PAYBACK

Profit-sharing and the Coming New Age of Working Class Prosperity

Darian Lance Smith

Thanks to Mr. John Huddleston for his perspective and encouragement. I also would like to thank Mr. John Staples and Mrs. Patty Sawvel for their helpful revisions and refinements. And thanks to my family. They are my fortress and my wellspring of courage: my wife Maria Eugenia, and my children, Darian Justin, and Maria Genevieve.

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Forward

I certainly share your enthusiasm for profitsharing not least because it creates a basis for partnership rather than conflict between capital and labor, which seems a more socially desirable model, and which is likely to lead to greater efficiencies of operation....

At the immediate practical level it has the potential to reduce extremes of wealth and poverty, and to ease adjustment to variations in the trade cycle, by reducing costs in times of stress (as an alternative to greater unemployment) and sharing rewards in times of prosperity...

I applaud your efforts to get action in Congress and wish you every success, particularly with regard to removing legal obstacles...

I acknowledge that in the present political climate it (a tax credit) may be the most practical way of getting Congress engaged.

-John Huddleston

Former Chief of the Budget and Planning Division, International Monetary Fund

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the untold multitudes throughout history, who have worked their entire lives, sacrificing their days, their blood, and their true potential, without adequate or just reward.

"The best beloved of all things in my sight is Justice... By its aid thou shalt see with thine own eyes and not through the eyes of others... O Children of Dust, Tell the rich of the midnight sighing of the poor."

-Baha'u'llah, The Hidden Words

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Introduction

A new, more civilized economic technology holds the promise of returning financial stability to the working class, and at the same time dovetails the philosophies of the political left and right.

The strategy is astonishingly simple: allow a tax credit for businesses that distribute generous profit-sharing dividends (20-25% of net profits) directly and promptly to employees on a monthly basis.

At first glance, it may seem unremarkable, but both the immediate and extended consequences of this strategy are of breathtaking importance. Cash-back profit-sharing is the dynamic force yet to be fully understood and harnessed. On the most practical level, it is a **proven** management tool that, when implemented properly, improves industrial productivity and employee morale. Implemented on a broader level, this small tweak to our current system could be the catalyst for an enduring, builtin economic stimulus where workers, business, industry, and government all participate in a mutually beneficial economic system. Unlike typical deferred "savings" programs, this strategy promptly and generously enhances employee paychecks, but only when successful teamwork and profits occur.

These significantly enhanced incomes create a more stable, self-sufficient economic family life for workers. This one simple change can trigger an entire cascade of further beneficial consequences. Substantially enhanced paychecks increase supply as well as demand. Higher demand generates more jobs. It gives the economy an immediate shot in the arm. Individual productivity as well as corporate productivity jumps. Jobs previously considered unrewarding and less desirable, suddenly acquire a new dignity and purpose as workers significantly improve their own incomes and are able to support their families more comfortably. Jobs, where employees can share a generous piece of the pie, would begin to attract many more applicants, thereby minimizing unemployment, without the need for expensive retraining or re-education programs.

Significantly more people at work, with higher incomes and higher industrial productivity, would consequently widen the tax base and enhance government revenues without raising taxes. Furthermore, this strategy reduces dependence on federal programs by making self-sufficiency easier to achieve "on the street". More paychecks enhance federal revenues. Consequently, more withholdings help replenish the social security and Medicare funds. This could help save these important safety net programs without raising taxes or lowering benefits, currently a task thought to be impossible!

And all this can be done without a radical alteration of our current economic system. This is just a small tweak, not a major overhaul.

This sequence of events, in addition to having a stimulating effect, would also have a stabilizing effect on the economy and the stock market, thereby creating a fertile environment for a repeat cycle of prosperity.

But it does not end there. If a trial run is proven successful, and a widespread implementation is accepted, the fruits of this new strategy will extend far beyond mere economic benefits. It can dissipate divisive political rhetoric, help to re-unify western consciousness, and awaken an altruistic energy long thought to be lost. More importantly, it may be the missing link that promises to refine capitalism and redefine its purpose. This is the attractive global model that was meant to be. It is "positively" revolutionary. 1

Learning the Hard Way

"You did a wonderful thing in this country in 1865 when you abolished chattel slavery, but you must do a much more wonderful thing now. You must abolish industrial slavery."

-Abdu'l Baha 1912

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We have so much to be thankful for in America:

- Freedom of speech,
- Freedom of worship,
- Freedom to pursue our dreams.

Yet the vision of a world that works for everyone, and an economy that is stable, fair, and beneficial for those who work hard, has not been realized (9).

There is something missing from the standard economic solutions offered by either side of the political aisle. Our outworn choice, until now, has been between a conservative Darwinian capitalism and a liberal patriarchal capitalism. The result has been that either the government or the corporation has taken the workers' fair share of profits in the name of "wise stewardship" of their capital. For over a century now, variants of these two political strategies have proven ineffective in distributing wealth to the people who actually produce it –

the working class (3). Even though both entrenched views promise prosperity for the greatest number, both parties have fallen short of the mark.

The ideological stalemate between the left and right has allowed conditions to worsen. The median household income now usually requires the overtime efforts of both spouses. We have a weakened and fractured family structure that is experiencing ever increasing financial pressures. A growing majority of Americans has increasing doubts of ever attaining a secure financial future, or even a dignified retirement and death.

Both political parties exploit these fears to advance their own agendas. It seems they have become so preoccupied with their own doctrines and so distracted by their competitive strategies, that they have failed to consider new solutions.

In business, a disturbing national corporate culture has evolved. Such a culture minimizes employee benefits and the importance of labor for the sake of maximizing corporate returns on stockholders' investments. Outsourcing jobs and imbalanced trade policies have left us weakened. The overall result has led to lower paying jobs and a weaker and less stable economy. The average working American must now work much of the year just to pay his taxes. Government over-expenditure has created the equivalent of a twenty-first century American serfdom. We are both the creators of, and are dependent on, a gargantuan international defense "welfare" system. We profit by, and work for, the military protection of much of the world. The national debt is at record levels. Our dollar continues to weaken as well. True wealth is moving out of our nation (9).

