caused most directly by the idea that the state's security can be safeguarded only through expansion."
>
> J. Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (2013)

Germany. After being stripped of its overseas territory and naval strength by the Treaty of Versailles and suffering greatly during the interwar period's "beggar thy neighbor" protectionism, Germany perceive the *status quo* as oppressive and harmful to its interests. Surrounded by both empires and empire-states and lacking an opportunity to add overseas colonies, the only option appeared to be an expansion within Europe. Germany's ambition focused on the creation of a large, contiguous, and German-speaking empire-state at the center of Europe. Germany appreciated that an empire-state was stronger than a colonial empire.[76] Otto Von Bismarck's Prussian-dominated Kleindeutschland (Lesser Germany) was to be replaced by a Grossdeutschland (Greater Germany) that even incorporated large areas without a significant German population. Slavic populations were to be subjugated or displaced by Germans.

The German goal was to acquire *Lebensraum* (living space) through eastward expansion at the expense of Slavs. The *status quo* empires could not permit Hitler to succeed, at least not beyond the acquisition of the

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[76] Hitler repeated Napoleon's error of invading Russia, but with a very different intent. Napoleon wanted a secure Eastern border for a European empire. Hitler was influenced by Halford MacKinder's geopolitical argument, in *The Geographical Pivot of History* (1904), that control of Eastern Europe, called the Pivot Area or Heartland, was the key to control of all of Eurasia and thus of the world. Technological advances during the intervening 130 years made MacKinder's theory plausible to Hitler.

German-speaking Sudetenland and the Austrian Anschluss (joining). Invading Slavic Poland was unacceptably destabilizing to the European balance of power. The *status quo* powers needed to respond. Hitler allied himself with two other Versailles Treaty revisionists who also saw the necessity of a fascist ideology in order to mobilize for total war. Italy and Japan were building their own revisionist empires, respectively in the Mediterranean and Pacific.

Italy. Like Germany, Italy was a late arrival (1871) to European nation-state status and consequently was also disadvantaged in the acquisition of foreign colonies. It thought that it had resolved this problem in the 1915 Treaty of London. The treaty was a secret agreement with the UK, France and Russia, which would give Italy substantial Austro-Hungarian territory, including Trieste, South Tyrol and Northern Dalmatia. This transfer would give Italy a dominant position in the Adriatic. The potential spoils of war convinced Italy to leave the Triple Alliance and join the Triple Entente, even though Italians favored neutrality.

When the USA prevented some of the terms's of the secret Treaty of London from being included in the Versailles Treaty, Italy felt betrayed by France and Great Britain.[77] So, despite being on the winning side in World War I, post-war Italy was a Versailles Treaty revisionist.

When Mussolini came to power in 1922, he formalized Italian control of Libya and sought Italian hegemony in the Mediterranean. Mussolini saw Italy as imprisoned in the Eastern Mediterranean by France and Great Britain. His ambition was unfettered access to the Atlantic—controlled by Great Britain at Gibraltar—and to the Indian Ocean—controlled by France and Great Britain at the Suez Canal. In addition, Corsica, Tunisia, Malta, and Cyprus gave the French and British an unacceptable dominance in the Mediterranean basin. Mussolini also coveted the African coast of the Mediterranean, Ethiopia, the Horn of Africa, the Dalmatian

[77] France and Great Britain countered that Italy's delayed declaration of war against Germany was a violation that voided the agreement.

Coast, the Balkans, Greece, and Macedonia. His ambition can only be understood as a desire to establish a new Roman Empire.

> "Modernity and industrialization in an era without free trade demanded Japan become an empire."
>
> Peter Zeihan, *Disunited Nations: The Scramble for Power in an Ungoverned World* (2020)

Japan. By the end of the 19th century nearly half of the world's population and land area were under the control of European colonial empires—Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Adding the three empire-states, Russia, China and the USA, it was clear that empires were the basis of global order. Japan saw its future in stark terms—become an empire or become a *de facto* colony. Japan's empire-building began with four military victories: the First Sino–Japanese War, assistance in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion, the Russo–Japanese War, and World War I (like Italy as a member of the Triple Entente).

The First Sino–Japanese War (Qing–Japan War) in 1894–95 ended in a Japanese victory and the Treaty of Shimonoseki. It gave Japan control of Korea, Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, and the Liaodong Peninsula. The Liaodong Peninsula was ceded back, as a result of pressure from Russia, France, and Germany. Their interest in exploiting China caused them to oppose what they considered excessive Japanese influence. The forced relinquishment of the fruits of war convinced Japan that its perceived need for an Asian empire required a showdown with Europe's colonial empires.

Although it was allied with the Triple Entente and Italy in World War I, the Treaty of Versailles only gave Japan possession of the formerly German-controlled islands in the Western Pacific, north of the Equator, and Germany's Kiautschou Bay Leased Territory. Useful as these were for the Japanese Navy, they did not represent a significant territorial gain. Particularly upsetting for Japan was the rejection of its proposal that the Treaty of Versailles include a provision for racial equality for the alien nationals of all member states of the League of Nations (LON). The limitation to LON members avoided an objection by the colonial empires, as their colonies would not be members. However, the provision for racial equality was blocked by the USA and Australia. Like Italy, an insufficient return on its war effort made Japan a Versailles Treaty revisionist. The rejection of its call for racial equality language in the charter of the LON made it clear that Japan would not be treated as an equal in any future disputes or their resolution.[78]

In September 1931, after Japanese troops engineered the Mukden incident,[79] Japan invaded Manchuria and established a puppet state (Manchukuo) to permit Japanese occupation, resource exploitation and mass Japanese migration. The invasion created a problem for the LON, as Japan was a member of its governing Council. It took the LON a year to investigate and issue a report. In that year, Japan consolidated its position in Manchuria. The report found that the Mukden incident and the subsequent colonialism were Japanese aggressions and the LON Assembly demanded that Japan withdraw. Japan refused and left the LON. The LON had authority for three types of sanctions: verbal, economic and physical. It only used the verbal.

Japan wanted to fight against only China and Europe's Asian colonies. This seemed possible because the European powers were preoccupied by the war in Europe and the USA was preoccupied with recovery from the

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[78] At Versailles, Japan was interested in improving the status of its overseas nationals. The Naturalization Act of 1906 (USA) and the Gentlemen's Agreement (1908) sharply limited Japanese immigration to the USA and citizenship for Japanese nationals. (see *Ozawa vs USA*, 260 US 178 (1922). Japan was equally racist. This was made very clear in a report from the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Institute of Population Problems, titled *An Investigation of Global Policy With the Yamato Race as Nucleus* (July 1, 1943).

[79] On September 18, 1931, a small bomb destroyed a section of the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway. Although the explosion was the work of Japanese troops who were ostensibly guarding the railway, Japan claimed it was a Chinese attack and used it as a pretext for the invasion of Manchuria.

Great Depression. Japan knew that conflict with the USA, China, and the European colonial empires would be more than it could handle.

> "Japan's attacks on Russia in 1904 and the United States in 1941 were intimately related to Japanese fears of future access to the raw materials and trade of the East Asian theatre."
>
> D.C. Copeland. *Economic Interdependence and War* (2015)

On July 2, 1940, Congress authorized President Roosevelt to institute export restrictions on strategic goods and natural resources. It was a way to strengthen his negotiating position with Japan, but failed to curb Japan's ambitions. A year later, on July 26, 1941 Roosevelt froze Japan's assets in the USA. On August 1, 1941, Roosevelt embargoed the oil and gasoline shipments that Japan needed to sustain its expansion.[80] 80% of Japan's oil was imported from the USA. The British and Dutch governments, which controlled the oil fields in Asia, joined the oil and gas embargo in the hope that Japan would see the futility of continuing its quest for an Asian empire. Japan, however, saw no future without an empire.

Japan realized it could not establish an Asian empire if it limited its ambition to what was acceptable to the *status quo* empires. The only hope for success appeared to be a series of quick and decisive victories, achieving temporary naval dominance in the Pacific and securing the British and Dutch oil fields in Asia. This, it was hoped, would be enough for a negotiated peace which allowed Japan to retain Manchuria. Japan's desperate gambit was initiated at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The final alignment in World War II was three Versailles Treaty revisionists, who were aspirational empires, against all of the *status quo* empires and their colonies.

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[80] The timing of the embargo was crucial to preventing the Japanese from attacking Russia in Siberia. In the Fall of 1941, Operation Barbarossa was reaching its zenith on Russia's Western Front and a coordinated Japanese attack in Siberia could have driven Russia out of the war. By embargoing oil and gasoline, Roosevelt forced the Japanese to attack the oil producing regions in South East Asia rather than Russia.

## 7.3 The Cold War: *Colonial* Empires Collapse

After World War II, the colonial empire model was mortally wounded but still breathing. Even though it had recently been allied with Great Britain and France, the political and economic interests of the USA were better served by stripping the European powers of their colonies and reducing them to nation-state allies. Supporting colonialism became impossible when Europe's rebellious colonies became potential allies in the global contest with the USSR.

> "Moreover, American policy-makers, Roosevelt in particular, harbored a thinly veiled ambition to see the British Empire broken up."
>
> Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West* (2006)

Prior to Pearl Harbor, there was little reason for the USA to save either the European colonial empires or the equally closed USSR. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's opposition to Europe's colonial empires was clear. Four months before the Pearl Harbor attack, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill held their first wartime meeting on August 14, 1941. Afterward, they issued a "Joint Declaration" of eight principles for a post-war world order. It became known as The Atlantic Charter. At Roosevelt's insistence, the third principle of the charter was a declaration of opposition to colonialism:

> "Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

Despite the plain meaning of the word *all*, there was no meeting of the minds. Roosevelt did not want the USA to expend its citizens' lives and resources to make the world safe for either colonialism or communism. Churchill only agreed to the third principle under the pressure of Great Britain's reliance on the USA for war material and credit. An immediate domestic outcry forced Churchill to declare that it was his understanding that the right of self-determination should only apply in the territories of the fascist powers. It did not, he asserted, apply to the British Empire and, by logical extension, its European allies.

> "There never has been, there is not now, and there never will be any race on earth fit to serve as masters of their fellow man ... any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own neighborhood."
>
> President Franklin D. Roosevelt, White House Correspondents Dinner (March 15, 1941)

When Japan attacked the USA, differences over the right to self-determination were deferred. Even so, the USA did not declare war on Germany and Italy—only on Japan. The interests of the USA were still not sufficiently aligned with those of the European colonial empires or the USSR so as to justify the direct involvement of the USA in the European war. Only when Germany and Italy declared war on the USA did the interests align—but only for the duration of the war.

After the war, the interests of Europe's colonial empires and the expansionist USSR aligned in opposition to self-determination. The Paris Peace Treaties of 1947 took a realistic and pragmatically *ad hoc* approach to establishing boundaries and spheres of influence.[81]

The Suez Crisis. After supporting the European colonial powers in two global wars, colonial subjects were more aware of the limits of Europe's power. The two world wars also increased the colonial subjects' solidarity, self-confidence, and desire for independence.

The weakness of Europe's colonial empires and the continued antipathy toward them by the USA were starkly revealed in the 1956 Suez Crisis. In

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[81] The USA also had colonies. However, the Philippine Independence Act of 1934 already provided for its sovereignty after a ten year transition period. Guam, American Samoa, and Puerto Rico were still useful to the military and incapable of revolution. They were small and economically dependent, so their status remained unchanged. In 1959, Hawai'i became the 50th state of the USA.

response to Egypt's acquisition of the stock of the privately owned Suez Canal in a forced sale and the subsequent exclusion of Israeli shipping, Great Britain and France conspired with Israel to recover the canal. The plan involved Israel securing the canal in a military action against Egypt, after which Great Britain and France would use the ruse of separating the combatants as a pretext to recover the canal. Great Britain was concerned that a successful Egyptian takeover of the canal would promote the nationalization of its assets in its former colonies and would accelerate the independence of the remnants of its colonial empire. France had similar concerns and, in particular, was angry that Egypt was supporting Algeria's independence struggle.

President Eisenhower learned of the plan and warned Great Britain's Prime Minister Eden that proceeding would "very seriously affect our people's feelings" and have "the most far reaching consequences."[82] His warning was ignored. The French, British and Israeli governments timed the Israeli attack and British and French response to occur during the final days of the 1956 Presidential election.[83] They assumed Eisenhower would be unable to respond.

To the surprise of the British, Eisenhower threatened to sell a substantial amount of the USA's holdings of British bonds and to deny the British the option of purchasing oil from the USA with British pounds. The Treasury Department arranged with the IMF to cut-off the British drawing rights. This trifecta would raise the borrowing cost for Great Britain to an unsustainable level. Considering the potential impact on its weak economy, Great Britain was forced into an immediate and humiliating withdrawal. It did not

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[82] The Soviet Union invaded Hungary in October of 1956. The Suez crises provided a useful distraction. Countenancing a nearly simultaneous invasion of Egypt by its allies would make it impossible for the USA to criticize the aggression in Hungary. Khrushchev was also threatening to send Soviet troops to defend its Egyptian allies. The prospect of a defense of colonialism triggering World War III was entirely plausible.

[83] This delay of several months undermined the purported justification for a joint English and French involvement and subsequent operation of the Suez Canal, which was an assertion that Egypt was unable to operate the canal.

even consult with France and Israel. France could not execute its role in the plan without Great Britain and also stood down. Israel, after negotiating access rights to the canal and the Straits of Tiran, withdrew in March 1957.[84]

After the Suez Crisis, except for delusional elements in colonial offices and the military, the world knew that Europe's colonial empires were unsustainable. The Cold War competition for global influence and allies made both the USA and USSR hostile to European colonialism. After the Suez crisis, the British were the most realistic and attempted to negotiate extended colonial withdrawals. However, when rebuffed by successful independence movements, they left. The Portuguese, having avoided the weakening effects of World War II by abstaining, were the most recalcitrant colonialists and were not ejected from Africa until 1975. South Africa, with domestic colonialism, held out even longer. Apartheid only ended in the 1990's.

In summary, 20th Century military conflicts and competition resulted in a splintering of the contiguous but multilingual Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires, after World War I, the defeat of the Versailles Treaty revisionists, in World War II, and the collapse of Europe's colonial empires during the Cold War. The final piece of a global order at the end of the 20th Century occurred in 1991 with the collapse of the multilingual and multinational USSR. Fourteen Soviet states left the USSR, which survived as a Russian empire-state. Russia's diminished capacity for coercion permitted its former Eastern European vassal states to defect to NATO and the EU.[85]

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84 For the British, the lesson learned was that it should stay close to the USA. The *special relationship* was and remains a code phrase for acknowledging suzerainty. For the French, the lesson was that you could not trust the British or the USA. The consequent British-French split ended the effort to establish an exclusively European defense community of any consequence and assured the primacy of NATO.

85 Russian was the *lingua franca* of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states. But, without linguistic congruence, it was a multilingual empire with a coerced alliance. As a result, Russia's 20th Century empire was no more successful in Central and Eastern Europe than the multilingual Austro-Hungarian empire in the previous century.

> "The globalized world economy is fragmenting into regional trading blocs, with partial decoupling attempted in the areas of high technology and finance, and ever fiercer contention between the powers for economic and political primacy. In the process, a much more dangerous world is emerging."
>
> Shivshankar Menon, *Nobody Wants the Current World Order*, Foreign Affairs (Aug. 3, 2022)

# Chapter 8

# Empire-State Revisionism in the 21st Century

When Donald Trump chose the phrase "Make America Great Again" as the theme for his successful 2016 campaign for President, he was following in the footsteps of the leaders of the other two empire-states. Long before there was a President Trump, President Vladimir Putin sought to Make Russia Great Again and Secretary General Xi Jinping sought to Make China Great Again. The competition among the empire-states for a return to their former greatness has resulted in revisionist policies by all of the empire-states. Global order can only be established if and when the empire-states are effectively balanced by successful nation-state aggregations (EU, AU) and by the establishment of a fourth empire-state, India.

> "The only means I have to protect my borders is to extend them."
>
> Katherine II, Empress of Imperial Russia (1762 – 1796)

## 8.1 Make Russia Great Again: Irredentist[86] Revisionism

In 2005, over a decade before President Trump was elected on his promise to "Make America Great Again," President Vladimir Putin called the collapse of the USSR "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th Century." Putin is committed to the restoration of Russia's 20th Century status as a Great Power.

Even before the prospect of EU and NATO membership for Ukraine, the granting of EU and NATO membership to Russia's former Warsaw Pact allies made European liberal democracy increasingly threatening for autocratic Russia. The Ukraine invasions in 2014 and 2022 were a gamble by an empire-state in relative decline. The successful annexation of Crimea in 2014 led to hubristic overreaching in 2022. The ultimate outcome of the war in Ukraine is uncertain, but even a Russian success will be a pyrrhic victory. Russia's revisionism will ultimately fail for three reasons: demographic weakness, economic weakness, and the insincerity of its allies.

8.1.1 Russia's Demographic Problem. Russia suffered 3 million excess deaths (military and civilian) in World War I, as many as 7 million excess deaths in the Russian Civil War (1917–1923), and between 25 and 27 million excess deaths in World War II. Stalin's forced industrialization and enforcement of communist orthodoxy killed another 9 million.[87] Cumulative excess deaths approaching 50 million Russians in the first half of the 20th Century wiped out the gains from Russia's final decades of relatively high fertility.

Post-Soviet Population Loss. When the USSR collapsed in 1991,

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[86] Russia's revisionism is both irredentist and revanchist and Putin's arguments encompass both aspect, but the irredentist aspect is dominant.

[87] This includes about 1.7 million deaths in the Gulag system (1931-1953) 400,000 deaths from the destruction of the Kulaks (1929-1934), and up to 400,000 deaths during Stalin's Great Purge. These 2.5+ million victims combined with about 6 million excess Russian deaths during the 1932–1933 famine may exceed 9 million excess deaths.

Russia had a population of 148,394,000. Thirty year later, in 2021, the population was 145,864,296 – a 2% decline. In comparison, over the same thirty year period, the population of the USA increased 30% from 253,500,000 to 331,900,000.

In 1987, Russians had 2.5 million babies. After the 1991 collapse of the USSR, as a result of the economic turmoil created by the "shock therapy" transition from a planned economy to a market economy, unemployment and inflation impoverished a large part of the population and Russia's birthrate collapsed. By 2022, the number of Russian babies born had fallen from 2.5 million to 1.3 million – a drop of 48%.

Immigration. Russia's decline in births has been offset by the annual arrival of around 4.5 million immigrants. Immigration is overwhelmingly coming from non-Slavic countries which were formerly part of the USSR (Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan). Immigration from the former Soviet Central Asian Republics is coupled with an emigration of ethnic Russians. So, in addition to loosing population, Russia is becoming less Slavic.

> "Already there is a strong ethnonationalist current in Russian politics. Blaming Russia's problems on Muslims, Central Asian migrants, and corrupt elites, Russian ethnonationalists promise to Make Russia Great Again.
>
> J. McGlynn and K. Shamier, *The Return of Ethnonationalism*, Foreign Affairs August 17, 2024

An Irredentist War to Gain Slavic Population. Given Russia's demographic decline, it is easier to understand Putin's 2022 invasions of Ukraine. Putin has acknowledged that Russia's demographic decline haunts him. Thus, anticipating only a one or two week military jaunt to Kiev, Putin believed that Russia would add 41 million new Slavic citizens: a 28% increase in Russia's population and a larger percentage increase in its Slavic population. But, instead of a demographic windfall, by March 2024, according to France's Foreign Minister, Russia had suffered 500,000 military casualties of which 150,000 were deaths. (3/3/2024).

To avoid the draft, hundreds of thousands of Russians left the country. Many of these expatriates are highly skilled. It is often their skills that make relocation feasible. As both its military casualties and draft evaders are generally from an already small child bearing cohort, the knock-on effect will be more significant than the raw numbers suggest. As of this writing, there is no end in sight to the war in Ukraine.

Even winning the war in Ukraine would create problems for Russia. According to a poll by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology in July of 2023, 96% of Ukrainians support joining the European Union. 91% favor joining NATO. 92% have an unfavorable opinion of Russia and only 2.2% have a favorable opinion. Trying to incorporate 41 million angry and resentful Ukrainians into an empire-state in relative decline will stress, not strengthen, Russia.

