

LECTURE III: THE POLITICAL PROCESS
AND SOCIABILITY
(By Jim Wiegol)

The response that you have as I walk up with this big fat book (a one-volume encyclopedia) is the same as it would have been a few years ago if I walked up without ~~anything at all~~ any kind of notes what so ever.

INTRODUCTION
For there has been a shift, it seems to me, in the manner in which we experience our own experience. Twenty years ago, that would be 1952, ~~existentialism~~ was the height of existentialism. In this country existentialism was just coming to the fore. Nobody ever thought ~~of~~ that man was freedom at the bottom, or that human life disappeared into some kind of void, or that there wasn't any ~~human~~ substance or wasn't any bottom to what it meant to be a human being, or that humanness was pure invention. That hadn't gone away, but the kind of concern about the depth of life has undergone a radical shift. It's almost as if 20 years ago ^{if} you were out to be a concerned human being, what you ~~had~~ were concerned about was the individual. ~~That was around when~~ That was around when Riesman was writing his book about the inner-directed and the ~~outer-directed~~ other-directed people. Psychology, which is in my mind somewhat over the hill now, was coming into being. We were beginning to understand what it meant to be an ~~individual~~ individ. The problem was ~~individualism~~ alienation. How could I be an individual over against this huge society? How could I keep from conforming? There were beatniks then. Teen-agers--that was the ~~height~~ height of what it meant to be a teen-ager. If you were a teen-ager, one major problem you had then was pimples, and girlfriends. You had personal problems. In the area of morality, we discovered that people weren't always faithful in marriage, that they had affairs,

~~There was a book written called~~ The Outsider. It was all about the primary threat to our society was the outsider. It was like a solitary ~~existentialist~~ individual who ~~in some way~~ had been alienated from society and ~~a~~ had decided to appropriate his alienation and attack the society in some way. Or it was Love Song, or tragedy was when your girlfriend killed in ~~my~~ your car, sitting on the railroad tracks. And ~~a~~ you found her ring, or something like that.

But no longer. Today the concern is with society. We don't have teen-agers any more. We have a youth culture. I don't have personal problems any more; I'm part of a huge sociological trend that is going on. Affairs aren't even a problem any more; it's group sex. It isn't alienation any more that I am experiencing, it's that the whole society ~~is~~ has collapsed. We don't have outsiders any more. We have a whole counter culture. Beatniks don't go off to their own little pad, there are communes now. What has come into being in our time behind all the little itty-bitsy ~~things~~ trends, is something like sociological humanness, a new awareness that what it means to be a human being is to be one of a body of creatures that operate out of common images and common decisions and common patterns of organization.

It seems to me that is the context in which you have to talk in our day about the malaise of the male, that he finds himself having to make decisions about his life not in the sense of understanding his own individual life, but in the sense of grasping who & he is in the context of society.

POETRY

(Four score and seven years ago)

(We hold these truths to be self-evident)

THE POLITICAL
AND
SOCIAL
ONTOLOGY

THE
SOCIAL
PROCESS

The awareness of sociological humanness is what we have come together to talk about this weekend. The awareness that what it means to be a human being at the bottom is to be one of all of the human beings. The awareness that for humanness to go on men have to act in common, men are driven to come together. I recall the lecture this morning about the economic life on the farm. That family was ~~not~~ held together by the necessity of their own ~~economic~~ physical survival. The movie 2001 with those ape creatures, or whatever they were, ~~they refused to operate as a~~ Those apes were forced to operate as a tribe in order to create a situation in which they could have meat to eat, in which they could survive. That plain life survival has ~~much~~ to do, if you will, with social commonness. Humans are notably ill-equipped to live on their own.

In terms of the cultural dimension, human consciousness itself, ~~humanity~~ we are becoming aware, is not something you have. It's something that is created in the midst of a body of which you are a part. The stories of children that were raised by wolves--I don't know if they are true or not--and discovered and brought into civilization, are not human beings. What it means to be a human being, what it means to be conscious are only discovered in relation to other human beings, in relation to other consciousnesses. So the process of commonness is a necessity for consciousness in itself.