Our social security system, Medicare system, and other safety net programs are in jeopardy. Inflation and recession seem to be everpresent looming dangers. Both sides of the political aisle agree that we are facing numerous, significant economic challenges. Each side has its own set of statistics that defines its perspective of economic reality. It is as if each party is looking at only one side of a penny. One side sees only Lincoln, the other sees only Lincoln's memorial. Both perspectives describe one economic reality, yet both sides refuse to acknowledge the legitimate facts of the other's perspective. Each side must disagree with the other side in order to create a distinct party platform at election time, and each party must compete for the vote and soul of the majority, with a one-sided platform. Inflammatory rhetoric becomes part of the problem. Demonizing those who disagree with the party line becomes the strategy for the propagandist. Winning and power becomes more important than statesmanship or agreement.

Each party "cherry-picks" their own set of economic indicators, which are often cited by either party to support its own platform and to discredit the others'. With all due respect we should be thankful for the good indicators when they are present. However, these occasionally positive statistical indicators offer little comfort to the average worker who faces an increasing array of financial threats: outsourcing, downsizing, record deficits, identity theft, increasing costs, decreasing benefits, pension scandals, planned obsolescence, scams, fuel price increases, deliberate choice overload, stock losses, and even false business opportunities as a way out of the situation.

Many Americans have a gut feeling that something is very wrong with our system. However, we are paralyzed by disagreement as to how to fix it. We find ourselves in a tortuous stalemate. Most would agree that we are at a crisis point. Members of both parties are declaring that things are slipping out of control, yet a satisfactory solution continues to elude us. Even the financial institutions to which we look for clarification, such as the Federal Reserve Board, seem to have no definitive answer to our predicament.

We can no longer maintain this facade of freedom. It is time for a positive breakthrough. Fortunately, there is a solution that dovetails these old opposing perspectives.

So Very Close

"In order to conquer nature, we must first learn how to obey it." – Sir Francis Bacon

At such a decisive turning point, and at such a perilous time when a fundamental change is needed, let us not waste time pointing fingers or criticizing any particular political administration. Let us focus on the solution. This call to economic transformation is not an alarmist diatribe from the left or right. This *is* a "pocket handbook" for the common man, on how we can implement a minor tweak to our great system and bring about a quantum leap in the improvement of our social order. It is not to be read and left on the shelf. A grassroots effort to engage in such a change is a vital necessity for its success.

This is about a fortunate outcome of our own making, not another critical analysis as to how bad things have become. Things are indeed in critical condition, but we have a new opportunity and a new solution, which maintains the fundamental values and dynamics of our free enterprise system. It is a more civilized economic strategy – *the profit-sharing tax credit*. This is an opportunity for us to rise above outworn ideological dichotomies and change things for the better. Without any attempt to improve, we are choosing to remain in perpetual adversarial misery. Yet we are only a minor change away from a major improvement to our civilization. It is an improvement that our nation deserves, and one that is very close to achievement- so very close.

The intention of this handbook is to highlight the enhanced role of profit-sharing, to create public discussion, and, more importantly, to become a catalyst for its generous and widespread implementation.

The research on the beneficial effects of profit-sharing in the last 50 years has been substantial (2,5,6,10,11,14). Profit-sharing is not new. A catalyst to implement it on a widespread basis, however, has been the missing link.

Our inability to understand its true potential is both ironic and revealing. In the land that praises the profit motive, it is curious that such a potent motivating tool as profit-sharing, has been pigeonholed and neglected in the form of uninspiring, deferred, and often paltry retirement programs.

It is as if a cold fusion reactor had been successfully tested and shelved in a warehouse. We need to re-examine this neglected resource and harness it on a nationwide basis. We must harness it in a way that benefits all levels of society in a mutually reinforcing, healthy way. There are scientific principles of behavior and incentives that function as consistently as the physical laws of nature, and we must learn to incorporate these principles in our understanding and design of a world that truly *works* for all.

In order to achieve flight, the Wright brothers successfully learned to obey the laws of aerodynamics to "conquer" gravity. This profitsharing tax credit utilizes a similar technology. Based on the principles that optimize human potential and optimize organizational performance, this tax credit applies these principles to the individual's relationship with both his employer and the government. This tax credit strikes the right balance between the individual, business, and government. And we must be aware of what nurtures a healthy government and a healthy business, as well as what empowers the individual. This could be the "first flight" of global prosperity.

Finding the right balance will unleash more than economic potential. It will unleash powers that some would call spiritual. Freed from many of the crippling problems of the past, the powers of unity, cooperation, consultation, and creativity are released. This collective energy is also similar to the waters released from a dam, providing tremendous hydroelectric power, and continuing to flow and irrigate the crops far down stream. When we learn to obey the laws of nature and behavior, we become free. We free ourselves from a self-destructive cultural and economic stalemate. We are free to allow ourselves to be optimistic and productive again. We are free to trust again and to dream again.

So, if we can so readily acknowledge the destructive nature of man, it is illogical to ignore our unlimited potential for good, and our more evolved future. We have evolved from prehistoric tribalism to an agrarian social structure, then to citystates, nation states and to regional commonwealths. We are sentient beings that have learned speech, calculated the laws of the universe, developed highly complex technologies, and discovered abstract realities such as justice, reverence and freedom. We are now on the threshold of the birth of a global civilization, and the recognition that our altruistic nature is not only real and important, it is vital for our survival. Does our forward progress suddenly stop and our ignorant nature prevail? The historical precedence says not.

Hopefully this profit-sharing strategy will demonstrate that our destiny can indeed be a bright one. We are designed to adapt, to survive and be successful. Adaptation means trying new and creative socioeconomic changes when they are needed. And now we can all help in building this more enlightened economy.

Dovetailing Left and Right

"Nothing can stop an idea whose time has come" - Victor Hugo

The word "dovetail" describes opposite shapes that fit together to form a strong single union. This new revolutionary economic strategy promises to do just that. This concept renders old adversarial ideologies obsolete. This handbook offers a concise outline of a nonpartisan, easily achievable strategy that can quickly energize a sustainable recovery for our economy. To reiterate in greater detail, the strategy is:

A 60% tax credit for businesses that distribute profit-sharing dividends (a generous pre-determined percentage; up to 20-25% of net profits) directly to their employees on a monthly basis.

A tax credit for business is a conservative concept. It is money subtracted directly from the company's tax payment. Yet it is a conditional allowance. The business gets to keep this generous portion of money only if it has distributed this net profit among its eligible employees. This is a liberal concept. So this is the merging of conservative and liberal concepts to achieve a mutual goal – an equitable prosperity for America.