> "The illegitimate restrictions imposed on the Russian economy may indeed have a negative impact on it in the medium term."
>
> Russian President Vladimir Putin, TASS March 29, 2023

8.1.2 Russia's Economic Problems. Since its days as a fur trader, Russian trade has been based on natural resource exploitation, with only a small industrial base. The exception was Stalin's industrialization between 1929 and 1941. It was a temporary success that provided Russia with the industrial capacity needed for World War II, but at great human cost. Five decades later, in 1991, Russia's industrial infrastructure had become so out dated that much of it was simply abandoned during the shock therapy of Russia's shift from communism to market capitalism.

Russia's economy is not comparable in size to either of the other empire-states' economies. Even using PPP, Russia provides only 3.1% of global GDP. This is little more than Germany's 2.9%. China is first at 17.3 % and is followed by the USA at 15.6%. Russia's GDP is lower in 2023 (1.86 trillion USD) than it was in 2013 (2.29 trillion USD). Sanctions in response to Russia's 2014 Crimean occupation and lower oil prices reduced its GDP by about a third.

Positioned between the 450 million citizens of the EU and 1.4 billion Chinese, with Japan and South Korea on its Eastern border, Russia is surrounded by more advanced industrial economies. Under these circumstances, it has little opportunity to become a competitive manufacturing center.

As global warming forces a shift to alternative energy sources or, in the absence of a robust response to global warming, leads to the collapse of governments and economies across the globe, the oil and gas wells in Russia must eventually go the way of whale oil and beaver pelts.[88] Russia's economy will contract proportionately. As, even before the 2022 invasion of Ukraine, fossil fuel revenues fund over one-third of Russia's national budget, the future loss of tax revenue from oil and gas exports will require Russia to substantially increase taxes on other businesses and on its citizens. This will reduce consumer spending, private capital formation, and investment, thereby reducing Russia's economic vitality and future GDP growth.

8.1.3 A Fragile Alliance of Eurasia's Autocratic States. A further limit on Russian revisionism is that nobody actually wants to help it. China finds Russia's revisionism useful, as it pits the other two empire-states against each other and makes Russia increasingly reliant of China. The current Sino-Russian "friendship without limit" is hyperbolic. China does not want a strong Russian neighbor.

Global warming will reduce China's capacity to feed its population. As this will also be true for much of the rest of the world, importing food in the quantities required will become difficult and expensive. China will want, perhaps need, to acquire additional farmland.[89] To do so, it may seek to reverse the mid-19th Century "unequal treaty" with Russia

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88 The International Energy Agency (IEA) estimates that the global demand for fossil fuels will peak by 2030.

89 China is purchasing or leasing farmland globally, especially in Africa. It controls 186,000 square miles or 7% of the African continent. However, in the event of global warming induced food shortages, China could lose effective control of crop selection, production, and export.

that transferred the 600,000 square kilometers of Northern Manchuria to Russia (the Treaty of Aigun and the Convention of Peking).

Russia took advantage of China's weakness during the Second Opium War to occupy Northern Manchuria. In 1991, as the USSR collapsed, Russia warned China that an attempt to recover Northern Manchuria would be met with a nuclear response. At the time, the USSR controlled 45,000 nuclear weapons. Today, Russia has fewer than 6,000 of which 1,674 are deployed. In 1991, China had 232 nuclear weapons. It now has over 500 and is expected, by 2030, to have deployed more than 1,000. Will recovering 600,000 square miles of territory become, like Taiwan, a *cause célèbre* at mid-century?

> "The invasion of Ukraine was an epic blunder. Before it, Putin had options. He had a hedging position with the West; influence bought with gas. Now he is an indicted war criminal running a glorified petrol station … with a side hustle in leasing mercenaries to warlords."
>
> Rafael Behr, *Western Democracy is Weaker in this New Cold War Than it was in the First One*, The Guardian, March 22, 2023

8.1.4 <u>A Resilient Hedgehog</u>. The ancient Greek poet Archilochus noted: "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing." Russia is a hedgehog. From painful experience, it knows that it has the capacity to endure and persevere. Russia's patriotic and stoic population absorbed an invasion by Napoleon's troops in 1812 and endured the Siege of Leningrad, from September of 1941 to January of 1943. Russia's ability to withstand a conventional invasion, combined with its formidable nuclear arsenal, gives it the freedom to challenge the *status quo* without running an existential risk.

Russia can and probably will survive its current and foreseeable problems. But Russia is unlikely to prosper and, in the coming decades, is likely to become increasingly dependent on China. China, however, has far more to gain from a weak Russian client state than from a strong Russian neighbor.

> "What does China's President Xi Jinping want? Four years before Donald Trump became president, Xi became the leader of China and announced an epic vision to, in effect, 'make China great again'—calling for 'the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."
>
> Graham Allison, author of *Destined for War*,
> in The Atlantic (May 31, 2017)

## 8.2 Make China Great Again: Global Revisionism

The transition from Mao's inwardly focused and perpetually revolutionary China to a globally oriented and competitive market economy began with Paramount Leader[90] Deng Xiaoping. Deng (1978-1989) and his designated successor, Jiang Zemin (1989-2002) were domestic revisionist and not global revisionists – except to the extent that China's relative rise was inherently destabilizing. Deng and Jiang established a symbiotic relationship with the USA that became know as Chimerica.

> "Observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership."
>
> Deng Xiaoping

8.2.1 <u>Building Chimerica (1978-2008)</u>. The list of Chairman Deng's internal reforms would be both long and comprehensive. Perhaps the most crucial moment for Deng's reforms occurred *after* his official retirement

[90] The unofficial title of Paramount Leader is reflected in the order of precedence on ceremonial and official occasions. The top three official leadership positions in China are the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chair of the Central Military Commission, and the President of the Peoples Republic of China. Deng Xiaoping held only the Chair of the Central Military Commission, but he was nonetheless China's paramount leader from December 1978 until November 1989. His successors as paramount leader have held all three of the key positions.

in November 1989.[91] When a conservative backlash to the Tiananmen Square demonstrations risked a reversal of his economic reforms, in 1992 Deng undertook a Southern Tour to the Special Economic Zones, accompanied by his successor Jiang Zemin. The Southern Tour allowed Deng and Jiang to dramatically and publicly assert the continuing need for economic growth and market reforms.

After succeeding Deng, Jiang Zemin presided over the return of Hong Kong (1997) and Macau (1999), both of which were negotiated under Deng, respectively in 1984 and 1987. On July 13, 2001, China secured the 2008 Summer Olympics for Beijing. But, these historic events were eclipsed in significance by the establishment of Most Favored Nation status for China (1994) and China's 2001 membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO). After joining the WTO, China's economy grew by 1,100% in just over two decades.

> "For corporations with little direct stake in US-China trade but with much influence in Washington, the Chinese government offered generous deals and Chinese officials were outspoken about these deals as rewards for the corporations' lobbying efforts."
>
> Ho-fung Hung. *Clash of Empires: From Chimerica to the New Cold War*." (2022)

<u>Step 1: Most Favored Nation Status</u>. After defeating President George H.W. Bush, President William J. "Bill" Clinton initially favored conditioning MFN status for China on improvements to its domestic human rights record. In response, China enlisted the help of some of the largest and most influential USA corporations, including Boeing, AT&T, GM, McDonald Douglas and IBM, in a successful effort to change President Clinton's position on MFN status. Unconditional MFN status was granted in 1994.

[91] Deng remained influential until his death, in 1997, despite the lack of a formal role. Similarly, Jiang Zemin had significant influence during the first five year term of his successor.

> "It seems clear that the United States erred in supporting China's entry into the WTO on terms that have proven to be ineffective in securing China's embrace of an open, market-oriented trade regime."
>
> US Trade Representative 2017 Report to Congress on China's WTO Compliance (January 2018)

Step 2. WTO Membership. President Clinton also supported China's application for WTO membership. It became effective in 2001, in his successor's first year in office.

> "Apple, in other words, set in motion a series of events that help Chinese suppliers win more orders and advance their understanding of cutting edge manufacturing. At the same time, Western manufacturing of electronics atrophied."
>
> Patrick McGee. How *Apple tied its future to China* Financial Times, January 16, 2023

Step 3. Chimerica.[92] Jiang Zemin was succeeded by Hu Jintao (2002-2012). By the end of Hu's first five year term, in 2007, the Chimerica supply chain was being perfected by Apple. Tim Cook continued the initiative of Steve Jobs by shifting much of Apple's production to China and implemented cutting-edge supply chain innovations. With the benefit of hindsight, 2007 was both the culmination of Deng's vision and an inflection point. Chimerica began to unravel during Hu Jintao's second 5 year term (2008-2012).

8.2.2 Deconstructing Chimerica (2008-present). At the juncture of Hu Jintao's two five year terms, a series of global events and changes to its governance model caused China to adopt a more self-assured and assertive approach to high politics. The shift was largely triggered by four factors: 1) the breakdown of the collective leadership model, 2) the return of the SOE, 3) the global financial crisis, and 4) demonstrations that occurred before, during and after the 2008 Summer Olympic Games.

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92 Niall Ferguson and Moritz Schularick coined the term Chimerica in 2006.

> "During his second term, Hu appeared to lose his grip over China's foreign policy."
>
> S.L. Shirk. *Overreach: How China Derailed Its Peaceful Rise* (2023)

1) The Breakdown of Collective Leadership. Deng's collective leadership model empowered the Standing Committee of the Politburo (Standing Committee).[93] The Standing Committee is the supreme council of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) and the interface between the paramount leader and both the CPC and the government bureaucracy. Deng's expectation was that the Standing Committee's collective decisions would reflect a consensus that maintained his *status quo.* If the standing committee was unable to reach a consensus decision, the paramount leader would orchestrate a compromise to preserve unity.

In the 2002 transition from Jiang to Hu, except for Hu the other members of the Standing Committee were replaced and two new positions were added, increasing the Standing Committee's membership from seven to nine. The two added members reflected a growing concern for internal and external security. Standing Committee members Li Changchu (ideology and propaganda) and Zhou Yongkang (domestic security)[94] would be key actors in the 2008 pivot to a more confrontational geopolitical and economic relationship between China and the USA.

Instead of a *status quo* supporting consensus, during Hu's tenure the Standing Committee informally divided its authority and responsibilities into a system of discrete fiefdoms. Each of the members was given tremendous deference in their own area of interest and expertise and generally allowed to make largely unilateral decisions. The end of consensus decision making reduced Hu's role, as he was no longer called upon to resolve disagreements. In addition Hu failed to effectively control a Standing Committee which had been selected by his predecessor.

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[93] Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

[94] After Hu's first five year term, Zhou Yongkang replaced Luo Gan. Luo retired in October of 2007, after reaching mandatory retirement age.

2) The Return of the SOE. As soon as China was admitted to WTO membership, it began shifting from a market driven economy to an economy in which the state controlled access to capital and managed critical elements of the economy. The motivation was both to protect the state owned enterprises (SOE) from foreign competition and to follow the Nichibei (Japan-America) planning model used by Japan (Kieretsu and Zaibatsu), Taiwan (Guanxi Qiye), Hong Kong (Hongs) and Korea (Chaebol).[95] The critical difference was that these smaller Asian Tigers were aided in their economic rise by the USA, because it needed them as part of its policy of containment during the Cold War. They were allies, not revisionist.

> "… a simplistic faith in the magic of markets had hollowed out U.S. industry, welcomed a rising adversary (China) into free-trade agreements, and riddled global supply chains with critical security vulnerabilities."
>
> H. Farrell and A. Newman. *The New Economic Security State*. Foreign Affairs October 19, 2023.

As early as 2004, USA based corporations were asking Congress for help in market access and in the protection of intellectual property rights. China, they argued, was not living up to the promises that it had made while seeking MFN status and membership in the WTO. Extending the Nichibei model to China, with the creation of Chimerica, had not result in either democracy or a fully market economy.

Chimerica was a transactional relationship that, after 2008, was no longer symbiotic. Chimerica is being replaced with selective de-globalization, especially in technology and finance, and increased regionalism. This is forcing China to assume a global leadership role for which it may not yet be ready. While China seeks the authority of global leadership, due to its domestic needs and priorities, it generally avoids providing global

[95] Although these conglomerates were not state owned, the symbiotic relationship between them and the government produce effects which are similar to those between China and its SOE.

common goods. For example, China's claims to sovereign jurisdiction inside of the nine-dash line is seen by the adjoining countries as antithetical to the international law's concept of the freedom of the seas as established by Great Britain and continued by the USA.

3) The Global Financial Crisis. In 2008, China was still not well integrated into the global financial system that was established by the Bretton Woods Conference[96] at the end of the Second World War. This limited the damage from financial contagion during the 2008 financial crisis. However, as an export driven economy, China suffered a sharp drop in exports which caused a loss of 20 million jobs. China responded with a $586 billion stimulus package that focused on infrastructure.

The 2008 global financial crisis shocked Chinese supporters of market capitalism and reminded its communists of Marx's prediction that capitalism would self-destruct because of fundamental internal contradictions. It seemed to many as if Marx's prediction was coming true and, therefore, that it was time for China to provide a new economic model and the international leadership to replace Bretton Woods.

4) The 2008-2009 Demonstrations. In the Summer of 2001, China was awarded the right to host the 2008 Summer Olympics. It was an acknowledgement of China's economic success and increased international agency. For China, it was to be a coming out party. The heightened interest, however, came with increased scrutiny by global media and created opportunities for oppositional demonstrations.

Tibet: 2008. The 49th anniversary of Tibet's unsuccessful March 10, 1959 uprising, saw demonstrations against Chinese rule in Tibet.

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[96] Formally titled the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference. Delegates from the war's victorious alliance met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to establish the post war financial and monetary system. This included the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), now part of the World Bank group, and also of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The demonstrations drew a harsh response from Chinese authorities.[97] Between 200 and 400 Tibetans were killed. This was followed by international protests in support of Tibetan independence. Many of the international demonstrations called for a boycott of the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing.

The 2008 Olympics. In preparing for the August 2008 Summer Olympics and mindful of both the public relations value of the Olympics and the potential for civil disruption, China's internal security budget was increased by 36% and the government increased its control over the media and the internet. This effort was led by Xi Jinping, already the favorite to replace Hu in 2012, and Zhou Yongkang, a member of the Standing Committee. Xi's future rise could have been derailed by any substantial embarrassment during the Olympic games. Public order was prioritized.

Xinjiang 2009. On July 5, 2009 demonstrations in Xinjiang turned into riots that killed 200 and injured 1700. Zhou Yongkang spent 5 days on site. These demonstrations increased the security concerns of the Standing Committee and the public security measures, such as censorship and mass surveillance, that were used in Beijing during the Olympics were made permanent and extended across China.

> "Clearly, China is continuing a mission to establish its dominance in east Asia and its influence globally. The Chinese system is fundamentally different from ours, and we are aware of the nature of the rivalry."
>
> EU Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, EU Summit, October 21, 2022

By 2010, USA corporations' hopes for Chimerica were dashed and their exposure to the Chinese economy began to decline. This correlated with President Obama's "pivot to Asia," which China saw as evidence of

[97] Hu Jintao was the CCP leader in Tibet during the 1989 demonstrations and successfully suppressed them. Hu's strong response was one of the reasons Deng supported Hu's future rise to become China's paramount leader after Jiang Zemin.

a desire to thwart its rise. These changes set the stage for Trump's contentious relationship with Hu's successor – Xi Jinping.

Xi: Restoring Strong Leadership. When Xi became China's paramount leader in 2012, he replaced the Standing Committee's failed collective leadership with a level of personal authority that was reminiscent of Chairman Mao. Any comparison to Mao, however, ignores profound differences. Mao's autocratic regime was internally focused and its goal was perpetual revolution to maintain the purity of its communist ideology. Mao did not want his revolution to be polluted by contact with Western liberalism or market capitalism. Xi's goal is far more ambitious and necessarily contentious. He seeks a global revisionism that replaces the Bretton Woods order (1944) with a system that reflects China's 21st Century rise, potential and ambition.

Xi's policy initiatives, such as One Belt, One Road (2013), the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (2013), and the ongoing expansion of the BRICS+ membership are all focused on creating a coalition comprised of the countries which are less successful under neoliberal capitalism and, therefore, are more open to a revisionist alternative. The Chimerica model could not survive the increased geopolitical and economic competition that followed China's dramatic rise to become the largest economy in the world (PPP) and an unavoidable threat to USA led Western dominance.

> "As China's star rose, Beijing determined that it faced a short window of strategic opportunity to pull ahead of a distracted West – putting it on a collision course with a dysfunctional but belligerent United States and showing the world definitively, the kind of superpower China was set to become."
>
> Bethany Allen, *Beijing Rules: How China Weaponized Its Economy to Confront the World* (2023)

8.2.3 Too Big to Fail. China's economy is large enough that it "creates its own weather," so the middle income trap will not constrain its growth, as it has in the case of many smaller developing economies. China's long-term trajectory remains positive, but it faces three significant challenges: 1) a declining and rapidly aging population, 2) the impact of global warming, and 3) the partial de-globalization of the world's economy.

1) An Aging Population. China has a demographic problem in the entwined effects of a shrinking workforce and an increasing elderly population. The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences projects that China's *working age* population may be reduced to 210 million by 2100. It peaked at 1 billion in 2014. China's *total* populating shrank by 850,000 in 2022 and by over 2 million in 2023.

By 2079, China may have more dependents than workers and by 2100, China's total population could drop from 1.4 billion to as little as just 525 million.[98] In 1950, China's total fertility rate was 6.1 children per woman. From 1991 to 2007, China's total *fertility rate* was below the replacement level of (2.1) but stable at 1.66. It then began declining. By 2023 it was 1.16 children per woman. India's was 2.03. The USA was 1.66 and Russia was 1.53.

China's births per 1000 inhabitants dropped by half in the seven years between 2016 (13.57) and 2023 (6.29). China's National Bureau of Statistics reported only 9.02 million **births** in 2023 – a staggering 50% reduction since 2017. As life expectancy has risen from 44.6 years to 77.4 years, the baby bust is mirrored by an elderly boom. By 2050, 30% of China's population will be 65 or older.

2) Global Warming. Everyone will be impacted by global warming, but China will be more severely impacted than either Russia or the USA. Where water is already more than sufficient, China will have serious flooding problems. Where water is scarce, China will have more serious droughts and excessive heating. On the East Coast, which is both heavily industrialized and densely populated, the current problems with typhoons will increase in severity and sea level rise will heavily impact coastal cities.

3) Partial De-globalization. In 2015, globalization decreased for the first time in four decades. However, de-globalization is much more popular in the affluent global North. It is particularly popular among conservative

[98] This is the low estimate of the UN forecast. The "medium variant" is 767 million.

politicians. In the underdeveloped, global South there is far less support for de-globalization. China, through organizations such as the G 77 (135) and BRICS+ is supporting globalization that challenges the dominance of the Western democracies. It remains to be seen if the outcomes for under developed countries will improve.

> "From this day forward, it's going to be only America first. America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families .... Protection will lead to greater prosperity and strength."
>
> Donald Trump, First Inaugural Address (January 20, 2017)

## 8.3 Make America Great Again: Will Atlas Shrug?

The revisionism of China and Russia, and the consequent increase in geopolitical entropy, has led both politicians and administrative officials in the USA to recalculate the cost-benefit ratio of global leadership. It is harder to argue for global USA leadership in an increasingly chaotic and dangerous world. North Korean Hwasong-18 missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads as far as the mainland USA, Taiwan's contested future, South China Sea confrontations, the two invasions of Ukraine, and the 2023 Hamas attack on Israeli (as well as the Israeli response) are examples of costly regional problems being borne, in substantial part, by USA taxpayers whose interests and concerns are overwhelmingly domestic. For example, Houthi attacks on Red Sea shipping drew a military response primarily from the USA, despite the fact that, as a result of its domestic energy supplies, the disruption to shipping had less impact on the USA than on China, Japan or Europe.

> "Neither the United States nor its allies are eager to concede the obvious – that Washington is unlikely to use nuclear weapons first or even at all, save as a response to an attack on the American homeland."
>
> F. J. Garner, Dir. of H.A. Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at Johns Hopkins University in Foreign Affairs magazine (August 5, 2022)

The only existential threat to the USA is a nuclear war and that risk is largely a function of the USA remaining "chain ganged" to allies who are current economic competitors but heritage free-riders in terms of the benefits of global leadership by the USA, especially in terms of their their own security.[99] These heritage alliances are self-imposed obligations which can (and may soon) change in light of any further deterioration of global order in the second quarter of the 21st Century.

