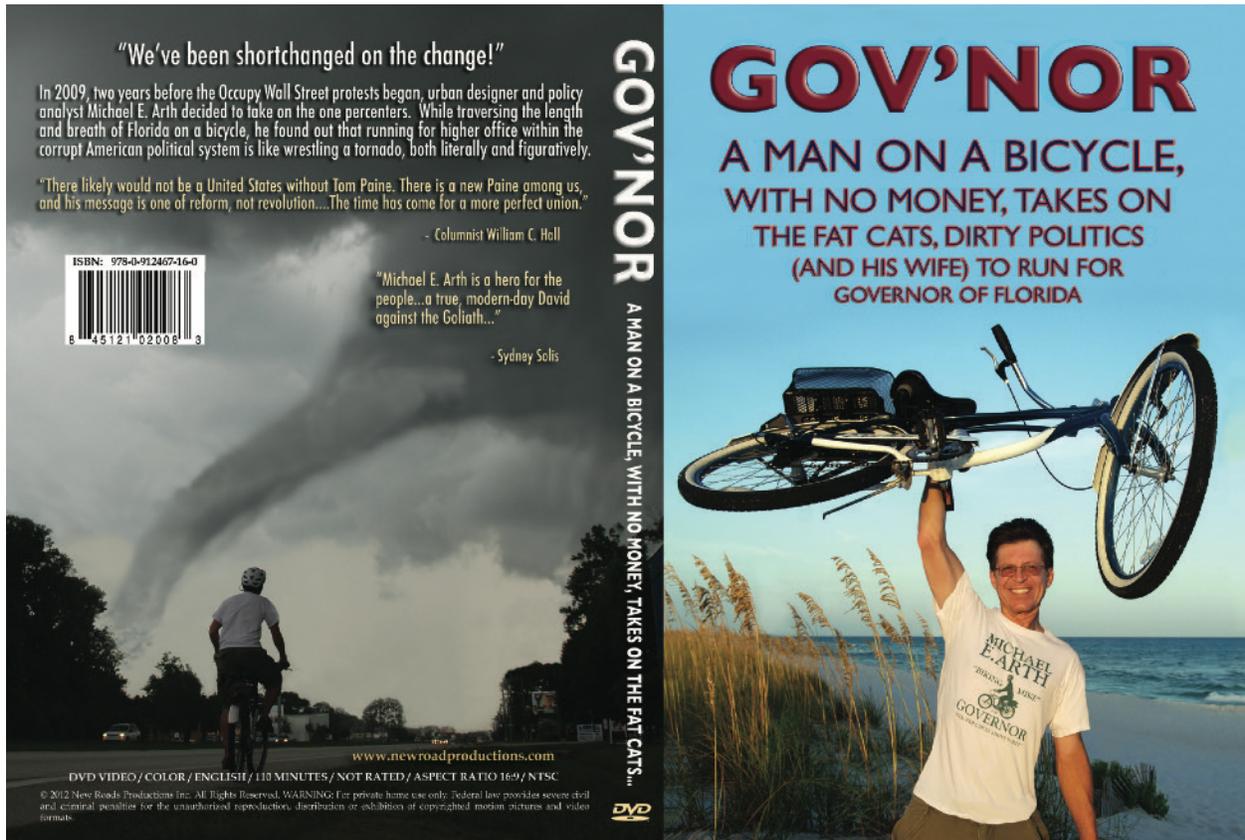


## The 2010 Florida Gubernatorial Campaign

(Excerpt from **Where I'm Coming From**)

By Michael E. Arth



DVD cover of the documentary, *Gov'nor: a man on a bicycle, with no money, takes on the fat cats, dirty politics (and his wife) to run for Governor of Florida.*