The exact method of this distribution is another matter to be considered. Should it be distributed equally among all employees? Should it be only for non-executives? Should it be linked to wages? The owners already receive the benefit of the unshared 75 percent of net profits, so they would not be eligible for the remaining 25 percent. But they recoup their generosity from the tax credit. Linking it to wages on a top-heavy sliding scale creates the same type of imbalanced distributions of the past, and is inherently counterproductive because it misses the entire point of an equitable, decentralized distribution of capital. To optimize widespread beneficial socioeconomic results, lower paid employees need to benefit generously from the strategy. To truly merge the theory of supply-side economics with that of economic democracy, the most effective design will probably require an equal distribution of net profits among all employees. Remember, the percentage shared is voluntary, but the more shared, the larger the business tax credit. So generosity for the bottom line is profitable.

It is important to understand again that this is not about traditional, small, deferred retirement programs like most "profit-sharing" programs have become. It is "the apportionment of a predetermined share of the net profits to labor."(1). This is not a bonus, not a stock option, and not a new scheme to increase employee output. It is a generous, profit-contingent, enhanced paycheck. Applied on a national scale, it is a sustainable economic stimulus program where the government, the state, local businesses, and workers all participate in a mutually beneficial strategy.

Because the profit-sharing tax credit dovetails the left and right, it defines the fulcrum of the political center. The fundamental divide between liberal and conservative philosophies -at its core-has always been about how wealth should be distributed. The traditional liberal method has been to trust the federal government to raise taxes and to design public works projects, public ownership programs, and social programs that benefit its citizens. The traditional conservative method has been to trust free market forces. business decisions, private enterprise, and private ownership programs to accomplish a fair distribution of wealth. These are two strategies with seemingly opposite philosophies that want the same outcome - an equitable prosperity for all responsible citizens. This tax credit demonstrates how both philosophies are complementary, not mutually exclusive, and how it can achieve both a theoretical and a pragmatic balance.

The political center should be about agreement and statesmanship. Unanimity should be

the desired goal, not discord and strife. We seem to have lost our civil sense. Inflammatory rhetoric may be entertaining but it is ugly and dangerous to the democratic process. It is the voice of ignorance whether it is coming from the left or right. It dehumanizes different points of view and uses fear as a tool to obtain a political base. George Washington warned us in his farewell address that if we were not vigilant, the Republic's downfall would result from the conflict of political parties and their vengeful hostilities. Differing opinions should always be on the table for thorough discussion, but the truth is better revealed, not in sour compromise but from informed analysis and enlightened agreement. Agreement is an attainable, desirable goal and not a weak compromise. It seems that in the current culture of conflict, the center has become a no man's land ridiculed by opposing camps as being either a place for the weak, the easily persuaded, the indecisive, or for political opportunists seeking the spotlight. Everyone, however, would like to see the statesmanlike center once again become an honorable meeting place. Like opposite turning gears that work together, the two apparently opposing philosophies can become a powerful united force that can help us all attain a new level of prosperity and progress.

In many ways, however, our present culture nurtures an unhealthy competitive divisiveness. We too often view the world as sets of opposites; the good guys against the bad guys, us against them, win or lose, my culture versus their culture, survival of the fittest. But ultimate survival will require a collective spiritual unity. As the anthropologist Louis Leaky concluded, we survived as a human species not so much because we were fearsome warlike hunter individualists; we survived as a species because we cooperated, we nurtured, and we loved. And to the extent to which we master that aspect of our collective behavior will determine the extent to which we will thrive as a species in the future.

A cooperative culture is more likely to survive, and yet healthy competition and dissent will still be a vital part of an advanced civilization. Competition and dissent must be balanced, however, with a spirit of solidarity. Finding common ground with our neighbors has also been part of the American tradition, and we must not allow it to fade. We yearn for that community spirit which has played such a meaningful part of our American heritage. We wish it had not been lost. We yearn for more stable families and neighborhoods where fellowship is part of daily life. The tax credit for profit-sharing can create more economically stable communities and renew that bond of common ground with our fellow workers, with our company, and even with our government.

It is time for America to grow up. It is time that we grow out of our adolescent divide that pits one against another and creates unhealthy competitive relationships. Adolescence is a tumultuous and often painful time in our personal development. Growing up is a relief in many ways. We discover that we are not as powerless as we thought. We discover that we have much more potential than we thought. We discover that we have new intellectual, spiritual, interactive skills that we never knew we had. We realize that much of our adolescent pain was self-inflicted and unnecessary. Similarly, the caricatures of the extreme left and the extreme right should be buried in the painful past.

The profit-sharing tax credit is the very definition of the political center. It defines a balanced goal (prosperity and unity) by the procedure used to achieve it. It is the missing piece of the puzzle to a more efficient, and more humane capitalism. Perhaps we now have an enlightened central cause to which a solid majority can gravitate. And nothing can create a more unifying issue like an improvement in our pocketbooks. After all, a solution to the economic problem is not just an academic or mathematical one. Without the spiritual factors of justice and unity, any other equation is inescapably flawed and incomplete.

The following chapter describes the numerous positive effects of this type of tax credit, and illustrates in even more detail the revolutionary changes such a strategy will produce at the local, state, and national levels.

"Positively" Revolutionary

"Men occasionally stumble upon the truth. But most pick themselves up and continue on." -Sir Winston Churchill

There are ten sound reasons why this fundamental change will be good for America and the world.

1. It is Already Proven

Profit-sharing is already a proven strategy (5,6,8,). In fact, it has been called the "The Industrial Adrenaline"(2). A well- managed profit-sharing program improves productivity, morale, and labormanagement relations (10). It has not been implemented on a widespread basis in the past because for most owners and managers it represents just another operating expense. There have been no tangible incentives for it. Some regulations actually discourage it indirectly. A historical lack of trust between management and labor is also an underlying obstacle in initiating such programs. But the research shows that when 20-25 percent of net profits are distributed to employees, significant productive behavior changes are measured at the individual level and at the organizational level (6). Some have argued that companies already apportion a lion's share to their employees.

But recent corporate scandals have shown that huge profits have been tucked away, as standard procedure, into creative, illegal loopholes. As accounting procedures are forced to become more transparent, and when a legal tax credit as generous as 60% is made available for profitsharing, we may be astounded at how profits of significant magnitude will suddenly appear.