8.3.1 Republican Revisionism: From Hubristic Overreaching to MAGA Autarky. The Republican Party under George W. Bush (2000-2008) actively proselytized to extend the neoliberal international order in an attempt to prolong and consolidate the USA's post-Soviet unipolar moment. Bush achieved peak hubris in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. The global reaction to Bush's failed military aggression and proselytizing accelerated the decline of the hegemony he sought to extend.

When Donald Trump became President Trump in 2016, after the eight years of the Obama interregnum, his core supporters were the canaries in the coal mine of globalization. The slogan "Make America Great Again (MAGA)" resonated with people whose focus was domestic and whose economic interests were poorly served, at least in relative terms, by neoliberal globalization. MAGA was also a call for reducing the expense of maintaining a global order that Trump characterized as subsidizing economic competitors and free-riding allies. It got him elected in 2016 and may do so again in 2024.

Economic competition with both China and the EU, along with the contentious military postures with respect to Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea, have amplified Trump's message that the USA needs individual greatness, based entirely on self-interest and unburdened by

[99] The same complaint was made by several of Trump's predecessors, including President Obama who, in 2016, said: "But what has been a habit over the last several decades in these circumstances is … [that European leaders are] pushing us to act but then showing an unwillingness to put any skin in the game."

global responsibility. In effect, President Trump recast the USA from an overly optimistic and hubristic proselytizer, under George W. Bush, to a revisionist empire-state that is increasingly reluctant to sustain its own Bretton Woods global order.

Though often expressed illogically and sounding petulant, Trump was repeating the consensus of his immediate predecessors when he lambasted NATO's free riders. Being chain ganged to allies who could involve the USA in nuclear war over Eurasian problems is unappealing in a multipolar world. Under Trump's leadership, the USA became a reactively revisionist empire-state seeking overweening greatness.

In an increasingly fractured and disputative world, geopolitical disengagement and economic autarky, to whatever extent possible, provides valuable flexibility and security. The USA has the wide Atlantic and Pacific Oceans as borders. In conjunction with a stable North American regional economy and continued access to both Latin American and African resources, this makes it possible for the USA to ignore 21st Century Eurasian chaos.

In the first half of the 20th Century, the USA twice restored order to Eurasian following two *world* wars that were actually Eurasian conflicts. Maintaining Eurasian stability has become far more difficult and costly in the 21st Century. There is little chance that the USA will be willing or able to restore Eurasian order a third time. As a result, the isolationism that was overcome twice in the first half of the 20th Century will be far more robust in the 21st Century.

> "Trump's non-interventionist 'America First' message may resonate with voters fearful of further U.S. involvement in Ukraine or Israel while Biden retains a more traditional, internationalist American foreign policy."
>
> James Oliphant. *Yes, Trump Can Win the 2024 Election.* Reuters. (December 12, 2023)

8.3.2 <u>Biden: *Status Quo* Bias in a Revisionist World</u>. President Joe Biden was elected as an antidote to President Trump's disruptive and divisive populism. Instead of an impulsive and erratic president, America chose a career politician with limited charisma and a reputation for finding common ground with opponents. But, the voters' choice proved less attractive in the event than it had in the abstract. The polarization of politics has normalized rabid partisanship and it is not easy or popular to defend the *status quo* in an evenly divided and hyper partisan USA.

Republican control of the House of Representatives and the dominance of the slim Republican majority in the House by its most conservative and disruptive members (The Freedom Caucus), perpetual presidential and Congressional campaigning, and vicious intra-party conflict have made the federal legislative branch a policy graveyard. This significantly undermines Biden's instinctively collegial approach to governance and is disheartening to incumbents, candidates and voters who understand that compromise is essential for successful democratic governance. Unfortunately, perhaps especially unfortunately for Biden's 2024 re-election campaign, there is no effective majority in the current political environment.

<u>2024 Presidential Election.</u> A Pew Research Center survey conducted April 8–14, 2024, and reported on April 24, 2024, found that about two-thirds of the voters have little or no confidence that President Biden is physically fit for an additional four year term. A similar number lack confidence in former President Trump's ethical suitability to serve as president. Half of the voters would prefer that neither of these candidates were on the ballot in 2024. Voters are evenly split on the question of which of the candidates they will support.

President Biden is running for re-election on a record and platform of competent management, but competence is not leadership. The country wants new leadership. The country doesn't want either Trump or Biden, but it looks like they will be forced to choose between the same two candidates as four years earlier. As the end of President Biden's first term approached, former President Trump was the undisputed leader of the Republican Party, despite facing over ninety criminal charges, and he is its presumptive 2024 Republican nominee for President.

Although much can change in six months, if the USA choses Trump in November of 2024 it may well be choosing an autarkic revisionist to lead the USA into the second quarter of the century. If voters re-elect President Biden, they risk his trying to sustain the unsustainable.

> "Globalization was always dependent upon the Americans' commitment to the Global Order and that Order hasn't served Americas' strategic interests since the Berlin Wall fell in 1989."
>
> Peter Zeihan, *The End of the World is Just the Beginning: Mapping the Collapse of Globalization* (2022)

8.3.3 Will Atlas Shrug? Containing the USSR during the Cold War was difficult, dangerous and expensive, but the closed communist economic system largely limited the competition to the military sphere. The Cold War's alliances, spheres of influence, and limited areas of competition were clear and they reduced the cost of global leadership. In a world that doesn't support either USA hegemony or its neoliberal capitalist model, the cost of maintaining a world order based on both of theses features is increasing and any offsetting benefits are decreasing.

The Democratic Party wants to maintain heritage economic policies and military alliances in Eurasia. This is a nostalgic but anachronistic reversion to a Cold War mentality, but the USA now lacks its Cold War leadership capacity in a world where it is not even the largest economy. Domestic priorities trump (pun intended) geopolitical objectives. The Republican Party is increasingly reluctant to fund global commitments that do not directly and specifically benefit the USA and the USA is increasingly willing to abandon leadership commitments in an increasingly chaotic world.

Will "Atlas shrug" and drop its global leadership burden? Are the USA's military allies, who are also economic competitors, willing to share the burden sufficiently so as to make global leadership by the USA cost effective? Based on the track record, it's unlikely that they are either willing or able.

The increasing seriousness of global problems and our collective inadequacy in dealing with them will be tragically painful for everyone. In relative terms, however, the impact on North America will be less severe than on Eurasia, Africa, and Central and South America. The USA is blessed with the world's greatest capacity for successful autarkic disengagement. Fortress America is seen by many as the safest way to Make America Great Again. The case for autarky is likely to get stronger in the near term, at least for the majority whose attention is focused on gaining a relative advantage in dealing with proximate geopolitical problems on a zero-sum basis, rather than on establishing a stable and equitable global order.

Universal empire-state revisionism makes it necessary for the nation-states to achieve the region-state coherence necessary to balance the empire-states. The EU, the AU and India need to accelerate their transitions to empire-state equivalence with proportional international agency. The key to this transition is a relatively easy but essential step. It is linguistic congruence – preferably with 2 MT Bilingualism.

> "… we will not have the time, nor the means to finance our own strategic autonomy and we will become vassals, whereas we could become the third pole [in the world order] if we have a few years to develop this."
>
> French President Emmanuel Macron (April 4, 2023)

# Chapter 9

# Balancing Against the Empire-States' Revisionism

In the 21st Century, the three empire-states are seeking relative advantage and individual greatness in ways that both reduce global order and impair the capacity for global collective action. Individual nation-states can only bandwagon or balance. For most, the result will amount to suzerainty in global high politics. They will be left in the situation of Melos, as recorded by in Thucydides in the Melian Dialogue: "The strong do as they will. The weak suffer as they must." That is the realist future in a world without a stable hierarchy, balance or comity. It is the future for nation-states that fail to aggregate into true region-states with a capacity for domestic and high politics. The effort to integrate has been more successful in Europe and Africa, with the EU and AU, than it has been in Latin America and South East Asia. But, both the EU and AU have stalled.

> "The nation-state alone does not have a future."
>
> German Chancellor Angela Merkel
> (May 18, 2020)

## 9.1 High Politics: Overcoming Empire-State Suzerainty

Article 47, Subsection 7 of the Lisbon Treaty, which became effective on December 1, 2009, established a mutual EU defense pact. In the event of armed aggression against any EU member, all other members committed to assist with *all the means in their power*.[100] Article 222 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Maastricht Treaty) extended the mutual obligation to support fellow EU members in the event of terrorism or a natural or man-made disaster. Nevertheless, the capacity to act collectively in matters of European security is fully vested in NATO, not the EU. This effectively shifts leadership on matters of high politics to the USA and institutionalizes a degree of suzerainty.

> “Countries will have to earmark forces for joint action and train them together. They must be able to make hard decisions together – or suffer he consequences. After a transition period, collective security must be truly collective.”
>
> Leslie H. Gelb, *Lest Foreign Wars Engulf Us* (1993)

One of the best ways to strengthen regional security regimes is with the integration of military commands. This will not be possible without a restricted language regime. NATO uses two, English and French. Fluency in either English or French is required, combined with a working knowledge of the other language. This is reciprocal bilingualism for Anglophones and Francophones, it is elite trilingualism for all others. It is inefficient and inequitable, relative to complementary bilingualism, but is apparently adequate or at least politically acceptable. However, a multinational European defense force simply cannot operate efficiently in 24 languages.

There is already a successful military model of bilingual language rationalization in the *reciprocal bilingualism* of the Belgian Armed Forces.

[100] NATO is more ambiguous about the degree of mutual support required of its members

2 MT Bilingualism would be equally unifying for a more linguistically diverse regional defense force in Europe (EU) or Africa (AU).

9.1.1 A Bilingual Military: Belgian Reciprocal Bilingualism. Belgium had problems, particularly during World War I, with primarily French speaking officers leading troops that primarily spoke Dutch. A bias towards promoting Francophone officers persisted, to some degree, until the 1970's. Today, at induction, the language preference of a soldier is presumed to match that of their community of origin, unless they otherwise specify. Basic training is in that language and soldiers serve in monolingual units. Orders and commands are given in the soldier's first language.

Non-commissioned and commissioned officers are required to be fluent in either French or Dutch and to have a working knowledge of the other language. Fluency in both French and Dutch is required for Majors and above. The percentage of officers who are native speakers now matches the community, with 40% native French speakers and 60% native Dutch speakers. (There are no provisions for the soldiers whose native language is German, but they are often bilingual in French, as the small German community is an enclave in Francophone Wallonia).

Reciprocal bilingualism will not work for the AU or the EU. A policy of 2 MT Bilingualism is needed, due to their greater linguistic diversity. However, Belgium's policy of reciprocal bilingualism demonstrates the feasibility of bilingual congruence for a military's language rationalization.

9.1.2 The EU: An Externally Focused Security Community. In a 2022 Eurobarometer survey titled *Europeans Self-Defense and Energy Autonomy As Key Priorities*, 81% of EU citizens favored of a common European defense and security policy. They do not want NATO suzerainty. At least two thirds of respondents in each country supported this viewpoint. A larger 85% think that defense co-operation at the EU level should be increased and an even larger 93% agreed that members should jointly defend the EU's territory. Europeans want European high politics, including a robust pan European security regime. It cannot happen in 24 languages. It can only happen with a policy of complementary bilingualism – ideally 2 MT Bilingualism.

The value of linguistic congruence for high politics is starkly revealed by the disparity between Russian high-politics and Europe's lack of high-politics. The World Bank ranking of the 2022 GDP of the EU ($24.3 trillion in PPP), shows it as being over four and a half times that of the Russian Federation ($5.33 trillion).[101] The population of Russia is less than 150 million, one-third of the population of the EU. Prior to the invasion of Ukrainian, the EU members spend 225 billion (dollar equivalent) for defense and, until the invasions of Ukraine, three times as much as Russia's 70 billion (dollar equivalent). With triple Russia's population and an economy four times its as large, the EU still seems unable to defend itself against Russia without the USA led NATO, leaving Europe's fate in the hands of two revisionist empire-states.

> "'You didn't pay? Your delinquent?' … No, I would not protect you. In fact, I would encourage them (Russia) to do whatever the hell they want."
>
> Presidential candidate Donald Trump February 10, 2024

A combination of factors has created a sense of urgency (but limited action) for the EU to become more self-reliant and less dependent on the USA: 1) Russia's two invasions of Ukraine, 2) President Trump's declaration that NATO was obsolete and a bipartisan complaint about insufficient European defense spending, 3) the shifting of the USA's military focus to Asia and the Pacific, 4) massive deficits that will eventually require significant spending reduction, including a reduction in its subsidy of Europe's defense, and 5) political stalemate in Washington that erodes the leadership capacity of the USA, with many Republican legislators expressing reservations or even opposition to future funding of Ukraine's self-defense.[102]

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[101] In 2022, the USA spent $877 billion on defense, about twice what the EU spent, despite that fact that the EU shares a border with a hostile Russian empire-state.

[102] In December of 2023, the Republican caucus in the House of Representatives was split over continued military aid for Ukraine.

It is the height of folly for the EU to fail to establish self-reliance in security and foreign affairs. Yet the EU cannot seem to wean itself from its Cold War reliance on an external source of security. Nor, in the absence of USA leadership, can the EU coordinate its foreign policy beyond the issuance of anodyne press releases that reflect the lowest common denominator.

The European response to the February 2022 invasion of Ukraine was surprisingly robust. The EU in general and Germany in particular finally showed a serious interest in increased defense budgets. But nothing short of a war of aggression on its doorstep, it seems, can bring the EU together. Even then, the European response needed to be orchestrated by the USA and the EU response was often led by its newer members who are on the frontline with Russian. *Ad hoc* reactions, even if they are more robust than expected, are not a defense policy or a foreign policy.

> "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."
>
> George Santayana, *The Life of Reason* (1905)

9.1.3 The AU: An Internally Focused Security Community. During the Cold War, the USSR and the USA used African nation-states and political movements as Cold War proxies. As a result, weapons poured into the continent. This was extremely destabilizing and the ensuing chaos severely hampered economic development, to say nothing of the opportunity cost incurred by using limited capital for destruction rather than production. The splitting of African unity could reappear as an effect of the increasingly zero-sum competition between China and the USA.

To prevent this from occurring, the African Union needs to accelerate the development of its African Peace and Security Architecture.[103] Whether Africa's internal security is established at a regional or continental level, or both, linguistic congruence is essential. The Belgian model of

[103] The African Peace and Security Architecture has five pillars: the African Standby Force, the Peace and Security Council, the Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise, and the Peace Fund.

reciprocal complementary bilingualism is not appropriate for a force composed of soldiers from scores of language communities. Only complementary bilingualism can accomplish the necessary linguistic congruence. If the AU takes the highly beneficial step of adopting 2 MT Bilingualism at the continental level, it will greatly improve the current and potential effectiveness and efficiency of the African Peace and Security Architecture.

> "A model using more than one common language, such as English, French and German, can simply not guarantee communication between all EU citizens, as they must inevitably have one language in common."
>
> A. Bastardas-Boada, *Language and identity policies in the global age* (2012)

## 9.2 The EU: Linguistic Congruence for Ever Closer Union

The EU has both an institutional policy of multilingualism and a community policy of citizen plurilingualism. Both can be replaced by a single language policy of 2 MT Bilingualism. The result would be an increase in EU legitimacy that would allow greater political integration and "ever closer union."

9.2.1 *Elite Multilingualism*: The EU *Institutional* Language Policy. The EU asserts that all 24 of its official languages are treated equally in EU institutions. In the real world, achieving equality for 24 languages is a chimera. In practice, English is the first among three elite languages. It is followed by French and German. Second and third places are converging and losing ground to elite English bilingualism. Nevertheless, Germans demand equality with French and French seek equality with English. Other member states cannot even aspire to equality.[104]

[104] This dynamic played out in the prolonged and contentious creation of Europe's unitary patent system and unified patent court which was belatedly established in January of 2022.

When Denmark joined the EU in 1973 it suggested that the EU have two official languages, French and English, but that Anglophones could only use French and Francophones could only use English. The loudest objections came from the French and the English. While the cleverly ironic suggestion was rejected, the Danes succeeded brilliantly in showing that the two dominant language communities were not interested in equality.

The charade of linguistic equality reflects an EU *language policy paralysis*. All of the language communities, even the three privileged ones, would be better served by a single and exogenous language that both minimizes and equalizes the linguistic burden of achieving congruence. That is only possible with a universally exogenous language in a policy of 2 MT Bilingualism.

> "By far the greatest wrong which the departing colonialist inflicted on us and which we now continue to inflict on ourselves in our present state of disunity, was to leave us divided into economically unviable states which bear no possibility of real development."
>
> Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965)

9.2.2 <u>Elite *Plurilingualism*: The EU *Community* Language Policy</u>. The Treaty on the European Union (1992) granted the EU a new competence in the field of language education. A full decade later, the EU Council finally used this authority, but only in a very limited manner. It established an *aspirational* goal of mother tongue + two foreign languages (MT + 2).

> "44. The European Council calls for further action in this field [education] ... by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age...."
>
> Barcelona European Council 15-16 March 2002 Presidency Conclusions

The EU Council left the implementation of the aspirational community goal to the member states, who responded by maintaining their long-standing and failed policy of elite plurilingualism. English, Spanish, French and German remained the only options for most students. Often only two or three choices are offered. The consequent choices of Europe's upper secondary (ICSD level 3) students in 2018, according to Eurostat, were: English 96.1%, Spanish 25.9%, French 22.0%, German 20.4%, Italian 3.1% and Russian 2.7%.[105] With English study now nearly universal, it is fair to look at the results as a report on the suitability of English for the role of common language in a policy of complementary bilingualism (See also § 11.1, infra.).

> "Despite the massive investment in the teaching of English in the education system ... there is still no common language that is widely spoken at a good or proficient level by the vast majority of European citizens."
>
> European Parliament, *European Strategy for Multilingualism: Benefits and Costs* (2016)

Except for occasional surveys based on unreliable self-evaluations,[106] there is no quantified data to indicate whether the massive effort to teach English has resulted in a substantial capacity to use English, whether there are trends or whether and to what extent what was learned is retained after leaving school.

> "The vast majority of respondents declared themselves as having an elementary or intermediate level of language competence ... (for English) only 20% assess their level as 'very good.' The level of language proficiency is not expected to improve considerably in the near future."
>
> European Parliament, *European Strategy for Multilingualism: Benefits and Costs* (2016)

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[105] The total exceeds 100% because many high school students studied two languages, in response to the EU aspirational goal of MT +2 plurilingualism and the expectations of college admissions offices.

[106] Kruger, Justin and David Dunning, *Unskilled and Unaware of it: How Difficulties in Recognizing One's Own Incompetence Lead to Inflated Self-Assessments*. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Dec. 1999.

The closest that the EU has ever come to generating useful data was the First European Survey on Language Competencies: Final Report (2012). Despite use of the word "first" in the title, this report was not repeated in the following decade. There is no measure of progress – if any. Its limitations were so severe that it has apparently resulted in no policy changes. This is surprising, since the one thing it did establish was a great disparity among members in the results of their teaching of foreign languages.

> "The reported results indicated an overall low level of competences in both first and second foreign languages tested."
>
> *The European Survey on Language Competences: School-internal and External Factors in Language Learning* (2012)

The biggest defect was that it tested students while they were learning the languages. Thus, there is no measure of retention. It was, in effect, a peak measurement. A test of any language policy must also measure its long-term effects – years after the end of formal education. Language attrition is not well studied, but it appears that attrition in the five years after formal education is quite large when the language is not used on a regular basis. A study of former students, a decade after the end of formal education, would be very useful. Nevertheless, the limited data is sobering.

Despite the willful blindness, it is widely recognized that the EU community language policy of MT +2 elite plurilingualism has failed. Not surprisingly then, it is not what Europeans want. They want 2 MT Bilingualism. The term 2 MT Bilingualism was not used, of course, but the expressed desires of the EU citizens for a common language and language equity can only be achieved with this policy.

> "... to circumvent conflicts, European institutions have thus far avoided openly addressing the language question."
>
> Peter A. Kraus, *A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity Building in Europe* (2008)

9.2.3 EU Citizens Want Complementary Bilingualism. The EU is ignoring the clearly expressed desires of its citizens for both a common language and equal status and dignity for all of the official languages of the member states. In 2012, the European Commission released Special Eurobarometer 386, *Europeans and Their Languages*. Two key findings were:

(1) Linguistic Congruence. Approximately seven in 10 (69%) think that Europeans should have a common language. Europeans' appreciate the importance of linguistic congruence.