For nearly two decades I grappling with a wide range of policy issues in obscurity—often related to urban design—before taking my concerns into the political arena. In 2009 and 2010, I ran for governor of Florida and got an inside look at dirty politics, and our archaic, winner-take-all electoral process, including those problems related to private campaign financing. The chairman of the Florida Democratic Party (FDP), Karen Thurman, and some of her underlings, harassed and suppressed my campaign because they had already picked Alex Sink as their candidate, and they didn't want to have a real primary. After the state party headquarters ignored my announcement about running, I managed to get communications director Eric Jotkoff on the phone. He was annoyed that I would have the audacity to run, even though it was the beginning

of the race, 17 months before the election. He pulled up my web page and said, “You focus too much on the issues, It’s not about the issues, it’s about the money. Unless you have \$3 million to start, and spend \$1.4 million a week thereafter, you have no chance of winning. Anyway, the media will not write a single word about you unless you have the money.”

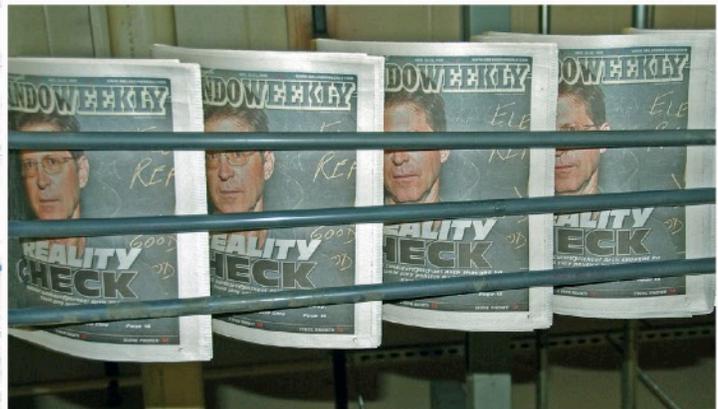
I wrote to various newspapers across the state and challenged them over Jotkoff’s statements. The response was not overwhelming, but there were several front page articles, including titles like, “Can a renaissance man with no money be governor?” and “He turned ‘Cracktown’ into a gem. Now, he wants to remake Florida.” There was also an endorsement from the Orlando Weekly, which also ran a cover story. A PBS affiliate began re-running a half-hour interview with me that had first aired nearly two years before. A FOX TV affiliate ran a news feature, and despite my liberal views, a surprising number of Republicans sympathetic with my reform-

The Daytona Beach  
**News-Journal**  
THE INDEPENDENT VOICE OF VOLUSIA & FLAGLER COUNTIES

FINAL EDITION

He turned ‘Cracktown’ into a gem.  
Now, he wants to remake Florida.

ART OF THE GARDEN  
ART GALLERY & MUSEUM



**Can a Renaissance man with no money be governor?**

**Amid successes here, Arth sets sights on governor run**

By KARI COBHAM  
STAFF WRITER

DELAND — Michael Arth is an enigma — at once driven and intellectual, hands-on, somewhat eccentric, a nomadic jack of all trades.

You might know him as the cocky yet earnest man who moved from California’s Santa Barbara hills in 2001 to transform a decrepit DeLand neighborhood into the Garden District — picturesque blocks of restored turn-of-the-century homes, quaint shops and pastel facades.

Or you might remember Arth two years ago as the vocal proponent of a pedestrian village for the mentally ill and homeless out near the Volusia County Branch Jail.

He’s also an artist, self-taught green urban planner, author and futurist.

Now meet Arth the gubernatorial candidate.

His campaign strategy? “To tell the truth, to speak up openly and honestly about what



Michael Arth photos

**BEFORE:** What is now DeLand’s Garden District was a haven for drug dealers and buyers as recently as 2001.



**DeLand’s Urban Cowboy runs for governor**

By PAT MATHFIELD  
patmathfield@newsjournal.com

He doesn’t have the money. He doesn’t have the political machinery or the support of leaders in the party. None of that is stopping DeLand’s Arth from looking to take on the gubernatorial race.

Arth, a young gun Democrat, will challenge incumbent Governor Jeb Bush in the Nov. 6 election.

Arth, 41, is a former professional basketball player who played for the Orlando Magic and the Los Angeles Lakers.

