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POLITICAL THEORETICS

To continue to rehearse what is going on here, the way I talk about the economic in relationship to the whole social dynamic is that which sustains human life and then the political is that which orders or organizes human power and then the cultural that which creates human consciousness. And maybe a couple of ways of doing this: one is just to have that kind of quick statement and the other would be to have a sentence that would begin to hold the whole set of triangles. For me, it would be the economic is the common organization of the material means in order to sustain life. The political would be the common organization of social power in order to control raw force, and then the cultural is the common organization of human imagination' in order to provide intentionality. I think that last one needs to be worked on a little bit, but that would be the kind of direction that you would want to go.

To get some categories that would hold these other poles - in terms of order - the use of or utilization of power. Justice is the control of power and well-being would be relating power. Order would be the common organization of the use of power in order to maintain human sociality. Justice is the common organization of the control of power in order to assure participation. Well-being would be the common organization of the relations of power in order to pattern the common good (rights and benefits). We will deal with the aspects of well-being tomorrow. Today we are only going to deal with order and justice.

I suspect that what these sentences are pointing to is the relationship of order to the whole or justice to the whole. When we continue working with them we will know for sure. I work it in terms of the whole. But what is the relation to order, what is the process of order in relation to the whole dynamic of the political dynamic, that is, the organization of human force. Maybe just to talk about that in general. I'm going to work mostly on the fifth level using the sixth level for illustration.

In terms of common defense, domestic tranquility and legal base - in other words the defense, peace and law. I think all those need to be seen in terms of using force, power to maintain sociality.. You have no such thing as the body politic unless you have a way of designating yourself differently and defending that body politic from encroachments from the outside. And then in terms of the internal, that is maintaining some sort of order within the body politic and then some way of bringing rational form to that corporate body both internally and externally, or - another way of putting it is this is protecting the body politic. Maintaining internal peace (domestic tranquility) and then defines and rationalizes social expectations and then on the lower left corner of common defense would be protected sovereignty, negotiated alliance the one on the right on common defense, and then intersocial bodies. And then domestic tranquility - law enforcement, correctional constructs and community consensus and then your basic covenants on the bottom left legal base = cfm n law and your totem flag statutes.

Let's start with the protected sovereignty. You's talk about that in terms of that's the advent of power having the ability to prevent encroachment on the body politic. There are all kinds of ways in which that is done. One you just maintain a standing army. Another - the bushmen in the Tamala desert living in such a situation that when the Bantu's invaded them they just go

farther into the desert until the Bantu supply line is wiped out and they have to retreat. They go back then and live off the land. There are many ways in which that is done, but it is basically protecting your land, the body politic from being encroached upon. Or territorial claims is having an ability to maintain your territory as your own. And for me the bushman of the Calahari use the natural barriers as a way of doing that. Then your ability to respond, or to defend your territory, would be your warfare capability. And then your power balances - what kind of alliances, what kind of friends have you got that are willing to operate with you. Being able to stand up over against another nation. I suppose the kind of thing Dean Rusk was operating out of. Balance of Powers between the Russians and us - the Cold War - right. People know you have enough strength to strike back. Then negotiated alliances would be the agreements between - inter-tribal agreements. I won't club you if you won't club me. I won't attack you if you won't attack me. And then established diplomacy. That's where you've got ways of negotiating with them - between tribes - for instance - the Tiwa and the Hano - two southwestern Indian tribes. The way they handle that is to inter-marry and you know it is bad news to fight your kin - so they have within each one of the tribes on-going diplomatic relations.

And then the negotiating process. Let's say David Scott's tribe comes over and kills one of my people (this is done particularly in Eastern Africa) and it is one of my kinsman - instead of going out and killing David, I go to my headman and my headkinsman goes to David's and they talk it out - that kind of negotiation, that kind of process assures the sovereignty of the body politic. Normally there is some kind of agreement worked out where David has to pay twenty-five cattle or something. If it is agreed he did the deed.

And then - inter-social bodies - first of all - that would be the type of thing where you have contract across - non-directed political contact across the alliances in terms of the economic - like marketing alliances. Let's say that David's tribe had sheep and the tribe across his territory had metal that we needed and one way of protecting or maintaining our sovereignty would be that we set up a trade agreement whereby it would be unbeneficial for David's tribe to attack us for we are trading through him. The common market would be another way of talking about that or the various kinds of trade agreements that this country has with other countries.

