

**Demetri Kofinas:** What's up, everybody? Welcome to this week's episode of Hidden Forces with me, Demetri Kofinas. Today, I speak with Jeremy Heimans and Henry Timms, the authors of the book "New Power: How Power Works in Our Hyperconnected World and How to Make It Work for You."

Jeremy is the co-founder and CEO of Purpose, an organization specializing [00:00:30] in building social movements around the world. He has been named one of Fast Company's Most Creative People in Business and chaired the World Economic Forum's global council on civic participation, among other notable accomplishments.

The book's second author, Henry Timms, is president and CEO of 92nd Street Y, a cultural and community center that creates programs and movements that foster learning and engagement. He is also the co-founder of #GivingTuesday, a global [00:01:00] philanthropic movement that engages people in close to 100 countries and has generated hundreds of millions of dollars for good causes.

Guys, welcome to Hidden Forces.

**Henry Timms:** It's great to be here.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Make sure your glasses are on.

**Henry Timms:** Well, you know I don't need them for audio.

**Demetri Kofinas:** How are you guys doing?

**Henry Timms:** Well, it's been a busy time. The book has just come out and so it's been a lot of hours and a lot of hustle. But it's nice to have the book out in the world.

**Demetri Kofinas:** When did it officially come out?

**Jeremy Heimans:** April 3, last Tuesday. This is day 10.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Day 10. So you guys have done how many interviews so far?

**Jeremy Heimans:** [00:01:30] We've lost count. It's been a lot. Tim O'Reilly speaks highly of you and promises this will be our best interview.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I appreciate that very much. Henry told me the same thing. I'm very happy to hear that. That makes me very, very happy because Tim is obviously a great guy, and it was a great interview. I was telling Henry, there's a spectrum of authenticity, obviously.

**Henry Timms:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I could select guests to be authentic, anyway, but he definitely is on the far fringe of authenticity.

**Henry Timms:** Well, I mean, obviously, he's someone, who like everyone in our world, admires his work. But he's also [00:02:00] just someone who, you know, I think he's one of the people who likes to try and be helpful with people. He's a real connector.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah.

**Henry Timms:** Which is kind of in line with what he thinks about, right?

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah. Well, it makes sense because that's what he did with open source, right?

**Henry Timms:** That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** He convinced these groups.

**Henry Timms:** He's a very good human.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah, as opposed to non-human. There are possibly, there are theories about lizard and sort reptilian people.

**Henry Timms:** I know. I have a friend in investment banking who's very convinced of that.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Literally? Or does he think of it metaphorically?

**Henry Timms:** No, no. He literally thinks it.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Wow.

**Henry Timms:** I mean, he may be in a position to know, so it's his kind of thing. When we did with interview last week, the [00:02:30] best interview we did last week was on Canadian television. It was like a daytime. It was the show like The View. There was a segment on how to tell if your boyfriend really loves you and then there was a segment on how to cook lobster. Then we did a segment on how power is shifting and what it means for you. I did think that show that really is, that's a good sign that we're trying to get a book which is really speaking to people all around the world.

**Demetri Kofinas:** To everyone.

**Jeremy Heimans:** To everyone. Then there was the Oprah moment, where they gave a free copy of the book to everyone in the studio audience instead of a car, on that note.

**Henry Timms:** They seemed disappointed.

**Jeremy Heimans:** The audience erupted. I think they gave somewhat false enthusiasm.

**Henry Timms:** [00:03:00] It was kind of a half eruption.

**Demetri Kofinas:** The applause button. There was a ...

**Henry Timms:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** The red lights. Well, it's not surprising to me that Tim suggested to me that I speak with the two of you because, Tim's book, he talks about forces, he talks about them as vectors really, but he also talks about models and modeling theory. You guys talk about forces explicitly, not just in your book but I've seen also in online materials that sort of promote the book. You also have these sort of models. You have this four quadrant model, for example, where you have the different [00:03:30] sort of people where they fall. Castles, what are the other three? Castles ...

**Jeremy Heimans:** Cheerleaders.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Cheerleaders, you should know this.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Co-opters and crowds.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Crowds.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** We're gonna get into all of that. I mean, point being what I find interesting and what I think where I'm coming at this conversation from is that I agree, I think all of us are experiencing these shift in dynamics of power. Right? Power is something that I think, interestingly ... You guys quote Bertrand Russell.

We've talked about Bertrand on this show specifically [00:04:00] on our episode of philosophical mathematics, but we didn't talk about all his political writings, in which he had many. He was a famous pacifist. He lived, I think, to a hundred years old. He died during the Vietnam War. He wrote a book called Power. He talked about this in this book and he talked about these sort of, well, actually I have the quote by Bertrand right here that I really like. Let me read it here: "Power, like energy, must be regarded as continually passing from any one of its forms into any other, and it should be the business of social science [00:04:30] to seek the laws of such transformations."

I think, without question, we are in the midst of this transformation. We all feel it. When exactly it began, if that's even possible to sort of pick out a moment? I don't know. But what's interesting is you guys are trying to develop a framework and a model for understanding what these changes are in power and sort of where they're shifting and how they're shifting.

I was saying to you, Henry, before Jeremy got in, that the very first subtitle I have for question one is #YouTwo, because [00:05:00] the two of you, the way in which you have, Tim Morales is a great example, the way of which you've enlisted a network of people to help you promote the book and to help you get it out there. I mean, that's how I learned about it, right? It's a testament to what the book is really about.

Tell me how the two of you came together, how you two met, and what sort of how this book came together.

**Henry Timms:** We knew each other a bit by reputation, I think. Jeremy, of course, has done his career in online activism [00:05:30] and had been a real pioneer in that work, so co-founding movements like Avaaz, and GetUp in Australia, and All Out. I've known about all that kind of work, but in a very kind of activist model, and I was working in the 92nd Street Y, which is 144-year-old cultural community center. But we were really thinking about how do you build civic strength in a new age right? How do you think about that?

We've been working on projects like Giving Tuesday, After Black Friday, and Cyber Monday to kind of push back against that consumerism. We kind of both knew each other's work, we [00:06:00] met at a supper, and then, actually with very little thought, started writing together. Then, actually with a bit more thought, but not too much thought, wrote a book together. So, it was just kind of an organic and quite happy coincidence.

**Demetri Kofinas:** How long ago did you meet?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Maybe four, three and a half, four years ago. Then, we worked together in, it's always been a labor of love because we both got pretty demanding day jobs, on the weekends, in the evenings to write the HBR article. That sort of launched the idea.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I read that as well.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** That's very good. I suggest that to anyone, is there an easy way for people to search for that, [00:06:30] just to put new power they can find you?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah. They can search for our names and new power and HBR. But, yeah, that piece really took off in ways we didn't expect.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 2014 or 2015, when did you meet?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Late 2014.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 2014.

**Jeremy Heimans:** What we didn't expect was health workers, churches, business leaders, and political activists kind of grabbed onto that article and the frames and started running with them and using them to make their own worlds better. That we didn't expect. We didn't really intend to write a book, especially [00:07:00] given that we both run organizations, but after we saw that incredible reaction, we realized that there was a real need to better articulate what these kind of critical new 21st century skills are.