2. It Rewards Cooperation of All Participants

To encourage widespread implementation of profit-sharing, and to help all business owners understand its advantages, there must be a generous federal and state tax incentive. Otherwise, it is just another expense for a business owner. A 60 percent state and federal tax credit would be large enough of an incentive to motivate the majority of businesses to begin plowing profits back in to their own people instead of paying it to the government. The 60 percent credit would be in addition to the 30 - 40 percent allowable tax deduction already allowed for business expenses. Together, this would be nearly a 100 percent, dollar for dollar return for the business' participation. So this proposal should surely earn the support of the business community. This tax credit rewards the very source of wealth and capital (13) - the individual and the industrial enterprise, as team players!

Some would say that corporations already have too many breaks and do not pay their fair share of taxes. No doubt there are rampant loophole abuses that need correction. However there are legitimate, business tax breaks that are vital for a healthy economy. To prioritize its importance, perhaps most business tax credits should be contingent on participating first in the profit-sharing tax credit.

3. It is a Built-in Economic Stimulus

It is important to remember this is all contingent upon making profits. When profits do not occur, workers and owners must examine the reasons why, and make appropriate adjustments, if possible. If a market simply does not exist, the venture will be a certain failure, with or without profit-sharing. But when profits do occur, there is potential for real magic. This tax credit puts money directly into the pockets of working Americans on a regular monthly basis: a built-in spark plug for our economy! Monthly distributions are suggested only because businesses also calculate taxes monthly. But it is not a guaranteed monthly payment. It is actually a "variable interval" schedule of reward, because it occurs only in those months when net profits are achieved. This is more realistic and more effective. Behavioral research shows that variable reward schedules are actually more motivating than fixed-interval schedules.

This plan transforms fixed, low income, hourly wage jobs into variable, enhanced income positions. Behavioral research has also shown that when rewards are targeted, prompt, generous and frequent, productivity is energized. Successful workers, when so rewarded for their success, willingly work smarter, produce more, use their talents more, and can save more, spend more, and invest more. This socioeconomic shift will restore the entrepreneurial spirit to hourly and wage earners. The fixed, low-income labor system was implemented on a grand scale at the dawn of the industrial revolution. It has evolved into a muchimproved system from its slave-like beginnings. However, even in this high tech age, the current industrial model still siphons motivation and income away from the very source of wealthworkers. In fact, technology can be a great enabler

and then

of this oppressive management fad. There are

human resource software programs designed to

"lean" human resources to the lowest possible cost

and tightest work schedules. In many ways, our

management culture has regressed to nineteenth

century treatment. Admittedly, technological

innovation has in the past replaced human labor to the greater advantage of humanity at large.

However, the current trend of using scientifically

hewn management methods to squeeze as much human energy out of fewer and fewer employees,

enforcing "mandatory" overtime,

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discarding the less resilient, turns technology into an instrument of abuse. Business and science, without a moral compass becomes a monster. Ironically, in the end, an abusive unrefined economic system eventually stagnates.

4. It Maximizes Employment

These new jobs, enhanced by profit-sharing, would become more attractive positions from the perspective of the unemployed. Suddenly low paying jobs, previously considered menial, are transformed into desirable and honorable jobs, because the workers now have a piece of the pie. They have a stake in the successful outcome of their labor. If millions of fixed income, low paying jobs suddenly become enhanced with regular, profitsharing dividends, the effect would be a dramatic increase in the number of new applicants and more Americans at work. The unrecorded segment of unemployed workers who have given up trying to find a job is a huge source of untapped wealth. More than just the unemployed would be energized to participate in such a new cooperative paradigm. Another dynamic segment of the population, senior citizens, will be mobilized as well. Critics have argued that there are some people, who would not care anyway, and are inherently "lazy". Furthermore, they argue, a man's innate capacity determines his financial fate. These conclusions are not consistent with the data that show when rewards

are generous, prompt, frequent and variable, then people respond with measured predictability and The data also show that "lazy" enthusiasm. behavior occurs only to the extent that the motivating factors (prompt, generous, targeted and frequent reinforcement) are not in place, or the person is physically or mentally ill. This is true even with persons of great capacity. True, often people of capacity know how to find opportunity, or create their own optimally rewarding environment. But frequently, even ingenious plans fail, to no fault of the plan, or the individual's efforts. "This" happens. When opportunity and stability are more available "on the street" with profit-sharing, more people of all capacities can start anew with less hardship.

Well-designed jobs, or job incentives, therefore, are more effective and more important than mere job creation! If we want a prosperous and stable economy, then we should carefully design the incentives of the workplace. It is the fundamental building block of a healthy global economy.

During an episode of industrial outsourcing or layoffs, the general response of government and counselors to those who have lost their jobs, has been to call for the need for "retraining" or "reeducation" programs, which are time consuming and expensive. For someone in this situation, it is a hollow and disconsolate promise, especially for those in their mature years. Again, for both seniors and the unemployed, it is easier to get a fresh start "on the street" in an economy where profit-sharing is a widespread part of the system and where jobs previously considered "dead end" opportunities now offer a more stable and honorable partnership.

While this tax credit enhances paychecks, and improves the unemployment rate, it could very well have other beneficial social consequences such as reducing crime and racial tensions. After all, economic disparity is at the core of many crimes, racial conflicts, and even terrorism. When every individual has the opportunity to live, work, raise a family, and die, with economic security, we are less vulnerable to acts of desperation and envious hatred. When economic justice is in place, usually our racial, cultural, and religious differences are reasons to celebrate, rather than differences to fear. Perhaps this strategy should also be integrated into international nation-building efforts.

5. It Replenishes Government Revenues Without Raising Taxes

The inevitable increase in employment brought about by the tax credit would **also lead to a wider tax base of the state and federal governments.** Business growth would also add to revenues as well. In other words, all levels of society can benefit from such a strategy: individuals, businesses, as well as state and federal governments. The initial loss of government revenue from a tax credit is actually an *investment* that quickly generates beneficial returns many times over. And remember, the social security system and Medicare system would also receive more funding from increased paycheck withholdings.

The conventional wisdom among experts has been that these programs cannot be saved without raising taxes or cutting benefits. But the conventional wisdom has not considered the extra revenues generated by the broader effects of the profit-sharing tax credit. Higher incomes and better funded safety-net programs create a more stable society. A more stable economy encourages further investment and a more vigorous and more stable stock market. Not long ago, in a national business journal, stockholders were asked what the most desirable feature they would like to see in a prospective stock purchase. The almost unanimous answer was "stability". A steady and stable growth, then, actually creates a more fertile environment for further growth, than does a steep and erratic pattern.