Then over political organizations would be things like the confederacy of Iroquois nations whereby we just set up an agreement that we are not going to fight each other - Or the Fiji Islands and the Samoan Islands about 1100 set up that kind of agreement where there just wouldn't be constant fights going on and began to operate as a quasi political unit.

And then cultural associations - these things would be like the scientific community in our day or Secret societies among larger tribes where you had the same kind of rituals. And you can see the kind of things that would go on under that - the cultural exchanges between Russia and the United States maintain or promote the possibility of maintaining your body politic from encroachments from outside.

And then in terms of domestic tranquility = law enforcement - that's police, correctional constructs is jails and community consent is the sticker that says support your local police, to be highly simplistic. But I think helpful.

In terms of law enforcement, the civil force would be merely the process of hiring police on the street or people that maintain the internal order and then your pre-trial safeguards -- they can't take David in and beat him up, assuming that he is guilty. Police corps would be your things like traffic courts, minor offenses. Just to quickly go over that one - I think these are fairly clear.

Then your correctional constructs would be things like community discipline. The discipline in that example of David's killing one of my kin would be the requiring David to pay 25 cows to my kinsman. That kind of fine, I guess, would be what you are talking about - or - requiring that he pay some sort of retribution to my kinsman. Or, you know, in the family where Johnny (my mother used to do this all the time) where I goofed up, what we'd have - Johnny would be grounded for a week - that's defending his privileges - a kind of thing - taking my B.B. gun away from me - that happened more often than I'd like to admit.

And then social exclusion is jail. And remedial programs - that's when you want to correct behavior. An example of that is the Tiwa who, rather than punishing people for minor offenses, embarrass people. They have what they call "clowns". They go in and stand outside your door and embarrass you - you know - tell stories about you and make jokes and we don't know anything about that sort of thing.

And then in community consent that's the people agree to the kind of enforcement and correctional construct you have on your hands - a whole new source - a negative example of that would be prohibition - there was simply not community assent to that kind of agreement - public sentiment is simply that the public agrees with the law. The deterrent process is the use of the public as a deterrent. It is safer to walk down busy streets than non-busy streets. It's in "Little Big Man" where Shadow gives that dirty look to Younger Bear in the view of the public - that was using the public as a deterrent. And then citizen support - that would be just direct support of enforcement. Is that like vigilanti - yes. Support your local police. When the police come into the schools and give talks to the kids about police being helpful and that sort of thing. Citizens committees could be a lynch mob. Works both ways - citizens arrest or coming to the aid of a policeman who is shot - you see that in terms of the devil over against the military - citizen's review board - when you see an accident, reporting it. When you ask where something goes you have to ask what they are doing - what process do they fulfill.

Your basic covenant is your basic legal framework.- the whole network of things that go around the Constitution in terms of judgments about that, the Constitution itself, the common understanding of what the Constitution has to say, and the presuppositions behind the Constitution. Your foundational statement - quite often that's in terms of mythology, the set-up of the basic framework out of which your political ordering comes - talk about the mythology of where the power lies. Designating the general guidelines for the use of power, the corrective traditions would be the rulings in the Supreme Court about the Constitution; the shift in the 14th Amendment two decades ago would be a corrective tradition that is being picked up on. Or is being modified. And then your fundamental presuppositions - what the society is and what it is about being in terms of organization of power - that's like setting up three branches of government. And then under common law - that's the first one that establishes practices - Everyone's doing it would be a way of talking about it. And then authority precedents - it was done in the past, say the way the Chinese pick up on Confucianism and rewrite their history in terms of what it means to be a participant in the body politic.

Public conscience would be what the public would say about it, maybe in terms of what's needed, what ought to be and what direction we are going in. And then codified statutes are written down laws. Conferred powers is giving the powers to the citizenry. What powers does a citizen have. Oh, let's say my secret society has a right to exist would be an example, or we can maintain ourselves as a corporate body, or there is public agreement as to the maintenance of ACLU or that kind of thing. You have a basic legitimacy to organize yourself as a corporate body. The stipulated policies are the direction you are going in. Regulatory construction are - you can't kill people, you have to stop at stop signs that sort of thing.

A codified statute is when someone shows up at a king's door hungry, you feed him. That's more than just common law.

[I think this is a fairly simple thing with the primitives.- When anyone knows that X punishment follows Y action, that is codified law. Common law is "nobody would think about doing that". As Holmes said there are just two ways in which common law gets transposed to codified law and that is when the public conscience outruns the common law and the other one when some way or another there is a breakdown in maintaining the uncodified law in which these two things are intimately related.]