(2) An Exogenous Choice. A large majority of Europeans (81%) think that all of the official languages spoken within the EU should be treated the same. In other words, the EU should not privilege any European language community. Neither French congruence nor German congruence is an option.

The strong and clearly expressed preferences of Europeans can only be accomplished with 2 MT Bilingualism, using an easily acquired and universally exogenous common language. Only one change is required for the EU to go from its current community policy of MT + 2 plurilingualism[107] to a consistent community and institutional policy of 2 MT Bilingualism: replace one of the +2 languages with a second MT that provides congruence with a single and universally exogenous language choice.

Switching from the current, but merely aspirational, policy of three languages (MT +2) for community plurilingualism to the two languages of complementary bilingualism will free up substantial time for students to study another subject. As EU congruence is achieved with the second MT, those who still wish to acquire a third language will be more likely to choose a non-European language.

> "The absence of (and fear for) public debate on the language issue, has led to an EU public language policy which presents, first of all, a huge gap between the *de jure* and *de facto* situation and lacks coherence and

[107] The individual's mother tongue and two foreign languages.

transparency. In particular, clear friction may be noticed between, on the one hand, the need to create restricted language regimes and, on the other, the formal principle of equality of languages."

Stefaan van der Jeught, *EU Language Law* (2015)

## 9.3 The AU: Rational Boundaries and Economic Growth

No region has a greater need for language rationalization than Africa. It is needed both for regional unity (AU) and for the preservation of Africa's tremendous ethnolinguistic diversity. Africa has over 2,000 indigenous languages. The AU designated all languages of Africa as official and, in 2001, the AU created the African Academy of Languages to harmonize all 2,000 languages and safeguard the endangered ones. Only 2 MT Bilingualism is capable of achieving this goal.

2 MT Bilingualism is also needed for maximizing the human capital in Africa's many smaller language communities, for reducing poverty, for supporting democracy, and for creating more rational political boundaries. This section looks at the rational boundaries problem and at the economic benefits of linguistic congruence in Africa.[108] As with the EU, the question of which language is the best choice for Africa is best left to those with authority and responsibility. Ideally, both Africa and the EU will choose the same common language (see Chapter 11).

"There is not much sense in building Africa in sovereign States, independent of each other for we know that it is from our union and from it alone, that we shall draw sufficient strength to assert ourselves in the world."

François Tombalbaye, former President of the Republic of Chad

9.3.1 Rational Boundaries. Europeans required hundreds of years of (often violent) cultural, social and political convergence to establish their

[108] The legitimacy benefits are generally the same for the AU as for the EU, as discussed above. Thus, this section focuses on the more specific needs of the AU.

nation-state boundaries.[109] Africa's post-colonial leaders avoided a similar prolonged, painful, and bloody process by retaining the colonial boundaries after successfully exorcising the European colonial regimes. As colonial boundaries were established for the convenience of colonial governance, any degree of rationality from the perspective of the needs of the indigenous population was merely serendipitous. Unfortunately, such serendipity was rare. Africa's task has been, to put it mildly, daunting. The combined effect of multiple colonial languages and the creation of irrational boundaries is especially clear in the histories of The Gambia[110] and Cameroon. To varying degrees this is a problem in most of post-colonial Africa.

The Gambia. Portuguese slave traders set up shop at the mouth of the Gambia River, a route by which slaves were transported from the interior. After abolishing slavery, the British replaced the Portuguese. The British only gained controlled the Gambia River and approximately 16 km along each bank. Except for its short Atlantic coast, the Anglophone The Gambia is entirely enclosed by Francophone Senegal. The metaphor of a tapeworm is often used, as a glance at a map of the two countries will explain.

The Gambia became independent in 1965, five years after Senegal. In 1981 a coup attempt led The Gambia's president to request military aid from Senegal. This led to a union called the Senagambia Confederation. The linguistically divided Senagambia Confederation lasted only seven years. Like the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the clear linguistic fault line made the split uncontroversial in both parts of the linguistically divided confederation.

Were it not for the slave trade and European colonialism, The Gambia would never have existed. It is a colonial artifact and an anachronism that needs to be consolidated into a larger polity in order to achieve an adequate scale for a modern economy. That consolidation could be Senegambia, again, or it could be a larger West African polity based on

[109] Given the current circumstances in the Balkans and Ukraine, the task of establishing stable European nation-state boundaries is clearly still incomplete.

[110] Like The Bahamas, The Gambia includes the definite article (The) in its name.

the historic Mali Empire (1235 CE to 1670 CE) or the current Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which is discussed below. Almost anything makes more sense than the Anglophone tapeworm inside Francophone Senegal.

> "… the state system that first grew out of European feudalism and now, in the post-colonial period, covers virtually the entire earth provides the framework in which ethnic conflict occurs. Control of the state and exemption from control by others are the main goals of ethnic conflict."
>
> D.L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (2nd Ed. 2000)

<u>Cameroon</u>. The 27+ million citizens of Cameroon speak over 250 languages. Its official languages of administration are both French and English.[111] Cameroon also recognizes six other languages: Fula, Ewondo, Igbo, Chadian Arabic, Camfranglais and Cameroonian Pidgin English.

Cameroon (Kamerun) was a German colony from 1884 until 1919. After World War I it was divided by the League of Nations into a British mandate called Cameroon and a French mandate called Cameroun. In 1946 these league mandates became UN trusteeships. French Cameroun gained independence in 1960 and British Cameroon gained independence the following year. The two former trusteeships then joined to become the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

In 1972 Cameroon abolished its federal system and power was centralized. Ten semiautonomous regions are now administered by elected regional councils, but these councils are led by presidential appointees. After economic crises in the 1980s, in 1990 Cameroon reestablished multiparty politics after 24 years of one party rule. This led to the creation of language based parties and pressure for greater autonomy in the Anglophone areas – even for complete secession and the creation of an Anglophone nation-state called the Republic of Ambazonia.

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[111] A parallel with Belgium's French and Dutch division is noted but, with 250 indigenous language communities, reciprocal bilingualism is not a solution for Cameroon.

Since 2016, the 25% of Cameroons population which uses English has actively resisted Francophone hegemony by the 58% of the population which uses French. The linguistic divide is also a proxy for other cleavages (ethnic and religious). The primary political cleavage is between a largely Anglophone party, the Social Democratic Front, and a largely Francophone party, the Cameroon Peoples Democratic Movement. Linguistic congruence in French seems very unlikely. Congruence with English is impossible. 2 MT Bilingualism with an exogenous choice other than English or French could help to heal Cameroon's linguistic divide.

Regional Economic Community (REC) and Linguistic Congruence. Africa's search for more rational governance is using regional economic communities as the key mechanism. The AU established the African Economic Community (AEC), composed of eight Regional Economic Communities (REC)[112] and delegated responsibility for economic convergence to them. The goals of the AEC are similar to the EU's. The AU's goals contemplate even greater integration than the EU.

Of the eight REC, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is arguably the most integrated. It has 15 nation-state members. ECOWAS is a good example of linguistic division within a REC. It is divided between an overwhelmingly Francophone subgroup of eight, called the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), and an overwhelmingly Anglophone subgroup of six, the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ).[113] One ECOWAS member, the Lusophone archipelago of Cabo Verde, belongs to neither subgroup. Complementary bilingualism would allow ECOWAS to operate without the internal division between UEMOA and WAMZ.

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[112] Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community of Sahel–Saharan States (CEN–SAD), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC),

[113] One WAMUZ member, Guinea-Bissau, is Lusophone (Portuguese).

> "Of the many factors decisively affecting the capacity of the new governments to mount social, political and economic structures that were essential to the building of self governing nations, language was probably the most complex."
>
> Abdulaziz and Fox, "*Evaluation Report on Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching of East Africa*" (1978)

A lack of linguistic congruence, due to multiple colonial languages, has hampered the unity of all but two of the REC. (The IGAD uses only English and the UMA uses only Arabic.) The impact of multiple colonial languages at the AU level is, of course, even more complex than in the case of any individual REC. Complementary bilingualism can eliminate linguistic barriers across Africa. If adopted, it will permit any combination of Africa's nation-states to join together into larger and more economically and politically successful polities with linguistic congruence.

9.3.2 <u>Economic Benefits</u>. As with the EU, a common language is necessary in order to take full advantage of the economic benefits from the four freedoms of movement (capital, goods, services and labor) that are the heart of regional economic integration. Africa lacks a dominant *lingua franca*, like English in Europe, and utilizes multiple *lingua franca*. Consequently, there are two aspects in which the economic benefits of complementary bilingualism for the AU will be greater than for the EU: 1) a much larger increase in intra-African trade and 2) an increase in market size and the consequently greater viability of domestic manufacturing.

> "In Latin America, Africa, India and South Asia, and the Middle East, less than 1/5 of trade takes place within each region. Not coincidentally, these countries have grown more slowly than many of their emerging-market peers …. Without strong commercial ties to nearby nations, workers and consumers are largely left on the ends of global supply chains, relegated to sending out raw materials and bringing in final

> goods. The lack of neighborhood ties means most imports have little local content … goods from distant shores compete with, rather than support, local manufacturers."
>
> S. K. O'Neill, *The Gobalization Myth: Why Regions Matter* (2022)

Increasing Intra-African Trade. Trade volume among African nations represents approximately 10% of their total trade. In comparison, intra-European trade is approximately 60% of the total trade of the EU. Clearly there is much room for improvement in the AU.

In *Language and Foreign Trade*,[114] Jacques Melitz looked at literacy, linguistic diversity, the distinction between direct communication and translation, the role of a *lingua franca* and the impact of network externalities. He found that 1) a common language increases trade; 2) direct communication is three times as effective as translation; 3) if a market has internal language barriers, there will be increased trade with economies outside of the market; and 4) there is less trade between countries with high linguistic diversity.

> "By the end of this century, the UN projects that Africa, which had less than one-tenth of the world's population in 1950, will be home to 3.9 billion people, or 40% of humanity.… by 2050, 40% of all the people under 18 in the world will be African…"
>
> Howard W. French, *Megalopolis: How coastal west Africa will shape the coming century*, The Guardian, October 27, 2022.

Africa's Increasing Market Size and Domestic Manufacturing. On this point, the reference is not the EU but China. The current population in the AU is roughly equal to China's and demographic trends will make Africa's market size much larger, while China's becomes much smaller. The UN estimates that Africa's population can reach 2.49 billion by the year 2050 (over 25% of the global total) and 4.28 billion by the end of the century (40% of the global total). By comparison, China's population at

[114] European Economic Review, Volume 52, Issue 4, May 2008, Pages 667-699

the end of the century is expected to decrease to 767 million and could be as low as 488 million.[115] If this happens, Africa's population will be more than seven times as large as China's! Nigeria alone, in 2100, could have the second largest population in the world – more people than China, but fewer than India.

China's economic rise was possible, in large measure, because of the size of its *unified* market. Africa, no matter how populous it becomes, cannot use the path that China used to lift many millions from poverty unless it establishes what China has – linguistic congruence and a unified market. A pan-African market will become the world's largest market by population.

I am not advocating (or opposing) a formal policy of import substitution. I am not an economist and take no position on economic controversies. I simply note that the consolidation of Africa's polities into a single market will justify the shifting of manufacturing capacity to Africa to avoid tariffs and other costs. A unified Africa polity could use the same incentives and disincentives that China used to transfer technology, find international partners with the necessary intellectual property and expertise and attract capital with a long term commitment.

9.3.3 Pan-African Linguistic Congruence. While English can be characterized as a global trade language, it lacks the most beneficial aspect of a true trade language – the loss of unnecessary complexity and adornment. For the AU, there is a compelling reason to exclude English. It is an official language in twenty-four of Africa's fifty-five nation-states. Privileging Africa's Anglophones would be resisted by Francophones and

[115] A population of 488 million is the UN's low estimate, in which the total fertility rate is projected to be 0.5 births below that of the medium estimate. Trends in China, South Korea and Japan support this outcome. The 767 million medium projection assumes that China's total fertility rate will *increase* from 1.18 children per woman in 2022 to 1.48 children per woman in 2100. Current trends suggest that this is unlikely.

Lusophones (Portuguese). It would, in fact, be resisted by all Africans other than Anglophones. The same degree of resistance would arise if the choice were French, Spanish, Portuguese or Arabic. Only 2 MT Bilingualism with an easily learned and universally exogenous language will allow Africa to preserve its diversity and still become a continental community.

> "The Conference of Parties meeting in Paris in 2015 showed an Indian evolution to a new stance ... an India actively shaping the global agenda emerged."
>
> A. Ayers, *Our Time Has Come: How India is Making Its Place in the World* (2018)

## 9.4 India: Linguistic Congruence for Ethnolinguistic Parity

The Indian subcontinent is home to one of the world's oldest civilizations. The Indus Valley Civilization (2600-1900 BCE) was contemporaneous with the other "cradles of civilization" in the Bronze Age: the Mesopotamian Civilization, and the Ancient Egyptian Civilization. It was the largest of the three.

The relatively short lived Nanda Empire of the Ganges Basin and Eastern India (circa 345-322 BCE) stopped Alexander the Great. In 326 BCE, after a decade of successful military campaigning, Alexander's troops mutinied upon reaching the Beas River, the border of the Nanda territory. Learning of the size of the Nanda forces, a battle with this powerful empire was simply "a bridge too far" for Alexander's long suffering troops. They refused to go further. After sulking in his tent for three days, Alexander built a dozen large structures to mark the limit of his conquest. He died on the subsequent journey home.

The Maurya Empire (322-185 BCE) replaced the Nanda Empire. It is, for many historians, India's first "great" empire and the term "Classical Period" is used to describe the millennium from the start of the Maurya Empire in circa 322 BCE until the end of the Gumpta Empire in the 6th

Century CE. During the Gumpta Empire (320-650 CE) India's wealth produced both impressive creativity and geopolitical influence in adjacent maritime regions, from Sri Lanka to the Philippines and Indochina, as far as Vietnam. The Gumpta Empire represented a Golden Age of Hinduism and resonates strongly with today's Hindutva Indians.

From the 13th to 16th Centuries CE, under the Deli Sultanate, India experienced a productive collaboration between the Hindu and Muslim cultures, which is regarded fondly by those who are distressed by Hindutva extremists. The Delhi Sultanate was, for a long period, a bulwark against the devastation wrought by the Mongols and provided a multicultural refuge for the fleeing victims of the Mongol hordes. Timur (Tamerlane) was finally able to sack Deli in 1398 and the Deli Sultanate never fully recovered.

From the 16th Century, the Mughal Empire provided three centuries of stable and peaceful governance over much of the area of modern India. In the 17th Century, India surpassed China and became the world's largest economy, producing a quarter of the world's industrial output. Like China, though with notable differences that led to a less revolutionary independence movement,[116] India also suffered under colonial rule. Like China, India is motivated by a glorious pre-colonial history to Make India Great Again.

> "There is one angle of the world language question that has seldom if ever been mentioned. It is the use of the world language for the solution of the internal problems in countries having large and numerous linguistic minorities, or in which many languages are at present official."
>
> Mario Pei, *One Language for the World* (1958)

Linguistic Congruence Fails. India has scores of indigenous languages.

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[116] Because India was ultimately colonized by a single European power, Great Britain, the British model of governance replaced the Mughal Empire with an alternative model which shaped India's post colonial government.

Hindi is the largest. It is the native language of 4 out of 10 Indians. Bengali is second, but with only one-fifth as many native speakers. India has 29 languages with over a million native speakers. This contrasts dramatically with the linguistic situation in the three empire-states. In China, Putonghua is the language of congruence. Russian is similarly hegemonic in Russia, as is English in the USA.

At India's formation, Article 343 of the 1948 Constitution stated that the Union would adopt Hindi as its common language in 1965, using the Devanagari script. In 1963, the looming prospect of Hindi hegemony moved language policy to the top of the political agenda. As India's federal government prepared for the transition, non-Hindi speakers objected to Hindi hegemony. An ambiguous compromise was reached, according to which English "may" be used for official purposes after 1965.

The ambiguity was resolved differently in the minds of the Hindi-speaking plurality and the non-Hindi-speaking majority. Hindi's proponents interpreted the word "may" as providing the government with the authority to retain English but not as a requirement. The non-Hindi- speaking majority interpreted the word "may" as establishing a legal right to use English.

As the 1965 deadline approached, rioting broke out over the ambiguity and the deadline was deferred. In 1967, a new compromise gave English potential permanence by providing that it would retain its role as an alternative to Hindi, unless and until the legislative branches in each state where Hindi was not the official language endorsed the end of the English option.

As English is only spoken fluently by an elite minority, support for the English alternative to Hindi was not an endorsement of English as much as it was an expression of fear of linguistic hegemony by an indigenous language and both the consequent risk of Hindi diglossia and the privileging of its native-speakers. In some cases, especially in Tamil Nadu and other Dravidian-speaking areas in the South, linguistic concerns were combined with resistance to the federal government based in the North. In other cases the language issue was a proxy for religious concerns. For example, Muslims wanted to preserve both Urdu and the Arabic script, despite the overwhelming similarity of Hindi and Urdu as spoken (Hindustani). Similarly, the Sikh religious community was concerned about the risk of language shift and wanted to protect the Punjabi language and Gurmukhi script.

Modi's Moment, India's Future. Having been reelected to an unprecedented third term in 2024, but without the single party majority he previously enjoyed, there is an opportunity for Modi to make a "Nixon goes to China" style breakthrough on language rationalization. President Nixon's consistent record of being strongly anti-communist enabled him, without domestic political consequences, to make his historic trip to Beijing in 1972. Similarly, a popular Hindutva prime minister may be able to resolve India's language rationalization stalemate without imposing Hindi hegemony. The optimal solution for India's linguistic congruence is neither Hindi nor English. Nor is it a combination of both. A English-Hindi combination would formalize the current elite bilingualism, while not protecting any of India's many indigenous languages. The best solution is 2 MT Bilingualism, by pairing a single exogenous and easily learned language with each of India's indigenous languages.

Like the three empire-states, India's goal is to Make India Great Again. While India is not yet an empire-state, it has the potential to become the fourth. Linguistic congruence is the missing element of an Indian empire-state. India intends to take its place alongside the other three, achieving international agency proportional to its population. The key step will be the establishment of linguistic congruence.

# Part III

## The Take Away

1) In the 20th Century, the multilingual empires and non-contiguous (colonial) empires failed. The proximate causes of their failures were World War I, World War II and the Cold War. The ultimate cause was an inadequate coherence for collective action. Only the empire-state model survived. A multilingual Indian empire emerged from the collapse of the colonial model, but it failed in its initial effort to achieve the linguistic congruence necessary to become the fourth empire-state.

2) Size matters. Though both numerous and internally coherent, the nation-state model suffers from empire-state dominance. After the Second World War and the collapse of colonialism, some nation-states have tried to aggregate into regional polities in order to better compete with the dominant empire-states.

3) A regional aggregation of nation-state polities, such as the EU and the AU, can become a security alliance by establishing collective high politics (security and foreign affairs) but neither has yet done this effectively. The AU security architecture is a work in progress and the EU has chosen to rely on NATO, an empire-state led alliance. The result is a degree of suzerainty.

4) Aggregated nation-states can expand their role beyond a security alliance in order to better balance the empire-states, create a more broadly based global order, and achieve greater equality in the solution of global problems. Aggregations of nation-states need linguistic congruence in order to achieve legitimacy equivalent to that of their nation-state members. Monolingualism, however, is not an option for a potential region-state. The only options is complementary bilingualism – ideally with 2 MT Bilingualism.

5) The increase in the legitimacy of the polity and the solidarity of the demos that occurs with bilingual congruence is equally applicable to

the AU subregions, such as the eight REC of the AEC and to large and linguistically heterogeneous countries like India, Nigeria, Indonesia and many others. Linguistic congruence is a solvent for problems of inadequate legitimacy and inadequate citizen solidarity in any linguistically diverse polity.

"Relative to everyone who could come after us, we are a tiny minority. Yet we hold the entire future in our hands.... We need to build a moral worldview that takes seriously what is at stake."