So this tax credit has the remarkable effect of both stimulating and stabilizing the economy at the same time! And a stable and dynamic economy makes for a healthy and more purposeful government, thereby streamlining its responsibilities.

6. It Decentralizes the Distribution of Wealth

By paying a percentage of profits directly back to the hands that produce the wealth rather than giving it all to corporations or the government, there is less likelihood for abuse. The less centralized the distribution of wealth, the more democratic the system. Democracy is not just about the responsibility and privilege of the vote. It is about the fair share of the fruits of labor.

This decentralized distribution of earnings is far more efficient than a large cumbersome government-run program. In contrast, it is also far more effective than small, non-contingent, tax cuts that fail to substantially help those who generate those taxes, and who need help the most. These are the old strategies used by the two major parties. We have seen that large government programs have often been ineffective in nurturing self-sufficiency within a free enterprise context. In contrast, neither has an unrefined private enterprise system succeeded in achieving the supply-side "trickle down" abundance that it promised. This is not to say that government programs should be abandoned, or that privatization strategies should never be considered. It is to say that there has been

a middle road less traveled, which should be given a chance to prove itself.

7. It Corrects Old Imbalances

On one hand, this new approach dissipates the fears so pervasive in an unbridled Darwinianlike hypercompetitive economy. On the other hand it invigorates individual initiative, which is lacking in a patriarchal liberal socialistic capitalism.

The profit-sharing tax credit also creates an economic "check and balance" on corporate selfishness without encumbering free enterprise. With this new paradigm, the incentive to pass profits on to employees creates a healthy and legal tax break. In this case, unselfishness is profitable. Historically, without such incentives, corporations have hidden profits and often distributed illegal profits to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, such as partners and CEOs. Stockholders and top management have largely ignored the "sweat equity" and partnership potential of employees. We have seen a sad demonstration of this recently in the U.S. where multiple Enron-type debacles and corporate CEO scandals have "licked the pot clean."

Also witness how expanding corporations, looking for new production sites, exploit the weakness of job-depleted states and encourage local and state government bids on the biggest incentive packages possible. States and counties grovel for the "blessing" of their presence, offering everhigher bids of taxpayer money in a sad, desperate, search for new jobs at whatever cost. This is predatory abuse and corporate welfare, not simply "market forces", at work.

Corporate expansion without consideration of the community, the country, and its people is cancerous growth. Growth is good, but expansion and growth should be secondary and contingent on corporate participation in regular profit-sharing dividends. The profit-sharing tax credit creates an economic climate that is so beneficial to all businesses and workers that it makes us less vulnerable and protects us from these predatory abuses by making them irrelevant and unnecessary.

The current outsourcing of jobs to poor nations, however, may be a true correction in market forces. We may not be able to compete in every industrial market until most nations have international socioeconomic "parity". However, this parity may be accelerated if all nations see the beneficial effects of a profit-sharing tax credit operating at the most basic levels in the U.S. and begin to implement their own. In fact, it is probably the most rapid and efficient way to achieve global parity, and a more balanced international currency system. We might still be able to compete and prevent outsourcing of labor in certain markets by using an emergency tactic, where labor and business can agree to minimize wages and benefits up front. They could agree to "backload" a certain amount of wages and benefits, by setting a much larger predetermined profit-sharing level, say 50% or more. This may save industries from being relocated. For certain industries, however, it still may not be enough to save them during the current global correction. As long as severe international socioeconomic imbalances exist, we all will suffer.

8. It Restores the Original Purpose of Government

The role of government in this plan is to assist individuals, businesses, and states to become more self-sufficient. In doing so, the government becomes leaner, reduces citizen reliance on safety net programs, and is able to replenish these safety net programs for more people who may need them. Government is thereby restored and elevated to its original, more noble and effective purpose enabling everyone to become more productive, selfsufficient, and cooperative human beings. A leaner, more empowering government would also benefit from a more stable political environment. Some critics have argued that such a plan may lead to depleted federal revenues. However, any initial loss of federal revenue from the tax credit would be brief (3-6 months as supply and demand jump) and

would be regenerated many times over by revenues from full capacity employment, a wider tax base, enhanced paycheck withholdings, higher productivity, higher corporate profits, as well as less dependency on federal funds.

Furthermore, this initial revenue loss in proportion to total government revenues is relatively small. Most businesses only realize a 5% net profit on average. This proposal is to allow only 1/4 of these **net** profits to be shared. But to millions of Americans, this is enough to cause a profound change their lives. For many, it will mean the equivalent of an extra paycheck (or much more) per month. It is the sharing of a successful gain, with the people who make that gain happen. That includes retail clerks, assembly line laborers, fast food personnel, and other "bottom-line" profit producers. Everyone who works in the trenches creating profits plays the most important and fundamental role in the construction of this new American prosperity.

9. It is Politically Neutral

This is the most refreshing aspect of a profitsharing tax credit. It is a politically neutral solution! It is the missing link of both the liberal and conservative ideals! For conservatives, it is the missing link of supply-side economics. All the components of a healthy free-enterprise system remain intact. For liberals it is the democratization of capitalism. It restores economic and social justice to the great American experiment. This strategy brings the political pendulum to rest. It renders previous adversarial arguments practically obsolete! This is where left dovetails with right. The pundits of political backbiting, on both sides, now have no more excuses for their entrenched inflammatory viewpoints.

People are weary of dissension and want a new model. There is now a better way. Both parties have always wanted the same thing; a stable and safe prosperity for all. We now have a strategy that meets both philosophies in the middle, without sacrificing any of their ideals. And if political parties continue to be a divisive obstruction to the economic unity of the country, perhaps we should rethink the way we elect our representatives. There is a more dignified, efficient and cost-free way, but that is a tale for another telling.

Profit-sharing has in the past been described as a "liberal" idea. However, even President Ronald Reagan spoke if its importance. At the Annual Washington Conference of the American Legion, on February 2, of 1983, he said,

"Developing countries need to be encouraged to experiment with the growing variety of arrangements of profit-sharing, and expanded capital ownership that can bring economic betterment to their people....My fellow legionnaires, the American dream lives, not only in the hearts and minds of our own countrymen, but in the hearts and minds of millions of the world's people in both free and oppressed societies who look to us for leadership."

