

*Exhortation 1:* Downgrade the Comprehensive Social Engineering Model as a framework for action. We cannot and will not implement it, and in failing to do so we will disillusion those at home and abroad who have been naive enough to think we mean what it says. Consider it instead as an educational, consciousness-raising device. So as not to mislead, surround it even then with qualifying caveats to the effect that we cannot hope to implement the model 'whole' in the real world.

*Exhortation 2:* Strengthen our intelligence analysis capacities in a way that will allow us to do our own homework before embarking on high cost and life-threatening interventions abroad. We cannot always leap in the full light of day, but leaps in the dark are to be avoided whenever possible. Even a little light is better than almost none at all.

*Exhortation 3:* In specific contexts, never include in our lists of purposes abroad objectives that we know we cannot possibly accomplish. As popular as it may be, the democratization of a hitherto undemocratic polity is probably one of these. We can sometimes help, but we cannot do the job itself. Even in trying only to help, moreover, we should not act unless we are asked.

*Exhortation 4:* Never assume that others want what we want, especially when we know them to be operating at very different levels of material wealth, and under the influence of cultural, religious and other traditions that depart fundamentally from our own. Political communities are the products, in part, of collective imaginations, and what they imagine is focussed as much on the past as the present. Their memories, their circumstances, their perspectives are often very different from ours. We should remember this, and in remembering it, be reminded of the value of caution, and of feeling our way.

*Exhortation 5:* As a corollary of Exhortations 3 and 4, we should never forget that ways of doing politics and economics, and of conducting family and other social relationships, are deeply imbedded phenomena. They are not commodities that can easily be displaced by imported alternatives that foreigners supply, even in the guise of gifts. Edmund Burke may have been too conservative for some, but he had a point in arguing, against the French, that political systems work best when they are home-grown. It follows that peaceful change is likely to be very slow, and the locals need to feel they own the process. They won't have that feeling if aliens try to dump it on them, or force them into it. In any case, if the forces of globalization are as powerful as many seem to think, and if