That is the whole Justice pole where you are talking about decision making and the changes of the body politic consensus, the change in direction would be over in the justice pole.

[You are going to get a tactic to do something about that - that would fall under public sentiment. It has to do with the virtue of obedience and attitude toward crime, etc.]

Let's quickly go through this one and then stop. In terms of my categories, this is the whole process of decision making - LEGISLATIVE CONSENSUS. This is the whole process of mediation, of deliberation, and this is the whole process of enactment. Of what decisions? Enactment of decisions for executive authority. And maybe just quickly go through the fourth level there. Your constituency suffrage is your basic participation. What does it mean to be a citizen, what does it mean to participate, what are the obligations of being a participant in the body politic. What it means to be a citizen is that you've got a stance, that you've got a process to inject that stance into, the considerations of the body politic. SELECTIVE PROCESS (I'm going very quickly down that fourth and fifth level) POPULAR VIEWPOINT would be having a stance. SELECTION PROCESS would be the mechanism and the process for injecting your stance, whose a voting member of the body, how do you vote and how do you validate decisions. INCLUSIVE RESPONSIBILITY is the whole process of the citizenry being responsible for the whole. The thing where, when you have clan meetings, the heads of the clan are required to come. In terms of the ALIGNED PRESSURE those are the pressures that influence decisions and those are fairly clear, I think. PUBLIC SENTIMENT - what do the people want to do would be a way of talking about that. Your PERSUASIVE FACTORS are your organized people around specific kinds of decisions - your lobbies - your factions within a kingship who would say we ought to go this way or not, we ought to go that way. And then COMPREHENSIVE VALUES - in terms of the past, present, and future. DELIBERATIVE SYSTEMS - the actual decision making process - investigating the problems, examining it and common consensus. To use Bonhoeffer's categories: observe and judge would be the top box - PROBLEM INVESTIGATION, weigh up - the FORMAL EXAMINATION, and the decision under COMMON CONSENSUS.

Under JUDICIAL PROCEDURES when you've got a LITIGATED DISPUTE is when somebody breaks the law and it is the initial trial. That's evidence - what law has been broken and the ruling on that specific decision.

Under ARBITRATED APPEAL - every society allows the possibility of the person who the decision is made against to appeal that decision or to ask for a new ruling. Whoever is ruled against has the possibility of claiming that there was a wrong ruling, a possibility of offering new arguments and having the decision changed.

Under REVIEW DECISIONS probably the key is the issue itself and the community's own mind set, the social milieu in which the decision is made. Where it says REVIEW DECISION under ARBITRATED APPEAL you've got two things going, one is the issue itself, that whole context, and then you've got what is taken into account - what is going on in the social fabric. For instance, draft evasion is not a huge problem in 1935, you know. 1944 it was a problem and that results from the milieu that is going on.

FINAL JUDGMENT - whenever a final judgment saying that the appeal court says no then you have your calling into question of the basic authority of the society. That's the first one. And then under VALIDATED REFERENCE you take into consideration other cases like it - what's going on in the community and the beliefs of the community - the whole ideological make-up of the court and the social body.

REFORMULATED PRINCIPLES - when you get at that level you are beginning to move the basic units of society. The Brown vs. School Board decision made a basic shift in terms of the direction, the principles out of which you are operating as a country.

Your EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY is the whole process of enacting decisions. You've got your bureaucracy - four men or five to carry out your decisions or a whole huge superstructure - not the question - but some way of enacting those. REGULATORY would be control of the uses of how many cattle killed for this feast relative to the whole social milieu. ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES are assuring services. OEO would be an example of that. POLICY AGENCIES are the ones who carry out the policy that has been consensed on in your legislative consensus. Your ADVISORY COUNCIL are the people that the symbolic head would take into consideration or would ask. CABINETS are your formally assigned (all the plan sheets are taken into consideration) - the elders of the community, your technical specialists. You are going to build a canoe so you bring in an expert on building canoes or a scientist advises on NASA. INFORMAL CONFIDANTS are what I think of as cronies, old cronies, friends you have around, ex-presidents, Salinger, Schlessinger, Baruch. RESPECTED DISSIDENTS are people who you disagree with but have to listen to, who brought you to consciousness about what you were doing.

And then your SYMBOLIC LEADER. ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR would be the symbolic head of your bureaucratic structures. COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE - symbolizing the people. I think that is when LBJ says "my friends" or the "fireside chat" were thinking along that line. SOCIAL SYMBOL is when he represents the whole body politic, the bureaucracy, the people, everything, and that's state announcements, going to Berlin, or sending the Secretary of State representing the whole community to Africa.

