

Paper 71 — Development of the State

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Most endnotes and Urantia Book cross-references have been deleted to enhance readability.

Sources for Paper 71, in the order in which they first appear

- (1) William Graham **Sumner** and Albert Galloway **Keller** *The Science of Society, Volume I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927)
- (2) Leon C. **Marshall** *The Story of Human Progress* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, 1925, 1928)
- (3) H. A. **Overstreet** *We Move in New Directions* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1933)

Key

- (a) **Green** indicates where a source author first appears, or where he/she reappears.
- (b) **Yellow** highlights most parallelisms.
- (c) **Tan** highlights parallelisms occurring further apart, usually not in the same row.
- (d) An underlined word or words indicates where the source and the UB writer pointedly differ from each other.
- (e) **Blue** indicates original (or “revealed”) information, or UB-specific terminology and concepts. (What to highlight in this regard is debatable; the highlights are tentative.)

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6 June 2015

Work-in-progress Version 6 June 2015
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**P A P E R 7 1 —
DEVELOPMENT OF
THE STATE**

XX: ANTECEDENTS OF THE STATE
(Sumner & Keller 695)

§186. **Characteristics of the State.** (Sumner & Keller 699)

[The state] develops out of the compounding of tribes, generally by conquest, sometimes by confederation, into a larger peace-group; and it thus represents, in either case, the outcome of war (S&K 701).

§187. **Origin of the State.** (Sumner & Keller 702)

Statecraft has always lain in the domain of expediency; it has had to shift and adapt as it went along, and the wisdom of it has resided in its adaptability rather than in any fixed policies or principles (S&K 708).

The state has been developed out of facts and by facts; by natural and necessary efforts to satisfy experienced necessities.

71:0.1 The state is a useful evolution of civilization;

it represents society's net gain from the ravages and sufferings of war.

Even statecraft is merely the accumulated technique for adjusting the competitive contest of force between the struggling tribes and nations.

71:0.2 The modern state is the institution which survived in the long struggle for group power. Superior power eventually prevailed,

and it produced a creature of fact—the state—

It has become the protector of rights and of tradition, and also of prosperity and civilization. This has produced a **moral** theory of the state—a **myth**—according to which the state arose from a social compact, the members of the society having created it, that it might protect rights and administer justice (S&K 705).

The state is not a **divinely** instituted thing nor is it the product of rational judgment, as Rousseau would give us to understand (S&K 705).

The state, with its institutions, is **purely** historical and **evolutionary**, like all the rest of the institutions and the mores out of which they come (S&K 709).

Automatically, through trial and failure, adjustment was secured; and that adjustment came after a long time to be known as the state (S&K 708).

§185. **Transition to the State.** (Sumner & Keller 695)

A state ... is a **regulative organization** existing within a certain **territory** and its body politic may include a number of nationalities (S&K 697).

A nation by its homogeneity is more like a kin-group; and if the state could be the regulative organization of a **single nation** it would be considerably more stable and satisfactory (S&K 697).

together with the **moral myth**

of the absolute obligation of the citizen to live and die for the state.

But the state is not of **divine** genesis;

it was not even produced by volitionally intelligent human action;

it is **purely** an **evolutionary** institution

and was wholly **automatic** in origin.

1. THE EMBRYONIC STATE

71:1.1 The state is a **territorial** social **regulative organization**,

and the strongest, most efficient, and enduring state is composed of a **single nation**

A nation is a group of people who cherish the same code, so far as the salient and essential **mores** are concerned: speak the same **language**, adhere to the same type of **institutions**, have a fund of common convictions, principles, and aims (S&K 697).

§186. Characteristics of the State. (Sumner & Keller 699)

Further, almost all states have had their origin in the **conquest** of one nation by another, resulting in a combination of rulers and ruled, the former devoting themselves to the organization and administration of power, the latter working and sustaining under coercion (S&K 699).

There appears to be a triangular relation between agriculture, **slavery**, and the development of the territorial state; it is the idea of one writer that agriculturists live scattered and unorganized and do not make states and that **conquering nomads**

have overcome **agriculturists** and coerced them into state-organization (S&K 701).

§187. Origin of the State. (Sumner & Keller 702)

To our way of thinking, the theory of Gumpłowicz accounts most satisfactorily for the rise of the state. It is, briefly, that the state is the **result of conquest** followed by **stratification** into classes and, at length, by amalgamation of the originally diverse elements (S&K 703).

whose people have a common **language**, **mores**, and **institutions**.

71:1.2 The early states were small

and were all the result of **conquest**.

They did not originate in voluntary associations.

Many were founded by **conquering nomads**,

who would swoop down on peaceful herders or settled **agriculturists** to overpower and **enslave** them.

Such states, **resulting from conquest**, were, perforce, **stratified**;

Classes resulted.

These were strata differentiated by their language, religion, and general mores. Then amalgamation set in, first, perhaps, through the adoption of common language. Gradually the rest of the mores, under the process of competition and selection, took on a common type and the original differentiation was succeeded by integration (S&K 705).

§188. **Confederation.** (Sumner & Keller 710)

“The last and ultimate stage of organization was the confederacy of nations... The Iroquois, Ottawa, Powhattan, and Creek Confederacies, the Dakota League of the Seven Council Fires, the Aztec Confederacy..., and the Tlascalcan Confederacy are familiar examples” ... “The Aztec political and industrial systems had developed further, but along much the same lines, as in the more northern tribes” (S&K 711).