It is time we make that dream a reality. If developing countries need it, certainly we in the U.S. should also be encouraging "the growing variety of arrangements of profit-sharing". And if we are not experimenting, perhaps the U.S. should still be categorized as a developing nation.

10. It is a Model that is Globally Applicable.

Finally, this is a strategy for economic prosperity that will serve as a model for the whole world (12). Third world countries, and even the major economies of Russia, China, Europe and Japan, would do well to examine the stimulating and stabilizing effects of a profit-sharing tax credit. It would enable developing countries to leapfrog to economic and social "parity" with the more industrialized nations. This type of acceleration to economic and social parity may be even more effective than some of the large macroeconomic intervention programs by the UN or the World Bank. Such a strategy overcomes previous ideological objections to capitalism by some countries because it allows a more decentralized distribution of wealth. Ironically, the more

centralized wealth-distribution becomes, the greater the chance for economic tyranny, in whatever form of government. Even the current U.S. system of tax credits, government grants, loans, and legal protections is fraught with bureaucratic red tape and abuse, and often fails to benefit the desired targets of the less privileged.

A more refined capitalism, will also be more appealing to other cultures and backgrounds because it is more accommodating of philosophical differences. It is more balanced and harmonious in its design. It is more egalitarian in its rewards. It rewards a more collective civil effort, with an inherent design that reinforces unity and cooperation. This aspect is more fitting for those countries that honor a humble cultural consciousness over individual competitiveness. It could even be said to have the potential to unite East and West.

But without this change, even America is in danger of becoming a poor and oppressed nation. More and more, as Americans are loosing jobs, benefits, income, and hope, they are getting a taste of how our economic policy has affected other countries for many decades. Now we are beginning to see why our policies are deeply resented worldwide. And we thought we were doing other nations a favor by spreading our brand of economics. At home, for years many American corporations have marketed their products using the American flag and other advertising appeals to patriotism, while actively minimizing employee benefits and planning for outsourcing. Their loyalty is not really to the American worker, who has subsidized their corporate success and expansion, but to blind profitability and to their stockholders. Our overemphasis on the stock market, our abandonment of "the golden rule", and our "constipated" attitude about human resources will destroy America if left unchecked. The neglect of our human potential has been counterproductive. It is time that we invest in a sure thing. It is time that we invest in our sons and daughters. It is time to invest in a stable, shared growth instead of frenetically chasing the hype of elusive, myopic, stock market "bonanzas", at the expense of the new poverty. Indeed, stock market performance has not been all that impressive, even when compared with the last 30 years of less glamorous municipal bond earnings. After subtracting fees, taxes, and safety factors, the stock market performed no better than municipal bonds.

The model of a rampant, unplanned, unwelcomed, unshared economic growth, which is wasteful, ravenous, and cancerous, is the vision of American-style capitalism that the rest of the world fears. They have a point. Our rhetoric preaches political freedom, but our example too often demonstrates corporate arrogance. To recognize and acknowledge our rough edges is not unpatriotic. It is an opportunity for us to do something unique in history; to demonstrate a different kind of strength. Our real strength is our ability to adapt, and to apply our ingenuity for the common good, not in imposing our economic dominance on others. An unrefined capitalism actually goes to the very heart and source of terrorism. We are quite mistaken if we think that terrorism is about religion. It is predominantly about economics. It is, at its core, about the haves and the have-nots. Although violence must not be tolerated, we must prove to the world that we now have a more refined capitalism. The new economic model can, in fact, be the most effective weapon against terrorism. The hatred of third world cultures for the industrialized world is not so much a materialistic jealousy as it is a fear of economic and cultural domination. Sharing a new, friendlier, more equitable economy may help to dissipate theses old fears and hatreds. It is time that we see the old self-destructive model clearly for what it truly is. It is time for a new vision of true cooperative ownership, with real stability and security. It is time for us to set an inspiring example for the rest of the world. We will be compromising none of our American ideals. In fact, we will be elevating America to a more powerful station. She will be a more pure example of her original ideals. There is going to be an uprising - an uprising of consciousness.

We cannot afford to wait. Allowing current policies to drift along unchanged will result in continued despair, and continued disparities. Complete trust in unrefined free market forces, as some economists tout, is not safe. Although the free enterprise system does unleash a powerful wind of productive economic energy, blind trust in such an unrefined system is like hoping the wind will guide our ship without a sail or rudder. This new, more civilized economic model can be our rudder and our sail. This more civilized economic technology can capture and re-direct the energy of free enterprise toward a more prosperous and friendly future. It can change the direction of our ship and awaken the collective consciousness of "an ever advancing civilization"(12).

We need to restore trust in the American experiment. The profit-sharing tax credit is the catalyst for restoring that trust; trust in free enterprise, and trust in the American vision of an advanced civilization that works at a high level of precision and justice.

Payback! Profit-sharing, and You!

" America's moral leadership will be restored as we set an example for the rest of the world on how to achieve genuine economic democracy and justice for all."

-Louis Kelso

Every citizen now has the power to propel this vision forward. The grassroots element to this change cannot be underestimated. This is not an academic or theoretical exercise. Each of us now has an opportunity to improve our paycheck as well as every other working person's paycheck.

We as individuals can help make it happen by beginning and sustaining a discussion of this topic with our fellow workers, our company, our congressman, our governor, our civic group, our friends, and even within our community of faith. We can help a disillusioned world *work* again. Together we can and must put the economics of selfishness behind us. Let us redesign our future and our children's future. A minor tweak can start a quantum leap.

This economic strategy can be tested and implemented in the real world quickly and easily, if done wisely. The implementation of this strategy may require some unorthodox shortcuts, however, to avoid bureaucratic and political stalemates.

One possible bypass of bureaucratic red tape, is to allow it to be tested on the state level, in one or two states only, say California or North Carolina. These two states are in economic trouble either from mismanagement or from huge job losses due to outsourcing. One possible implementation strategy for these states would be for the governors to petition the President to have their states declared a "job depleted zone" or a "revenue depleted zone".

Such a declaration, as in the case of a natural disaster, would make the state eligible for economic "disaster relief". This type of relief, however, would not need to be in the form of money but in the form of the tax credit for profit-sharing. Unlike natural disaster zones, no actual federal outlay of funds would be necessary for the test site. A grassroots petition to the governors and legislatures of these states would help initiate a trial run. To be certain, this would require a substantial and unified effort. Grassroots unity is indeed possible when a rapid improvement in personal income is at stake. It can be done with a sustained, steady, persistent stream of letters, phone calls, and emails to our representatives, insisting that the profit-sharing tax credit's time has come. The proverbial squeaky wheel does get the grease, but it is not how loud one squeaks; it is how often. And after all, it is our

paychecks at stake. It is the economy at stake. It is our children's future at stake. What do we want the future of America to look like? Do we want to regress to a third world economic status, or do we want to be the model for a new international prosperity? This is no longer a hypothetical question. If current trends continue, we are choosing the former.