This afternoon we want to talk about the process of commonness that is commonness in itself. When you talk about the political dimension, I have to start with somebody like Hobbes, who had the insight that when human beings tend to live together, ~~apart~~ apart from whatever good intentions they have, they tend to fight, ~~apart~~ maim one another, and sometimes kill one another for no good reason whatsoever. There is just an irrationality in the midst of humanness in itself. But that there could be created a process of commonness, that human beings could find a common way of operating together, a common way of living together.

THE
POLITICAL
PROCESS

I recall the novel Lord of the Flies. Civilized English school boys were sent to a tiny little island--the boat had crashed or something like that. They ended up with one tribe against another tribe, ~~with~~ horrifying destruction, ~~with~~ the horrifying insanities, a offensive book. Yet that kind of irrationality is at the bottom.

I can remember the time I wanted to kill my wife--And I haven't been married very long--because of her intruding, intruding, intruding into my life--forcing me to make her decisions, calling my life into question, over and over and over again. That kind of irrationality just rests at the bottom of humanness in itself.

THE
POLITICAL
PROCESS

I want to talk about the process of commonness that has to do with social organization, the ~~process~~ process of commonness that has to do with the political dimension of life, and the three aspects of that.

First of all on the foundational pole, or basic to that is just the ~~process~~ process of order. What it means to be able to live with another human being is to have ~~commonness~~ some common order. In the first instance it doesn't matter what kind of order it is, but to have some kind of order. Every body of human beings has had to find some way of taking its corporate power and apply it over against other groups and apply it over against people w/in itself to demand order within certain bounds.

Then the process of corporate justice. That just has to do with decision making. As soon as you establish ~~a~~ some kind of order, as soon as you have created some kind of a body in which there are outsiders and insiders, that you have to have some way of making decisions, some way of operating, some way of carrying out their common life.

Then the welfare process. That for me has to do with the content, if you will, of that ~~justice~~ justice, the vision of that social organization. that guarantees ~~life~~ in terms of life, in terms of liberty, and in terms of ~~max~~ happiness. There isn't any content on that. IF a whole body of people get together and decide when you get to be 12 years old you get killed, that's fine. They have a certain kind of welfare there that they are all operating out of that's a common welfare, that lets them be a common body of people, that lets them live over against one another. The one who violates that? he gets killed.

The Eskimos, one of the rights and privileges ~~a~~ of being an Eskimo in some of the tribes on the northern part of this continent is that when you get too old to take care of yourself, you have the right to walk out and sit down on an iceberg, and wait for a polar bear to come and get you. That's a right that is necessary to maintain the social organization. For these people do not have the kind of situation where they can care for these people, so that is ~~what~~ one of the rights that they have. ~~It~~ That three-fold process has to go on.

If you go back through history--the political process as we know it today started was developed in its basic patterns in the eighteenth century. The French revolution and the American revolution were where the basic kind of thinking, the initial kind of structural form for a brand new kind of government, of the people, by the people and for the people, came into being. That spread like wild-fire, whether you call it democracy, a republicanism, or whatever. It has spread across the face of the globe. It is out of that century ~~that~~ that our political institutions have come, which means that it is very appropriate that I read the selections I did earlier. We know more ~~about~~ in our own beings theoretically about the political process than we do about any other dimension ~~of~~ of sociality. We were brought up as political human beings. We didn't study the organization of ~~General Motors~~ General Motors. We studied the organization of the government. We didn't study the symbols that hold this society in being. We studied the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Two hundred years ago the basic

the political foundations of our government were brought into being. And I want to suggest that if you recall the work we did this morning on the imbalance triangle, that that revolution came into being over against the tyranny of the cultural. That was out of the middle ages and the success of the church in Europe the symbols and the rituals and the wisdom and the style had taken over. The economic was nothing. There was no such thing as economic progress. There was no such thing, in one sense, as political liberties.