The most striking confederation of which we know is, perhaps, the Iroquois League of the Six Nations, and to that we shall give most of our space ...” (S&K 710).

§189. **Essentials in State-Formation.** (Sumner & Keller 715)

[See table comparing the Iroquois system with the Greek and Roman system, on p. 717.]

classes were inevitable,

and class struggles have ever been selective.

71:1.3 The northern tribes of the American red men never attained real statehood.

They never progressed beyond a loose confederation of tribes, a very primitive form of state.

Their nearest approach was the Iroquois federation,

but this group of six nations never quite functioned as a state and failed to survive because of the absence of certain essentials to modern national life, such as:

SOURCE OR PARALLEL

URANTIA PAPER 71

[See #4 in 71:13, below.]

71:1.4 1. Acquirement and inheritance of private property.

[See #3 and #2 in 71:1.13, below.]

71:1.5 2. Cities plus agriculture and industry.

[See #2 in 71:1.13, below.]

71:1.6 3. Helpful domestic animals.

[See #1 in 71:1.13, below.]

71:1.7 4. Practical family organization.

[Iroquois Mother-Family (nephew-inheritance) (S&K 717).]

These red men clung to the mother-family and nephew inheritance.

[See #7 in 71:1.13, below.]

71:1.8 5. Definite territory.

["IX. The Confederacy had no chief Executive Magistrate, or official head..." (S&K 714).]

71:1.9 6. A strong executive head.

[See #5 in 71:1.13, below.]

71:1.10 7. Enslavement of captives—

[Iroquois Massacre or Adoption (S&K 717).]

they either adopted or massacred them.

[See #6 in 71:1.13, below.]

71:1.11 8. Decisive conquests.

71:1.12 The red men were too democratic; they had a good government, but it failed.

The Six Nations ... were on the way, perhaps, to form a state but were far back along the road as compared with the Greeks and Romans.

Eventually they would have evolved a state

Their system could not stand up against the competition it met from the cultural heirs of those ancients; it was doomed as soon as it came into rivalry with the more developed organization ... (S&K 717-18).

had they not prematurely encountered the more advanced civilization of the white man, who was pursuing the governmental methods of the Greeks and the Romans.

SOURCE OR PARALLEL

URANTIA PAPER 71

71:1.13 The successful Roman state was based on:

Greeks and Romans (Sumner & Keller 717)

Father-Family (son-inheritance).

Agriculture (domestic animals).

Relatively dense population.

Private Property in Land.

Slavery.

Conquest.

Territoriality.

Classes (S&K 717).

XVII: CLASSES AND RIGHTS (Sumner & Keller 561)

§168. Rights. (Sumner & Keller 587)

Sir Charles Dundas utters the following warning: “ ... In Roman law we see that the emancipation of the son from the father’s control was only gradually relaxed through centuries, but can we judge of the state of Rome had this been effected by one single act of law in early times?

1. The father-family.
2. Agriculture and the domestication of animals.
3. Condensation of population—cities.
4. Private property and land.
5. Slavery—classes of citizenship.
6. Conquest and reorganization of weak and backward peoples.
7. Definite territory with roads.
8. Personal and strong rulers.

71:1.22 The great weakness in Roman civilization, and a factor in the ultimate collapse of the empire, was the supposed liberal and advanced provision for

the emancipation of the boy at twenty-one

So also the native woman is naturally at all ages a minor, nor can it be said that her mental development assigns any other status to her. But European government steps in, and she has the same rights and duties as her father or husband. If she wishes to leave her parental village and attach herself to strangers, or if she goes to the towns and there leads a loose life, she is a free agent, and may follow her own inclinations.

This sudden grant of rights falls like a thunder-bolt into the midst of native society..." (S&K 590).

XX: ANTECEDENTS OF THE STATE (Sumner & Keller 695)

§185. Transition to the State. (Sumner & Keller 695)

The outstanding feature of state-development is the decline of the blood-bond in favor of the territorial bond; it has been seen that, although the family and clan tended to disappear in the tribe, the consanguineal tie has long persisted, at least in name (S&K 696).

and the unconditional release of the girl so that she was at liberty to marry a man of her own choosing or to go abroad in the land to become immoral.

The harm to society consisted not in these reforms themselves but rather in the sudden and extensive manner of their adoption.¹

The collapse of Rome indicates what may be expected when a state undergoes too rapid extension associated with internal degeneration.

71:1.23 The embryonic state was made possible by the decline of the blood bond in favor of the territorial,

and such tribal federations were usually firmly cemented by conquest.

§187. **Origin of the State.** (Sumner & Keller 702)

“ ... **Sovereignty** is the distinguishing characteristic of the state, and sets it apart, sky-high, from all other human associations” (S&K 705).

“From tribes at war are born nations, with their **classes and castes**, on the barbarous stage...” (S&K 708).

[?]

[Compare 69:3.9.]

§190. **Feudalism.** (Sumner & Keller 719)

[contd] Historians of Western Europe tell us that **feudalism** was a substitute for the state and that, with the breakup of the Empire of Charlemagne, the lord-and-vassal relation took the place of the weakened bond between subject and king (S&K 719).