W. MacAskill, *What We Owe the Future* (2022)

# Part IV

# The United Nations: Our Global Survival Vehicle

> "A reconstruction of the international system is the ultimate challenge.... The contemporary quest for world order will require a coherent strategy to establish a concept of order within the various regions, and to relate these regional orders to one another."
>
> Henry Kissinger *World Order* (2015)[117]

# Chapter 10

# The UN: Updating Our Global Survival Vehicle

Three times, after traumatic wars, multiple states (empire-states and nation-states) attempted to establish collective security. It took the prolonged chaos of the Napoleonic Wars to persuade European rulers to create the Concert of Europe. It took World War I before the world created the League of Nations. It took World War II before the world created the UN. We cannot postpone the next evolutionary step in collective security until after World War III. We can and must reform the current UN *antebellum*.

The next comparably traumatic military conflict, possibly World War III, will probably not be followed by the establishment of a new institution for collective security. Instead, it will likely be followed by the widespread collapse of global civilizations. The approaching centennial of the UN's foundation, slightly more than two decades away, is an appropriate deadline for its updating. It may be our last chance to build an efficient and effective survival vehicle for our global community of common fate.

[117] This repetition is warranted. Kissinger understood the problem. This essay is my response to his implicit challenge.

It has been almost eighty years since the original charter of the UN became effective on the 24th of October 1945. The world has changed dramatically during that time, but the UN does not reflect most of those changes. It is increasingly anachronistic, to the detriment of its legitimacy and governance potential. When the UN was founded, there were 29 members. In the following decades, UN membership increased to 193. Thus, few of today's 193 members had any role in its formation. Its legitimacy will be enhanced by an updating of its charter by all current members. This could be something like a global constitutional convention or, more likely, it could simply replace the existing UN anachronisms through discrete reforms.

Perhaps the UN charter was the best that could be done in 1945, at the end of the Second World War. However, today it fails to adequately represent the billions of people who are not citizens of an empire-state. This prevents the UN from having the moral authority and legitimacy that is needed by any survival vehicle.

The first step in the updating the UN into a modern, inclusive and equitable global survival vehicle is a reconceptualization. The UN can be both a collection of polities (Security Council) and the voice of a global demos (General Assembly). An effective global survival vehicle requires a global community, starting with a global community of communication based on a global language rationalization policy of 2 MT Bilingualism.

If the *status quo* is maintained beyond the UN's 2045 Centennial, the UN will lose additional authority and legitimacy. The creation of a global demos, with a global language rationalization policy of 2 MT Bilingualism is as critical for our global survival vehicle as for the smaller polities which now lack international agency.

> "Our world is in big trouble. Divides are growing deeper. Inequalities are growing wider. Challenges are spreading farther."
>
> UN Sec. General Antonio Guterres, Opening of the 77th General Assembly (September 20, 2022)

## 10.1 Orchestrating Survival Vehicle Collective Action

A fundamental premise in every variety of the Realist school of international relations theory is the belief that the world's diverse polities (survival vehicles) operate in an environment of *anarchy*. Anarchy is used in a narrow sense – it simply means that there is no hierarchy and that, as a result, the major powers must base their ultimate security on a doctrine of self-help. Less powerful survival vehicles must choose between balancing and bandwagoning, in order to preserve their sovereignty as well as to indirectly exercise a stunted international agency.[118]

The security dilemma[119] forces the major powers to attempt to achieve military predominance, suzerainty with respect to their allies, and whatever degree of hegemony they can attain and sustain. The security dilemma becomes a *Thucydides Trap* whenever there is a dominant power in relative decline with respect to a power which is in relative ascendance. This is precisely the situation which we now confront in the competition between China and the USA, with Russia and the European Union in a secondary role and India attempting to become the fourth empire-state.

Even the most extreme Realists acknowledge that we cannot leave things as they now stand, with a UN that, after nearly a century of operation, remains essentially as it was at the end of the Second World War. Self-interested major power politics in the Security Council overwhelms the latent moral authority of the UN General Assembly. The challenge for the UN, as it approaches its 2048 Centennial, is to increase the authority

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[118] This is a pessimistic denial of the potential for collective action. It must not be allowed to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. On this point my disagreement with Kissinger is profound.

[119] A security dilemma occurs when actions taken by one state to increase its own security causes a reaction by another state, which triggers a competitive escalation that leads to a decrease in total security. Germany's buildup of its naval forces prior to World War I created a security dilemma for Great Britain, which relied on naval superiority for the security of its global empire.

and responsibility of the General Assembly. It will not easy, but is essential for collective security through a global survival vehicle.

Survival vehicles irrespective of their size and ideology share common problems in an age of nuclear weapons proliferation, future global pandemics, global warming and the wildly disruptive technological advances that will inevitably result from the rapid but unequal adoption of AI based technologies. In the coming decades it is almost certain that additional global threats will arise. To find equitable solutions to our present and future global problems and then to implement them, the UN must "decolonized" its Security Council and update its anachronistic General Assembly to reflect the changes that have occurred over the last eight decades.

As discussed previously, especially in §1.2 and §4.3, a successful democratic polity – which the UN must become – requires the affective legitimacy that is most easily increased by linguistic congruence. Before looking at which specific language is optimal, the rest of this chapter proffers changes that decolonize the Security Council and both update and upgrade the General Assembly. In the absence of adequate authority and responsibility, the UN cannot be required or expected to orchestrate global collective action. Authority and responsibility must be tightly bound. Any separation inevitably leads to both abuse of authority and abdication of responsibility.

> "The hallmark of wisdom is asking, What effects will the decision I make today have on future generations? On the health of the planet?"
> Jane Goodall, *Book of Hope: A Survival Guide for Trying Times* (2021)

## 10.2 The UN: Adding a Seventh Language

The generations at risk due to global problems of potentially existential import cannot be satisfied with the establishment of two region-states and a new empire-state. The ultimate goal must be a global community of communication. Ideally, the UN should initiate global 2 MT Bilingualism by adding a seventh official language to the current six official languages – explicitly for that purpose. Doing so would make a consistent choice easy for 2 MT Bilingualism in the AU, EU and India. It would also stimulate action by the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States and the Association of South East Asian Nations. As schools in the Anglo Sphere began offering the UN's seventh language as part of their curriculum and students voted with their course choices, even the most recalcitrant Anglophiles would realize that resistance was futile and the benefits irresistible.

The third and fourth purposes of the UN as set forth in Article 1 of its charter, are:

3) To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, …

4) To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Both purposes will be advanced by the establishment of a global community of communication. Thus, 2 MT Bilingualism should be a top UN priority. The UN is the best organization to make the choice of a global common language. The UN choice could be made by the UN General Assembly designating the seventh official language, either explicitly or implicitly, as its candidate for global 2 MT Bilingualism.

The UN can also announce that the seventh language will be used as a universal pivot language for translations and that documents in the seventh language will be the official text for resolving ambiguities among translations. The UN's seventh language will, immediately, become the most important second language for students in every country. Not a foreign or elite language, it will be a second MT that admits all to membership in an inclusive global community.

## 10.3 Decolonizing the Security Council

The collapse of colonialism in the second half of the 20th Century accounts for much of the increase in UN membership. While formal (*de jure*) colonialism has been repudiated, two members of the Security

Council, Great Britain and France, are members in perpetuity only because they were colonial powers at the end of the Second World War. This institutionalization of colonial privilege needs to be corrected. Until then, the fight against colonialism is unfinished.

My suggestion for ending anachronistic colonialism in the Security Council has seven elements. These seven elements are *interim* changes that will only be effective until the UN's 2045 centennial. They will, however, increase the legitimacy of an interim effort to bring the UN Charter into conformance with the realities of the 21st Century:

1) India replaces Great Britain as a permanent member of the Security Council (The colony replaces the colonizer.),

2) Great Britain is given a new seat, but only until 2045. This seat is *ex officio*, with Great Britain responsible for representing the Commonwealth of Nations (ex India). In 2045, a seat for the Commonwealth may (or may not) be established as part of the centennial updating.

3) The seat held by France will be retained by France, until 2045, but with France now representing the EU. Similar to the Commonwealth seat, an EU seat may be established in the Centennial updating.

4) A new seat will be designated for the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CLACS). Until the 2045 Centennial updating, it will be held by Brazil, *ex officio*. After 2045, as with the Commonwealth and EU seats, its future will be determined by the new UN Charter.

5) A new seat will be designated for the AU, until 2045, if an agreement between the UN and the AU can be reached on its representative's selection process and *ex officio* role.[120]

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[120] The AU is asking for two African seats on the Security Council. Given the projection that Africa will contain 40% of the global population by 2100, this is not manifestly unreasonable. India, however would also qualify for two seats. An alternative would be to have one seat for Sub-Sahara Africa and one seat for the African countries bordering the Mediterranean that would extend to the Middle East as a new seat for Dar al-Islam.

6) A new seat will be established for Dar al Islam, until 2045, if an agreement can be reached between the UN and a majority of the nation-states which are predominantly Muslim. The AU members which border the Mediterranean can choose to be part of either the AU or Dar al-Islam group.

7) A new seat will be established for the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), until 2045, if an agreement can be reached between the UN and ASEAN on its representative's selection and their *ex officio* role.

A Security Council so comprised, although not based on population, would represent more than 80% of the world's population. The number of non-permanent members could be reduced – so the number of security council members could be maintained or reduced, with all members having equal authority and responsibility – until 2045.

Population in Millions and as a Percentage of the Global Population (2023)

| polity | million | year | percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| AU | 1450 | (2023) | ≈17.5% |
| India | 1430 | (2023) | ≈17.5% |
| China | 1425 | (2023) | ≈17.5% |
| ASEAN | 689 | (2023) | ≈ 8.5% |
| CELAC[121] | 665 | (2023) | ≈ 8.3% |
| EU | 448 | (2023) | ≈ 5.6% |
| USA | 340 | (2023) | ≈4.2% |
| Russia | 143 | (2021) | ≈1.8% |
| Total | 6,410 | | 80.5% |

[121] Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños

If the Security Council resists reform, the General Assembly can (and should) simply refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the colonialism infected Security Council, even if it must act outside of the anachronistic charter. That would be a bold, even revolutionary move. The fight against colonialism has always been revolutionary. The General Assembly would have the moral high ground and simply needs to appreciate that the fight against colonialism is incomplete. If the general assembly fights this residual colonialism with perseverance, they will win. History has already spoke on colonial privilege.

If the UN cannot adapt, it needs to be replaced before there is another global conflict. It could begin with an exodus of members to a parallel organization.[122] Such an action or even its threat will hopefully not become necessary. But, without the possibility of severe consequences, the UN will continue to be an inadequate survival vehicle for the needs of our global community of common fate. It will continue to operate on the basis of unwarranted colonial era privileges.

> "… the challenge of the new era will be met by those solutions that take existing institutions and alter them enough to meet new demands but no more, merely because such is the least costly solution. "
>
> James C. Bennett, *The Anglosphere Challenge* (2004)

## 10.4 A General Assembly Centennial Updating

In reforming the Security Council, there is an opportunity for the UN to adopt a bicameral structure. The 193 member General Assembly is smaller than the larger legislative chamber of many governments. The UN General Assembly can be a coequal chamber with an updated Security Council.

[122] The UN's G 77 (135) could establish a parallel organization and negotiate with the UN for an end of its colonial vestiges. It could "occupy" the UN Headquarters in New York to challenge the anachronistic UN Security Council.

Size of Larger Legislative Assembly

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| China | 2980 | European Union | 720 | India | 550 |
| Germany | 735 | Great Britain | 650 | USA | 435 |
| Japan | 722 | France | 577 | Italy | 400 |

Model International Law. The members of the UN are unlikely to give its updated institutions the authority to enact laws that are binding on the member states, but the General Assembly could be used to propose model legislation for the consideration of all member states. This would be similar to the enactment of a global *aquis communitaire* – like the EU *aquis communitaire,*[123] but on a voluntary basis. It would complement the more traditional system of treaties and, in some cases, could substitute for treaties.

A global, but voluntary, *aquis communitaire* would be especially useful for proposing model legislation to establish fair rules for international trade. Instead of bilateral rules negotiated between large economies and small economies, in which there are significant power disparities, the model legislation route would reflect a multilateral balance with much smaller inequities due to relative size. The rules could significantly reduce the cost of international transactions globally and the collective benefits shared more equitably.

One model for this suggestion of voluntary convergence is the successful Uniform Law Commission (ULC), which provides model legislation for the consideration of its 53 sovereign members. Established in the USA in 1892, the ULC consists of about 350 commissioners who work in panels dedicated to specific legislative initiatives.

This is a committee system, as is common in legislatures. Commissioners are appointed by each of the 50 states, the District of Columbia, the

[123] The cumulative legislation and court decisions regulating EU member-states.

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands. The Commissioners are lawyers with varied expertise. Many are current or past legislators, judges, and legal scholars. All are unpaid volunteers. The ULC has drafted and proposed 119 model laws.

The ULC's budget comes from the state and territorial governments that appoint the commissioners and is supplemented by grants from private foundations and the federal government. A modest budget is sufficient because legal expertise is provided by the Commissioners. The Commissioners donate millions of dollars worth of time and expertise each year in the development of proposed model acts.

Once a uniform law is drafted, the member jurisdictions are free to enact it or not enact it. They can also amend it to meet local conditions or pass it unamended to maximize cross jurisdictional uniformity. ULC drafting reduces the burden on legislatures and uniformity reduces the regulatory burden on multi-state businesses. Generally, the ULC work product is not controversial, but that does not mean it is unimportant.

Harmonizing the applicable law is particularly important for commercial transactions, because these often involve multiple jurisdictions. Products can be manufactured in one jurisdiction, warehoused in a different jurisdiction, sold from a third jurisdiction and delivered to a fourth. The most important of the ULC products, from this perspective, was the Uniform Commercial Code (UCC). The UCC modernized contract law in the USA and its territories. As it works well for 53 sovereign jurisdictions in the USA, perhaps this model would be useful for achieving greater consistency in commercial law across the 193 sovereign jurisdictions which are members of the UN?

> "Without official recognition, the fate of the best system (of language rationalization) is precarious; with it, any scheme that is not totally unworkable would do well enough."
>
> Albert Léon Guérard, *A Short History of the International Language Movement* (1921)

# Chapter 11

# Global Linguistic Congruence: Three Approaches

This essay advocates complementary bilingualism, preferably in the form of 2 MT Bilingualism, but does not support any specific language. The choice of the common language must be made by those with the requisite authority and responsibility. Any choice made by the UN will be widely adopted and will succeed in establishing global 2 MT Bilingualism. Any sizable group of UN members could initiate global 2 MT Bilingualism. The G 77 (135), which represent most of the disadvantaged polities under the current *de facto* policy of global English elite bilingualism, would also be an ideal proponent. Another candidate for choosing would be the BRICS+ group of nations, as they appear to be focused on reducing unwarranted privileges.

The first mover in establishing 2 MT Bilingualism could also be either of the two inchoate region-states. Any of the three empire-states could also initiate 2 MT Bilingualism – although it is unlikely that the USA will do so, since it could not choose English and its interests are well served by the current elite English bilingualism. A choice could also be made by India's Parliament, if the choice was not English or Hindi. A choice made by any large polity, as long as it was made with a global perspective rather than from a parochial bias, could stimulate conforming action by the UN.

## 11.1 English: Elite Bilingualism and Elite Closure

Globally, English is the dominant *lingua franca*. But, English is an elite *lingua franca.* Using it for complementary bilingualism would risk continuing the current *de facto* policy of elite bilingualism with its associated elite closure and would continue to disadvantage non-Anglophones. English can only become the global common language if it is selected for that role by a large and non-Anglophone global organization, such as the UN, EU, or AU. Nevertheless, before looking at two other options, the potential for English must be evaluated..

11.1.1 The Ephemeral Advantages of *Lingua Franca* English. That the language of an average sized country situated off of the West Coast of Europe became a global *lingua franca* is not due to any characteristics that make English particularly suited to the role. Rather, it was because the British successfully established settlement colonies that displaced (ethnic cleansing) the indigenous populations in the vast expanses of North America and Australia.[124]

Great Britain's settlement colonies had the dual blessing of geographic distance from Eurasia, during the two "world" wars in the first half of the 20th Century, and a common language. When Eurasia was decimated a second time in World War II, economic and military leadership shifted from Great Britain to its former settlement colonies. At the end of World War II, the USA alone produced almost half of the world's manufactured goods. Even with the inevitable decline in the percentage of the world's GDP produced by Anglophones, as Eurasia recovered, there was no decline in the use of English as a *lingua franca*. Improvements in communication and transportation technology increased the utility of *lingua franca* English for the global elite and elite organizations like multinational corporations.

[124] Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand have over 7 times the population of England and are over 200 times as large. Although much of Canada is too cold for substantial settlements and much of Australia is too hot, in both cases their relatively empty expanses contain abundant resources.

English's Three Apparent Advantages. The Anglophone network is the only language network with both tremendous size (1.35 billion) and global breadth.[125] On this basis, many people assume that it is the inevitable choice for global linguistic congruence. Before considering the reasons not to choose English, it is important to understand the three reasons that favor English and the limits of these reasons.

Network Externalities. If having more users increases the utility of a network, people will join a larger network over a smaller one. People join Facebook (META) because there are already hundreds of millions of users. Positive network externalities create a "bandwagon" effect. English has very positive network externalities.

Path Dependence. Once a practice is established, it is easier to conform than to change the standard. A classic example is the QWERTY layout of the English language keyboard. The arrangement of keys looks oddly random, but the layout was designed to make it hard to type fast.[126] At a time when manual typewriters were prone to physical jamming, speed was not an unmitigated virtue. Now, even though manual typewriters are obsolete and physical jamming is not a problem, the QWERTY keyboard is still the standard. After many millions of keyboard users internalized the QWERTY arrangement, the cost of retraining them was not justified by a small gain in typing speed. For elite communication, such as its use in multinational corporations, path dependence makes elite English bilingualism attractive.

Probability Sensitivity. People will not learn a language unless there is a reasonable probability that its subsequent use will justify the effort. Without such a probability there is insufficient motivation to learn a

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[125] Putonghua is roughly as large, but it is highly concentrated within China and the Chinese diaspora.

[126] An alternative theory is that the typewriter keyboard's layout was designed for its early adopters. Telegraph operators used the typewriter to quickly translate morse code. While the motives of slowing the typing process (avoid jamming of keys) or speeding it up (for telegraph operators) are inconsistent, in either case it is an example of path dependence once a standard is established.

language. Globally, people expect to be able to use English more frequently and more widely (intensive and extensive) than any other foreign language. So, probability sensitivity encourages learning English as a *foreign* language and using it as a *lingua franca*.

The Ephemeral Advantages of Elite Bilingualism. The three preceding advantages sound impressive, but only until you realize that all three of these advantages also applied to the Russian language in Eastern Europe prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall and dissolution of the USSR. As earlier noted, the teaching of Russian dropped by half in just one generation and by 95% in areas outside of the former USSR. If any other language is chosen for global 2 MT Bilingualism, *lingua franca* English will suffer the same or a greater reduction.[127]

The three reasons for the popularity of *lingua franca* English will all transfer to any language chosen for 2 MT Bilingualism. In addition, as discussed earlier, technology will assume much of the role now played by *lingua franca* English. The world needs linguistic congruence with a neutral language (universally exogenous) that will code for a new global identity that helps us to overcome the divisions that impede necessary global collective action.

Over 85% of the world's population does not speak any English and less than 5% are native speakers of English. A universally exogenous and easily learned choice would be better for 95% of the world's population and all future generations. Chosen by a very large polity, such as the UN, the G 77 (135), BRICS+, either or both of the non-Anglophone empire-states (China and Russia) or a future region-state (EU, AU) any reasonable language choice can displace English in popularity (network externality) and reverse the English advantage in path dependence and probability sensitivity. In any event, the utility of learning a *lingua franca* – as opposed to a second MT identity language – will decline as rapidly as NMT technology improves. It is improving rapidly.

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[127] The reduction in Russian occurred in the absence of an affirmative language rationalization policy to displace it as a *lingua franca*. English as a foreign language and *lingua franca* may suffer an even more dramatic decline after the adoption of 2 MT Bilingualism with a universally exogenous and easily learned language.

> "The choice of language and the use to which language is put are central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe."
>
> Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986)

11.1.2 The Difficulties of Using English in Complementary Bilingualism. Having seen how ephemeral the three English advantages actually are, it is time to look at its disadvantages. The three principal disadvantages are: 1) *laissez* unfair bilingualism due to the creation of a linguistic caste system, 2) *laissez* unfair bilingualism due to the Anglo Sphere's bias towards neoliberal economics that produce excessive inequality, and 3) *laissez* fail bilingualism due to the difficulty of learning English, especially relative to multiple alternatives.