Ultimately, the book goes from theory, as you know, to laying out what everyone, whether you're a dentist or an activist, whether you're running a big organization or you're just trying to get something started, what everybody needs to know about this new world and what the skills are to navigate it.

**Demetri Kofinas:** [00:07:30] You have a lot of examples also. There are a lot of case studies in the book as well. It's primarily technologically-driven. I mean, it's an expression of a culture. But it is a culture that is heavily defined by the technological tools that are enabling the type of sort of spontaneous creation of movements and sort of crowdsourcing, et cetera. Have you found that it's people who are not natively familiar with those technologies or have that culture embedded in them, who have found your book most useful? [00:08:00] Or has it been more useful for people that already sort of understand this intuitively, but wanted and needed an explicit guide?

**Henry Timms:** Well, look, the publishers right answers everybody, right? But I think one of the things we've learned about this book is, one of the reasons we wrote this book was to get beyond this conversation, which was kind of Snapchat. It was kind of like shaming people for not understanding Snapchat, right? This is dynamic. It was like, you don't understand new technology, therefore, you're a dinosaur.

Actually, what's interesting about New Power is that it's really not about understanding technology [00:08:30] as much as it is about professional identity. There's a great story that we learn about from a professor at NYU Hila Lifshitz-Assaf. She was inside NASA for this three-year period to understand something, which this big change, which came in at NASA. So, NASA's like, you cast your mind back, it's 2010, they're under all this some criticism, no one thinks that being very innovative enough, they're not getting people excited, they're gonna get their funding cut. So, the call goes out at NASA, which is, how can we create more innovation?

They start through experiment with something called "open innovation." Open innovation is like [00:09:00] this idea where you invite the crowd in to do work with you.

**Jeremy Heimans:** To kind of give you a sense of what happens, they put this challenge out to the crowd and one of the challenge is they ask people to solve is this problem in heliophysics. Basically, this is about how you predict a solar storm. If you're doing space travel, you don't want to get in the middle of a solar storm because you go'd go up in flames. At that time, the NASA scientists had figured out a way to predict these storms one to two hours before they happened, with 50% [00:09:30] accuracy; so, not great.

Then, they take it out to the crowd and this retired telecommunications engineer from New Hampshire comes up with an algorithm that enables them to predict these solar storms eight hours in advance, with 80% accuracy. This is sort of this game-changing moment. They get very excited. The White House gets excited. The guy who runs, this Directorate at NASA kind of calls a meeting and says, "We're gonna transform NASA into an open innovation organization," and the meeting that he calls descends [00:10:00] into mayhem and conflict.

**Henry Timms:** The reason for that isn't about technology, right? These are the people who are literally rocket scientists, right? It's not about technology. But what's happening is you're getting two very different professional responses to the idea of opening up your world. There's one group of people who are like fiercely resistant, who don't like the idea of other people solving the problems, who are trying to keep the crowd out. There's another group of people who start to actually shift their professional boundaries and find ways to welcome the crowd into NASA.

Hila's work, it really neatly kind of sums this up. She says, "There are [00:10:30] these two groups. There's one group who think of themselves as problem solvers. "I'm the expert. I'm gonna solve the problem. It's all about me." There's a second group who think of themselves as solution seekers. These are people who are going to find the solution no matter where it happens to be. They have a very different sense of self.

When we think about new power and old power, what we're really seeing with new power isn't like it's people who get what Twitter's about. What is really about it is people who have prepared to understand that, if you think very differently about how you solve problems, you can get through different kind of outcome.

**Jeremy Heimans:** The big thing [00:11:00] we see all around us, we see people using these new technologies in profoundly old power ways. Essentially, using social media as a way to rain down ideas, to send press releases, to your point about authenticity, with none of that. Right? It isn't about you-

**Demetri Kofinas:** Are those the cheerleaders?

**Jeremy Heimans:** The cheerleaders are actually people who are embracing the values but don't know how to execute.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I'm sorry, that would not be the co-opters.

**Jeremy Heimans:** It would be the co-opters, who I might add we'll rename in the book as [00:11:30] the co-opters.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Co-opters.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Because they're really co-opting these new power skills, but they don't really intend to share power or to deeply engage.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Interesting. Listening to you guys talk, I'm reminded of a book I read a few years ago called Empire of the Summer Moon. It's a history of the Comanches and it's by S. W. Gwynne is the author. I've tried to get him on, to no effect. But I wanted to get him on because the way in which ... and the Genghis Khan [00:12:00] and the Mongols similarly organized this. They were very decentralized, right? They had this capacity to manifest. I mean, the Comanches could manifest over territory of 50 miles or more, actually, very quickly. I mean, they could raid a territory and come back.

There's something similar in this sort of like flock kind of effect. This manifestation of the crowd can just kind of come and leave, right? Similarly, you talk about ISIS and about terrorism and sort of the way in which ISIS can crowdsource terrorists in [00:12:30] territories where they can't actually go, right? There's a similar sort of, visually, the way I'm thinking of it in the way that guerilla war or a guerrilla counterinsurgency happens in the city, people blend into the crowd and they come back out. There's this sort of organic wave-like property to the way that these systems operate.

**Henry Timms:** It's so right. Really the goal of the book is to recognize that no matter who you are you have to now understand that skill. Right? If you were CEO, or if you're an activist, or you're a local politician, or your local health worker, you now [00:13:00] need to have this set of skills which can help you spread your ideas and help you lead and help you influence the world in ways.

Which is very different than the kind of old power playbook we're all used to, right? A lot of people kind of got their heads around the press release mindset and the kind of belief look approach to how you think about change. But the people who are coming out on top now, people who understand these crowds aren't just moments, but actually can be conjured up into things that deliver over time.

**Jeremy Heimans:** That mindset is so different. You talk about ISIS, we tell the story of this teenage girl, this Scottish schoolgirl, who is able to perfectly [00:13:30] adapt her message to recruit other school girls to join ISIS. If you're going to recruit Western schoolgirls to join ISIS, you need a very tailored message.

ISIS and the approach of spreading that idea has to be very new power in order for that to propagate. If they were trying to direct their supporters as to how to spread that message, there's no way they would come up with a message that would cut through for an audience like that.

The paradox of our time [00:14:00] is some of the world's worst actors understand that. They understand the need to unleash this agency. But they're doing it in service of profoundly authoritarian values. In the case of ISIS, in service of illusion of restoring a medieval theocracy.

**Henry Timms:** Murderers.

**Demetri Kofinas:** It's interesting you bring up ISIS. I use the term "evil" because I watched again ... In a recent conversation with Josh Wolfe, Christopher Hitchens came up. I really admired Chris, I didn't admire crucifixion as much when he was alive, towards the end, [00:14:30] when he wrote on mortality, I read it and I was moved by the book. I was moved by the way in which he talked about his death as he was dying.