While a **sovereignty** that transcends all minor struggles and group differences is the **characteristic of the true state**,

still, many **classes and castes** persist in the later state organizations as remnants of the clans and tribes of former days.

The later and larger territorial states had a long and bitter struggle with these smaller consanguineous clan groups, the tribal government proving a valuable transition from family to state authority.

During later times many clans grew out of trades and other industrial associations.

71:1.24 Failure of state integration results in retrogression to prestate conditions of governmental techniques,

such as the **feudalism** of the European Middle Ages.

During these dark ages the territorial state collapsed, and there was a reversion to the small castle groups, the reappearance of the clan and tribal stages of development.

Letourneau ... finds that “this is exactly what happens to this day in Abyssinia, where existence is only possible on the condition of being docketed in the feudal pigeonholes. And he finds similar conditions in Madagascar, among the Tartars, in Malaysia, China, and ancient Japan ... (S&K 719-20).

Maitland regards feudalism as a natural stage in evolution.... It is not a retrogression or a disease, he thinks,

but a normal, healthy growth (S&K 722).

§191. **Aristocracy and Democracy.** (Sumner & Keller 724)

It has been said that, since the masses of men never act on rational grounds but by instinct, habit, and tradition, therefore democracy is sure to be irrational; that even where it appears as a revulsion against aristocracy, it is likely to run down into a **glorification of the common-place** as against all superiority;

that when the masses get the power to choose their **rulers**, they choose very badly and often on irrelevant grounds, whereas they ought to choose men who will not always do what they want but will reason with them ... (S&K 726).

Similar semistates even now exist in Asia and Africa,

but not all of them are evolutionary reversions;

many are the embryonic nucleuses of states of the future.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

71:2.1 Democracy, while an ideal, is a product of civilization, not of evolution.

Go slowly! select carefully! for the dangers of democracy are:

71:2.2 1. **Glorification of mediocrity.**

71:2.3 2. **Choice of base and ignorant rulers.**

And if there gathers about democracy a “pathos” which insulates it from critical examination, and if there develops a species of fetishism with respect to the “people,” or the “masses,” or the “poor,” or the weak and ignorant, then the notions of men are departing ever more widely from correspondence with the facts and the society’s chance of expedient adjustment to its life-conditions is lessened (S&K 726).

§192. **Public Opinion.** (Sumner & Keller 727)

[Compare S&K 727-30.]

[Compare: 3. Clearly, public opinion will work best as a part of social control when the group is a thinking, educated group; when there are good channels of discussion and communication; and when there are good leaders of the discussion (Marshall 355).]

[Once [interests that conflicted with those of the party in power] could not make themselves felt short of a revolution; now the modern system provides for “bloodless revolutions,” where ballots count instead of bullets... (S&K 710).]

71:2.4 3. Failure to recognize the basic facts of social evolution.

71:2.5 4. Danger of universal suffrage in the hands of uneducated and indolent majorities.

71:2.6 5. Slavery to public opinion; the majority is not always right.

71:2.7 **Public opinion,** common opinion, has always delayed society; nevertheless, it is valuable, for, while retarding social evolution, it does preserve civilization.

Education of public opinion is the only safe and true method of accelerating civilization;

force is only a temporary expedient,

and cultural growth will increasingly accelerate as **bullets give way to ballots.**

§193. The Liberation of Public Opinion.
(Sumner & Keller 730)

[contd] Recurring now to public opinion, which comes near to being the elemental force in societal evolution, it is found to be based upon sentiment and interest rather than upon intellectual analysis of complicated conditions (S&K 730).

[Compare: The course of civilization has been marked by a progressive enlargement of the range of expression accorded to the popular will. This has ... amounted to enlarged opportunity for the realization of interests without resort to violence (S&K 731).]

[Public opinion has been enfranchised and readjustments rendered speedier and easier (S&K 710).]

Election is the typical modern method by which societal selection is accomplished within the peace-group, and an altered adjustment is attained. It is not asserted, however, that a single such expression of public opinion must be "right" (S&K 733).

Evolution does not produce perfection. It does not even bring forth a superlative,

but only comparatives (S&K 734).

Public opinion, the mores, is the basic and elemental energy in social evolution and state development,

but to be of state value it must be nonviolent in expression.

71:2.8 The measure of the advance of society is directly determined by the degree to which public opinion can control personal behavior and state regulation through nonviolent expression.

The really civilized government had arrived when public opinion was clothed with the powers of personal franchise.

Popular elections may not always decide things rightly,

but they represent the right way even to do a wrong thing.

Evolution does not at once produce superlative perfection

but rather comparative and advancing practical adjustment.

XV: SOCIAL CONTROL: THE NATION AND GOVERNMENT
(Marshall 357)

DEMOCRACY, A MULTIPLIER OF MAN'S POWERS BY DEVELOPING THE INDIVIDUAL
(Marshall 367)

How the people came to rule. (Marshall 374)

[Democracy's] climb was a long one and a hard one. It meant hundreds of steps. We can look back and see these **steps** running in great series or flights.

Here is one possible list of these series:

[contd] 1. The people had to become **free in their persons.**

Slavery and **serfdom** had to **disappear** (M 375).