Arth, who moved to DeLand in 2001, has spent the last two years transforming the Garden District into a vibrant, walkable neighborhood.

Arth, who is also an artist and author, has a vision for Florida that is both practical and idealistic.

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minded agenda, libertarianism, and criticism of our two-party system endorsed me. At one point, very early in the campaign, despite being frozen out by the party leaders, and having no mailers, or paid advertising of any consequence, one poll showed that 45% of Democrats would have voted for me if the primary had been held that day. Considering that my name recognition was about 6% at that point, it showed me that a lot of Democrats were ready for change, even if it meant going with an unknown.

The Fourth Estate (mainstream media) and the Fifth Estate (bloggers, social media, and journalists out of the mainstream) brokered a critical role in electing our leaders. With the election

**MICHAEL E. ARTH - YOUR INDEPENDENT CHOICE FOR GOVERNOR**

**FINISH:  
PENSACOLA**

**THE  
STATUS  
QUO  
HAS GOT TO GO!**

**BRING  
SOLAR  
ENERGY  
TO THE  
SUNSHINE  
STATE**

**START:  
KEY WEST**

**BIKING MIKE  
CLEANING UP FLORIDA**

**1000 MILES BY BICYCLE  
FROM JUNE TO AUGUST**

**MICHAEL WILL ALSO TRAVEL TO OTHER CITIES FROM AUGUST TO ELECTION DAY, NOVEMBER 2.**

of Trump, a media-savvy, reality-show star, I could see that reporting lurid and sensationalistic stories to garner viewers, thus selling advertising for an entire range of products and services, is even more important to the media outlets than lucrative paid-political advertising. It's no secret that the media is making a fortune off Trump's antics while air time devoted to important issues is dwindling away. As Leslie Moonves, the Democratic CEO of CBS said of Trump's "bomb-throwing circus" in 2016: "It may not be good for America, but it's damn good for CBS. Who would have expected the ride we're all having right now? This is petty amazing...Who would have thought that this circus would come to town?...The money's rolling in and this is fun...I've never seen anything like this, and this is going to be a very good year for us. Sorry. It's a terrible thing to say. But, bring it on, Donald. Keep going."

I got a smidgeon of earned media, but I couldn't get quality, affordable advertising because the party bosses in Tallahassee denied me access to any of the services they usually provide to Democratic candidates. This included mailing lists crucial to fundraising, and any mention of my candidacy on their website. The FDP even put out the false claim, repeated by some media outlets, that their anointed candidate, Alex Sink, was running unopposed in the primary. They also ran ads exclusively for her, in violation of their own neutrality clause. I filed a grievance on this and other issues, but the FDP lawyer informed me that the bosses had written the neutrality laws to apply to the Democratic party members, exclusive of themselves. Even worse, to attend the party conference, I had to pay a large fee, and my delegates and I had to sign loyalty oaths promising to vote for Democrats in all non-judicial races, no matter how despicable the person or how the person came to be nominated.

The same issue about party neutrality in the primary arose on the national level in the 2016 presidential campaign when Chair Debbie Wasserman Schultz and her staff at the Democratic National Committee violated the DNC's neutrality clause and colluded against Bernie Sanders in favor of their anointed one, Hillary Clinton. Wasserman Schulz lost her job over the public outcry, but the DNC's lawyers (who were also Hillary's lawyers) argued against a class action lawsuit by Bernie Sanders' supporters, saying that any pledge of a fair and balanced Democratic primary is just like the empty campaign promises that people don't expect to be kept. This of course subverts the democratic process, and is another reason to bust up the two-party duopoly through electoral reform including direct voting, public campaign financing, and ranked choice voting (RCV).