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** But I was reminded somehow of Saddam. I don't know how it came up. I think it might have come up in my sort of seeing what's happening now with Syria and sort of thinking about the implications of a war in Syria and ground troops and all this. Who knows what will happen? I remember taking issue with Christopher's the very pro-war position with Iraq. [00:15:00] But I was also reminded of a story that Christopher told about the way in which power was taken by Saddam during that time, the purge that happened. I don't know if you've ever seen the video of the way he did it.

Basically, he brought in a beaten man, who was sort of his entire will was destroyed, and he brought him in front of the Parliament. This was, I guess, in the late '70s. He started naming people who were in a supposed plot against the Ba'ath Party or whatever, and he named half of them. [00:15:30] He took out half of the parliament, and there was a total panic in the hall, and then the other half was then told to go out and shoot them.

Christopher talked about how that was the added twist, a sociopathic twist that he said even Hitler wouldn't have thought of that, Stalin wouldn't have thought of that, and he thought about those things a lot. This is a sort of a digression that was born out of the use of the term "evil." He said, "I don't use that word lightly." I've thought about it and, in fact, it's a place where I think it applies because [00:16:00] the stuff that we see, I think it's easy for us ... Again, I'm really digressing here, but Christopher had said, "I can always tell when I'm in an argument with someone who hasn't been to a war or hasn't been to Iraq," he said, "because they'll say, 'Yeah, sure. Saddam is a bad guy.'" He goes, "No, no, no." He goes, "If you haven't seen it, you can't understand it." Which is why I used that word "evil" and that's what I think a lot of those sort of organizations are with the types of things that they do and the murder and mayhem.

But what you were touching on there was this shaping component, right? You guys call [00:16:30] it shaping. You have this sort of escalating chart here, which is the traditional thing is the consumption. Then, there's the sharing, which is the proliferation of media and content. Then, there's the shaping, which is, let's say, if I have a blog, I take some videos, I can cut it, I can do stuff.

**Jeremy Heimans:** That's right. That capacity to adapt, to remix, to change shape. If you look at many of the ideas that have really cut through in recent years, you'll see that characteristic there. Think of Me Too.

**Henry Timms:** Yeah. I think that's right, Me Too, [00:17:00] what's happening with that idea. Right? It's not something which is just one thing everyone does the same way. It's

designed to spread. So, it's very actionable, right? You're asking people to do something. People are offering their testimonies in a very powerful personal way. It's connected. You're doing that in a peer validated way. You're part of a movement which is women all around the world, eventually, who were engaging as part of a peer community, and your voice makes the whole movement stronger.

It was extensible. It was a movement that could change into other things. Me Too in France becomes Renounce Your Pig. So, the movement itself, [00:17:30] the language is able to change. That gives us an important hint into how ideas spread in the new power world, which is we're out of this era where the soundbite was the perfect model. Right? There was this one perfect phrase and everyone will just repeat it. People wanna do more than that now. They wanna add their own flavor.

One of the things we try and address in the book is saying, "If you're trying to get your ideas to spread, you have to create them so that you leave room for people to add their own agency." That's a really important idea.

**Jeremy Heimans:** That really requires a different orientation to brand. If you try to slap your logo on everything, if you want to own [00:18:00] things organizationally, if the woman who first seeded this idea in Me Too, Tarana Burke, had tried to trademark it or copyright it, and these are common behaviors, this happens all the time, and tried to create Me Too as an organization and said "No one else can use this because it's mine," there's no way it would have spread.

When you think about the mindset that requires that, if you're running an organization or if you're anywhere they're trying to make things happen, it requires quite a big leap from a lot of the behaviors that we've all grown up with.

**Demetri Kofinas:** [00:18:30] I'm reminded of a few things as you're talking. One is our friend, Tim O'Reilly's open source movement and how much of this is really channeling open source. I wanna talk about that. I wanna just say one other thing that came to mind when you were talking about NASA, which was after 9/11 sort of the hell fire, whatever, that descended upon the government and the bureaucracy, and this sort of the popular uproar against the bifurcation or the separation, the partitioning of the FBI and the CIA, and the fact that they didn't cooperate and then went and created the DNI, and [00:19:00] all this stuff to try to bridge the divide and share the intelligence. It just speaks to your point, right?

Then, you have this open source movement that's really out of the technology community. That was very successful with Linux and it has been such a big part of, it's been central to the cryptocurrency space and the blockchain. I'm curious if you've studied that industry at all. Because I think, in interesting ways, the ICO is sort of the most complete culmination, I think, of a lot of these different expressions, [00:19:30] like the crowdfunding, the open source technology.

I'm gonna put that out there, you kind of tell me what bubbles up in your heads when I say those things.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Well, just to start, I would say I think you're right, that the open source movement embodies, not only a lot of the values of new power, but also it shows you that, if you structure smartly for participation, you can unleash all of this amazing collaboration. Don't forget that the design of these open-source communities, there's actually really clever [00:20:00] underlying principles that incentivize collaboration and prevent people from lapsing into their worst human instincts.

You put the same type of person into a Facebook as a corporation and their incentives completely change. Right? It all becomes in service of this very extractive model. So, design matters. The design of these new power movements and communities is critical.

We sort of unpacked that in the middle of the book. We talked about what a new power community looks like. One way you do get that alignment [00:20:30] so that people are incentivized to actually create value for the whole community rather than kind of descend into conflict.

**Henry Timms:** When you're talking about the post 9/11, one of the interesting things about new power is how it's relevant to so many people. We came across a spy agency, so the national geospatial-intelligence agency, and they do a lot of mapping around the world, they basically create maps around the world. It's so interesting that even a spy agency is recognizing that the old power strengths that it once had won't keep [00:21:00] it going in a new power world.

They used to have all of the confidential information, they alone had all the satellites, they had all the data. They could live in this kind of very closed world where they could command everything. But they're actually having to shift their model to negotiate things like open source because they need to work out. That actually there's all this value around the world of people engaging that they have to connect with.

They did this amazing experiment which is they created a laboratory outside essentially their usual conclave where they had no confidential information of any kind. They took [00:21:30] away from their spies all of the traditional kind of confidential information and hidden things that they would have and said, "You have to do this work in the open." How do you think about being a spy in a world where everything is open? How do you engage in that?

What they challenge those spies to do is to say, "I'm going to take away all these old power skills you had. I'm gonna take away the advantage you have of commanding all the material and challenge you to do this work in the field." Really fascinating thing that even a spy agency has all power to get, it's having to rethink its world to operate in a new power environment.

**Demetri Kofinas:** That's fascinating. You wanna talk about language [00:22:00] and the strengths of language and how it sort of it affects your actions and everything. I mean, here, you'd have to redefine, well, what is a spy agency if you can't spy and everything's out in the open? Right? I mean, the very fundamental sort of definition, you'd have to redefine that.

**Jeremy Heimans:** That's kind of the world, in some ways, that's the world that we increasingly live in. We tell this other story in the book, you think about this as a strategy. In a world in which everything is going to come out and more and more everything's out in the open, how do you preempt that? [00:22:30] As an individual strategy, some people are really going hard on radical transparency.

We tell the story of a politician in Colorado who's running for governor right now for this year, who simply puts up a section of his website that says "scandal and controversy" and declares, effectively, his entire sexual history. There's some interesting stuff there, let's be honest. But the point is, that's a very smart move, isn't it? He's unashamed of it.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Totally smart.