[contd] 2. The people had to become **free in their minds.**

The rule of the people would **do more harm than good** unless the people were able to **think** and **plan** (M 375).

[contd] 3. The people had to secure the right to be ruled by **law** rather according to **whims of a ruler** (M 375).

71:2.9 There are ten **steps**, or stages, to the evolution of a practical and efficient form of representative government,

and these are:

71:2.10 1. **Freedom of the person.**

Slavery, serfdom, and all forms of human bondage must **disappear.**

71:2.11 2. **Freedom of the mind.**

Unless a free people are educated—taught to **think** intelligently and **plan** wisely—freedom usually **does more harm than good.**

71:2.12 3. **The reign of law.**

Liberty can be enjoyed only when the will and **whims of human rulers** are replaced by legislative enactments in accordance with accepted fundamental **law.**

[contd] 4. The people had to win freedom of speech

71:2.13 4. *Freedom of speech.*

Representative government is unthinkable without freedom of all forms of expression for human aspirations and opinions.

and freedom to have property and rights in property (M 375).

71:2.14 5. *Security of property.*

No government can long endure if it fails to provide for the right to enjoy personal property in some form.

[In the United States to-day, private property includes such rights as these:

1. The right to use.
2. The right to give away during life.
3. The right to give away after death—called the right of bequest.
4. The right to inherit from members of the family.
5. The right to heap up property without substantial limit.
6. The right to dispose of property by sale or lease or by making other contracts (M 329).]

Man craves the right to use, control, bestow, sell, lease, and bequeath his personal property.

71:2.15 6. *The right of petition.*

[contd] 5. The people had to secure the right to be heard in framing and running the government (M 375).

Representative government assumes the right of citizens to be heard.

The privilege of petition is inherent in free citizenship.

71:2.16 7. *The right to rule.*

[contd] 6. The people had to turn this right to be heard into a right actually to frame and run the government. Officials then became the servants of the people (M 375).

It is not enough to be heard; the power of petition must progress to the actual management of the government.

[contd] 7. The people had to enlarge the number who could be members of the electorate. (Even after the American Revolution only about one person in thirty could vote in this country.) (M 376)

71:2.17 8. *Universal suffrage.*

Representative government presupposes an intelligent, efficient, and universal electorate. The character of such a government will ever be determined by the character and caliber of those who compose it.

[See 72:9.]

As civilization progresses, suffrage, while remaining universal for both sexes, will be effectively modified, regrouped, and otherwise differentiated.

71:2.18 9. *Control of public servants.*

No civil government will be serviceable and effective unless

[contd] 8. The people had to learn how to **guide and control** their **public servants** (M 376).

the citizenry possess and use wise techniques of **guiding and controlling** officeholders and **public servants**.

71:2.19 10. *Intelligent and trained representation.*

The survival of democracy is dependent on successful representative government;

[Then too, citizens must see to it that good servants are selected (M 377).]

and that is conditioned upon the practice of electing to public offices only those individuals who are technically trained, intellectually competent, socially loyal, and morally fit.

[contd] 9. The people had to find out the right things to do in a **government of the people, by the people, for the people** (M 376).

Only by such provisions can **government of the people, by the people, and for the people** be preserved.

3. THE IDEALS OF STATEHOOD

71:3.1 The political or administrative form of a government is of little consequence provided it affords the essentials of civil progress—liberty, security, education, and social co-ordination. It is not what a state is but what it does that determines the course of social evolution. And after all, no state can transcend the moral values of its citizenry as exemplified in their chosen leaders. Ignorance and selfishness will insure the downfall of even the highest type of government.

XIII: THE GREAT TOLERANCES (Overstreet 211)

NATIONALISM (Overstreet 214)

[Compare O 214.]

71:3.2 Much as it is to be regretted, national egotism has been essential to social survival. The chosen people doctrine has been a prime factor in tribal welding and nation building right on down to modern times.

NEW ATTITUDES (Overstreet 218)

[contd] Four intolerances [religious, political, economic, and racial]—and a new civilization in the making! If anything far-reaching is to be accomplished in the future, these major intolerances must be done away with.

They have bred in us a quality of mind that has in large degree hindered the development of more authentic values and that has made our religious, political, economic, and racial life one of continuing mutual animosity (O 218).

But no state can attain ideal levels of functioning until every form of intolerance is mastered;

it is everlastingly inimical to human progress.

CONCLUSION (Overstreet 228)

[contd] Here, then, in the coöperative enterprise of putting heads together, in the lending of help regardless of distinctions of rank, religion, or race, in the rigorous pursuit of **scientific** truth, in the creating of beauty and meaning, in the good sportsmanship of **play** are additional forces in our contemporary life that are powerfully carrying us in a direction away from the historic **intolerances** (O 228).

And **intolerance** is best combated by the co-ordination of **science**, commerce, **play**, and religion.

XII: TRANSCENDING POLITICAL LOYALTIES (Overstreet 198)

71:3.3 The ideal state functions under the impulse of three mighty and co-ordinated drives:

PATRIOTISM (Overstreet 201)

The Stoics visualized a commonwealth of man and man a citizen of the world.... It may quite easily be that loyalty-tonation—which is, after all, a recent development among us—may yet pass into some other more essential type of **loyalty** (O 201).