An alternative test strategy would be to apply this same "relief" concept on an even smaller scale, such as a geographical "triad of cities" where the economy urgently needs a quick stimulus. None of these trial locations need to be "troubled" locations, but it may be an optimal way to demonstrate the simplicity and the dynamic power of this program to renew and stimulate an economy at any level. The larger state plan is preferable, because it would demonstrate that this new socioeconomic model could be applied on a large scale and demonstrate its benefits to government.

There are good reasons why we should allow a test run first. A field trial allows us to see results before applying it on a wider scale. We can view it, in vivo, creating a healthier return for families, providing tax relief for corporations, and developing a wider tax base for government. It will demonstrate the premise that citizens will become less dependent on government and less dependent on corporations. We can measure its growth, and beneficial side effects, such as seeing good job opportunities become plentiful. We will also be able to observe how it guards against abuse. Vulnerable states will no longer be prey to expanding corporations seeking start-up capital and windfall incentive packages using our tax money, offering only low wage, low benefit jobs in return. It will then be clear how the old economy has perpetuated a "no way out" system for most working class citizens. A self-sufficient economy has no need for such cancerous growth. Corporate welfare enables fraud and promotes continued abuse. It does not heal the economy. President Dwight Eisenhower warned us long ago that if powerful corporate alliances become too influential or dependent on government, they could become a threat to freedom and democracy.

Less "cancerous" growth can also help preserve a more pristine natural environment. A sustainable balance with nature is not in conflict with a dynamic economy. There are many current examples in our country, where creative combinations of private and public funds are successfully protecting our natural environment from the destructive forces of unplanned growth. More industry is not necessarily the answer. Helping our existing industrial economy work better and smarter is the answer.

We might even be able to apply the tax credit to our remaining industries to save them from relocation and revive some of our recently outsourced industries. It holds the promise of stabilizing the great "labor drain" from one country to another. Outsourcing and immigration problems are opposite sides of the same coin. Although labor costs are radically different from one country to another, the profit-sharing tax credit is a great "equalizer" between nations. Profit-sharing can accelerate socio-economic parity between nations and allow developing nations to skip the suffering and hard lessons of the 20th century. They may be able to avoid an entire economic era of disparity. stagnation, instability and unnecessarv sociopolitical conflict. They would do well to skip the age of fossil fuel as well, and begin constructing a hydrogen-based energy infrastructure. When a future outcome is unmistakably obvious, why waste time on halfway measures. Perhaps energy production should be decentralized as well, for a healthier democracy.

The success of a trial run is likely to initiate a mandate in other states for an equivalent program. Other businesses as well as citizens will no doubt volunteer to be a part of this new financial opportunity. If it works at the test site, this idea has the power to spread very quickly. A successful field test would also help expedite legislative approval. Also, the idea's politically centrist nature should help avoid legislative stalemates. The one-state experiment would be a cost-free incubator of a new economy. And it could be implemented quickly. No new bureaucracy is needed. No new hardware or new infrastructure is necessary.

How quickly we make this change is up to us. Let your representatives know that this is worth a try. Why would we not want to give it a trial run? What do we have to be afraid of? Not trying and doing nothing is the most frightening choice we have. If our politicians ignore this opportunity, we must sustain a unified grassroots effort to insist that it happens.

The world needs a major socioeconomic breakthrough. It needs a real transformation. It needs prosperity and stability. This is the real soil where spiritual growth is cultivated. Nothing promotes peace and prosperity like a good example. Our example. We need to free ourselves from the old cynical chains of a crippled, unraveling, decaying culture, and begin to work on even more inspiring projects for the future.

Once we achieve a more healthy economy, we have other pressing problems to solve. New socio-corporate designs may evolve, such as selfsufficient corporate/public communities powered by its own recycled waste, and other alternative fuel sources such as biomass-methane and hydrogen. Such corporate/public communities may have onsite co-op housing, their own subsidiary medical/wellness clinics, child/eldercare, and fuel cell transportation systems. New architectural community designs that blend the old with the new, that eliminate sprawl, preserve wilderness, and promote sustainable growth may emerge. Such accomplishments are not beyond our grasp. We are not condemned to the present.

If we, in this country, can be as enthusiastic about social and spiritual progress as we have been in the past about individual wealth accumulation, we will reach both more rapidly. This is not an altruistic reverie; only an observation of natural law.

There are many who recognize the business benefits of profit-sharing, but few who realize its full economic potential. There have been efforts by some in government to promote its benefits. Some recent attempts here in the U.S. (N.C.) have tried to legislate profit-sharing reforms, but these past attempts have not gone far enough and usually die in committee due to our long time political stalemate. In addition to political logjams, there are labor-management suspicions and statutory roadblocks that have retarded the implementation of such experiments. It has been a sad rut. But this tax credit, in all probability, is the unifying concept that can break the standoff.

And again, this is not just an American solution. This is a global solution, applicable in undeveloped as well as more advanced economies. It bridges old adversarial political ideologies, and can be implemented in "left" leaning, as well as "right" leaning countries with beneficial economic, social and political consequences. We are in an era when tyranny and poverty are becoming less tolerable to the global consciousness. The global collective spirit is becoming aware of itself and it is only a matter of time that it insists upon a more stable and balanced economy. Each of us has a unique and profound opportunity to help make this transition happen. The sooner that we do this, the less suffering the world (you and I) will have to endure.

6

Enlightened Socio-economic Advancement

"Distribution of wealth must be approached in an efficient and equitable manner. In fact, it must be intimately integrated with the process of wealth creation."