**Jeremy Heimans:** There are lots of, dare I say it, President Trump, there are some [00:23:00] very shameless people who are doing very well in 2018.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Well, that reminds me of Tom Clancy's novel turned into a movie which was, not Patriot Games, there's another one with-

**Jeremy Heimans:** Hunt for Red October?

**Demetri Kofinas:** No, no. With Harrison Ford.

**Henry Timms:** It must be the Patriot Games.

**Demetri Kofinas:** No. It wasn't Patriot Games, it was the later one and maybe it wasn't Harrison Ford, it was somebody else. But I think it was Harrison Ford. But in any case, the president, and I think it was during the Clinton administration, but the point is the advice that the [00:23:30] Harrison Ford character told the president, he said, during this scandal, he goes, when the president said, "Well, they asked me if we're friends." "We are friends." But he goes, "I can't say that we're friends." She's like, "No, no. You don't tell me that we're friends. You say we're the best of friends."

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** He's like, you go all the way and the president gets off the plane. He's like, "Guess we're more than friends. We're the best of friends," and it worked for him. But, yeah, I mean, I agree with that. Listening to you talk also, it's making me think about how I haven't properly appreciated the clash of cultures that's happening here, right?

There's [00:24:00] the question inherent is sort of bubbles up here, percolates, and I think it dovetails well with what's happening in blockchain, which has its technological limitations. We talked about it on the show, but sort of the ethos of blockchain and what it's really saying about these clash of cultures. But it isn't just a clash of cultures, it's also institutions that have been built up over hundreds of years that are centralized and they have militaries and they have spy agencies, and they can hurt you.

The question [00:24:30] is, how do they deal with this decentralized world where a guy with a 3D printer and a synthetic biology ingredients, whatever, can come up with a virus to kill a billion people at some time in the future? Right?

**Henry Timms:** Yeah. I think that's right. That kind of big clash between essentially hypercentralized and decentralized and open and close clearly is the work of what we've been thinking about with the book. But I think the truth of it is we ought to be very careful [00:25:00] about over-romanticizing these things. I mean, blockchain in particular, we're hearing the same echoes that we heard at the beginning of the internet, which is, it's gonna democratize everything and it's incorruptible and it will be perfect. Actually, the pattern of recognition here, is we start up with this kind of utopian view of these new tools and then they get co-opted.

I think one of the things we think about a lot with this book is like the story of our age is this era of mass participation where we're all engaged, we have this kind of inalienable right to participate. But actually right now two of the forces who are really shaping that participation [00:25:30] are the platforms, they're kind of hidden hands in to the platform, they're kind of co-opter in this new power-

**Demetri Kofinas:** Facebook, Google, et cetera.

**Henry Timms:** Right. Then the heavy-handed or the strong man, one of the really interesting and unexpected things of our age is the strong man, who we banished to the 20th century, has returned but armed with a better algorithm. Right? You have this kind of really interesting dynamic, and dangerous dynamic, where we're all participating more and yet that's being channeled by platforms and strongmen.

So, part of the mission for the book is to say, "Look, what would be another way of thinking about our world?"

**Jeremy Heimans:** Think about China, right? This is a fascinating place where, [00:26:00] social media participation in China is a similar to levels here in the U.S. Think about how different that is to the amount of access that the Chinese youth had to global culture and that kind of agency at the time of Tiananmen Square massacre. It's this explosion of participation, it just fences off the political domain. It's essentially making a contract with people that says, "You guys can play. You can share cat videos. You can buy anything you want. You can gossip. You [00:26:30] just can't talk about politics and threaten our regime other than in very particular contexts." That is a strategy that is working.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Well, it's brilliant that you brought that up. We did an episode, in fact, there are two episodes that you, I'm shamelessly plugging the show-

**Henry Timms:** Sure, we love the show.

**Demetri Kofinas:** -but there are two episodes that [crosstalk 00:26:50].

**Henry Timms:** Now, these two episodes, you've got to listen to them.

**Demetri Kofinas:** You guys are great. This is so much better than I thought. I'm sure, I knew it was gonna be good. You guys are really great with each other. Did you [00:27:00] always have good chemistry on camera?

**Henry Timms:** Look across the boardroom.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Look across the boardroom. Actually, our spouses, I think, they're like, "Wait, you guys spend way more time with each other than you do with us," which is a growing problem. But when the book tour is finished, Henry, we might be able to put our relationship back on track.

**Demetri Kofinas:** You guys have a good chemistry. It works. So, the one thing-

**Henry Timms:** What you mean nicely is we don't hate each other yet.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Well, if you spend enough time with anyone they get on your nerves. You mentioned incentives, [00:27:30] there's a really great episode we did with Sam Bowles, Episode 18, on moral economics, moral philosophy, moral psychology, evolutionary psychology. That has been very popular in the crypto community around incentives and building incentives and thinking about incentives in building economic systems and crypto economic systems.

There is another episode you reminded me of though when you were talking about the communist revolution in China, which is we did a great episode with Anne Stevenson-Yang on the Chinese banking system, specifically on Mao Zedong [00:28:00] and the contract with China around consumerism. That really just works beautifully with your book because that is sort of, that is the base chakra of this sort of world, this consumerism and what we're seeing as moving past consumerism. Right?

But now that it's sort of, bringing kind of back to where you were before that, which is we were talking about some of the dangers, not romanticizing this. Right? There are dangers because even with Me Too and all these other movements, there is the dark element of this, which is the [00:28:30] mob, the tyranny of the mob. The founders talked about this, they were very concerned about it, and of course, the French Revolution brought that up, Burke wrote about it. I think some of them used "the tyranny of the majority" as a term for it.

What are your thoughts on the dangers of sort of trial by fire or judge jury executioner of the mob? Is that something that concerns you with what you're seeing here?

**Henry Timms:** Yeah. I think it is something we're concerned. I think it's actually something which is supercharged in some ways in the new power era. [00:29:00] One of the stories we learn about, when researching this book, was a couple who were making YouTube videos called DaddyFiveO. They were kind of pranks with their kids. They started these pranks with their kids. They were kind of funny and they got some views, then the pranks got a little bit darker and they kept doing them.

By the end of it, the pranks are kind of descended into things that were just completely inappropriate. Actually, they ended up with the Social Services being involved and they made this very heartfelt apology. Essentially, at one point the children are in a dangerous situation. What they said when they made that apology was like, "We [00:29:30] went too far. We saw the views going up. We kept doing this extreme behavior."

One of the things which is being supercharged in all of us now is we're recognizing that to get traction, particularly, you're pushing to the extremes. So, one of the things we really wanted to address in the book was to say to people that how do you think about building a world which is actually a more participatory world and a healthier world? Because if we're in this kind of this mad world where everyone is chasing attention, that's really not gonna lead to somewhere productive. Where we want to get to is somewhere where all this participation actually leads to become better civic fabric.