1. Love **loyalty** derived from the realization of human brotherhood.

CONTRIBUTORY PATRIOTISM (Overstreet 205)

Thus we must either find ourselves a new basis of **patriotism**, or declare that this sentiment is too low and divisive for intelligent modern human beings. [Etc.] (O 205-06)

2. Intelligent **patriotism** based on wise ideals.

3. Cosmic insight interpreted in terms of planetary facts, needs, and goals.

[See 72:10.2.]

XIV: NEW USES OF FREEDOM
(Overstreet 229)

THE NEED OF A NEW ATTITUDE (Overstreet
239)

[contd] Leisure becomes a civilizing factor as it exhibits the qualities of self-fulfillment rather than escape.... But we have made very little effort to train [young people] to a wise and effective use of their childhood leisure or to prepare them for a wise use of such leisure as may come to them in their later life (O 239).

[PREAMBLE] (Overstreet 229)

[contd] We are passing out of a work-bound world into one of growing freedom. Indeed, as opportunities for liberation from traditional drudgeries increase, we find people voicing a new kind of declaration of independence (O 229).

THE LEISURE OF ESCAPE (Overstreet 232)

... Alvin Johnson draws the contrast between modern man the producer and modern man the consumer:

“Man as producer is often sublime; man as consumer is usually ridiculous...” (O 233).

71:3.7 The laws of the ideal state are few in number,

and they have passed out of the negativistic taboo age into the era of the positive progress of individual liberty consequent upon enhanced self-control.

The exalted state not only compels its citizens to work

but also entices them into profitable and uplifting utilization of the increasing leisure

which results from toil liberation by the advancing machine age.

Leisure must produce as well as consume.

71:3.8 No society has progressed very far when it permits idleness or tolerates poverty. But poverty and dependence can never be eliminated if the defective and degenerate stocks are freely supported and permitted to reproduce without restraint.

III: A SHORT VIEW AND A LONG
(Overstreet 40)

THE NEW MOVEMENT OF OUR LIFE
(Overstreet 52)

[contd] We may ... safely assert that the most obvious moment of life today is toward a genuinely **moral society**. More than ever we are concerning ourselves with the **fulfillment** of the **individual** (O 52-53).

USING INDIVIDUALS AS ENDS (Overstreet 51)

It should be obvious that a society in which all individuals were given this same privilege would be one far more civilized and fruitful than any as yet realized (O 52).

X: WHEN JUSTICE BECOMES
INJUSTICE (Overstreet 162)

[PREAMBLE] (Overstreet 162)

71:3.9 A **moral society** should aim to preserve the self-respect of its citizenry and afford every normal **individual** adequate opportunity for **self-realization**.

Such a plan of social achievement would yield a cultural society of the highest order.

Social evolution should be encouraged by governmental supervision which exercises a minimum of regulative control.

It was in [the] thought of individual freedom from governmental control that our American nation was born. There was the memory of aristocratic oppression, political and clerical, and the thought of government as the ready instrument of such oppression. To secure liberty, then, meant to secure the individual against political domination. Government was indeed a necessity even for freedom; but the less one had of it the better. [Etc.] (O 166)

That state is best which co-ordinates most while governing least.²

71:3.10 The ideals of statehood must be attained by evolution, by the slow growth of civic consciousness, the recognition of the obligation and privilege of social service. At first men assume the burdens of government as a duty, following the end of the administration of political spoilsmen, but later on they seek such ministry as a privilege, as the greatest honor. The status of any level of civilization is faithfully portrayed by the caliber of its citizens who volunteer to accept the responsibilities of statehood.

[Compare O 258-62.]

71:3.11 In a real commonwealth the business of governing cities and provinces is conducted by experts and is managed just as are all other forms of economic and commercial associations of people.

[See 72:5.10.]

71:3.12 In advanced states, political service is esteemed as the highest devotion of the citizenry. The greatest ambition of the wisest and noblest of citizens is to gain civil recognition, to be elected or appointed to some position of governmental trust,

[Compare 72:9.3.]

and such governments confer their highest honors of recognition for service upon their civil and social servants. Honors are next bestowed in the order named upon philosophers, educators, scientists, industrialists, and militarists.

Parents are duly rewarded by the excellency of their children, and purely religious leaders, being ambassadors of a spiritual kingdom, receive their real rewards in another world.

4. PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION

71:4.1 Economics, society, and government must evolve if they are to remain. Static conditions on an evolutionary world are indicative of decay; only those institutions which move forward with the evolutionary stream persist.

71:4.2 The progressive program of an expanding civilization embraces:

1. Preservation of individual liberties.
2. Protection of the home.
3. Promotion of economic security.
4. Prevention of disease.
5. Compulsory education.
6. Compulsory employment.
7. Profitable utilization of leisure.
8. Care of the unfortunate.
9. Race improvement.

[See 72:6.7.]

[See 72:4.1.]

[See 72:5.11.]

[See 72:5.12.]

[See 72:4.2, 72:5.2, 72:10:3.]

[See 72:7.10.]

10. Promotion of science and art.

11. Promotion of philosophy—wisdom.

12. Augmentation of cosmic insight—spirituality.

71:4.15 And this progress in the arts of civilization leads directly to the realization of the highest human and divine goals of mortal endeavor—the social achievement of the brotherhood of man and the personal status of God-consciousness, which becomes revealed in the supreme desire of every individual to do the will of the Father in heaven.