This revolution in which the political was asserted over against the cultural, I would like to suggest, began next in the economic with the development of towns and merchants, that called them to being larger bodies of people. and through the political the cultural was squeezed back down. Since that time you see what has happened. In the 19th century there was a great economic revolution. Karl Marx, Adam Smith, the beginnings of the free enterprise system, the basis that has led to the kind of economic affluence that we have now. That means that today the political is not the tyrant, the economic is the tyrant. That revolution too has been a success as the political revolution of the 18th century was a success. And once more the cultural is collapsed, and the political already is impotent. The political process, the fantastic form that brought the United States of America is already impotent, is already powerless. You

in to being can no longer find a way to give direction to our decisions as a group of people. We decide to give foreign aid to India. And we set up the machinery to give foreign aid to India. And we give foreign aid to India, and lo and behold, 70 to 80 to 90 percent of the money we send gets sucked up in administration, get sold off to the black market. Our political decisions are just impotent. Few of us can remember a political leader who we believe, a political leader who we trust. Few of us can read the documents I read a minute ago without a bit of cynicism, for we have lost our trust, we have lost our faith in the political dimension of life, we have lost our pride in being a citizen of the United States of America, we have lost our pride in being citizens of the state of Illinois, or Lake Forest, or Flossmoor Illinois or whatever. The political processes. The decisions we make as a body of people, the order we maintain as a body of people, holds no more. The success of democracy is already gone. ~~Something~~

The signs of that for me, the signs of the growing impotence of the political--I have to go back almost all the way through the 20th century. Maybe the first sign of the irrationality that is underneath the political process was World War I. Here was the most advanced civilization in the 20th century all of a sudden at war! It was an audacity to call that the war. over some minor two-bit prince getting assassinated, and ~~ex~~ nobody knew why. Nobody understood what brought that into being. Yet there was war. Then there was World War II. The political process in Germany decided to wipe out a race, that the irrationality came in. Maybe it was saturation bombing. Maybe it was just destroying whole cities that brought the irrationality, the possibility of the destruction ~~afraid~~ that is under the political consciousness. to the fore. Or finally maybe it was the atom bomb. All of a sudden we who prided ourselves in being the leaders of the political community, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, called into being the possibility of ending it all. The mobility of going

THE
POLITICAL
DISORDER

off to war and fighting the enemy, confronting the evil you know and stamping it out, 20,000 people wiped out, disappeared, not soldier, civilians, who didn't have any idea of what was ~~was~~ going on. Suddenly the possibility of ending it all. The power of destructiveness came into being. All of our bravado about being the defenders of the right turned to nothing. All of a sudden you see that if you are the most powerful, all that meant was that you had the possibility of destroying it all. Then came that poem, "This is the way the world ends,

This is the way the world ends,

This is the way the world ends,

Not with a bang ~~x~~ but with a whimper."

Finally there was only one question ~~that was the whole show~~ in terms of the political commonality. That was the whole show.

THE
PARALYZED
SOCIETY

And all of us in terms of the political became paralyzed. ~~xx~~ There was no way you could ~~xxxxx~~ send an army--to go fight the USSR, because they would bomb you. There was no concept any more of a people making a decision. You would go to sleep at night and ~~xxx~~ read these little stories and have these little nightmares. Remember Dr. Strangelove? Somebody was going to push a button and all of a sudden ~~the world was going to start~~ ^{WAR} was going to start, and then there ~~xx~~ would be nothing but radioactivity. You can count on both hands the number of books like that that came out. It was just a paralysis.

The feeling in the midst of that was overwhelming guilt, because we had done it. We were the ones that brought into being the possibility of ending ~~x~~ everything that was there. So we made a feeble attempt to provide for the world. There was an Iron Curtain. We stood up and rattled our sabres and said, "Take your missiles out of Cuba." and we gave people aid. We couldn't solve their problems, but we gave them aid. We'd send chickens here, we'd send turkeys there, we'd send wheat there, and this and the other. And the more we gave a country, the richer we got. So we gave more aid to India. And we'd get richer. So we gave aid to Latin America. And we'd get richer. So we gave aid to Africa, and we'd get richer. It seemed like everywhere we were trying to care for the world. That's what we did in Vietnam. We were going to be the watchdog against the Communist spectre. We were going to take our social organization, our political power, and we were going to see to it that the world had freedom. And look what has happened. We have become a watchdog for people who don't want a watchdog. We go into Korea for the sake of preventing Communism. or Vietnam. It's just obvious that nobody wants us for a watchdog. Nobody wants us. All of a sudden it wasn't the Communist spectre there or there or there that we had to deal with. All of a sudden our cities were burning. Remember the day you woke up and there were riots? Have ~~x~~ you ever been in a riot? Have you ever watched people start ~~fighting~~ fires in buildings? loot buildings? It is a horrifying experience. We knew we had certain kinds of problems, but that irrationality ~~xxxxxx~~ I mean irrationality, burning up the ~~shops~~ stores you shopped in, just burning them up. Then we had soldiers in our cities. with machine guns, and jeeps, in the middle of our cities, in the U.S. OF A. Then all of a sudden it was ~~xxxxxxx~~ not just the black people, you maybe could understand that. It was our own youth. It was our own children who were standing up and trying to destroy, trying to tear up. I remember youths with long hair in Lincoln Park in Chicago during the Democratic Convention in