**Jeremy Heimans:** It's a [00:30:00] bit like Biblical times, the time of Jesus where there's all these competing preachers. But you've got this massive-

**Demetri Kofinas:** I'm the Messiah.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Exactly. Right. Everybody's the Messiah and he's a very naughty boy. But it's totally supercharged, right? It's at this incredible global scale and these things spread, not over months and years, but in minutes. So, that dynamic is dangerous and it's also true that from the perspective of the mob. As you know, recent research backs up the idea that misinformation spreads more quickly than [00:30:30] facts.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Because it's more sensational.

**Jeremy Heimans:** It's more sensational. The reality is that those people who want to spread lies and who want to spread extremism start at an advantage. Which is why we think this book's so important because we want to arm up the good guys and we hope your listeners are on the side of the angels with these skills. So, that in the big arguments between a doctor and an anti-vaxxer, or a climate scientist and a climate denier, those on the side of reason-

**Demetri Kofinas:** Or Flat-Earthers. Have you followed that phenomena?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah. I mean, yeah, this is [00:31:00] unbelievable.

**Demetri Kofinas:** That is unbelievable.

**Jeremy Heimans:** I mean, it's 2018. But this is the point: we need to get as good at spreading these ideas and building these followings as these nutcases.

**Demetri Kofinas:** It's bizarre, the Flat Earth thing. I don't know if you know Kyrie Irving thinks that the earth is flat. He's used to be playing on the Cavaliers, now I think he's with Boston. I mean, he gets on airplanes. To me, it's so bizarre, but it speaks to this thing that is true, which is that, and we've talked about this in conversations and on shows where we've [00:31:30] talked about the hard problem of consciousness, or in conversations about simulation and are we living in a simulation. You actually can't make definitive statements about the nature of reality from your own subjective experience. You can get a pretty delusional state in these eco chambers of smaller and smaller subcultures.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Absolutely.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Black Mirror. I'm sure you guys have watched that. I mean, you're channeling that with some of the stuff here. What do you think of that and do you think that that's a really great ...? I do prejudice here. I [00:32:00] think it's a great, and I don't watch it because it's so freaking' scary. I think it really shows the dark nature of this, the underbelly of this.

**Henry Timms:** We use this frame in the book of the participation form. That we all live on this participation while we're all participating happy, happy others are extracting the value and we're really not ending up in a very positive place. Black Mirror kind of reflects one of the great fears of our age, that we end up in this world, which is much more participatory but actually isn't very positive.

The question is: what do you do about that? One of the things we really wanted to get into with this book wasn't the kind of like [00:32:30] the sky is falling down and everything's awful. That narrative is well-covered. Here are a couple of things that kind of we have in mind for a prescription. One is I think there's a real way of thinking differently about how some of these platforms operate.

The Black Mirror narrative is kind of we're all kind of overpowered by these platforms that we end up just giving into them. Right? But we can push back. We're seeing in Delete Facebook some of that political consciousness emerging. If you think about a Facebook or a Facebook-like social network where the algorithm is public, where you can see [00:33:00] a lot more of what's going on-

**Demetri Kofinas:** An open source.

**Henry Timms:** -and that where the value is shared more widely, where you can even imagine the idea of a public interest algorithm with a public interest test, which

makes all the right things are in front of people, where governance isn't something which is hidden in San Francisco or in California, but actually something we're all a part of, we need to now shift the debate away from this kind of alarmism to this more structural discussion about the platforms we live in because they're affecting our daily lives, our democracies, and our elections. It isn't just as much to click on our Terms and Conditions and get back to our cat video.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Do you have [00:33:30] any thoughts on ... Yeah. I mean, look, I think we should be able to move our data, and our friends, and our profile information out of Facebook onto another platform as easily as we can port our phone number across from Verizon to AT&T. That world would be a much better world because we'd then be able to truly both live our values and move much more seamlessly.

So, the promise of decentralization, essentially, part of the idea of decentralizing social networks, [00:34:00] which is enabled by blockchain is it makes it a lot easier for people to effectively do that. So that they're no longer in these farms, which are fenced off, where we may be delighted and distracted, but we're stuck on the farm and it's very, very difficult to get out.

I think there's a lot we can do. Ultimately, this book isn't Black Mirror. It's actually pretty hard [crosstalk 00:34:22].

**Demetri Kofinas:** No, no. It's definitely hard.

**Jeremy Heimans:** It's trying to say, "Okay. We see this trajectory. But here are some amazing ways that we can [00:34:30] reimagine some of these platforms." Because we're not Luddites, right? We're techno optimists in that sense. How did we reimagine the platforms? But we also asked users to get a bit more serious about that. In other words, we can't just leave it up to government to fix this problem. They're not going to be smart enough to fix it on their own. So, we, as users of these platforms, we need to rise up as well.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Interesting. You know what, hearing you talk, this is the second time during our conversation where I've had a deeper appreciation for your book. [00:35:00] Because what you're talking right there is you're really touching on a sort of a new political science, right? Because here, now everyone's saying, "There's a huge portion of the population that's saying we need to regulate Facebook. We need the government to introduce them. They have hearings. They brought Mark Zuckerberg in there and acted like they were shocked that the company makes money from selling access to data and building profiles and information."

You were talking and I was thinking, "Okay. My follow-up question to you is going to be, okay, so, Jeremy, how do we do this? How do we do it?" [00:35:30] But you started to kind of go there. Talk to me a little bit more about how this would work. Let's take Facebook as a test case. They're in the news. How do you think a society using these types of models, this new power model, how would it address this problem?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Well, you mean what could users do?

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah. Also, because you're talking about users and you're trapped where each atomic beings-

**Jeremy Heimans:** Correct.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Right? But we need to-

**Jeremy Heimans:** Right. I mean, this is gonna sound ridiculous, but bear with me. Think of how we might be able [00:36:00] to get people to leave Facebook the same way people joined the Ice Bucket Challenge. You think about how these memes and ideas catch on. They require and they have a lot of social proof built into them. You can imagine the Delete Facebook movement on steroids where it becomes socially compelling and attractive to imagine how you do it. You think about the Ice Bucket Challenge. The action is you make a video of yourself getting dunked with ice.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah. Tell people, give people a little bit of a background what the Ice Bucket Challenge is.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Sure. The Ice Bucket Challenge [00:36:30] was this phenomenon that you all remember from three or four years ago where we couldn't escape this viral phenomenon of people making videos of themselves dunking themselves with ice in order to raise money for the ALS Association, which until then have been a completely obscure charity, right? It had this incredible moment and the reason is they designed this campaign that had these three elements of what we described in the book as how you spread an idea.

We call them these "ACE" ideas. They're actionable, they're connected, [00:37:00] and they're extensible. It's actionable, there's an action you can take. It isn't just saying, "Watch this video. How important is this cause?" The action is you make a video of yourself and being dunked with ice. Second piece is it's connected. It's connected because the mechanism that made it viral was at the end of each video you challenged your friends to do the same. You lay down challenge. I would challenge Henry and say, "All right. I just experienced this excruciating cold. Now, you do."