*Laissez* Unfair: A Linguistic Caste System. Choosing English will reinforce the current elite bilingualism. The EU has demonstrated that this is a problem with its failed *de facto* policy of English-centric plurilingualism. The best policy for the 95% of the global population that does not speak English natively is not English. The best language rationalization policy would *not* use any major *lingua franca*. Using any major *lingua franca* will privilege its native speakers – and be a big problem for everyone else.

It is a great advantage to be able to use your native language. It is very unfair when someone else's language is used by default. One of the best expressions of this unfairness came from a Swiss psychologist who worked as a translator at the UN from 1956 to 1961 and later for the World Health Organization (WHO). He characterized the elite bilingualism of *lingua franca* English as a linguistic caste system.[128]

> "An English-speaking physicist has been able to devote to physics the many hours that his colleagues from other cultures have had to devote to the painful and slow acquisition of English, but he is unaware of his privilege. When you are a member of the upper caste, you take your advantages for granted.... Not only have people outside the upper

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[128] C. Piron, *Le défi des languages* (1994).

> caste been forced to devote many, many hours to the study of the upper caste's language, moreover when they have to negotiate or discuss with somebody belonging to this upper caste they are at a disadvantage: their opponent can avail himself of a richness of vocabulary and a feeling of security in language use that they will forever be lacking. Their opponent has a mastery of the language weapon, they have not."

Unwarranted privilege can be so subtle or indirect that people are unaware of it. For example, news that is delivered in a local language may well have been curated by a news agency that is owned or operated by Anglophones. Any Anglo Sphere biases will be invisible to the ultimate consumers of the content. To overcome unwarranted privileges, language rationalization should use a universally exogenous language so that it does not favor any community by creating a linguistic "upper caste."

Another problem created by the selection of a major *lingua franca*, especially English, is the indirect introduction of unexamined bias into a broad range of academic inquiry. This is especially, but not exclusively, a problem in the social sciences. For example, because of the dominance of English in academic publishing, most academic work in the social sciences is conducted in English. The research is often conducted using native English speakers. In fact it very often uses college students on university campuses in the Anglo Sphere. This phenomena is referred to as the WEIRD (Western Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic) bias of academic research. A universally exogenous common language would help academics escape from the WEIRD trap – which is a manifestation of the Anglophone caste system.

> "Speaking English makes people open to Britain's cultural achievements, social values and business aims."
>
> The British Council, *English 2000* (1995)

<u>*Laissez* Unfair: Global Capital's Excessive Political Power</u>. English is the elite *lingua franca* of global capital. Capitalism can be successful for individuals and corporations, while simultaneously being detrimental to communities – an example of the fallacy of composition. Can neoliberal capitalism's excesses be effectively constrained in a world where the Anglophone elite is unfairly privileged? At a minimum, it will be more difficult.

One of the most serious threats to our planet, global warming, is exacerbated by the combination of restricted nation-state regulatory authority and unfettered global capitalism. Instead of just using Adam Smith's invisible hand as a means of establishing prices and making market defined allocations, global capitalism promotes the mindless production of non-essential and disposable commodities for the sole purpose of the endless accumulation of capital.[129] It undermines all other values and prevents an adequate response to global warming.

> "Transnational corporations have become the dominant force directing our world. Humanity is accelerating towards a precipice of over consumption and the large transnational corporations are the primary agents driving us there."
>
> Jeremy Lent, *Five Ways to Curb the Power of Corporations* (Open Democracy, July 22, 2018)

Fossil Fuel Dependent Corporations Dwarf Most Governments. If you list countries and corporations together, ranked according to revenue, 69 of the top 100 are corporations and only 31 are countries.[130] Of the top 200, 157 are companies. Each of the top six corporations has annual revenues in excess of the annual tax collection of India.

Twenty-one of the top 100 are almost exclusively dependent on the production or burning of fossil fuels. The total annual revenues of just these twenty-one are more than the annual revenue of the USA government. This list only includes the very largest businesses which are very highly dependent on generating the atmospheric pollution that causes global warming. A comprehensive list, including both smaller and more diversified corporations, would yield far larger total figures. Their collective influence makes it much harder for governments to respond appropriately to global warming.

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[129] A useful analogy is the apprentice in *The Sorcerer's Apprentice,* a poem by Goethe (1797), wherein the apprentice unleashes forces that he cannot control. The Sorcerer's Apprentice also appears as a segment in the Walt Disney movie *Fantasia* (1940).

[130] This data was provided by Global Justice Now (2018.) The specifics vary by source and date. The annual shuffling of positions does not change the basic fact.

> "… the combined profits, taxes, and royalties generated by the oil and gas industry over the past few months would be enough to capture every single molecule of CO2 produced by their activities and re-inject them back underground. So why are we only talking about transforming society and not about obliging a highly profitable industry to clean up the mess caused by the products it sells?"
>
> Professor Myles Alan, Oxford University, *World Close to 'irreversible' climate breakdown, warn major studies*, The Guardian October 27, 2022

While governments try to limit the influence of other governments, they are shockingly open to being influenced by global capital. Fewer and larger polities, such as the potential region-states in Europe, Africa, Latin America and South East Asia, could more easily coordinate their policies for greater equity in global taxation and the regulation of global capital.

<u>Insanity: UN Report on Petro-States</u>. The energy plans of the petro-states contradict their climate policies and pledges. The world's fossil fuel producers are planning expansions that would blow the planet's carbon budget twice over. Experts called the plans "insanity" which "throw humanity's future into question."[131]

Current plans would lead to 460% more coal production, 83% more gas, and 29% more oil in 2030 than it was possible to burn if global temperature rise is to be kept to the internationally agreed 1.5° C. The plans would also produce 69% more fossil fuels than is compatible with a far riskier 2° C target.

The countries responsible for the largest carbon emissions from planned fossil fuel production are India (coal), Saudi Arabia (oil) and Russia (coal, oil and gas). The US and Canada are also planning to become even larger oil producers, as is the United Arab Emirates.

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[131] The fourth edition of the Production Gap Report examines the difference between planned fossil fuel production and the levels of production consistent with limiting global warming to 1.5°C or 2°C. The report is a collaboration among research and academic institutions, including more than 80 experts from 30 countries. It is peer-reviewed, with guidance and support from the UN Environment Programme, and is reviewed under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

> "Since the 1960s, despite enormous growth in pretax corporate earnings, global corporate tax revenues have been in decline; globalization and the rise of the digital economy have accelerated this trend."
>
> Joseph E Stiglitz, Prof. of economics, Columbia University, *The International Tax System is Broken*, in Foreign Affairs July 3, 2024

Nation-States are Useful to Global Capital. Competition among nation-states for global capital allows global capital to avoid taxes, minimize regulations, and off-load externalities. A good example is Apple's locating the monetization of its *intellectual property* in corporate tax friendly Ireland. Apple used a practice called the *double Irish structure*[132] to take advantage of a difference in tax law between Ireland and the USA.[133] Only because the EU acted was this practice even challenged. Still, Apple beat the EU in court – a win worth 14.5 billion dollars. While the EU was eventually able to force Ireland to close the loophole in 2020, international corporations continue to aggressively forum shop for tax advantages.[134]

Global capital does not even need to collude. It is unified by its reflexive externalizing of costs onto society, and the rabid avoidance of taxes and government oversight or regulation. Capital easily out maneuvers the individual nation-states at the expense of global equity and our planet's future. The experience with Apple in Ireland shows the utility of nation-state aggregation (EU) for dealing with global capital.

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[132] Two subsidiaries, ASI and AOE, incorporated in Ireland but managed and controlled from a tax haven (Bermuda), were assigned the right to monetize Apple intellectual property. Because of differences between the corporate tax law in the USA, which used the place of incorporation (Ireland) and Ireland, which used the place of central management and control, (Bermuda) both countries treated ASI and AOE income as foreign earnings.

[133] The USA changed its tax code in 2017 and it now uses a territorial approach, based on the location of sales.

[134] The model international law process described in §10.4, supra., would be appropriate for global tax harmonization. At the moment, there is competition between the UN (UN Framework Convention on International Tax Cooperation) and the OECD/G 20 (Inclusive Framework on Base Erosion and Profit Shifting 2.0)

> "... the massive degree of complexity that a language winds up clotted with if left alone is hopelessly unnecessary."
>
> John McWhorter, *What Language Is* (2011)

*Laissez* Fail: The Difficulty of English. English does have a head start. This advantage, however, is more than offset by the difficulty of its acquisition, maintenance, and intergenerational transmission. All three of these aspects are crucial for the success of language rationalization. An easily learned (designed) language, in combination with a language rationalization policy of 2 MT Bilingualism better meets all three requirements for success: (1) designed for ease of *acquisition*, (2) 2 MT congruence allows regular use without foreign travel, for easier *maintenance*, and (3) 2 MT (intra family) *transmission* is optimally efficient and cost effective.

> "Why should language have forms that are just cussed exceptions to a rule? What are they good for, besides giving children a way to make cute errors, providing material for humorous verse, and making life miserable for foreign language students?
>
> Steven Pinker *Words and Rules: The Ingredients of Language* (1999)

Phonemes and Graphemes. To understand the difficulty of learning English,[135] a good place to start is with a related pair of problems: unpredictable English phonemes (sounds) and graphemes (spelling). They are two sides of a coin. In an easily learned language, there would be a strong correspondence between phonemes and graphemes. Correspondence allows students to predict the sound of a word from its written form and to know the spelling of a word from its sound. English, in this respect, is much further from the ideal than most languages. Much more phonic

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[135] Because there is no academy that regulates the English language, there is no single English language. In addition to multiple British dialects and the dialects of its former settlement colonies, there is also Singlish (Singaporean English), Hinglish (Hindi English) and scores of other markedly diverse dialects from England's former colonies. New Englishes and dialects are even arising in countries that had more limited contact with Anglophone colonialism, such as Chinglish (Chinese English). The language choice for 2 MT Bilingualism may need a regulatory academy, not to stifle the language's development but only to synchronize it globally.

languages include Spanish, Dutch, German, Swedish, Russian, Arabic and Korean. There is nothing unnatural about a highly phonic language.

> "Most of the opposition to simplified spelling is due to the fact that having taken the time and toil to master our atrociously inconsistent spelling, people have a vague fear that if a phonetic system were adopted, children, the ignorant classes and persons of poor memories would be able to spell just as well as they without one quarter the trouble of learning. Not that they are conscious of this childish and unworthy attitude, for usually they are not, but the motive is operative none the less."
>
> Henry Hazlitt, *Thinking as a Science* (1916)[136]

In English, for example, the same sound (ē), can be written in 11 different ways: h*e*, s*ee*, s*ea*, C*ae*sar, s*ei*ze, bel*ie*ve, p*eo*ple, am*oe*ba, k*ey*, sill*y*, or mar*i*ne. A different phoneme (ō) appears 13 different ways: g*o*, s*ew*, *oh*, m*au*ve, y*eo*man, r*oa*m, f*oe*, br*oo*ch, sh*ou*lder, fl*ow*, bur*eau*, bor*ough*, or *owe*. This chaos is not just a problem with vowel sounds, the same consonant phoneme (/ch/) spell five different ways in cello, church, bitch, adventure, and question. Another consonant phoneme (/s/) is the same in these seven spellings: me*ss*, *ce*ll, pie*ce*s, *ps*ychology, *sc*ience, *s*chism and i*sth*mus.

If you know the spelling of a word from reading it and want to express the word in speech, you have the reverse problem. One letter in English can represent multiple sounds. For example, the letter "a" has different sounds in these nine words: ant, ball, father, many, paper, parent, cattle, Swan, and village. It is not just a problem with vowels. Each letter "c" in the words "Pa**c**ifi**c** O**c**ean" is pronounced very differently.

> "Unfortunately, even the most diligent students [in China] with the most responsible teachers often cannot communicate effectively with the target population after 10 years of studying English."
>
> Keith P. Campbell and Zhao Yong, *The Dilemma of English Language Instruction in the People's Republic of China.* TESOL Journal, Summer 1993

136 Hazlitt is describing the same unconscious elitism that Claude Piron, in an international context, calls a caste system.

As a result of this poor correspondence, English-speaking children spend a significant part of their elementary education just learning how to spell their native language. It also takes longer to teach them to read. For non-native learners, this is a nightmare. Speakers of languages outside of the Indo-European family have an especially difficult time learning English, unless like my niece and nephew in Japan they are raised in a bilingual household.

Can English Be Made Phonic? English could be made phonic, but it would require that the current 26 letters be increase to 44 letters or combinations of plain and accented letters. That, of course, isn't going to happen. I don't think it has ever been seriously considered.

Other Lexical Problems. Other serious problems with English include its many *homonyms*, where multiple words with the same spelling (*homographs*) or pronunciation (*homophones*) have different meanings. Examples of homographs include: ruler, bat, tear, close, minute, etc. Examples of homophones include: whole and hole, cell and sell, flower and flour, etc.[137]

In other cases both the spelling and the sound of the word are identical, but the meanings are different: *park* – a public play area (noun) or to bring a vehicle to a stop and leave it (verb). *bat* – a piece of sports equipment or an animal, and *crane* – a bird or a piece of construction equipment. English also has an over abundance of *silent letters* and pointless double consonants: letter, spell and savvy are examples.

Grammatical Problems. English is not just lexically weird. It's also grammatically weird. One easily grasped example is the irregular plural endings for some English nouns. Plurals are usually formed by adding the letter "s" as in day-days, but this is often not true: man-men, mouse-mice, child-children, deer-deer, and tooth-teeth are just some of the many irregular plurals. All natural languages have idiosyncrasies. With English it is a matter

[137] In some cases, called *heteronyms*, the spelling is the same, but both the pronunciation and meaning are different. Examples of heteronyms include: close, desert, present, lead, refuse, object, wind, etc. The reverse, where the spelling is different but the pronunciation is the same are simply referred to as homonyms.

of degree. These are just a sample. I'll defer to John McWhorter (below), a well known and highly respected linguist, in the interest of brevity and because most people are at least as grammar phobic as they are math phobic.

> "Modern English grammar is, in a word, weird."
>
> John McWhorter, *Our Magnificent Bastard Tongue: The Untold Story of English* (2008)

Can English Be Simplified. The problems of English are so great and well known that the strongest advocates of English hegemony have periodically tried to make it easier to learn and, thus, a less elite *lingua franca*. The two best known attempts were basic English and Globish.

Basic English. In the first half of the 20th Century, two men clearly saw the difficulty of learning English as an impediment to a larger global role. One of them is well known: Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The second is less well known: Charles K. Ogden, the designer of Basic English.

In an attempt to expand Anglophone privilege, Ogden designed Basic English in the 1920's as a reduced version of English. It had a vocabulary of only 850 words.[138] Basic English was intended to be both a tool to teach English and a more suitable candidate for the role of global language.

> "The power to control language offers far better prizes than taking away people's provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. The empires of the future will be the empires of the mind."
>
> Winston Churchill, Harvard University, September 6, 1943

As a potential global language, it received substantial attention near the end of the Second World War. Prime Minister Churchill established a cabinet level committee on Basic English. His committee recommended

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[138] Combined with five combinatory rules, it was supposed to be equal to 20,000 words. Ogden was also an advocate of designed languages, in particular Interlingua. Like Esperanto, Interlingua is a good option for global 2 MT Bilingualism.

that Basic English be used by British diplomats and the British Broadcasting Corporation. Unfortunately for Basic English, Churchill's party lost control of Parliament in 1945 and the new Labor government abandoned his initiative.

Even if Basic English had received support from the subsequent Labor government, it would have failed to become a global language. Severely restricting the vocabulary impaired its expressive capacity without directly addressing many of English's difficulties. Basic English could adequately express mundane necessities, but lacked both precision and range.

George Orwell worked for the BBC for two years[139] in 1941-1943, during the period of support for Basic English. He thought its lexical limits were conducive to propaganda and totalitarianism. He used this insight to create Newspeak in his dystopian novel *1984*. A reduced lexical inventory makes complex thought and reasoning difficult and makes propaganda easier to promote.

<u>Globish</u>. Globish is another reduced English. It was created by Jean-Paul Nerrière in 2004. It had a larger lexical inventory than Basic English, but still only 1500 words. Like Basic English, it used standard English grammar. There was an earlier attempt, also called Globish, by Madhukar Gogate in 1998. Other reduced versions of English include Special English and Specialized English. To my knowledge, no one has ever found a way to make learning English a less overwhelming task. If they have, it is a better kept secret than the formula for Coca Cola.

> "We seem to have a collective blind spot when it comes to language design. We designed a better horse, it is called a car. We designed a better ox, it is called a tractor. Why do so many people think that only "natural" languages work properly?"
>
> Russell Blair, *Making Europeans and Governting Diversity* (2016)

[139] He referred to the BBC of the war years as "a mixture of whorehouse and lunatic asylum." He called his tenure there "two wasted years." War does strange things to government information systems.

## 11.2 *Afrançaise:* Three Simple Changes to a Colonial Language

While any natural language is unlikely to pass the test of being easily learned, it is possible to use a natural language as part of the process of designing an easily learned and universally exogenous choice. This is particularly the case for Romance languages, since they tend to have discreet areas of difficulty for students. In a word – *verbs*. In four words – *verbs* and *grammatical gender*.

### *Afrançaise:* A Designed Dialect of French[140]

This section shows how three simple changes to French grammar would make French much easier to learn. Designed languages are more *normal* than *natural* languages. They remove *irregularities* which are, by definition, not *normal*.

Much of the first two years of learning French is spent studying (1) the irregular verbs and (2) the complexities of verb conjugation. Removing the irregularities and simplifying conjugation makes learning *Afrançais* much easier. For people who know French, learning Afrançais takes very little time and effort. For people who don't, it takes far less time and effort than learning standard French.[141]

<u>Element 1. Infinitive Roots for 100% Regular Verbs</u>. The many irregular verbs in French are not consistently irregular, so students need to memorize: 1) which verbs are irregular, 2) in which conjugations – tense, aspect and mood (TAM) – the verbs are irregular and 3) their irregular

[140] Like English, *standard* French would not be the optimal choice. However, making French a more regular (designed) language would make it a much better choice than any natural language.

[141] If the EU and the AU decide to replicate the Chimerica economic model (China and America) with Africa in the role of global workshop (Eurafrica), then *Afrançaise* is a very good choice. This might be a way, for example, to both increase economic development in Africa and reduce the pressure for economic migration to Europe.

forms. The irregular verbs are even more important and troublesome than their very substantial number suggests, because they include many of the most commonly used verbs.[142] In *Afrançais*, all verbs are regular.

*Afrançais* makes all French verbs regular by using the infinitive form of the verb (the way words appear in a dictionary) as the root for conjugation. If the final letter of the infinitive form is a vowel (the -re verbs) the vowel is dropped. This allows just five vowels to suffice for all conjugation suffixes, as addressed in Element 2. Using the infinitive as the always regular root makes it easy to recognize verbs, both in written and oral use. Instant recognition of verbs is key to conversational fluency and very helpful in reading.

<u>Element 2. Just Five Endings: Easy Verb Conjugation</u>. Verbs in French use 126 suffixes to show tense, aspect, mood, and *person.*[143] Conjugation in *Afrançais* needs just 5 vowels to mark the verb's tense, aspect and mood (TAM) and does not redundantly mark verbs for person.[144]

The five *Afrançaise* endings are: 1) adding the letter "o" forms the present tense in the indicative mood, 2) adding the letter "u" forms the present tense in the subjunctive mood, 3) adding the letter "a" forms the past tense in the indicative mood, 4) adding the letter "e" forms the future tense, 5) adding the letter "i" forms the conditional mood.[145] The compound tenses

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[142] There is an excellent explanation for this general linguistic phenomenon in *Words and Rules* by Stephen Pinker.

[143] French marks verbs for nine types of person: je, tu, il, elle, on, nous, vous, ils and elles. Multiplied by the 14 TAM (9 x 14), the total is 126. (see following chart and box).

[144] The 14 TAM are seven simple tenses (present indicative, imperfect indicative, passé simple, future, conditional, present subjunctive, and imperfect subjunctive) and seven compound tenses (passé compose indicative, past perfect indicative, passé anterior, future perfect, conditional perfect, perfect subjunctive and past perfect subjunctive).

[145] In Afrançais, the imperative mood (command form) is expressed with the bare infinitive. As in English, the imperative is signaled by volume or emphasis: Stop! In French, the imperative mood is only used in the second person singular (tu), the

use the same five vowel endings as the simple tenses, applied to either *avoir* or *être*, so a student only needs to apply the five simple tense endings to the helping verbs in order to create the compound tenses.