RCV, also known as preference voting, is as easy as 1, 2, 3, because candidate preferences are simply ranked. This eliminates spoilers in single member elections and always results in a majority winner. If there's not a majority on the first rounds, the least popular choices are dropped and the votes are transferred to one's other choices. RCV is used by American Idol and the Academy Awards, although it is said that the Academy previously used plurality voting just



At the Florida Democratic Conference, after being exiled to political Siberia by the party apparatchiki—symbolic of where we all are when it comes to fair representation.

to flummox those trying to guess the winners. Republican party leaders also use a form of RCV to elect their chair. Presumably, leaders in both parties don't want it for the rest of us because they know it would end the two-party system, vastly improve representation in our elections, and improve our selection of candidates.

After my delegates and I left at the end of the first day at the Florida Democratic Party Conference in October 2009, my table at the Walt Disney resort was assigned to someone else, and my campaign materials were locked away. It took a good part of the next day to get my stuff back and find out my new table was assigned to an empty room away from everyone else. I wasn't allowed to speak to the assembly, and our delegates were falsely told by the communications director himself that we couldn't hang our banner because we didn't have the "official Disney tape" sanctioned by the resort.

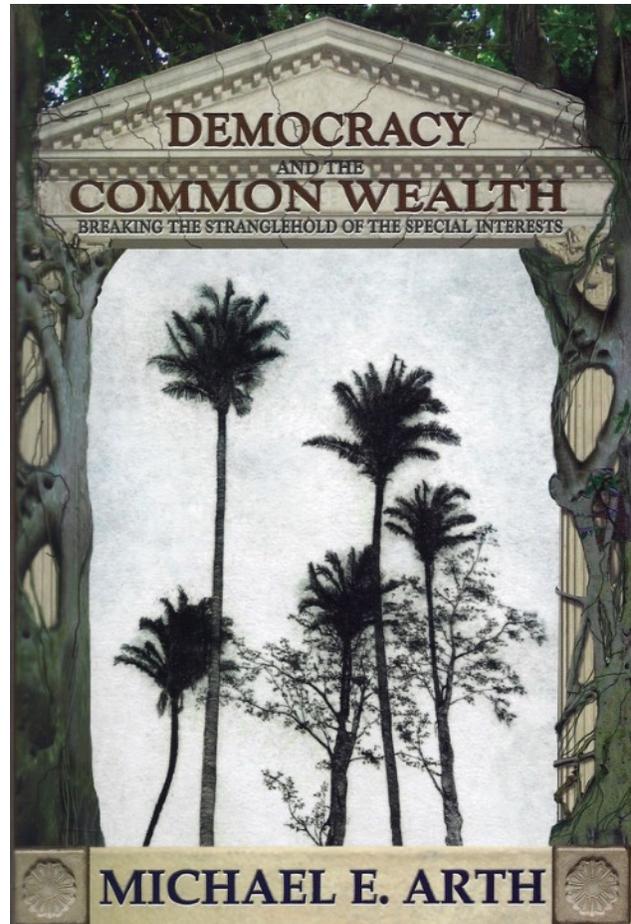
After being frozen out of the party, I changed to No Party Affiliation, which meant I had next to zero chance of winning. This is because our plurality voting system forces any serious candidate to be a Democrat or a Republican, and subject to the whims of party leaders. At this point, my campaign continued only for the purpose of publicizing the flaws in our dysfunctional electoral system. I took my film crew and volunteer staff to the streets, riding my bicycle from Key West to Pensacola, talking with thousands of people along the way. We documented much of this, while also describing the various ways democracy is compromised, on both the state and national

level, in our film, *Gov'nor: a man on a bicycle, with no money, takes on the fat cats, dirty politics (and his wife) to run for Governor of Florida*. I also wrote about the campaign in my book, *Democracy and the Common Wealth: Breaking the Stranglehold of the Special Interests*.