1968 saying, "This society is going to hell, and I'm here for one reason, and that's to tear it apart." And he was serious. He wasn't playing. He ~~was~~ was serious. So what could you do? You set ~~me~~ up your John Birch Society, you set up your Friends of America. "My country right or wrong." We had a proud heritage to protect. We were not about to let the greatness of this country go down the drain with these young punks who don't even understand. They never fought for their country, they never went off to war. They ~~w~~ are afraid to go off to war. Besides, they are probably homosexuals. So you were out to destroy them, to tear them up. "Hoorah, for J. Edgar Hoover, he was watching." "Hoorah for Ronald Regan who wasn't going to put up with that kind of thing," at Berkeley or Hayakawa at San Francisco State. They are going to put those kids straight. But somehow it didn't work. There was no way to patch things up.

And now somehow all that is past. It hasn't been resolved. We didn't win. Patriotism didn't win over all. And irrationality is there. Last week they arrested three people who were planning to put typhoid germs in the water in Chicago. That irrationality is just there, resting beneath the supposedly ordered surface. All of a sudden someone climbs up on a tower at the University of Texas and shoots 26 people before they get him down. That kind of irrationality, in our own social organization ~~that's~~ just there. And there's finally just a kind of silent response, again. It's not like in the 50's. It's just like, "Well, what can you do?" There aren't riots any more. There's no Communist ~~threat~~. It's almost like the possibility of the eruption of ~~violence~~ frenzy of that irrationality just hangs like polluted air over every place you look. The possibility of this whole social fabric falling apart--Pittsburgh after the World Series--they won the World Series and all of a sudden there was a riot. How did that happen? It's just there. ~~Egonomism~~

You remember that that rash of cases a couple of years ago, people getting stabbed, raped 42 times in the street while 54 neighbors watched from their windows as if it was a TV program? The horror of that wasn't that those people were so immoral. The horror of that was that you could be that person down in their street, ~~you~~ Or what was more horrible, you could be the person sitting up watching, and it would never have dawned on you to do anything. That kind of dread coming into being, that all of a sudden you realize that the U.S.A., this social organization that holds us together, keeps us from being savages, isn't eternal. It could just collapse at any moment.

THE
ECONOMIC
PASSAGE

And in the midst of that kind of paralysis, what we did is sold out to the economic. As long as the economic was the tyrant anyway, why we might just as well live with that. Maybe if we draw ourselves into the economic, things will be better, things will be different. So everybody started getting jobs, and running and running. If we could be a success . . . "I know the city is falling apart, but we can build little avenues of suburbia into the city called expressways--~~thruways~~ they are just wide enough, have green lawns along the side so you don't notice you are in the city." And you go straight on downtown, and straight back ~~an~~ home out into the suburbs where you have no kind of sociality at all. That is the secret. Flossmore, Illinois, that's all they have living there, commuters. They bend themselves over backward to keep that from turning into a town. They have a crummy locking station, they refuse to put curbs or sidewalks in so people won't drive down the streets, ~~an~~ You build high fences around so you just have a bedroom or something. Nothing is going to break in. That was the time when what we did for General Motors was good for the country. ~~I~~ What it meant to be good was to be an economic success, some way if we could be ~~an~~ economically-- maybe we could buy off the Communists--something like that. If we just forgot about the collapse of our society maybe some way things would be different.