II: TOOLS AT OUR COMMAND (Overstreet 25)

BRINGING A SPIRITUAL IDEAL TO EARTH (Overstreet 28)

[T]he slightest thought must convince us that insurance is in reality a spiritual idea put into **practice**. It is, in short, one important application of the idea: **“Bear ye one another’s burdens”** (O 29).

71:4.16 The appearance of genuine brotherhood signifies that a social order has arrived in which all men delight in

bearing one another’s burdens; they actually desire to **practice** the golden rule.

But such an ideal society cannot be realized when either the weak or the wicked lie in wait to take unfair and unholy advantage of those who are chiefly actuated by devotion to the service of truth, beauty, and goodness.

In such a situation only one course is practical: The “golden rulers” may establish a progressive society in which they live according to their ideals while maintaining an adequate defense against their benighted fellows who might seek either to exploit their pacific predilections or to destroy their advancing civilization.

71:4.17 Idealism can never survive on an evolving planet if the idealists in each generation permit themselves to be exterminated by the baser orders of humanity. And here is the great test of idealism:

[See 72:11.4.]

Can an advanced society maintain that military preparedness which renders it secure from all attack by its war-loving neighbors without yielding to the temptation to employ this military strength in offensive operations against other peoples for purposes of selfish gain or national aggrandizement?

National survival demands preparedness, and religious idealism alone can prevent the prostitution of preparedness into aggression. Only love, brotherhood, can prevent the strong from oppressing the weak.

5. THE EVOLUTION OF COMPETITION

71:5.1 Competition is essential to social progress, but competition, unregulated, breeds violence.

XIII: FINDING OUR PLACES AND PULLING THE LOAD (Marshall 317)

INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE, A MULTIPLIER OF OUR POWERS (Marshall 326)

The rôle of competition in our society.
(Marshall 331)

For one thing, through competition we settle into our **places** in society (M 331).

Through competition it is determined what industries shall go on (M 331).

There are rules of the game and we must honorably live up to them, each in his own place.... We must play **fair**... Much depends on **individual initiative**. He who would succeed must hit the line hard, playing always as a worthy member of the great team, society (M 333).

In current society, competition is slowly displacing war in that

it determines the individual's **place** in industry,

as well as decreeing the survival of the industries themselves.

(Murder and war differ in their status before the mores, murder having been outlawed since the early days of society, while war has never yet been outlawed by mankind as a whole.)

71:5.2 The ideal state undertakes to regulate social conduct only enough to take violence out of individual competition

and to prevent **unfairness** in **personal initiative**.

XX: ANTECEDENTS OF THE STATE
(Sumner & Keller 695)

§187. **Origin of the State.** (Sumner & Keller 702)

[The state] faces practical problems like this:

How can you get peace, quiet, and security for industry, pay the necessary taxes to support the civil authority that guarantees these,

and yet prevent the taxes from crippling the industry and restrain the civil authority from becoming parasitical? (S&K 709)

I: THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM AND ITS PASSING (Overstreet 13)

WASTE (Overstreet 15)

We are weary of the wastes of our system.... We ask, in short, that for the confusion of an irresponsible competitiveness there be substituted for the orderliness of some kind of responsible coöperation (O 16).

Here is a great problem in statehood:

How can you guarantee peace and quiet in industry, pay the taxes to support state power,

and at the same time prevent taxation from handicapping industry and keep the state from becoming parasitical or tyrannical?

71:5.3 Throughout the earlier ages of any world, competition is essential to progressive civilization. As the evolution of man progresses, co-operation becomes increasingly effective.

In advanced civilizations co-operation is more efficient than competition.

Early man is stimulated by competition. Early evolution is characterized by the survival of the biologically fit, but later civilizations are the better promoted by intelligent co-operation, understanding fraternity, and spiritual brotherhood.

71:5.4 True, competition in industry is exceedingly **wasteful** and highly ineffective, but no attempt to eliminate this economic lost motion should be countenanced if such adjustments entail even the slightest abrogation of any of the basic liberties of the individual.

6. THE PROFIT MOTIVE

[PREAMBLE] (Overstreet 13)

[contd] The **profit-economy** is fated to pass away (O 13).

71:6.1 Present-day **profit-motivated economics** is doomed

unless profit motives can be augmented by service motives.

MOTIVATION (Overstreet 13)

The profit-economy is a system which has glorified **self-interest** as the mainspring of life's endeavor.... We behold individuals energetic and successful—incredibly so. But on the other hand, we see them occupied chiefly with their financial welfare, utilizing, for their own purposes, the lives of others—beneficently if possible, **ruthlessly** if necessary; and disregarding the lives of others if they are not essential to the building up of their wealth. We find, in brief, a spirit **narrow**, aggressive, frequently pitiless, and at all times having only the most tenuous connection with the common welfare (O 13-14).

Ruthless competition based on **narrow-minded self-interest**

is ultimately destructive of even those things which it seeks to maintain.

Even when we grant [the profit-economy] success as an **energy-arouser**, we are compelled to confess to its relative failure as a cultivator of spiritual qualities. We are made the more uneasy, since, in our **Christian** civilization, the profit-economy has compelled us to live within two conflicting systems of motivation. Our religious culture has stressed a **love** that goes beyond self; our economic culture has stressed a love confined to self (O 14).