First of all I would like to explain the context in terms of the overall triangles. It helps to have some sort of phrases to remind you of what sort of arena you are operating in. For me the economic is that which sustains human life, the political is that which organizes human force and the cultural is that which creates human consciousness. And then in terms of the political order is the utilization of force, the utilization of power, (that's when Cramer gets out of line you clog him), the control of force for justice and relations of force in terms of welfare or well-being. I want to talk this morning in terms of the welfare triangle. You'll notice that that would be the closest one to the cultural and the one that is most directly related to the cultural in terms of style although as we go through we will see how it relates to the symbolic.

By looking at the documents you can see where it comes from - the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Rights of Man, the UN Charter on Human Rights, that in terms of our own heritage - Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. CONTINUED SUSTENANCE, MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION, and SOCIAL ORGANIZATION would be your political freedom and then on the top the possibility, the right to self-conscious life or meaningful engagement. SUSTAINED EXISTENCE is the obligation a society has for the continued sustenance of the body politic. You talk about SOCIAL EXISTENCE when you talk about well-being, rather than psychological. CONTINUED SUSTENANCE for sustained existence. POLITICAL FREEDOM to participate in the social organization and then SIGNIFICANT ENGAGEMENT is the right to participate in the self-conscious life, or meaningful existence.

PRIMAL SUSTENANCE is the right process of maintaining basic order or existence within the community - the right of people to walk down the street safely, ordered structure so you know what is expected, a non-chaotic existence in terms of the social existence. BASIC SECURITY, PHYSICAL PRESERVATION and ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION are the three under that. I think those are fairly clear. It is establishing basic order. Another way to talk about this whole area is rights and benefits.

ADEQUATE LIVELIHOOD (which is your communal pole of sustained existence) is the right to participate in the economic production of the continuing jobs, significant work and so on. In terms of EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS - that there is a pattern of work - whether that is an agricultural society where you can participate in terms of children collecting eggs on up to adulthood or some form of just compensation for the work and the working conditions are within the context of society - an acceptable base and within reasonable location. In terms of EQUITABLE BENEFITS - the right to be protected socially in terms of health (your national health organizations, the environment. MATERIAL EXCHANGE would be the right to participate equally = prices do not get jumped up inequitably. Prices are not jacked up four times as much for inner city as over against the suburbs or vice versa. COMMON RESPONSIBILITY under the commensurate services - the garbage picked up equitably and you are taxed according to a reasonable way. In terms of your political freedoms, that this goes on the welfare pole rather than your justice pole seems an insight. That would be the right to participate in a political organization. An individual having your own stance being able to make your own decision in terms of that, having privacy, the right to have your own separate existence. The Bushman in the Talahali desert have a strange way. There the grass is bent over around their campfire which tells you you can't go in there unless you are invited in. Both the family and the individual have their plot of land. They move every three days, but that right to their own plot is set up every time. There's a right to have that kind of individual privacy.

EQUAL ACCESS would be pointing to having equal access to the political structure, defining what it means to participate as an individual in the social structure. In terms of your CITIZENS RIGHTS that is what it means to be a social being in the political milieu. POPULAR CONSENT - that may be the right to storm the gates when the king has made a wrong decision or it may be you have the right to participate in some sort of election and be represented equally. One man one vote probably comes out of that understanding. DUE PROCESS is that there is a rational structure for dealing with disputes. You have the right to know what are the guidelines for solving problems, disputes. FREE ASSEMBLY is the right to associate, to advocate one way or another whether that is privately or you have some sort of political party in the area. Tanzanyika talks about having one party within that faction the right to create or have some type of organized disagreement. Public assemblies is obvious. In terms of LOYAL OPPOSITION, no society ever survived unless it had a way of honoring disagreements in some way or another. UNSUPRESSED EXPRESSION is the right to advocate. MINORITY VOICE is the right to stand in disagreement. The right of PURPOSEFUL DISSENT in terms of objecting to - calling forth larger values is expressing that in some sort of creative way and organizing your disagreement. SIGNIFICANT ENGAGEMENT, at the top - you can see that this is most directly related to culture. ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE, the bottom left pole, is that everyone in society has the right to the educational process whether that is learning on the part of the women as a girl child or learning among the men as a boy child or some sort of educational structure set up by the whole society. CORPORATE WISDOM would be the access to knowledge. Knowledge is public property, not some individuals or some groups. Everyone has the right to participate or acquire it and everyone has the right of incentive cultivation. If a child on the street doesn't feel like getting an education, it is the obligation of the society to motivate him. In terms of PUBLIC INFORMATION - it is the right to have immediate access to news data, and that society has that data available, that it distributes it, and that it is truthful, accurate.