-Turning Point for all Nations -Baha'i International Community, 50th UN anniversary

To summarize, the profit-sharing tax credit is an economic improvement that can be easily implemented. It can help transform an economy in stalemate into a more stable, healthy, and refined system. Although it is a concise concept, its beneficial impact is far-reaching. Its design and purpose goes far beyond the concept of an ordinary tax credit. It is the redirection of the flow of prosperity, and the irrigation of all socioeconomic levels. If a trial run can prove to be successful, and a subsequent national implementation becomes mainstream, then an international replication of such success is inevitable. A previous hesitancy to adopt the western model of capitalism by other nations has been due to its inability to adequately benefit the working class. This new economic

model corrects this imbalance. If such a model is demonstrated for the whole world to see, the stark contrast between the old and the new models will become evident. The new model builds bridges. If we can truly break old gridlocks between previously adversarial camps, it will no doubt restore our faith in ourselves as a united country, and a united world. When we can truly attain to a more generous and just economy, the old excuse that our cultural differences are the reasons for our global quagmire, will seem strangely illogical.

Only an idea that is philosophically acceptable to both the right and the left, could accomplish this. Only an idea that dovetails the left and right can hope to bridge our ideological faceoff. The profit-sharing tax credit is the politically neutral idea that satisfies the criteria of both conservative and liberal ideals. The pendulum, not the buck, stops here.

It is fundamentally voluntary. It is not a bureaucratic mandate that is forced upon business. It is by nature a positive incentive, and realistic in the sense that it is implemented only when profits occur. It is fair. It requires no outlay of federal funds. Any initial loss of federal revenue from the tax credit is regenerated many times over from an immediately stimulated economy, larger paychecks, a wider tax base from full capacity employment, higher industrial productivity, as well as less dependency on federal funds. It is an economic strategy that can both stabilize as well as stimulate the economy. It demonstrates in numerous ways that economic justice can work in the real world, and is not simply an idealistic abstraction. It is a timely innovation of the free-enterprise system that preserves the important contributions from both the liberal and conservative movements.

It is time that we abandon cynicism and doubt, and recognize that *our inadequate vision of our destiny is part of the problem*. In simple terms, cynicism about human nature is no longer adaptive for our species' survival. We must begin seeing our nation, and humanity, as a single human family. We must also become aware of the power of our unified collective efforts, when freed from divisive ideologies.

There are those who do not believe in the idea of "the perfectibility of man". However, it is precisely because of the selfish and destructive potential of human nature that we must continue to improve our civilization and its design. We must continue to improve, motivated by faith as well as by fear. Yes, we need to be highly cautious of the consequences of our selfish and destructive nature, both in ourselves, and in our systems of governance. But it is also a vital necessity to have faith in our inherent nobility and our resplendent spiritual nature. Human spiritual evolution *is* the intelligent

design. It is imperative to remember that we human beings are also capable of great virtue and deeds of profound brotherly love that can transform civilizations as well as lives. As Ghandi said, "We must be the change that we wish to see in the world."

"So I'll say to you that man on earth is now clearly faced with the choice of Utopia or Oblivion. If he chooses the latter he can go right on leaving his fate to his political leaders.... If, however, he chooses Utopia, he must get busy very fast. Utopia may have once been considered science fiction, but it is now a practical necessity." -Sir Buckminster Fuller

So our "Kingdom of God on Earth" will not be pre-fab, nor will it run on autopilot. We will have to help build it and maintain it, and be worthy of it. And "all the families of the earth shall be blessed", not just a chosen few. This is not the abandonment of any religious tradition. It is the affirmation and fulfillment of its original meaning. This is the Day, the era, of faith and enlightenment that shall not be followed by the Night of fear and ignorance. Therefore let us venture forth in the pioneering spirit of our forefathers, to fulfill the great American experiment and to make of this nation, and this world, "an ever-advancing civilization". Let us seize this opportunity and begin together, to explore the beautiful and mysterious frontier of an inevitable and truly advanced, world civilization.

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About the author

Dr. Darian L. Smith began his career as an ergonomics consultant to business and industry in 1979. His undergraduate degree is from Wake Forest University.

He holds a master's degree from N.C. State University in industrial ergonomics, and a doctorate from Logan Chiropractic College in St. Louis, Missouri. While serving on staff at Logan College, he helped with the start-up of the Ergonomics, Science and Research Center in 1989. He currently runs his healthcare clinic in Kernersville, N.C.

Dr. Smith is not affiliated with any political party. He represents no special interest group or political "think tank". His work stems from a loving desire to help improve the socioeconomic situation of working Americans, and workers everywhere.

His years of close examination of incentive designs, and experience with industry, health care and the behavioral sciences has given him a unique perspective on the mechanics of socioeconomic systems and the forces that nurture optimal human functioning. Although he is not an economist, his set of observations, from a human performance point of view, may have led him to a more concise answer to some of our economic problems that may have been overlooked by more academic theories.

His work could also be called an adventure of faith, in that his inspiration is also derived from the economic teachings of the Baha'i Faith. These foundational beliefs are dedicated to an "ever advancing civilization". The body of information in the Baha'i Faith offers many reforms that modern society desperately needs. These teachings offer concrete solutions on such topics as: the economic problem, international law and order, local and national electoral reforms, UN reforms, local community dynamics, personal and spiritual guidelines for a happy life, a unified perspective of religious history, as well as a practical model of a sustainable future for mankind and how to get there. Dr. Smith is asking everyone who reads this, not just to investigate, but to engage in this most important work. A more sensible future is not only necessary and practical, it is inevitable. Together we can help build a world that works.

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(Back Cover)

What is the next great advancement in store for humanity? In spite of the many upheavals that mankind is now enduring, many believe that we are on the brink of a profound transformation in our global socio-economic and spiritual evolution.

Just as tragedies strike, so do opportunities.

For example, one solution to many of our major problems may be right in front of our noses. Briefly and clearly, this book illustrates how a well-designed tweak to our tax laws, enabling a wider implementation of cash-back profit-sharing, may be the remedy for many of the most confounding economic and political challenges of our time.

The logic is clear and simple. A new, more civilized, economic technology is here.

But this is no mere tax law change.

It is the unleashing of our most powerful national resourcethe economic unity of workers, business, industry, as well as government. Could this be the missing solution to old divisive economic, political, and cultural stalemates?

If our leaders do not grasp this opportunity, grassroots working Americans will. There is going to be an *uprising*; an uprising of the most positive kind--our standard of living, and our consciousness.

This is Payback!

"...countries need to be encouraged to experiment with the growing variety of arrangements of profit-sharing, and expanded capital ownership that can bring economic betterment to their people..... the American dream lives, not only in the hearts and minds of our own countrymen, but in the hearts and minds of millions of the world's people in both free and oppressed societies, who look to us for leadership." Pres. Ronald Reagan