In the midst of that again it broke in. That is just a concealed colonialism. We were going to economically develop the world. We were getting richer and richer and richer. We used to laugh about Japanese businessmen going around everywhere and copying everything. The Japanese businessmen were visiting our businessmen. That is the secret. We just took over the

We have

world. ~~Thousands~~ Ford Motor Plants everywhere. We have Anaconda Copper plants everywhere that there is copper. We became again a world economic power. We said no in the ~~midst~~ midst of that collapse. ~~Now~~ We'll sell ourselves to the economic, all of a sudden there we were again on top of the world, with all the pain that was there. The globe again y breaks in. ~~2~~ We could feed India. But that isn't an economic decision because it isn't profitable to feed India. It has to be a political decision. So you were thrown again over against the impotence of us as a body of people. There isn't anybody in America who could possibly want all those people in India to starve to death. That would be immoral. That would be against the nature of who we are as a people. It wouldn't be profitable. And we are powerless to make the political decision that would be required to feed the people of India. We are powerless because the economic, the ~~the~~ profit motive is too strong. It would be terrible to do something against "our ~~farm~~ farmers." ~~It would be terrible to do something against our farmers.~~ We have to have strong farmers. No one knows why we have to have strong farmers, but we have to have strong farmers. It has something to do with: "If we don't keep our economy strong, irrationality of our social fabric is going to fall apart. It's going to fall down around our ears."

THE
REDUCED
VIRIZON

So we reduce the area we are concerned with. We just stop thinking about the globe. We go back to driving back and forth between the ~~ghibbani~~ home and the office, from the home to the office, from the home to the office. You didn't even know your next door neighbor. You sat down and watched TV, you learned about Vietnam. You knew more about the war in Vietnam than you did about your next door neighbor, the guy two houses down. Somebody comes to knock on your door, and you think it is a salesman. It's your next door neighbor. You didn't know him. You didn't care. A good neighbor was something you didn't even talk to. The bedroom communities-- It's like For me it's Howard Hughes. There's a guy-- You can imagine this weird, strange guy who has all this power. Evidently he owns half the world from what I hear.--creative--and all he is doing is using all his passion to be my himself. That is all he is concerned with. He will spend any amount of money to be by himself. He shuts himself off from everything. Look at the good all that power has done him. He could decide who was going to be the next President if he wanted to, Maybe he does anyway. But he just goes off and hides. This huge powerful kigg, except he doesn't have a kingdom. He is in such isolation that nobody even knows ~~whether~~ if he exists, whether he has eight inch long fingernails. He is just a monster because he has hidden himself away. You reduce your life down, looking for privacy, looking for privacy, trying to find a kingdom, a domain in which as a male you can be a king again. Obviously it isn't in the country because there is irrationality there. Obviously it isn't your company because you always have boss. Finally you see all these men going around and they have six-guns. and they are practicing quick-draw. That's the way to be recover my being a king. I'm going to learn how to draw. Finally

Finally the alternative if you want to be a man is the alternative of our Presidents. Maybe they are the symbols of manhood. You can be a JFK. ~~2~~ You could go around and make noble speeches, and create noble visions, and maybe even die a heross death, but you certainly couldn't change anything. Or you could be a wheeler dealer, one of those who decides to engage himself in the dirt of the political, who decides to create the kind of social organism ~~as~~ nation that has to be created. Maybe that's LBJ. Maybe it's even Mayor Daley. And then one day you can retire to your ranch when people don't want

you any more. And you can give speeches in a university. Wouldn't that be nice. Or maybe it's like HHH, Hubert, Horatio Humphrey, you could go around and chuckle all the time. That's what it means to be a man engaged in the social process. You get 400 million votes. "Ho, ho, ho. I'll be back next year." And you go back to your father's drugstore in Minnesota. Or you could be Richard Nixon. Richard Nixon seems like he's doing something. He's I'm sure the last person anybody would want to be. He's the most offensive of them all. So what you do is sit down and watch football. All of a sudden football is the most important national sport. Football. There is a place where the tension that is inherent in humanness itself, the battle that is inherent in humanness itself can go on. There are boundaries, there is a sideline, each side ~~ax~~ has a clear goal, they are after, there are advisors, there are even referees. If there were only referees in the real world! Then maybe a man could engage himself again, maybe he could participate in the social process.