Alex Sink, the Democrat hand-picked by the Florida Democratic Party chairman and staff was outspent and defeated by Rick Scott, the founder and former CEO of Columbia/HCA, a for-profit health care company that defrauded Medicare and Medicaid and other federal programs. After Scott's company was caught and pleaded guilty to 14 felonies, they had to pay \$1.7 billion in fines, damages, and civil penalties, then the largest healthcare fraud settlement of its kind in US history. Scott was forced out of the company, but still got nearly \$10 million in severance and over \$350 million in stock. With \$75 million of

this tainted money, Scott essentially bought himself the governorship of our nation's third most populous state by vastly outspending his opponents in the primary and general elections. And he paid-to-play again in 2014, with \$22 million of his own money, and about \$61 million from Republicans. Scott is low key, but otherwise he and Trump are cut from the same cloth. Scott chaired a pro-Trump super PAC, Trump endorsed Scott for Senate in 2016, and Scott is said to have his eye on eventually taking Trump's place in the White House.

During the campaign I learned first-hand that the main activity of our political leaders is soliciting private campaign funds. This is a highly corrupting activity and should be abolished because contributions buy unequal influence. Our democracy is now essentially being sold off to the highest bidders. The top one percent of one percent (0.1%) of Americans are now worth more than the bottom 90% due to their increasing ability to game the system. From one in a thousand Americans comes a quarter of all campaign contributions. These are the corporate executives, bankers, ideological donors, financiers, lobbyists, and lawyers who live in places like Donald Trump's neighborhood on Manhattan's Upper East Side or on Millionaire's Row in Naples, FL, where Rick Scott owns a \$15 million getaway on the beach. At the same time, the latest tax cuts



and other economic policies are increasing the gap between rich and poor. If this isn't bad enough, according to the judgment of conservative Supreme Court justices, corporations are also now considered persons in terms of campaign contributions, and they can spend unlimited amounts in Political Action Committees, while still shielding their owners from personal liability.

It is corrosive to justice and demeaning to candidates to beg for money. It is also annoying to voters to be constantly bombarded with solicitations and paid political advertising spent on brutally effective attack ads and propaganda. It has gotten worse as the First Amendment has been repurposed by a conservative Supreme Court into a tool for the elite to control elections. The biggest weakness in our system is due to an electoral system that is imperfectly and incompletely formulated in the Constitution. If elected, I will make it one of my highest priorities to pass a [Voting Rights Bill](#) that reforms the electoral process and turns the US into a representative democracy. Here are 13-steps toward better serving the voters:

1. Make private campaign financing illegal.
2. Curb influence peddling: No person or other entity may offer any politician a bribe, perks, meals, travel, donation, or any other personal incentive. Payments to lobbyists, who now feast like fleas on the body politic, should be so minimal and regulated that it would effectively end the corrupting influence of paid lobbyists and the revolving door in politics. In accordance with the First Amendment, the right to petition the government for redress of grievances, there should be created a freely accessible and petition process (like [UNICE](#) and [LOGOS](#)) for citizens and corporations to make their wishes known.
3. Ensure transparency, fairness, and efficiency by providing websites where qualified candidates must list qualifications, personal information, policy statements on all issues, and conflicts of interest, including previous three years of tax returns. Voters can indicate their preferences on issues and qualifications to see how candidates rank on their voter profile. Public debates would be held after a winnowing process that involves voters distributing points to their favored candidates.
4. One person, one vote. Implement [direct voting](#) and abolish the Electoral College, which was a racist compromise to begin with. Our highly mobile, interconnected, better-informed electorate does not compare to 1789 where only land-owning white men could vote in most of the (widely disparate) states.
5. Change single member elections (e.g. president, governor, senator) from winner-take-all to ranked choice voting.
6. Implement proportional representation, known as single transferable vote or choice voting, in multi-member districts (e.g. the House of Representatives). This will end gerrymandering and redistricting fights, vastly increase representation, and will begin to improve voter approval of Congress, which was 10% in August 2017. This can be easily done by creating

larger, multi-member districts where House members are elected through proportional representation.