Unlike standard French, *Afrançais* doesn't mark the verb to show "person." French marks for person and also requires the use of subject pronouns. Since the subject pronoun is always used in French, marking verbs to reflect person is redundant.[146] Spanish and Portuguese mark their verbs to show person but do not require the use of personal pronouns (pro-drop). *Afrançais* does the reverse, it keeps the easily learned and remembered subject pronouns and drops the redundant marking of verbs for person.

The following chart shows the simplicity of verb conjugation in the *Afrançais* dialect with a specific example: garder (to guard) in the simple tenses. These five endings (a, e, i o, u) represent a 96% reduction in the memorization that is required to learn the standard French conjugation.

Combining the 94% reduction in conjugation (5/126 = 4%) with not having to memorize the irregular verbs means that learning the *Afrançais* "designed dialect" of French requires a tiny fraction of the effort required for learning verbs in standard French. Instead of verbs causing most of the cognitive load on first and second year French language students, they will require only a few pages, a little studying and some practice.

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first person plural (nous), and the second person plural (vous). It is excluded from the count because Afrançaise uses the present (indicative) endings – but excludes the subject pronoun, in order to distinguish the imperative from the present indicative.

146 Verbs in Norwegian are not marked for person. Designed or schematic languages can combine the most rational approaches to each discrete issue from among the world's thousands of languages. It is natural languages that are weird and arbitrary.

## Comparing Afrançais with Standard French Verb Conjugation (Garder = To Keep Watch, to Guard)

| French Simple Tenses | Afrançais Simple Tenses |
| --- | --- |
| **Present (Indicative)**<br>(*je*) garde (*nous*) gardons<br>(*tu*) gardes (*vous*) gardez<br>(*il, elle, on*) garde (*ils, elles*) gardent | *je, tu, il, elle, on, nous, vous, ils, elles*<br>garder<u>**o**</u> |
| **Imperfect (Indicative)**<br>gardais gardions<br>gardais gardiez<br>gardait gardaient | garder<u>**a**</u> |
| **Passé Simple**<br>gardai gardâmes<br>gardas gardâtes<br>garda gardèrent | Passé Simple is only used in formal writing. Afrancaise uses the compound Passé Compose instead. For details, see the following comments. |
| **Future**<br>garderai garderons<br>garderas garderez<br>gardera garderont | garder**e** |
| **Conditional**<br>garderais garderions<br>garderais garderiez<br>garderait garderaient | garder**i** |
| **Present (Subjunctive)**<br>garde gardions<br>gardes gardiez<br>garde gardent | garder**u** |
| **Imperfect (Subjunctive)**<br>gardasse gardassions<br>gardasses gardassiez<br>gardât gardassent | guarder**au**<br>use a + u<br>a = imperfect and u = subjunctive |

## TAM (Tense, Aspect and Mood)

French verbs, as with many languages, mark verbs with suffixes that show the tense, aspect, and mood of the sentence. Voice (active or passive) is shown with the use of a helping verb. Evidentiality and universality are marked in some languages, but not French (or English.)

Indo-European languages, like French and English, often combine tense, aspect and mood (eg. present indicative). In addition, not all possible combinations of TAM are used. In fact, most possibilities are not used or useful.

**Tense:** Tense marks a sentence for position on the time continuum (past, present or future).

**Aspect:** Aspect marks a sentence for habitual action, progressive action,[147] imperfect (incomplete) action and perfective (completed). French only marks verbs for imperfect and perfect aspects.

**Mood:** Mood marks a sentence for indicative (factual or question), subjunctive (contra factual, wishful, or imagined), conditional (validity dependent on a condition), or imperative (command or directive).

The chart on the preceding page only includes the simple TAM conjugations. Compound conjugations use the same endings, but applied to a helping verb (avoir). *The simplification in Afrançais is therefore compounded in the compound tenses.* The compound tenses are not shown, in order to simplify the discussion.

[147] Progressive action in Afrançaise, as in French and English, uses a helping verb to mark this aspect.

I love the French language, except for its verb conjugation. Its massive influence on English has been hugely positive. Afrançais was created specifically for African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) economic cooperation. Africa and Europe could be the *Chimerica* of the 21st Century: *Eurafrica*. It is projected that Africans will become 40% of the world's population in the 21st Century – so any AU preference should be followed. But, the AU should act quickly, in order to assure that its choice – whatever its choice – will be adopted globally.

Element 3. No Grammatical Gender. The term "gender" comes from the Latin "genus," meaning "type, class, sort or kind." In linguistics, gender does not mean natural (sexual) gender. Natural gender marking is when a word changes to reflect a real biological distinction. For example, English reflects natural gender in the third person singular subject pronoun with "he" or "she." In contrast, grammatical gender in modern European languages is the *now* arbitrary and pointless marking of nouns and their adjectives with pseudo-gender markings that no longer have a grammatical function.[148] Grammatical gender creates two problems for students: 1) learning the gender for each noun and 2) remembering to show agreement between nouns and their modifiers.

Most European languages – including the Romance and Germanic languages, but not English, – have retained vestigial but meaningless grammatical gender. It clearly isn't necessary.[149] In the Romance languages, grammatical gender assigns nouns to either a masculine or feminine class.[150] The Germanic languages, excluding English, include a third class, called "neuter." There's no logic in these pseudo gender assignments. For example:

1. In Spanish, "bikini" is a masculine noun (***el** bikini*).

2. "Nose" is masculine in Portuguese (***o** nariz*), but feminine in Spanish (***la** nariz*).

3. German silverware requires three genders: the knife (***das** messer*), the fork (***der** gabel*) and the spoon (***die** loffel*)?

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148 Only about 1/4 of the world's languages use grammatical gender (noun classification) and some languages do not even have pronomial (he-she) gender (eg. Hungarian, Estonian and Finnish).

149 Gender, in many other languages, retains a grammatical function. For example, KiSwahili has over a dozen noun categories (genders) with grammatical functions. The prefix Ki, as an example, is used to mark a class of nouns that includes languages. Half of the world's languages do not have grammatical gender.

150 A neuter form is used in some romance languages, sparingly, for abstract concepts derived from adjectives. Thus, in Spanish, we see lo buena/ lo malo. French has no neuter, but has epicene words which lack gender marking.

4. In French, the word for beard *(**la** barbe)* is feminine. A woman's breast is masculine (***le** sein*), but a mans chest is feminine (***la** poitrine*).

5. In German, Mädcehn (girl) is neuter, not feminine. Diminutive German nouns end in 'chen' and are neuter.

6. In some languages, grammatical gender differs based on the natural gender of the speaker.

The list of illogical and arbitrary categorizations could go on for many pages. What does all this false gender represent? Nothing. They are just artifacts from a distant Indo-European past.[151]

## 11.3 Designed Languages: Universally Exogenous and Easy

The problems associated with global language rationalization are solved if two simple criteria are applied in choosing the language for use in a policy of 2 MT Bilingualism. The choice should be *universally exogenous* and the chosen language should be as *easy to learn* as possible. Governments that appreciate both the need to make the task of learning as easy and inexpensive as possible and the need for a universally exogenous choice will choose a schematic (designed) language.

Once the UN, the EU, the AU, India, BRICS+, G 77 (135) or any of the three empire-states tips the first domino by choosing a designed language for 2 MT Bilingualism, hundreds of millions of people across the globe will immediately begin learning that language – and they will succeed.

<u>Equity: Universally Exogenous</u>. I am an Anglophone, but English should not be chosen for global complementary bilingualism unless and until it is deemed acceptable by non-Anglophones—that is equally true for any of the three empire-states' languages or any of the European colonial languages. Codifying the privileges of elite bilingualism would only

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[151] There are a few French words where gender still has a semantic function. For example: *le vase* (the vase) and *la vase* (the mud). These can be dealt with, along with other minor details, in corpus planning.

widen the inequality between the selected languages' native speakers and all other language communities.

Absolute equity is impossible. Even a designed language cannot be equidistant from each of the world's many language families.[152] Given the size of the Indo-European language community, especially if second language speakers are included, it makes sense to select or design a language with its major elements from this family.

A design that attempted to balance and blend elements from all of the world's language families would be a horrific mess. Fundamental differences are too numerous and incompatible for there to be a coherent option that is equidistance from all language families. The only attempt at such equality, to the author's knowledge, is a design called Sona.[153] It's designer was "inspired" by English, Arabic, Turkish, Chinese and Japanese. The author is not familiar with it and Seabright's book is out of print.[154]

Easy By Design. Anyone who has studied a foreign language knows that learning a natural language is very difficult.[155] For elite bilingualism to be avoided, it is important for 2 MT Bilingualism to use an easily learned language. Ideally the choice should be even easier to learn than the trade languages used in Tanzania (KiSwahili) and Indonesia (Bahasa Indonesia).[156]

While it is Eurocentric, the best known designed languages (Esperanto and Interlingua) are universally exogenous and that is a key requirement. The lack of equidistance and consequent privileging of Indo-European

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[152] The four largest language families are: Indo-European (3.2 billion), Sino-Tibetan (1.4 billion), Niger-Congo (.8 billion), and Afro-Asiatic (.3 billion).

[153] Not to be confused with a language of the same name found in New Guinea.

[154] See. K. Seabright, *Sona, an auxiliary neutral language* (1935)

[155] For natural languages, the estimates vary widely from as low as one year to a decade or more. The former is for very basic communication, whereas the latter is for functional fluency. The degree of similarity with the learner's native language makes a big difference.

[156] To the best of my knowledge, the time required to learn Esperanto has never been compared with the time required to learn any trade language. Trade languages are likely to be intermediate between natural languages and schematic languages. Interlingua, mentioned earlier, would have results very similar to Esperanto's.

language communities makes it crucial that the selected language be as easy to learn as possible. Along with being universally exogenous, an easily learned choice is the other key requirement and designed languages' critical virtue.

For maximal contrast with English, the best comparison is with the only schematic language which has been field test for 130 years: Esperanto. Esperanto is also the only designed language that has entered the world's collective consciousness. It was designed at the end of the 19th century by Lazarus L. Zamenhof, with the objective of creating an easily learned and neutral language that would promote understanding among different language communities.

> "Esperanto, as we know it today, is not the work of Zamenhof. It is a language which has developed on the foundation of Zamenhof's project through a century of constant use by a very diverse people."
>
> Claude Piron, *Psychological Aspects of the World Language Problem and of Esperanto*. Talk given in Basil Switzerland on March 21, 1998

The Institute of Cybernetic Pedagogy (Germany) compared Esperanto, with three natural languages (English, German, and Italian) in terms of the study time required for French high-school students to obtain equivalent facility. It took approximately one-tenth as long for the French high-school students to achieve an equivalent level of Esperanto (150 hours) as English (1500 hours).[157] Given the limited time available for classroom instruction during the school year, students will be much more successful at learning Esperanto than English.

> "An average college senior or graduate in 20 hours of study will be able to understand printed and spoken Esperanto better than he understands French or German or Italian or Spanish after a hundred hours of study."
>
> Edward L. Thorndike, *Institute of Educational Research Language Learning Report*. Columbia University Teachers College (1933)

[157] Neither Esperanto or Interlingua can be learned in 150 hours, nor can English be learned in 1500. The significance is that an equivalent learning of the designed language occurs in a fraction of the time required for a natural language.

The results with Francophone students were very impressive. As both French and Italian are Romance languages, it took the French students less time to learn Italian than German. English, although a Germanic language, is heavily influenced by French and so it fell between German and Italian. The important figure is the huge difference between learning any of the natural languages and learning Esperanto.

Time Required For French Students To Learn Equal Amounts of Four Languages.

| | |
|---|---|
| German | 2000 hours |
| English | 1500 hours |
| Italian | 1000 hours |
| Esperanto | 150 hours |

Globally, hundreds of millions of students study English. This represents a huge investment by governments and educational institutions, in addition to the students' massive investment of their time and effort. The results are discouraging. Outside of Europe, less than 1% of the students become fluent in English.[158] This is neither the fault of the teachers nor their students. Why fail with English, or any natural language, when you can succeed with a designed language?

Esperanto has been studied since 1918. Generally, these studies have not been rigorously controlled and are not widely reported, largely because it is expensive to use students in a multiyear study and there was insufficient funding. Bias may also be a factor in some of the studies. The results, therefore, are somewhat anecdotal. Still, the results are

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[158] C. Piron. *Communication Linguistique Etude comparative faite sur le terrain*, Language Problems and Language Planning 26(1), (2002).

consistent in finding that a designed language is much easier to learn than a natural language.

## Studies of the Esperanto Language

1. 1918-1921. Girls Middle School students in Bishop Auckland College, England. Dr. Alexander Fischer, *Language By Way of Esperanto*.

2. 1922-1924. Bishop's Elementary School, Auckland, New Zealand.

3. 1924. Wellesley College, Psychology Department, Mass., USA. Christian Rudmick, *The Wellesley College Danish-Esperanto Experiment*.

4. 1925-31. Columbia University and IALA, New York, USA. Edward Thorndike, *Language Learning*. Bureau of Publications of Teachers College, 1933.

5. 1934-1935. Public High School students in New York, USA. Helen S. Eaton, *An Experiment in Language Learning*. Modern Language Journal Vol 19, No. 1 (October 1934).

6. 1947-1951. Grammar School students in Sheffield England. J. H. Halloran (lecturer in Pedagogy at the University of Sheffield), *A four year experiment in Esperanto as an introduction to French*. British Journal of Educational Psychology, vol.22, n.3, Nov. 1952.

7. 1948-1965. Egerton Park School, Manchester, England. Norman Williams, *Report on the Teaching of Esperanto From 1948 to 1965*.

8. 1958-1963. Somero Middle School, Finland. Finnish Ministry of Public Instruction.

9. 1962-1963. Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest, Hungary.

10. 1971-1977. International League of Esperanto Teachers coordinated studies in Hungary, Belgium, France, Greece, West Germany and the Netherlands.

11. 1970-1980. Institute of Pedagogic Cybernetics, University of Paderborn, Germany. Prof. Helmar Frank.

12. 1983-1988. Elementary Schools, esp. Rocca Elementary School, San Salvatore di Logorno, Genoa, Italy.

13. 1994-2000. Monash University, Victoria, Australia.

14. 2006-2011. University of Manchester, Manchester, UK. Dr. Amanda Barton. *Springboard to Languages*.

The Internet: A Free Global Language School. Because designed languages are relatively easy to learn, both school age students and autodidacts of all ages can more easily use the internet to learn and practice a designed language. There are already on-line courses available for learning Esperanto and they can easily scale up serve an unlimited number of students.[159] Any designed language, once designated for 2 MT Bilingualism, will generate a similar response.

Completing an online course in Esperanto is the equivalent of a European B-2 level or four semesters at a university in the USA.[160] There are millions of students currently learning a language online. If any designed language is chosen for 2 MT Bilingualism by any significant polity, many providers (Babbel, Rosetta Stone, etc.) will quickly supplement what is currently available. It will be a very competitive environment. The "free with ads" model and the economics of scale will make it readily available in countries without strong second language programs in their school systems. This is crucial for equity. On-line learning with AI will, in addition, make it possible to focus on each student's individual needs and this will greatly improve on-line learning.

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[159] For example, Duolingo currently has 100 courses in 40 languages. It is free, with ads, and very affordable without ads. The Esperanto course currently serves thousands and could easily scale up to millions, tens of millions or hundreds of millions. Competition would be equally scalable and a low entry cost will click ensure competition.

[160] E.Tschirner, *Listening and Reading Proficiency Levels of College Students* (2016). F. Rubio and J.F. Hackey, *Proficiency vs Performance: What do the tests show?* (2019).

> "It is worth noting that non-specialists language teachers coped well with teaching the Springboard to Languages [Esperanto] programme. The programme is intended to be usable by non-specialist language teachers, whose positive comments indicate that the teaching and learning materials provided enabled them them to deliver Springboard lessons with confidence."
>
> K. Roehr, *The Springboard to Languages evaluation project: a summary report* (2012).

Easy Teacher Training and Retraining. Current teachers of all languages have both a detailed knowledge of a specific language and the extensive training common to all language teachers. With an easily learned language, they can utilize their extensive teacher training after a short period of on-line learning of any highly schematic language. This is not the case with a natural language. Teacher retraining is important and, for Esperanto, much easier than for any natural language.

A Free Language. In cybernetics (the study of communication and control in both animals and machines) the word *propaedeutic* references an introductory experience. A schematic *propaedeutic* (introductory-reference) language increases the student's understanding of their native language better than any other second language and also sets the stage for the efficient learning of a third language. Most of the time spent learning a propaedeutic language is recovered by a reduction in the time and effort required for learning other languages. In that sense, it is a free language – trilingualism for the price of bilingualism.

In the 70's, the University of Paderboren, Germany, was a center for the study of propaedeutic language learning. Professor Helmar Frank studied the introductory-reference value of Esperanto by teaching it to students before they studied English. One group studied only English. A second group spent two years studying Esperanto and then started learning English. The English only group established a big lead during the first two years, because the other group only studied Esperanto. In years three and four, the Esperanto first students were catching up, but were still behind in acquiring English.

By the end of the 5th year, the Esperanto group had learned as much English in three years as the English only group learned in five years. After the sixth year, the Esperanto group tested higher in English skills – even though they had only four years of English study compared to the six years in the English only group. The reason for this unexpected result is that the learning of any language, especially a schematic language, makes it easier to learn additional languages.

Other Benefits. Two other significant benefits have been reported: 1) the lower meta-linguistic load of a propaedeutic language permits efficient learning at an earlier age, and 2) student's who perform poorly in learning a natural language achieve greater success by first learning an introductory – reference (propaedeutic) language. These are both important benefits.

For governments, spending billions teaching a *foreign* language with little to show for it is both inefficient and ineffective. An easier language will dramatically change the cost to benefit ratio. Less money (efficient) and effort (efficient) will achieve much better results (effective).

Both efficiency and effectiveness increase dramatically after one generation. This differentiates 2 MT Bilingualism from the EU policy of MT + 2 plurilingualism, which must start over with each generation of students and very often delays the academic exposure until after the critical age for learning a language.

## 11.4 Beyond Acquisition: 2 MT Maintenance and Transmission

Even if a designed language is easier to learn – as the preceding subsection clearly shows Esperanto to be – it is also necessary to consider maintenance and the language's transmission to subsequent generations. While it is important for the selected language to be easy to acquire, it is absolutely *essential* that it be easily maintained and transmitted between generations. Maintenance and transmission is why 2 MT Bilingualism is key to a successful language rationalization policy irrespective of the language choice.

> "Language maintenance has been very little researched so far, but deserves much more attention in future linguistic investigations, since it appears to be the most crucial aspect of the language acquisition process."
>
> Herdina and Jessner, *The Dynamics of Third Language Acquisition* (2000)

Maintenance After Acquisition. People are unlikely to migrate to a community that uses a language they do not understand, except under extreme pressure. Despite the proximity of multiple countries and the unifying elements of the EU, such as the Euro Zone, Schengen Area, and *aquis communitaire*, only 2% of the EU's citizens live in a country other than their birth country. Consequently, after learning a foreign language, there is generally little opportunity to use it. The result is that foreign language skills atrophy.

After learning one of the four elite European languages (English, French Spanish and German), an exceptionally difficult and correspondingly uncommon accomplishment outside of Western Europe, students have a limited capacity to use it. On the other hand, a language rationalization policy of 2 MT Bilingualism, with an easily learned and universally exogenous choice, could unite our planet in a single community of communication with an associated but supplemental identity. That would be the most efficient and effective language rationalization policy.

A policy of 2 MT Bilingualism will allow everyone to practice the common language every day, even if they never leave their birth country, as well as permit them to travel and work anywhere without encountering a linguistic barrier. Being part of a global community will be crucial for generations who must live with the consequences of our current failure to provide effective and equitable collective action to resolve global problems. For example, global warming will create tens of millions of climate migrants. Their assimilation will be much easier if there is a global policy of 2 MT Bilingualism that allows them to integrate more quickly into a new community.

Intergenerational Transmission. Our first and best teachers are our parents. From the perspective of government budgets they are certainly the most cost-effective. A policy of 2 MT Bilingualism will benefit from this simple fact. Just as one of the author's brothers and his wife raised their two children as bilinguals, a policy of 2 MT Bilingualism will help parents raise their children as bilinguals, starting from birth. After the first generation, the 2 MT designation will be fully warranted, as parents will be able to use both mother tongues in the home.