THE
POWER
ABDICATED

And finally it comes down to the fact that a man ~~san~~ today has just given up his power. He isn't about to be concerned with the community in which he lives. HN isn't about to be concerned with his family. He just turns the decisions over to his wife. Let the women run the suburbs.

I don't know if you ever saw the movie ~~was~~ "Welcome to Hard Times." Finally what you do is to pick up and move on to the middle of the prairie, the most desolate place. You're in the middle of the prairie and you decide "I'll stop here." and you build up your little town. You put up a sign ~~and~~ that says, "Welcome to Hard Times," and you ~~say~~ decide you are going to live there. It's going to be a crummy existence and the only thing you can live off of is drunken miners coming down out of the mine, getting drunk and and shooting up your town and then leave and there you are and you are going to see to it that there is a thousand miles in every direction that protects you from it, but you know what happens, these people are very clear that there are hard times, they moved out there and one day this guy rides into town, and he isn't like the other drunken miners, he's mean and he starts drinking, and the first thing he does is shoot the bartender, shoots him dead, and then he starts riding up and down the town, shooting horses, rapes a couple women of the town, all the men are standing aside because this guy is the fastest draw in the town and none of them are going to go up against him. And this guy shoots one guy and shoots another guy and rapes a couple women, you know. He gets tired, so he burns the whole town down. And all these men are sitting there saying "My goodness sake, he's burning up our town, and they're folding their hands, watching football. And the whole town gets burned down, it's just laying there in ashes so what they do is they pick up the sign that says "Welcome to hard times" that got knocked over, and they go out and put the sign back up and then they start over again and they build up their itty bitty town out there in the middle of nowhere, they sweettalk and convince some other people who are passing through to settle in that town, they get their town all built up, they go through this horrible winter out there in the middle of god knows where, and ~~in the middle of~~ the next spring here comes the guy again, gets drunk again, rapes people, shoots a few more people, burns the town down again. That doesn't phase these guys, they just go out and get that sign that says "Welcome to Hard Times" and put it up again. There's some kind of value in that, you know, just sitting there ~~waiting~~ wringing your hands watching some body burning your town down and then opening up

DISCRETION
CRISIS

OTHER
IMPLICATIONS

and building it up again. That kind of just powerlessness, that kind of yearning, desiring to escape the complexity, to say no to it, to find a place where there is peace, to wash yourself of the guilt of having to be a political man. You finally say to yourself that power is bad. Mayor Daley has power, therefore he's bad. I don't want to dirty my hands with having to do something like that. And then comes the despair because you retreat, and you retreat, and you retreat, and you say, by golly, I'm just going to live at home, I'm going to go to my job, and I'm not going to make waves, I won't even vote because it's the worst of two possible evils, I won't even read the newspapers, I'll watch Captain Boneloose on the television when the news comes on, and that is ALL I AM going to do. And what happens to them. Look around. Does a man just get left in peace if he says no. NO NO. Your job starts to collapse. It's going the wrong way. It's apparent. You set up a training program to try and hide your guilt for some poor black people from the ghetto in your country, and what happens. They never come to work. The program is a failure. Not only is the program a failure, but somebody starts picketing your plant because you won't hire more black people. You try to hire more black people, and they don't want to work for you. ~~Although you are not hiring more black people, they still keep on picketing.~~ And you go home and your wife calls you a male chauvinist pig or there's just one impingement after another. You try to find a private meeting, you know where you can make a decision. Like you say "Honey I think we should go out tonight and have something to eat. Have a good dinner" And what does she say. I mean when my father came home to say that she'd say "Oh boy that's great" First thing that happens is you come and your wife's out on a galactic consult some place or other, trying to start a country, so she don't hear you. Your kids say, "that'd be great pappa but I already got a commitment for tonight" and there you are. So then you decide that's all right because next weekend I'm going to take the weekend off, I'm going to cut the grass and I'm going to get things shopped up a little bit around this house, and your wife says "What do you mean you're going to do that. We're going to a PSU to build this new course, you can't go running around doing this and doing that. You've got to consult with me on this time" You can't make a damned decision all by yourself. Every decision you try to make there are 14 or 15 people all trying to get your ear. "I don't think you should make that decision. You should decide to do this" So you say okay I'll decide to do something else. Someone else says I don't think you should decide to do that, I think you should decide to do this. Or president Nixon. That poor man he decides he is commander in chief of the army. Now you should have some prestige, strongest guy in the world. So you decide, we're going to go into Cambodia, by God. And what happens. People start demonstrating, shooting one another, throwing rocks. He can't even make a decision all by himself without everybody else wanting to get their voice in, get their ore in. Or maybe it's the youth huh. When my father told me to do something I did it. I mean I did it. I'm taking care of a sixteen-month old little kid. I say - he can't even talk - I say Emmanuel go sit on that little chair huh. And he looks at me like why should I go sit on that little chair just because you said so, huh. You know what I do, I hit him on the behind you know. and then he looks at me like "male chauvinist pig" That's the kind of morass you get into. That's the kind of impingement, impingement, impingement that comes and and comes and comes and comes. Maybe you finally decide to give it up. Two friends of my lawyer in Oak Park, they decided they couldn't take it any more, that life was too complex and there was no way to be a human being. So they bought a trailer, a couple of friends, because they were great friends and they decided they were going to take three months to travel around this country and then they were going to go live in British Columbia where things would be better. So they left, they traveled for three months around this country. They got up to British Columbia for one month, then they came back to