But actually, the third element was probably the most important [00:37:30] element and that was that it's extensible. It could be changed and adapted by the people who used it. There were videos that were perfectly tailored to those audiences. We tell the story of Patrick Stewart. He just gets a couple of ice cubes, puts it in a nice glass, pour some whiskey and signs a check.

**Demetri Kofinas:** So funny.

**Jeremy Heimans:** That was his take on the Ice Bucket Challenge. That proliferation of content made it powerful. Again, you could imagine Flee Facebook along the same lines in Ice Bucket Challenge where [00:38:00] there's a social dynamic to how you could protest

that would make it electric. We saw that with Me Too, millions of women came forward with testimonies that they had hidden for decades, because that new power dynamic got unlocked, that surge, that current got released.

**Henry Timms:** But they have to go somewhere. One of the interesting is you can imagine the kind of dynamics of a Flee Facebook, but where do people go? I think one of the interesting things coming now is, can you imagine a model of something like Facebook that actually works very different [00:38:30] economically? One of the things I think we're quite hopeful about is the platform co-op movement, which imagines the kind of the typical structure of the cooperative, but reimagines it for age of platform.

Imagine, I'll give you an example, the Uber co-owned by its drivers. That's actually becoming in a way quite real. There's a really interesting story we heard about in Austin where one day Uber and Lyft simply switched off their apps. The reason is they've fallen out with the local government about fingerprinting; they can't come to terms. So, one [00:39:00] day they're just literally switched it off and the city goes dark. A group of technologists and government workers get together and they understand these kind of new power skills. They think, okay, how could we build something that isn't just a great new power model but is also imbued with new power values.

They replicate Uber. You look at the app, it looks almost exactly like Uber from a kind of user experience perspective. But what's so different is the values of how it works. what they do it's a non-profit, all the money, 100% of the money goes to each of the drivers. You can round up and tip. You can round up and give money to local charities.

[00:39:30] Then, eventually they start to experiment with really interesting ideas like the richer drivers subsidizing the poorer parts of town. They start to share all of their data publicly so people can use it for public transport. They develop this amazing culture around the model of Ride Austin, it's called Ride Austin, which takes all of that participation and actually focus it in a very local way on benefiting people in Austin, not simply benefiting these big platforms.

As we look to the future, I think we're very hopeful that you're gonna start to see the emergence of models that take all of this new power and laden [00:40:00] them with new power values, and we see that benefiting society.

**Demetri Kofinas:** It's also interesting when you talk about that. This is a revolution in how value is captured and distributed, right? Because in the case of Uber, you have a centralization of that.

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** In this case, you have this sort of dispersion of that value.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Well, that's right. It's a bit paradoxical. Because you take an Airbnb, and to some extent Airbnb is decentralizing the value creation. Right? Because it used to be

there was Hilton hotels and the consumer. [00:40:30] All of the real economic surplus is captured by Hilton. What's cool about platforms like Airbnb is they create this new layer. That layer are the hosts and the hosts are actually taking a big chunk of the economic value that used to get captured at the very top. They're not taking a chunk of the enterprise value that's being captured by Airbnb, that's making some people billionaires, but it's certainly capturing that value.

The point that Henry's making is could we reimagine these platforms where both the value that is being earned in each transaction and the enterprise value [00:41:00] are co-owned by the people who make the contributions to them, by the participants?

**Demetri Kofinas:** Well, I think that's what I mean, in my opinion, blockchain technology will not be able to accomplish that because of their scaling limitations. But we've covered one on the show that I've led investors know, a seed investor, which is Hashgraph, Hashgraph Hedera. I think Hashgraph has a real shot of being able to do that. Hashgraph is a very interesting case because of the fact that it's open review. So, it's open source in that you can view the code, you can copy it, [00:41:30] you can compile it. But it's not open source in that you're not allowed to take it, copy it, and compete against that system with the same code.

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Because there's an issue, there's a problem, an outstanding problem in the blockchain community, one of many, which is the problem of governance, which is a problem that ... What I've come to realize is that as much as I, as a sort of idyllic libertarian, understanding that there are practical limitations to that sort of philosophy, I've seen that you can't get around the problem [00:42:00] of governance. That we're human beings and at the end, to bring it back to Bertrand, there are these forces that are constantly shifting and shaping and transforming and that it seems to me, in my sort of studying of this, there is a tendency in human systems always towards centralization.

The question is: how can you sort of ... That's where culture comes in because culture is what is there ultimately. Because institutions could be dissolved, but culture is sort of is deeper and it's sort of [00:42:30] an intrinsic, sort of ... You know what I mean.

**Henry Timms:** Yeah. I think Bertrand Russell reminds us that power tends to end up with people who want to be powerful. One of the questions, one of the reasons the book is talking about making people more powerful is we all have to reckon with our own power. The idea of we become this kind of passive participants in the world. So, the question I think all of us is how do we get new powers into our own hands? Again, that was kind of the driving force behind the book, it was to get people to do two things. One, which was okay, how do you do all these things you need to learn to do in a new world, whether [00:43:00] you wanna crowdfund something for your local community or whether you wanna create a sense of community spirit. There's a new set of tools for that.

But just as importantly, how do you kind of reimagine your own political life in the sense of you are more than just a consumer. We've all given into this idea that with this kind of like passive participants in our age, we need to be much more active participants because the other thing we're reminded of with power is power concedes nothing without a demand.

**Jeremy Heimans:** I think in the economic sphere as well, even if you wanna put out truism entirely to one side, it [00:43:30] just makes sense. So, in the book we talk about this idea of the participation premium. This is this idea of today, if you really want to, if you're starting a new product, you have to both have a sense of higher purpose and you obviously need to give people something in value materially, but that is supercharged by actually getting people involved in the product itself or the service that you're creating.

If you think of this formula as higher purpose plus material value, supercharged [00:44:00] multiplied by participation, you get this premium. You see these extraordinary businesses built on this.

We talked about this brewery company in the UK called Brew Dock. It's basically a craft brewery company that decided to raise all their money initially through crowd equity. They got a crazy valuation from the crowd because they created such enthusiasm. They basically call their funders Equity Punks. These Equity Punks run around and they have an annual meeting every year where instead of [00:44:30] running through minutes, they all drink beer and there's a music festival and the crowd helps design the beer and label it.

You imagine here, if you're trying to be an entrepreneur, you've got to understand these principles.

**Demetri Kofinas:** You mentioned Bertrand and about the people that tend to have power or those who tend to acquire it, or people that love power. I pulled out a part of that book where he talks about that and I wanna read it for the audience because it's such a great book and because I love Bertrand Russell, and we don't get [00:45:00] to speak to about him enough.

"Where no social institution, such as aristocracy or hereditary monarchy, exists to limit the number of men to whom power is possible, those who most desire power are, broadly speaking, those most likely to acquire it. It follows that, in a social system in which power is open to all, the posts which confer power will, as a rule, be occupied by men who differ from the average in being exceptionally power-loving.

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** This raises the question [00:45:30] of, again, the dangers. Right? Not to put it in that sort of dark light, to bring it also back to this issue of governance, how do you see governance and governments evolving? What will governments look like 10, 20, 30 years from now?