In school, both of the student's 2 MT can be taught in the same manner—as both a subject and as a language of instruction. This will somewhat resemble the Luxembourg situation described earlier. It will, however, be much more than 50% easier, because (1) a policy of 2 MT Bilingualism will add only one, rather than two, languages, (2) learning a schematic language is much easier than learning a second natural language, and (3) starting early in childhood yields the best results.

> "Moral development is often a question not just of how strong the conscience will be, but how long a reach it will have."
>
> Robert Wright, *The Moral Animal* (1994)

# Chapter 12

# Conclusion: Collective Action for Collective Fitness

Our global community of common fate needs unprecedented global collective action to respond effectively to the global scale of our problems. Not necessarily in order of the severity of the jeopardy they engender, our current global problems[161] include: global warming, pandemics, nuclear weapons proliferation, and the destabilizing effects of artificial intelligence. They are not necessarily distinct problems. For example, global warming will increase the risk of conflict, including an increased risk of military conflict between nuclear powers.

> "… international efforts to slow the pace of global warming have accomplished little. World leaders will convene again this November (in Egypt) for the next United Nations climate change conference (COP 27) but there is no reason to be optimistic that this meeting will accomplish much more than the 26 that preceded it."
>
> Richard Haas, *As The World Burns*,
> Project Syndicate (July 25, 2022)

[161] To which must be added the regional problems with potentially global consequences, such as the Russian invasions of Ukraine and the Israel-Palestine conflict.

> "And it is no exaggeration to say that humanity's future depends on us uniting against those who would divide us along the fault lines of tribe, sect, race or religion."
>
> President Barak Obama, UN Security Council (2014)

## 12.1 Our Common Fate

The evolution of technology is now much faster than biological or cultural evolution. Technological evolution, which is similar to cultural evolution in kind but not in degree (speed), has eclipsed both genetic and cultural evolution. Artificial intelligence, in particular, will accelerate technological evolution, increasing the gap between our tools (technology) and our minds (memes).

Global Warming. In the three decades since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio Janeiro and the establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, our collective progress in stemming global warming has been alarmingly slow. To put this abdication in perspective, the average age of the world's population is 30.5 years (2023). We are committing intergenerational genocide.

In 1992, the global average temperature was 0.60° C above the pre-industrial average. By 2022 the total rise above preindustrial levels was 1.15° C. The annual average for 2023 is expected to be 1.4° C above the preindustrial average. Frequent, prolonged and large divergences above the averages will occur. For example, though due in part to an El Niño warming, in September of 2023 the global average temperature was 1.75° C above the preindustrial level.

> "The main finding is that even a slow parameter change can suddenly lead to a system collapse with catastrophic consequences."
>
> Prof. Ying-Chen Lai. *Rate-induced tipping in complex high dimensional ecological networks*. Quoted in Physics.Org. December 19, 2023

If the current inadequate responsiveness continues, an *average* of 2°C above the pre-industrial levels will be reached before 2050, possibly much sooner depending on a variety of imperfectly understood factors. This will result in irreversible and cascading effects, including the collapse of the Greenland Ice Sheet and the West Antarctic Ice Sheet, changes to the Atlantic Meridional Overturning Oscillation, and changes to the El Niño Southern oscillation. Among the many dramatic effects, 50% of the Amazon Rain Forest will become a tropical savanna-grassland. Changes to the Amazon River and the South American Monsoon, a single system near its tipping point, will result in an abrupt shift to a dryer South America. Other equally dramatic and irreversible changes will occur across the planet.

Given the slow and inadequate responses to date, we are likely to see a >2.7° C increase by the end of the century and a catastrophic 5° C increase is possible. At that time, with a world population that is expected to have increased from 8 to 10 billion, misery will then be the norm for most – if not all – of humanity. As early as 2050, according to the World Bank, 216 million people will be displaced by global warming. Only a few geographically fortunate lifeboats for the rich and the lucky will avoid immiseration.

> "In an ideal world, the United States would not begin geo-engineering without an international agreement and a global system of governance to supervise the effect."
>
> Robert Litan, *The Time for Geoengineering is Now*, Foreign Affairs (October 26, 2022)

At some point, technology will be both the root of the problem and the source of the most viable solutions. Pakistan is already cloud seeding to produce rain that will reduce atmospheric pollution in Lahore. China, among others, uses cloud seeding to reduce droughts. This can lead to droughts in other areas. Rich countries will be able to use weather-engineering more consistently, and often this will be to the detriment of neighbors.

We are between a rock and a hard place. Not using weather-engineering will result in environmental damage that increases conflict among our 193 political survival vehicles. Successful weather-engineering will also increase conflict among our 193 political survival vehicles, as its impacts will differentially affect countries. In either case, the only way to minimize the inevitable conflict it is by increasing global governance. The required collective action can be facilitated, hopefully sufficiently, by creating a global community.

> "The global North's unwillingness to fulfill its promises during the COVID-19 pandemic is a particularly under appreciated factor in a growing north-south rift. But is is by no means the only one. A similar breach of trust has marked the world's response to the climate crisis."
>
> Mark Suzman, CEO, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, *The Roots of the Global South's New Resentment, Foreign Affairs,* September 8, 2023

Future Pandemics. Despite knowing that viruses cross international borders at the speed of a jet airplane, the responses to COVID-19 were often restricted by political borders. Polities tried to fix the leak in their part of the boat while ignoring that people in other parts of the same boat lacked the resources to fix *their* leaks. As a result of this globally fragmented immunization effort, new COVID-19 varieties developed in underserved areas of the globe. Beyond COVID-19, other viruses of varied lethality are certain to cross the species boundary and infect humanity. But, the most terrifying prospect is not viruses from natural sources but viruses that are intentionally weaponized, possibly falling into the hands of non-state actors or escaping from the hundreds of laboratories that are studying them.

> "People have it in their minds that lab accidents are very, very, rare, and, if they happen, they happen only in the least well run overseas labs. That simply isn't true."
>
> Richard Ebright, Molecular Biologist, Rutgers University, *The Intercept*, November 1, 2022

Nuclear Weapons. The Cold War presented a largely bilateral risk of nuclear war. Only the USSR or the USA could precipitate a global nuclear winter.[162] Even so, the use of nuclear weapons was barely averted on at least ten occasions:

1) During the Cuban Missile Crisis, on October 27, 1962, a Soviet nuclear submarine (B-59) almost launched a 10-kiloton nuclear torpedo at a US navy vessel participating in the blockade of Cuba. To avoid detection, the B-59 had been submerged and its batteries were nearly depleted. Out of touch with its Russian command structure, the sub commander was unsure if the blockade had already led to a US-Soviet war. Launching a nuclear torpedo required a unanimous decision by three officers. Two of the three voted to launching the torpedo. The third officer, Vasily Arkhipov, prevented the launch. Under the tensions of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the use of one nuclear weapon could easily have escalated into a general exchange of nuclear weapons.[163] Historian and presidential adviser Arthur Schlesinger called this event "the most dangerous moment in human history."

2) Two days before the B-59 incident, on October 25th, a false alarm at Volk Field, Wisconsin had initiated the deployment of nuclear armed jets. The were stopped at the last minute.

3) One day after the B-59 incident, on October 28th, an order was erroneously issued to launch missiles from Bolo Field, Okinawa, at both China and Russia. Although the directive from Kadena Air Base was in proper form, the local command declined to launch because only one of the four missiles targeted Russia.

4) On May 23, 1967, a coronal mass injection interfered with NORAD radars across the Northern Hemisphere, including three systems for detecting ballistic missiles. It was initially construed as an attempt by Russia to jam the NORAD system and a counter-strike was under consideration

[162] Other nuclear powers lacked the quantities necessary for a global Armageddon, but could easily kill millions in a single day.

[163] The USA did not know that nuclear weapons were already in Cuba, but still under Russian control, and that Fidel Castro was arguing in favor of using them, if the blockade was not lifted.

by the Strategic Air Command (SAC) before NORAD reported that it was triggered by the coronal mass injection.

5) In October of 1973, during the Yom Kippur War, General Moshe Dayan was given permission by Prime Minister Meir to arm 8 fighter jets and 13 missiles with nuclear warheads. They were put on 24 hour readiness. Russia's General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, threatened to enter the war, against Israel. At the same time, the USA forces elevated to DEFCON 3 when an alarm system undergoing repair at a base in Michigan accidentally activated and B-52 bombers were nearly deployed before the alarm was determined to be a false alarm.

6) On November 9, 1979, a computer error at NORAD headquarters, caused by the loading of a training program into an operational computer, erroneously notified national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski that the USSR had launched 250 ballistic missiles with the USA as their terminal destination. The number of missiles was subsequently raised to over 2,000. Fortunately, satellite and ground radar was able to correct the error within several minutes. With hypersonic missiles on offshore submarines, we may never again have these precious minutes to make corrections.

7) On March 15, 1980, a Soviet submarine launched four missiles in a training exercise. The US early warning erroneously determined that one of them was aimed at the USA. A threat assessment determined that Russia would not attack with a single missile and the threat was dismissed.

8) Two decades after the Cuban Missile Crisis, on September 26, 1983, Lt. Col. Stanislav Petro declined to act when Russia's early warning system alerted him to five incoming missiles. He knew that if he reported the alert, as he was required to do, it would trigger a full nuclear "reprisal" launch. The alert was a false alarm due to the sun's reflection off of clouds.[164]

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[164] A more detailed description can be found in *Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and its Dangerous Legacy* by David C Hoffman (2009). In 2010, it won the Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction.

9) NATO exercises between November 7 and 11th, 1983 were believe by the USSR to be a ruse for a nuclear first strike. Soviet nuclear aircraft were prepared, fueled and armed but not deployed.

10) In 1995, Russia's military mistook a research rocket launch as a first strike. President Boris Yeltsin was given the nuclear blackbox to launch a retaliatory strike. Fortunately, he declined to launch. For the third time during the Cold War, a fortunate choice by *a single individual* was all that prevented nuclear war.

Missiles can now travel at more than 30,000 kilometers per hour. When launched from a jet aircraft (Mach 2+) the speed of the missile relative to the ground is additive. The window for correction of errors has shrunken accordingly. While hypersonic missiles can be intercepted under some circumstances, the defense is only viable over small areas.

Going from a world with a relatively stable bipolar order to a multipolar world that lacks an overall hierarchy increases the opportunities for both accidents and miscalculations. Given the situations on the Korean Peninsula and the India-Pakistan border, the relations between Israel and Iran over the Iranian nuclear weapons program, the deteriorating situation between NATO and Russia after the two invasions of Ukraine, and the risk of a military confrontation over Taiwan prior to China's 2049 celebration its 100th anniversary, the risk of a nuclear weapons exchange – intentional or accidental – is greater than ever and is increasing.

<u>The Destabilizing Effects of Artificial Intelligence</u>. Technology, from the Toledo steel of the Spanish conquistadors to the Industrial Revolution in Europe, made exploitation of less technologically advanced communities possible. AI will have the same effect, but it will happen faster and the gap between the fate of the winners and the losers may be even more extreme. The AI advantage will not be a one-off phenomenon. It will produce a continuous and accelerating separation of winners and losers and will greatly increase the ratio of losers to winners.

It is impossible to slow technological progress in a world divided into 193 countries. Unilateral prudence by any country in the development of artificial intelligence will only result in a potentially catastrophic loss of first mover advantages, which will relegate the prudent countries to a second class status.

Even the winners may be losers. AI's dark side includes the discovery of new chemical and biological weapons, some of which can target genetic differences, and malicious software code to destroys essential infrastructure in finance, communication and all other technology dependent sectors-which is literally everything. And, as access to the powers of AI will be very difficult to limit, non-state actors will be able to do previously unimaginable damage with little or no personal consequence. A Hobbesian world of all against all and preemptive attacks becomes possible – perhaps probable.

> "For in the end, humans have only survived by virtue of their capacity to create institutional systems as their survival machines, with these institutional systems constituting a survival machine protecting the original survival machine, the human body and genome."
>
> S. Abrutyn and J. H. Turner, *The First Institutional Spheres in Human Societies* (2022)

## 12.2 Collective Fitness

In the evolution of our species, survival of the fittest can be an individual phenotype's fitness in competition with members of the same species (conspecifics). Fitness can also be collective fitness. For example, if any species relies on a particular food and is so successful at reproduction and efficiently gathering that food so that it consumes all of that food within its environment, it has a problem. A similar test of a collective fitness occurs when there is a relatively sudden change to the environment that reduces essential resources.

If the species adds a new food to its dietary repertoire, then it passes the test of collective fitness. If not, it becomes extinct.[165] Extinction is only

[165] This appears to have happened to the largest of the Great Apes – Gigantopithecus blacki – due to rapid environmental changes.

likely to happen under circumstances where the species cannot migrate, such as on a small and remote island with limited food choices.

For humans the test of collective fitness is fundamentally the same. Our small island is the entire planet. Clearly humans have been amazingly successful at reproduction and gathering resources. We are also very good at resource substitution, especially by employing technology. But, future collective human fitness is not guaranteed by past success in adaptation. Sudden changes to the environment, for humans, can occur in the memetic environment (especially technology) as well as in the natural environment. In both cases, changes are accelerating and our responses have been inadequate

"And we call ourselves the human race."
Pres. John F. Kennedy, September 14, 1961,
after a briefing on plans for nuclear war

Technological changes can result in serious problems. The invention of nuclear weapons, for example, has left us – metaphorically – as chimpanzees with razor blades. This ugly metaphor is actually a gross understatement of our jeopardy. Artificial intelligence will be an order of magnitude more challenging for us to employ without grave self-harm.

Our species' risk of failing the collective fitness test is fundamentally a result of the failure of our memetic evolution to produce an ideology that allows us to cohabitate on our planet without conflict based on fear or greed. Our risk of failing the collective fitness tests results from the prevalence and salience of anchored memes that divide us and the lack of elevating memes that prevent irrational divisions from leading to intra species exploitation and violence.

It should be evident to the reader who has persevered to this point that the first step we need to take, in what will be a long journey, is the establishment of a global community of communication with a language rationalization policy of 2 MT Bilingualism. A superordinate language rationalization goal puts us on a journey together. The destination is our collective fitness – it is only then that we will we be able to honestly refer to ourselves as *Homo sapiens sapiens* (wise, intelligent hominids).

“Kodomo No Tamei Ni.”
(For the Sake of the Children)

Japanese plantation workers in Hawaii often recited this phrase to steel themselves and heighten their resolve. A hard life is easier to bear when there is hope that today’s sacrifices are paving the way for a better life for future generations. For the sake of today’s children and all future generations, we need to replace the anchored memes that support “us vs them” dichotomies with elevating memes that expand “us” to the fullest extent possible by expanding the size of Matryoshka nested polities with successful regionalism and by improving our global survival vehicle, so that it can coordinate the global collective action that is necessary to resolve the problems of our global community of common fate.

<u>Global Governance Needs a Global Community</u>. Global governance, but not a global government, is needed in order to deal with global problems. The first step is the designation of a common language, ideally in a language rationalization policy of 2 MT Bilingualism, to democratically unite a global community. The first step can be taken by any large polity. Ideally, it would be the UN. But, if the UN is unwilling or slow to lead, it isn’t necessary for other survival vehicles to defer to it. Any large and linguistically diverse polity that appreciates the benefits of complementary bilingualism can tip the first domino – as long is its language choice is not self-serving or parochial. The EU, the AU, China, Russia or India (but not a parochial choice of English) could easily be a successful first mover. BRICS+ or G 77 (135) could also provide the necessary leadership.

> “Language has served as a catalyst in creating strong relationships and social organization within as well as beyond kin groups, ultimately giving rise to tribes, villages, empires and states.”
>
> J.C.J.M. Van Den Bergh, *Human Evolution Beyond Biology and Culture* (2018)

> "If we consider the character of these newer nationalisms which, between 1820 and 1920 …. in almost all of them 'national print-languages' were of central ideological and political importance."
>
> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983)

The modern nation-state (one nation, one state, one language) is a cultural adaptation whose evolution was driven by printing technology and the consequent spread of middle-class literacy. As print-based culture is rapidly being eclipsed by an Internet-based culture, we are entering a new social, economic and political environment. We also are confronting dislocations from robotics and artificial intelligence, the extent of which have only begun to understand. Will we be able to adapt?

The 18th and 19th century monolingual nation-state model is incapable of responding to Kissinger's Challenge. Our global community of common fate needs to update some institutions and replace others. It will require an accompanying language rationalization policy, both institutional and community wide, that preserves linguistic and cultural diversity but also supports the further aggregation of nation-states into region-state polities (EU, AU) and the rational updating of our global survival vehicle (UN).

We are at an unprecedented inflection point in human history. Even as our global community of common fate has rendered *absolute* nation-state sovereignty anachronistic, a socially and politically conservative backlash has been unleashed, expressed by aggressive nationalism.

> "Undoubtedly however, the star on a stunning electoral night was the National Rally party of Marine Le Pen, which dominated the French polls to such an extent that Macron immediately dissolved the national parliament and called for new elections."
>
> The Associated Press June 9, 2024.

To meet Kissinger's Challenge, a Matryoshka style hierarchy of polities must emerge and that will require language rationalization. Complementary bilingualism, in the form of 2MT bilingualism, is the only option that will permit global cooperation and collective action on the necessary scale. 21st century leaders with foresight must proactively exercise their authority and responsibility by adopting 2 MT Bilingualism. Delay will only make the transition harder and more painful. Our global community of common fate can adequately respond to current, foreseeable, and unforeseen problems only after transitioning from monolingual silos with elite dominance of inter-silo communication to global 2 MT Bilingualism.

> "The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation-card had to be written in a language they understood."
>
> T. Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain* (1977)

## 12.3 The Elevator Pitch Redux

1) We are a global community of common fate. But, we are a dysfunctional global community. We are not yet able to respond adequately to our global problems with global collective action. Our proximate goal must be global linguistic congruence. The ultimate goal is effective, efficient and equitable collective action on a global scale.

2) A functional global community requires a common narrative and an associated identity. Establishing both a common narrative and a common identity requires linguistic congruence. Identities are not like hats, you can wear more than one.

3) Historically, linguistic congruence has been achieved by language rationalization policies that reduce diversity. Instead of reducing diversity, while privileging a few elite languages, the 21st Century needs inclusive linguistic congruence that both preserves linguistic and cultural diversity and enables the direct communication required for a community, regardless of size, to be efficient and equitable. Regional and global linguistic congruence using monolingualism is not an option. The only way to create successful multilingual communities, regionally and globally, is with a language rationalization policy of complementary bilingualism.

4) Complementary bilingualism preserves unlimited linguistic diversity by providing a single common language across any number of discrete language communities. The most efficient, effective, and equitable form of complementary bilingualism is 2 MT (Mother Tongue) Bilingualism. It both permits universal communication and best supports a common identity.

5) 2 MT Bilingualism with an easily learned and universally exogenous language can be accomplished in a single generation. All that is required is for any large polity (UN), G 77 (135) BRICS+, China, USA, Russia, India, EU, AU, etc.) to tip the first domino.

6) The establishment of global complementary bilingualism will be an inflection point in human history. It will increase our capacity for the regional and global collective action that is needed to deal with our current problems, emerging problems and future problems.

7) Not only is complementary bilingualism necessary, it is also the low-hanging fruit of regional and global cooperation. 2 MT Bilingualism, the optimal form of complementary bilingualism, will be less expensive and vastly more successful than the inefficient and ineffective teaching of a few elite *foreign* languages, as is currently the norm. Why continue failing with elite bilingualism when, at a lower cost, you can succeed with 2 MT Bilingualism?

8) We need regional survival vehicles to address Kissinger's call "to establish a concept of order within the various regions." Regional survival vehicles, such as the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) need greater political (high politics) and civic (identity) integration in order to balance the excessive international agency of the three empire-states (USA, China and Russia). We also need a global survival vehicle that addresses Kissinger's call "to relate these regional orders to one another." Without an effective global survival vehicle we will not be able to adequately respond to problems that require global collective action.

9) Survival vehicles of all sizes need linguistic congruence for adequate communicative capacity, a common narrative, and a common identity. Empire-states and nation-states have linguistic congruence. To be successful, regional survival vehicles and our global survival vehicle (UN) must also have linguistic congruence.

> "The best time to plant a tree was 20 years ago. The second best time is now."
>
> African Proverb