7. We should also have proportional representation in the Senate. John Adams in his 1776 pamphlet, *Thoughts on Government*, wrote that Congress “should be in miniature, an exact portrait of the people at large.” However, to appease the small states, it was decided at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 that each state would have two senators. Today this means that someone living in Vermont or Wyoming has 67 times more influence in the Senate than a Californian. It’s outrageously unfair, but it’s also highly unlikely that enough of the smaller states would agree to true proportional representation. However, a reasonable compromise is in order. The House allocates by population and grants at least one representative per state. We should do the same for the Senate. In single member states, the voting should be by ranked choice voting. In states with multiple senators, the voting should be by choice voting, which is also a ranked system.
8. Educate the voters. Democracy depends on an involved and informed citizenry. Higher education and job training should be free in state schools. Civic lessons should be required at all levels.
9. End voter suppression efforts. Voter registration should be automatic. The right to vote should not be denied to any citizen of voting age for any reason. Even convicts in prison should have the vote, and be able to participate in the political system as part of their rehabilitation process.
10. Make Election Day a national holiday so people can think about their civic duty and make it to conveniently located polls.
11. Lower the voting age to 16, so that young people in high school can participate in the system, and get in the habit of studying the issues and the candidates. Research also shows that it helps get their parents to vote. Even though 16 year olds are often impulsive and hotheaded, their calm “cold cognition” is already in place, and this is precisely the type of cognition needed for deliberative decisions like voting.
12. Supreme Court Justices could be limited to staggered 18-year terms so that each president would get two nominees for each four-year term. No other democracy has life terms for their versions of the Supreme Court, and our own system was devised at a time when people did not live as long. Even healthy people tend to lose some of their mental acuity as they age. Shorter terms would increase democratic accountability, lower the political stakes for each nomination, and help keep justices from getting out of touch with the people.
13. End the two-party system where viable candidates have to align themselves with one of two camps, polarized into the blue team and the red team. When we withdraw into tribal affiliations or political factions, we set ourselves up for conflict instead of consensus. When George Washington was elected there were no parties, and he warned against their formation because of the “continual mischiefs of the spirit of party” that would lead to “the alternate

domination” of each party taking revenge on one another. Studies show that people will support policies they think originate from their own party, or reject them if they think they don’t, even if it’s not true. (The [phenomenon](#) is more pronounced with Republicans). Plurality voting (“winner-take-all”) is a flawed, antiquated relic we inherited from the British. Combined with our presidential system, plurality voting forces voters to choose between two factions of a ruling elite, doesn’t require a majority winner, and makes spoilers out of all who dare to challenge it—whether by running as an independent or in a “third party.” Adopting the 13 proposals listed above will end plurality voting and the two-party system. In the future people may organize into parties, but funding should be limited and regulated. The issues and their relation to the health of our republic is paramount, not party affiliation.

There is a good chance I would just now be ending my second term as governor of Florida if we had had fair elections in 2010 and 2014. If Bernie Sanders had been treated fairly by the DNC in 2016, poll data analysis shows that if he had won the primary, he almost certainly would have defeated Trump in the general election. This was confirmed by the massive Cooperative Congressional Election Study, involving 50,000 people, which showed that 12% of Trump voters would have voted for Bernie in the general election because his honest and inclusive progressivism aligned better with the majority than the politics of hate, division, and inequality. Fair elections with a properly representative voting system would permanently open the gate to decent candidates who could focus on the issues instead of the money. At the same time, getting accurate information to an informed electorate is critical to restoring our democracy.

As an interactive and collaborative tool for governance and education, I have already established two public policy wikis as a proof of concept at [www.UNICEwiki.org](http://www.UNICEwiki.org) and [www.LOGOSwiki.org](http://www.LOGOSwiki.org). Interactive answer engines, combined with the wikis, will eventually be able to speak to anyone in the world at their own level and in their own language. All the world’s data, and the tools to interpret it, will be available to everyone at all times so we can make informed decisions about how to govern ourselves. Our elected leaders could then be held accountable by an objective standard everyone can understand. Measures might also be taken—preferably through treaties—to ensure that no government can block internet access to these tools.