Oak Park, you know why, because they couldn't get a long. They couldn't make decision together. And again it comes, the impotency of the political. You can't make a decision any more. You can't make a decision any more. Everything you try just collapses, just falls apart. And then the global need comes in. You could feed everybody in India, all those people in ~~India~~ Pakistan who are starving, and on and on and on and on. This kind of tyranny comes through. Decide about this, decide about that decide about this. You know what you could do. You know the power of having the position in the company your ground yourself in. You know there's no escaping it. Delavan Wisconsin is a little town outside, I think, of Milwaukee Wisconsin, and there's a little town outside of Delavan Wisconsin. I don't know the name of it - it's just a small little town, you know. And I was up there last week. And I thought this is the kind of town you could settle down in and things would be like they used to be. You wouldn't have to worry about making decisions about the whole globe in a little town like this. So I walk into the town and I discover there's a Japanese soy sauce company that's putting in a 10 million dollar plant to make Japanese soy sauce in this Wisconsin town. And they had a big meeting that day. And there's the President of this Japanese soy suace company making a speech in Japanese to these people with a translator. And the world keeps coming in, it keeps ~~coming in~~ coming in. It's almost something like this. What's happened is that brand new possibilities come into being. It used to be such that certain of the decisions belong to certain of the people. And that's the way it was. And you knew certain decisions belonged to President ~~Mr~~ Nixon. Like it was President Nixon's responsibility to decide what happened to certain troops. You didn't have to worry about that, that isn't the case any more. There are certain decisions that, if you are the man of the house you got to decide and your wife didn't have any goddam business deciding about, but now it's almost like all the decisions belong to all the people. It doesn't matter if somebody tells you to make a ~~mini~~ decision. Everybody else got to get their ear into it, everybody else has got to decide about it. They've got to give you their advice. They've got to call into question the decision that you have to make. What do you do. What do you do as a man? What do you do as a ruler? As the one who's got to take charge of his family, has got to take charge of his business, has got to take care of the community. Well you become a ~~flucted~~ expert, that's the first thing you do. You have long discussions about if I were the president of the United States, what I would do bangbangbang. Or if I were living in New York City, I would do bang bang bang. But you never seem to get around to the discussion of I am blahblah blah and therefore I will blahbalblah. Or some way You don't have the knowledge, you don't have the way to know that. The ~~guy~~ Village of Oak Park, again. They decided that with the city of Chicago beginning to move out and impinge on their boundaries, some way they had to decide about the future of their fillage. So they called in an expert community planner to help them make a plan for the community. So the first thing he did was to ~~say~~ name 20 people in the community. Now he said, I want you to go out and find out what the people of this place want. Well you never say such an uproar. I mean, they jump up and down and say, what do you mean we're supposed to find out what these people want. These people don't know what they want. You're supposed to tell us what these people want, and you're supposed to tell these people what you want. You know, around the community they'd have meetings to see what these people want. And they'd say what do you people want. And the people would stand up and make long speeches attacking these poor people sitting up by the platform that they didn't know what they were doing anyway. "You're trying to impose something on us" The poor community planner, you know, he couldn't find out what the people want. You should hear what the people said about him. He must be a communist trying to sneak in here. We're paying him all that money. And then when it finally got through to people that this guy wasn't going to decide anything about Oak Park, they fired him because he wasn't doing what they wanted. It's