MEANINGFUL INVOLVEMENT is that you have the right to creatively engage in the historical process. Society has the obligation to protect that creativity. You have the right to maintain a social status - that is a highly technical word meaning a series of relationships - but you have the right to participate in the definition of that status and its relations in terms of duties, rights, and position. PURPOSEFUL VOCATION is in terms of your life expenditure, your right to purposefully engage in the social process. In terms of EXPRESSED CONSCIENCE, individual sovereignty would be the right to have an area of responsibility and to carry out that responsibility; moral dominion, religious liberty - the right to participate in your symbolic rites, the right to participate in the whole symbolic milieu of the culture. INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY would be in terms of having your own area of responsibility and mapping that out. The religious would be where the Constitution talks about religious freedom.

[In the INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY maybe I'd back up a bit in this whole thing. Sometimes I think it is a miracle that our forefathers really got as much articulated on the welfare pole as they did, but until this moment in history I believe your major emphasis has not come down on the welfare. Now you think in terms of the welfare state - it is recently come into a major kind of focus where even the people in the Black Revolution were stressing justice. They were not stressing justice. This was a weapon in order to bring clarity here. Our Bill of Rights - we must have read that a hundred times - it is tremendous - but it is utterly inadequate in terms of manifesting the right that even the worst of nations have in one sense or another protected, guaranteed,

even in the past. Wholly inadequate. Recently Communism has pressed in this area particularly. Now in this EXPRESSED CONSCIENCE - when you see that everywhere commonness is what you are after, this commonness also has to protect individuality in terms of individuals and groups or this whole new emphasis of pluralism fundamentally has to do with the political again focusing in welfare so that everyone of these is restricted by what commonness is. But in the very midst of commonness there is protection of plurality in the individual sovereignty = self-hood styles. Look how we have violated this. This means that if my son wants to wear his hair long, that does not determine whether or not he gets a job. How you dress is your business and society does not legally operate against you because of your own particular style. And then the rights of association - if I want to hang around with the "gays" and as long as this does not violate the basic order, then this is my business and not the states. You have to bring in the basic community which is the family, again within limits. I have to be able to run my own family. I cannot beat my children and so on. The thing that even worries me a little bit there is that your local community is not also here. Now that moral dominion is extremely difficult because obviously the thesis here is the individual god and your fellow man. A man first of all has the right to know the law or the restriction in the area of his moral decision or he is lost. Secondly and this is not saying the same thing, his liberty has to be delineated in this area. Clarity has to come to him and then his decision within these restrictions has to be protected. Obviously religious liberty has to do with the right of worship, but this is not unlimited. Klu Klux Klan or snake handlers, for example. The cutting up of the American Flag to make pants out of or the burning of the American Flag - this is in the area of symbol - the religious and here I'm not suggesting whether this is right or wrong, but it is within this area that commonness is threatened.

You might say that the whole social process is the harnessing of the freedom that man is for the sake of man being free but it does not make man free. Man is not freedom, he is sociality and freedom. His freedom is not freedom until it is harnessed. But the harnessing does not create the freedom, as at times we have interpreted liberty. This freedom could not keep itself alive to be freedom except in a social ordering.

Is our revolution historically related to the revolution of consciousness? You can see as John pointed out that the economic has moved from an emphasis on production to distribution. We have moved from Justice to Welfare and up at the top we move from the communal structures we have called style to raw symbolism but the whole triangle is reflected in the top part of the two bottoms. Not upon education or style but on the world becoming socially religious in the broad sense of that word. And these kind of insights that are not mine seem to me are crucial to delineating anything on the lower boxes. Once you disclose the going-on-ness you have got the picture of what we must consciously become.]

[Political ordering - the right to engage creatively in the historical process would be my overall category. I, as creativity, have the right to be protected within the context of the social commonness. Significant station has to do with the status as father. When I show up as father I have the right to be protected within that role - the role of father has a right to be protected.]

[SIGNIFICANT STATION has to do with the triangle up in the cultural that is immediately above that and it is like in the Middle Ages everybody had a role - you might be assigned to be king or the hoe-er of carrots.