These wikis, especially LOGOS, may allow us to restructure the United Nations (UN) so that it can better represent all of us across national borders. The veto power of the Security Council members often prevents the UN from implementing beneficial policies. As a potential solution, I have proposed a detailed plan at [LOGOS](#) which would improve the UN’s fact gathering and deliberative processes. If the UN does not adopt more representative methods to address

transnational policies, then LOGOS can formulate policies and organize treaties independently much more efficiently and at a fraction of the cost.

I had many opportunities during my life to study, travel, and work in various fields. This broad experience has given me an advantage in policy analysis and problem solving. Also, in 2018, at the age of 65, I went to the University of London to do a master of science degree in global politics in order to further educate myself. My studies included American foreign policy, international political economy, geopolitics, population and the environment, global politics, governance and security. In return for the opportunities I have had in acquiring this knowledge and experience, I owe it to others to do whatever I can to improve and protect our democracy. Unfortunately, many disparate forces—individual, corporate, and institutional—have used their privilege to exploit the common good, whether through design, indifference, or ignorance. It is our duty as citizens to step up, and do our part against those who would weaken our society in pursuit of selfish goals.

Visits during the 1970s to East Germany, Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, Red China, and Egypt, as well as visits to numerous other repressive regimes over the decades, has given me memorable and enduring lessons in how autocracies and theocracies, whether communist or capitalist, fail to bring the greatest good to the greatest number. But capitalism in the United States is also failing us. According to The Economist Intelligence Unit, *even before Trump took office*, the US was listed as a “flawed democracy,” coming in at 21st among nations, with the same ranking as Italy. To even call the United States a democracy may be generous. A Princeton University study (Gilens, M., & Page, B. 2014), based on survey data from 1981 to 2002, concluded what we all should know: our system fits the Economic-Elite Domination model (plutocracy) as a result of being “dominated by powerful business organizations and a small number of affluent Americans.”

Our country’s democracy has deteriorated even more since the 2002 study, because the few who already own so much seek to acquire and control even more. Instead of being number one in democracy, the United States now leads the world in crime, incarceration, military spending, arms dealing, public mass shootings, street gangs, cumulative air pollution, drug addiction, national debt, private debt, divorce, gun ownership, car thefts, reported rapes and murders, police officers, student loan debt, women on anti-depressants, obesity, health care expenses, and the cost of prescription drugs. Instead of allowing ourselves to be distracted with lies, lame excuses, gun advocacy, Bible thumping, flag waving, xenophobic fear-mongering, sensationalism, partisanship, vote-buying, and demagoguery, we should resolve our dubious distinctions, and strive to be number one in the things that really matter.

Instead of itching to start wars with our vast war machine, we should use more carrot and less stick to make us all safer and better off. Diplomacy should replace saber rattling. Soft power is preferable to hard power. Development aid, including family planning to reduce overpopulation, should be at least 1% of GDP instead of the current 0.15%. (By comparison, Sweden gives 1.4%). The vast Military Industrial Complex should be reined in, while cybersecurity should be increased. Trump was right about one thing, our allies can spend 2% of their GDP on their own defense, but he is wrong about the need for US to grow the Military Industrial Complex. With our allies spending more in most cases, we can gradually lower our own defense spending to 2.5% of GDP, instead of the current 3.2%. Even at 2.5%, we would still be spending more than China, Russia, India, the United Kingdom, France, and Israel combined spend today. The “disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist,” Eisenhower warned in 1961. “Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.”

Misplaced power has not only persisted, it has grown so pervasive that elections, industry, congress, the presidency, the judiciary, and the military no longer represent the best interests of the American people. The social democracies of northern Europe are proof that industry and capitalism can be regulated for the good of all, and that the military can serve the peace. We already have the knowledge to govern ourselves properly. We know our electoral system is rigged, inequality is increasing, the infrastructure is crumbling, and social mobility is stalled. We can see the rich getting richer while the middle class is stagnating and the lower class is experiencing generational poverty. It can all be fixed—capitalism can work for everyone—but it requires systemic reform followed by diligence and vigilance on the part of an informed electorate. The Progressive Era replaced the Gilded Age with the election of Teddy Roosevelt in 1901—a Republican leader more liberal, conservation-minded, and honest than almost any national politician we see today in either party.