Given also the fact that we have these trillion dollar budgets for militaries, we have intelligence operations that are aligned with major multinational [00:46:00] corporations, you have a billion dollar economy in China, which is extraordinarily authoritarian and has used these technologies to further and deepen their control, how does that all that come together?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Well-

**Demetri Kofinas:** You're on the spot, guys.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Exactly. I mean, let me give you a hopeful example and then, Henry, you can give them doom and gloom. How about that?

**Henry Timms:** Well, I might give you another hopeful example. Let's try to double that one. Let's double down on hope.

**Jeremy Heimans:** All right. There's a coder in Taiwan called Audrey Tang. We studied her work.

**Henry Timms:** There's a coder.

**Jeremy Heimans:** A coder. [00:46:30] She was a coder. Amazing figure. This transgender activist coder, who was part of the revolution, the sort of protest that happened in Taiwan a few years back. She actually entered Parliament. She became a politician. She's now the minister responsible for the sort of digital economy. She goes from being an activist to being inside office. She kind of embodies all these open source principles. She lives and breathes that. She really gets it.

Let me tell you a couple things she's done. One is she's renamed the people in her ministry participation officers. [00:47:00] She's given them this frame of how to be way more responsive to citizens in a way that just lines up with these explosively growing expectations that we all have now around having a say, taking part.

Second thing she did, she actually regulated Uber in this very innovative way where the typical response of a government in the context of regulating Uber is just come down on them like a ton of bricks, don't really understand how you do it, probably destroy value for consumers in the process. Instead she basically got all these [00:47:30] stakeholders together, use this really interesting software called pol.is and basically kind of crowdsource through a pretty sophisticated consultation and negotiation process. An answer that ultimately was fairly satisfactory to consumers to Uber and to the existing taxi industry.

I think there are people who are thinking about this, who are trying to design these systems, taking the best of what's new, but also have a belief in the power of government and the power of the state to [00:48:00] produce better, fairer social outcomes.

**Henry Timms:** Here's our second hopeful example, which someone tweeted at me yesterday, which is an idea called Global Welsh. Think of the old power tourist industry.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Global Welsh.

**Henry Timms:** Global Welsh, from Wales. The old power tourist industry, what do they do? They buy some adverts in newspapers, they print some leaflets, they have a tourist officer who makes everyone feel good about Wales. Global Welsh is an initiative, which someone tweeted at me as an example of new power. I had never heard of it before. What they're trying to do is they're trying to get a million people around the [00:48:30] world to be ambassadors for Wales, for what it stands for, for what it's about, for its values, for its entrepreneurship.

They're trying to build a movement around the country for people all around the world to help support and curry favor for and engage around what Wales is known for. Now it's very early days for this movement, but the idea is a fascinating one, which is to say, if the future is battle for mobilization, if you're the tourist officer in Wales, your job is not to create pamphlets and leaflets and adverts anymore, your job is to do what Global Welsh is doing and say, "Okay. How can [00:49:00] I get a million people who wanna participate all around the world who love Wales to create value for Wales? To do that they have to release the agency of the crowd."

That's a very clear set of skill. So, that's another hopeful example.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah. One of the things that keeps coming up in our examples is relinquishing control, right? What a difficult thing to do.

**Henry Timms:** But a rewarding one.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Right.

**Henry Timms:** One of the things I think that people realize is we get stuck in this false binary, which is we have two choices: it's either highly-controlled or it's chaos. Actually the book charts this middle ground, which is to say actually " [00:49:30] You need to structure very carefully for participation." It's not like it's a lack of structure. It's not you take all this structure away. There's a very clear structure to movement building, right? But it's just not the same structure as creating programs or running institutions.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I'm reminded, I'm sure not entirely coincidentally, of a movie that came a few episodes ago, Dirty Dancing.

**Henry Timms:** I was just about to talk about that.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Okay. What a coincidence.

**Henry Timms:** I just know when everybody brings up a-

**Jeremy Heimans:** That song was a great song.

**Henry Timms:** Great song, yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** There's that great scene when Patrick Swayze [00:50:00] was, I forget the female lead. Jennifer Lee?

**Henry Timms:** Jennifer Grey.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Jennifer Grey, yeah.

**Henry Timms:** I remember this fairly well. This was a very [crosstalk 00:50:06].

**Demetri Kofinas:** He's the strong masculine guy, but he's engaged in this ... Dance is very much that sort of bending between the masculine and the feminine, right?

**Henry Timms:** Sure.

**Demetri Kofinas:** There's that one scene where he's taking her hand, he's saying, not like that, not like that and he's pushing her and he's pulling her. Right? But then there's a transformation of that to becoming more gentle. Right? I don't remember, this longtime why this [00:50:30] sort of they were in an argument or whatever it was.

**Jeremy Heimans:** It's beautiful hearing you described this thing.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I'm doing a horrible job at this. But that's what dance is, right?

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I mean, dance is, there's tension, there's everything. Even if you want talk about Me Too, what is dance? It is that tension of sexuality between the feminine and the masculine and finding a way to navigate that line.

**Henry Timms:** One way we talked about this in the work we've done is the difference between an old power and new power. There's a difference between thinking of power as a currency. I've got it, you [00:51:00] haven't. I hold it up, I spend it, I control it.

**Jeremy Heimans:** I hold it over you.

**Henry Timms:** Right. So, power is a current. It's something that is flowing and is engaged, it's made by many. If you wanna, the old power skillset-

**Jeremy Heimans:** You can hold.

**Henry Timms:** You can hold.

**Jeremy Heimans:** You can challenge.

**Henry Timms:** You can push it in the right direction, but you can never own it in the same way. What I think you're explaining is this difference between a set of skills, which are these very kind of rigid old power skills and, then these very fluid new power skills. The people who are really getting up on top now are mastering both.

Because, again, one of our core argument in this book isn't like we wanna throw [00:51:30] out all of our old power away and kind of embrace this kind of decentralized utopia. Right? The argument in the book is you need to understand both old power and new power and, if you come blend them together, then that's how you come out on top.

You only look at something like the NRA, as an example of someone who is blending power really well. The NRA for years has scared everybody with their old power brand, right? Politicians run screaming because they don't wanna get graded by the wrath of the NRA. But they also have this new power current of people around their brand an organization who will make the calls, do [00:52:00] their bidding, expand their messages, create their own ideas and memes. They've blended new and old power together and that's looking more and more like the critical skill of the 21st century.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Is it fair also to say that there's something about relinquishing fear? I've always found that control comes from a place of fear. When you're trying to control something or someone it's because you're afraid and you're afraid of letting go, right?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Right. That's why it's sort of like it's a new muscle that everybody has to learn, because it's not how we were raised. Right? We went to school, we went to religious institutions, all these institutions, run on this consumer [00:52:30] comply principle. Capitalism doesn't actually teach us how to do this in many ways; it teaches us how to be good consumers-

**Demetri Kofinas:** And competitors-

**Jeremy Heimans:** -and competitors. I think they've done collaborator, right. That's the ideology. It's a different muscle, but it's an increasingly important muscle. You speak of fear, but think of the way some of these new power moments can unlock that. So, it really was fear of repercussions that understandably held a lot of women back from sharing their testimonies in the Me Too movement. [00:53:00] When all of those people came together, so you could look to your left and to your right and you could see that you weren't alone, the fear dissolved and the testimonies emerged.