Exclusive and self-serving profit motivation is incompatible with **Christian** ideals—

much more incompatible with the teachings of Jesus.

71:6.2 In economics, profit motivation is to service motivation what fear is to **love** in religion. But the profit motive must not be suddenly destroyed or removed; it keeps many otherwise slothful mortals hard at work. It is not necessary, however, that this social **energy arouser** be forever selfish in its objectives.

71:6.3 The profit motive of economic activities is altogether base and wholly unworthy of an advanced order of society; nevertheless, it is an indispensable factor throughout the earlier phases of civilization.

[See 72:5.10.]

Profit motivation must not be taken away from men until they have firmly possessed themselves of superior types of nonprofit motives for economic striving and social serving—the transcendent urges of superlative wisdom, intriguing brotherhood, and excellency of spiritual attainment.

7. EDUCATION

71:7.1 The enduring state is founded on culture, dominated by ideals, and motivated by service. The purpose of education should be acquirement of skill, pursuit of wisdom, realization of selfhood, and attainment of spiritual values.

VII: THE CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION (Overstreet 113)

REMEMBERING THAT THERE ARE ADULTS (Overstreet 124)

The next major insight of mankind will undoubtedly be that adulthood is just as deeply in need of education as childhood and youth, and that a community which makes no adequate provision for such education is simply working for its own stultification (O 125).

71:7.2 In the ideal state, education continues throughout life,

and philosophy sometime becomes the chief pursuit of its citizens.

VIII: THE FIVE-FOLD WISDOM (Overstreet 135)

THE SECOND WISDOM (Overstreet 138)

There is a second wisdom—wisdom in human relations. [Etc.] (O 138)

The citizens of such a commonwealth pursue wisdom as an enhancement of insight into the significance of human relations,

the meanings of reality, the nobility of values, the goals of living, and the glories of cosmic destiny.

71:7.3 Urantians should get a vision of a new and higher cultural society. Education will jump to new levels of value with the passing of the purely profit-motivated system of economics.

VII: THE CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION (Overstreet 113)

[PREAMBLE] (Overstreet 113)

Practically all the literature and history that have been available for teaching purposes have had the **localistic** note, the idea, namely, that humanity is inevitably divided into politically separated groups and that loyalty to one's group is the highest social virtue (O 115).

In practically all literary and historical material available for use in the schools, it is taken for granted that groups will inevitably be at odds with one another and that the fundamental relationship between them is that of potential or actual enmity. I need hardly refer to the manner in which the **military** concept has been invested with such glamour as to make the virtue of martial heroism very nearly the high water mark of what is humanly desirable (O 115).

[Compare O 116, where Overstreet describes education's emphasis on "narrowly restricted individualism".]

Education has deliberately aimed at perpetuating a view of life which, in essentials, either is indifferent or goes counter to **world-understanding** and **wide** social organization (O 117).

Education has too long been **localistic**,

militaristic,

ego exalting, and success seeking;

it must eventually become **world-wide**,

idealistic, self-realizing, and cosmic grasping.

SOURCE OR PARALLEL

URANTIA PAPER 71

NEW GOVERNORS FOR OLD (Overstreet 130)

In the earlier years of colleges and universities, the governing boards were largely composed of **clergymen** (O 130).

During the past few decades, the government of higher education has fallen into new hands—those of **lawyers and men of business** (O 130).

THE NEED OF **PHILOSOPHY** (Overstreet 127)

Philosophy is a **seeking after wisdom**, and wisdom, as we have seen, is a judgment made in the light of some kind of integration of parts (O 127).

VIII: THE FIVE-FOLD WISDOM (Overstreet 135)

[PREAMBLE] (Overstreet 135)

[contd] There are five **wisdoms** which education will doubtless attempt to achieve for old and young (O 135).

[Compare:] There is first of all a wisdom of the **body**. The body is our primary instrument.... Obviously the first of the life-wisdoms is to make it into as perfect an instrument as we possibly can (O 135).

71:7.4 Education recently passed from the control of the **clergy**

to that of **lawyers and businessmen.**

Eventually it must be given over to the **philosophers** and the scientists.

Teachers must be free beings, real leaders, to the end that

philosophy, the **search for wisdom**,

may become the chief educational pursuit.

71:7.5 Education is the business of living; it must continue throughout a lifetime so that mankind may gradually experience

the ascending **levels of mortal wisdom**, which are:

1. The knowledge of **things**.

SOURCE OR PARALLEL

URANTIA PAPER 71

A SECOND WISDOM (Overstreet 138)

[Compare:] There is a second wisdom—wisdom in human relations.... The first need of a truly emancipated education will be ... to claim the right to develop among its students and teachers human relationships that have some degree of loveliness (O 138).

2. The realization of meanings.

A THIRD (Overstreet 139)

[contd] There is a third necessary wisdom—that of appreciation....

To live greatly in one's world, one must companion with man's greater triumphs (O 139, 141).

3. The appreciation of values.

A FOURTH (Overstreet 141)

[contd] Then there is work....

Education ... must lend itself to discovering the wisdom of vocation: that wisdom, namely, which enables the individual to marshal his energies in furtherance of that which is both a delight to himself and a value for his society (O 141-42).