Trump’s presidency may inadvertently help us make America great, even though it will not happen on his dismal watch. Trump, who lost the popular vote, was elected with Russian help by only one-quarter of the eligible voters—who were forced to choose between two widely disliked candidates. These facts, coupled with Trump’s outrageous behavior, have caused him to be the least popular president since modern polling began. Historians were *already* ranking Trump as our worst president ever, even before his befuddled and treasonous performance in Helsinki where he accepted the denial of election interference by Russian tyrant and former KGB officer Vladimir Putin over the voluminous evidence and indictments produced by seven of our own intelligence organizations. A handful of Republican leaders dared to criticize Trump for that performance—at least before a poll showed that 79% of Republicans were fine with Helsinki,

just as they also seem okay with the reprehensible notion that a grossly dishonest president with multiple conflicts of interest is above the law.

I believe historians will someday remark about the silver lining that will long outshine the shadow cast by Trump's cloud on our democracy. They will write about how the current band of robber barons, represented by the president's vulgar and pompous, gold-plated hubris, were humbled by the New Progressive Era. They will say that disgust with Trump's macho narcissism, and bumbling, authoritarian disdain for the people was the catalyst that ushered in reality-based politics, which allowed darkness and hate to be replaced with reason, honesty, and compassion. Especially in these dark times, most of us believe we should have a society where, if you work hard and play by the rules, even the poorest among us can prosper. Unfortunately, many of those who approve of our arrogant, self-serving, plutocrat-in-chief believe—against all evidence to the contrary—that we already live in such a society, and that the poor should only blame themselves for their predicament.

Because of the inherent flaws in our system, we don't need a crystal ball to conclude it was not entirely surprising that someone so incompetent and harmful to the common good could get elected, and continue in office. Looking ahead, I believe it is only a matter of time before we will make the reforms necessary to allow us to rationally follow the facts to the truth, thus banishing foolish ideas and elevating the good. This means being progressive where progress is needed, and conservative in things that need to be conserved, such as in sustainable population levels, national resources, wildlife and the environment. Politics is more art than science, but facts and political realities have to be carefully considered, so idealistic goals must sometimes be adjusted to accommodate reality. Idealism has to be pragmatic and utilitarian to be useful. The ideological approach might seem to serve a purpose at times for some, but eventually blind faith and the stubbornness of belief in the face of contradictory facts will become an impediment to justice.

As James Madison wrote in 1788, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." (Federalist No. 51) The purpose of government is to encourage our better angels and to make rules that help society function smoothly, while tending the common good. Government is necessary, but it must also be restrained, which why our founding fathers established built-in checks and balances, and separation of powers, in order to protect the weak from the strong. Our president is not a dictator because he is only one-third of a government guided by a constitution. Finding the right balance is a process. The Constitution is not set in stone, and laws must be refined and interpreted in keeping with changing circumstances. The balance and separation of powers was designed to prevent one branch from overthrowing the others and tipping the balance of power toward tyranny. Unfortunately, over the last four decades, the three branches of government have been undermined by special interests slowing chipping away at its foundational

roots, exploiting its weaknesses with devious tactics and propaganda. As a result, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial branches have increasingly allowed plutocrats to rewrite or reinterpret the rules through the lawyers they hire, and the lobbyists, judges, and politicians they buy, in order to lawfully steal from good citizens.

It is easy to know what goodness is, since there is, in nearly all cultures, an all-purpose rule of thumb. It's called the Law of Reciprocity—do unto others as we would have them do unto us. This can be expanded upon with a Golden Rule of Politics: The goal of politics should be to bring the greatest good to the greatest number, in the most efficient manner possible, to this and future generations. This sums up the practical ideal we should strive for, not only as a nation, but as all the people of the Earth.