**Demetri Kofinas:** You're bringing a politics there. Donald Trump, I think actually the perfect juxtaposition in contemporary times is Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Hillary Clinton was classic old power about all the definitions that you put forward. She was so controlling. In fact, people say that in person she was much more likable behind the scenes, when she was not trying to control everything [00:53:30] so much. It's a perfect sort of personification of that.

**Henry Timms:** Yeah. I think one of the things we saw in the Obama campaign. The Obama campaign was very new power, right? We are the change, we are waiting for, and this kind of decentralized fundraising, and the micro donations.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Sure.

**Henry Timms:** That really ran through the Clinton Rolodex. What was actually interesting about Obama was the presidency itself, the new power he used to get into office actually didn't transition with him. Right? The presidency itself was a fairly traditional presidency. One critique of the Obama presidency would be he couldn't really pull old power levers and he [00:54:00] couldn't really pull new power levers. Right? He didn't manage to do both of those or either of those things as well as his supporters had hoped.

One of the interesting questions going ahead is, how do you use new power both to get into office, but then actually make the business of government more effective?

**Demetri Kofinas:** I also think that there's something about charm. Reagan and Obama had a charm that I find similar. There was a similar type of charm, in charming reporters, for example, when Obama was on the podium, he felt at ease speaking with people, there wasn't a rigidity, it wasn't Nixonian, for example. There's something I think also too that. Now we're stretching the boundaries of this.

[00:54:30] There's one last thing I wanna bring up before we end and that has to do with trust. The importance of trust in society ... Now, in some very technical ways, the reasons I bring this up, because it's becoming increasingly difficult to verify things, talk about misinformation spreads, and these networks amplify that. I think, as I'm thinking, in trying to harness these types of tools, I imagine that trust is a currency that will become increasingly [00:55:00] valuable. Because how do you enlist an army, sort of, or an organization of people working almost spontaneously without the capacity, not just to compel?

Well, this brings up national socialism. Now I'm thinking about the Third Reich. In fact, I wrote about the Third Reich, the national socialist movement, specifically Hitler. That's actually something I spent a little bit of time on recently in the last month kind of re-examining how was it exactly? I don't know if you guys ever seen the movie Downfall. Hitler [00:55:30] in the bunker, right?

**Henry Timms:** It's a great movie.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Oh, my god. I was reminded of that movie because we covered Tesla the last couple of episodes.

**Henry Timms:** I'm interested to know there's connection to this.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Who knows?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Tesla's explosion scene that became a meme.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Exactly. That's a perfect example of what you guys talk about, right?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** It's sharing and then repurposing and reshape it, right?

**Henry Timms:** Actually, it's a very good example.

**Jeremy Heimans:** That's a great example.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah. Hitler in the bunker saying like, you know.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Exactly.

**Henry Timms:** It's very funny.

**Demetri Kofinas:** But I feel that like, yes, granted you can have [00:56:00] a Hitler in, for sure, and I guess I'd have to wonder, yeah, I mean, for sure that's the ability to arouse. But then again, with technology, perhaps it would make it easier and easier for anyone to arouse through a technological medium.

In any case, certainly for the light side of the argument, trust is so important. I think that as these tools, especially as it becomes possible with these new synthetic, news technologies to be able to recreate people saying things on video that they never said. Right?

**Henry Timms:** Right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah. I mean, people I think are gonna increasingly [00:56:30] have to rely on going to the physical source. That's where encryption comes into play. You're talking about identity and all these things, how do you know who you're talking to, where you're getting your information? I think that's really important. I wonder do you think about this, this question of where do I get my information trust and sort of how that's gonna play into this future?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah. Well, it's striking that, you know, we live in a world in which the people that we trust have changed a lot. We used to trust the restaurant reviewer. Right. That is a significant development. [00:57:00] The real dynamic now is that people trust the people around them, their trust difference. When platforms are well-designed, they trust other strangers much more than they used to. They trust all those strangers enough to rent their apartments to them, to get in cars driven by strangers.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I don't let anyone run my apartment. Have you guys used Airbnb?

**Jeremy Heimans:** What?

**Demetri Kofinas:** Have you guys used Airbnb?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Occasionally, yeah.

**Henry Timms:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I wouldn't want anyone sleeping in my bed.

**Henry Timms:** But I wouldn't be using my house.

**Demetri Kofinas:** That's a very funny point. Anyway, sorry, Jeremy, I interrupted [00:57:30] you.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yes. The way trust is constructed has shifted. We tend to trust people around us in these peer communities or our friends, but we don't trust the institutions that we feel have kind of betrayed us and are not connected to us. When we experience government, we get the tax return, the summons, the jury notice. We don't trust that institution because we don't have the same kind of relationship or feedback that we have when we go and [00:58:00] stay at someone's house and they leave us a glowing review.

There's something very different about that dynamic and what we argue in the book is just that that's a reality, that the most important institutions in our society that we need to protect and preserve actually need to get with the program on that stuff. Otherwise they'll be left behind and no one will trust them.

**Demetri Kofinas:** On that note, do you have any thoughts, Henry?

**Jeremy Heimans:** Well, you've got ... The reason why Henry puts up with that is-

**Demetri Kofinas:** This is actually the first ... By the way, I'll just interrupt.

**Jeremy Heimans:** Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** This is the first time that officially we've done this, where [00:58:30] I have two people. This is a virgin experience for me.

**Jeremy Heimans:** I think your first time has been fantastic. Right? I think so.

**Demetri Kofinas:** No, but I mean ... I don't know how to end it.

**Henry Timms:** Well, on a high point.

**Demetri Kofinas:** I don't know how to end it. I've got two people here.

**Henry Timms:** Well, we're crowdsourcing. We're all getting new power. I'll give, by way of a conclusion, I think one of the things we think about trust is, the common critique is that people don't trust institutions. One of the reasons for that is institutions don't trust people. Actually, the institutions [00:59:00] we care about most, they aren't creating these meaningful routes to participation. So, what we need to see next, a time when there are so many people who want to engage, we need to see those institutions at the heart of society opening themselves up to a new power world, create this structure to allow people to participate, and welcome in generations of people who want to do more to make the world better. Those people, we've never had more people capable of doing that right now. Our institutions have to do a much better job of embracing the new power world.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Guys, I appreciate you coming on. This was a really wonderful conversation.

**Henry Timms:** [00:59:30] Thank you. It's been great.

**Jeremy Heimans:** It's really great. Thank you.

**Demetri Kofinas:** Yeah, thank you.

That was my episode with Jeremy Heimans and Henry Timms. I want to thank both of them for being on the program. Today's episode was produced by me and edited by Stylianos Nicolaou. For more episodes, you can check out our website at [HiddenForces.io](http://HiddenForces.io). Follow us on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram at [@hiddenforcespod](https://www.instagram.com/hiddenforcespod) or send me an email. [01:00:00] Thanks for listening. See you next week.