4. The nobility of work—duty.

A FIFTH (Overstreet 142)

[contd] Finally there must be a wisdom as to life-objectives. Young people must be helped to find out for themselves what the life-enterprise is about (O 142).

5. The motivation of goals—morality.

6. The love of service—character.

7. Cosmic insight—spiritual discernment.

71:7.13 And then, by means of these achievements, many will ascend to the mortal ultimate of mind attainment, God-consciousness.

8. THE CHARACTER OF STATEHOOD

[The universe administrators have learned from experience that the evolutionary peoples on the inhabited worlds are best regulated by the representative type of civil government when there is maintained proper balance of power between the well-co-ordinated executive, legislative, and judicial branches (70:12.1).]

71:8.1 The only sacred feature of any human government is the division of statehood into the three domains of executive, legislative, and judicial functions. The universe is administered in accordance with such a plan of segregation of functions and authority.

Aside from this divine concept of effective social regulation or civil government, it matters little what form of state a people may elect to have provided the citizenry is ever progressing toward the goal of augmented self-control and increased social service. The intellectual keenness, economic wisdom, social cleverness, and moral stamina of a people are all faithfully reflected in statehood.

XVI: THE EIGHTH ADVENTURE (Overstreet 263)

71:8.2 The evolution of statehood entails progress from level to level, as follows:

THE SEVEN ADVENTURES (Overstreet 263)

The second stage of our career was marked by a second act of pioneering. We demanded the right to be duly represented in the government of our life. When we were denied the right, we fought for it, and, winning the fight, we established a new form of political **government** of and for and by the citizens (O 263-64).

71:8.3 1. The creation of a threefold **government** of executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

Our career as a people may be said to have begun in an act of **spiritual** pioneering. The Pilgrim Fathers left their homeland because they demanded for themselves the right to worship the God in whom they believed in the way in which they believed. Our essential history, in short, began in a protest against spiritual tyranny (O 263).

The fourth act of pioneering is still remembered as one of the bitterest periods in our national history. We emancipated the **slave** (O 264).

The third act of pioneering is not so generally identified.... We realized that no people could be politically free and at the same time, in large numbers, ignorant. So, against strong forces of opposition among ourselves and in the face of the incredulity of an aristocratically conditioned world, we **established education for everyone** (O 264).

[See O 274, where Overstreet recommends going to school “from our infancy to old age”.]

There followed the sixth act of pioneering—the conquest of **sex-tyranny**.... In the end, the movement for sex-justice swept the country with an almost incredible rapidity, and the **equality** of men and women became an established principle in our life (O 265).

71:8.4 2. The freedom of social, political, and **religious** activities.

71:8.5 3. The abolition of all forms of **slavery** and human bondage.

71:8.6 4. The ability of the citizenry to control the levying of taxes.

71:8.7 5. The **establishment of universal education**—

learning extended from the cradle to the grave.

71:8.8 6. The proper adjustment between local and national governments.

71:8.9 7. The fostering of science and the conquest of disease.

71:8.10 8. The due recognition of **sex equality**

[Compare O 272.]

and the co-ordinated functioning of men and women in the home, school, and church, with specialized service of women in industry and government.

The fifth act of pioneering, like the third, is, in its full significance, not generally recognized.... The harnessing of Nature's forces through **machines** for the serving of man's purposes had already begun in England, but the development and organization of technological skills made such rapid strides in America—particularly following the Civil War—that we were soon well in advance of the rest of the world in the enterprise of opening up new material possibilities for the relief and enrichment of life (O 264).

71:8.11 9. The elimination of toiling slavery by **machine** invention and the subsequent mastery of the machine age.

71:8.12 10. The conquest of dialects—the triumph of a universal language.

71:8.13 11. The ending of war—international adjudication of national and racial differences by continental courts of nations presided over by a supreme planetary tribunal automatically recruited from the periodically retiring heads of the continental courts. The continental courts are authoritative; the world court is advisory—moral.

71:8.14 12. The world-wide vogue of the pursuit of wisdom—the exaltation of philosophy. The evolution of a world religion, **which will presage the entrance of the planet upon the earlier phases of settlement in light and life.**

71:8.15 These are the prerequisites of progressive government and the earmarks of ideal statehood.

[?]

THE PARAMOUNT REVOLUTION (Overstreet 272)

“Humanity,” wrote Jan Smuts some years ago, “has struck its tents, and is again **on the move.**” It is civilization that is moving, an old civilization advancing into a new one (O 275).

Urantia is far from the realization of these exalted ideals, but the civilized races have made a beginning—

mankind is **on the march** toward higher evolutionary destinies.

71:8.16 [Sponsored by a Melchizedek of Nebadon.]

1. Compare 66:6.7:

When Christian missionaries go into the heart of Africa, where sons and daughters are supposed to remain under the control and direction of their parents throughout the lifetime of the parents, they only bring about confusion and the breakdown of all authority when they seek, in a single generation, to supplant this practice by teaching that these children should be free from all parental restraint after they have attained the age of twenty-one.

2. I heartily accept the motto,—“**That government is best which governs least;**” and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which I also believe,—“That government is best which governs not at all;” and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. —Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience* (1848)