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that kind of, you just gotta have an expert, you just gotta have an expert, huh. You just become the entrenched one. You just entrench yourself. You just dig yourself a deeper and deeper. Goddam it, I wanted that planner to be the answer and he's not going to do anything, so ~~goddam~~ goddam it, I'm not going to do anything. I'm not going to vote ever again. That kind of entrenched. It's that kind of defiant surrender. I didn't know if you saw the movie The Out-of-Towners. It's all about this businessman from Ohio, who was going to move to a townhouse in New York City right on central park, and was excited about moving to this big city out of this little community. So he and his wife flew into New York City, so he and his wife flew into New York City, But Kennedy Airport was closed because of the fog so they had to fly to Boston, so he tried to get a ~~xxxxx~~ reservation on the train. He said don't worry about this honey, I'll get it. He said "I need a reservation to get to New York City right now" The ticket agent said "Sorry the train is sold out. There's not standing room or anything" What do you mean the standing room is sold out. Give me your name and address. I'm going to contact my lawyer. That was his response. So finally he talked a taxi cab drive to driving through a blizzard from Boston to New York City, and he got to New York City and had no idea where he was and ~~where~~ what he was going to do. So he started wandering around new York City, looking for the hotel where he had reservations. And as he was walking along, a man walked up to him on the street, and said "Hey buddy, want a place to stay tonight?" Oh yeh, I'd like a place to stay. Well come on, walked him down the street into a hallway pulled a gun out and took all his money. So Jack Lemon ran out and found a policeman who was answering a call about an attempted murder somewhere, and he said "Now my wallet has been taken, right now, I'm from Ohio and I want my money back right now. I want you to do something" The policeman says I'm sorry. I'm out on an attempted murder case right now. Fill out these forms." "I'm not going to fill out these forms. I want action right now. I want you to find that man right now" The man says, Look we have 7,000 robberies every night in New York City. I just don't have the time right now." He says, "What do you mean. What's your badge number" He takes down the badge number. And that's his response through the whole movie. Not one thing, not one bit of the complexity of the urban situation responds to him whatsoever, but he gets everybody's name down so he can sue them. Everybody's name down so he can sue them. And that's the kind of surrender, you just kind of give up. You just give yourself over to a kind of futile concern. The condition of the Black Man in this country concerns me. Yes, I'm concerned over Vietnam, and so what you do is you print an ad in New Yorker Magazine that explains that you are a successful businessman, which means that you can't be much or anything like that but that you've given your whole life to being a success and you'd like to apologize to the youth of this country because you don't have a way to participate more actively in the situation in creating a new society. You just find yourself just apologizing. You apologize because you are forty years old. Because you got a wife and a family and responsibility, and therefore you can't go life in a commune. So you go apologize for that. Or you apologize for being a male because of being demanding. You try ~~as~~ not to be demanding. You try to be more understanding with your wife. And be a better father to your children. And none of it works, those intrusions keep coming and keep coming and keeping coming. All the decisions belong to all the people. I don't know how to say that. What it means to be a male in the economic process is to be a king. What's happened is we have all lost our kingdom, like King Farouk or Juan Peron. Just wandering around. There's no kingdom to be king in. You tried the nation, the nation collapsed. You tried the community, the community collapsed. And you tried your family and that collapsed. There's not place to be kind. Even join the Lodge where you can trade stories about how it was you used to be a king. That's gone, that's collapsed. There's nothing left - except facing up, huh, to the possibility ~~of~~ that a whole new situation has

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come into being. That/~~if~~ we're no longer just up against the nation, that we're no longer up against the community, we're no longer just up against the family. We're up against the total world. And in that total world, all the decisions belong to all the people, just period. There's never again going to be a decision made by a President of the United States that is not going to be called into question. There's never again going to be a father who makes a decision for his family in which mother and all the kids don't complain. That is never going to happen again. There is never going to be a captain of industry who says "My company shall go that way" who isn't going to be called into question, isn't going to have to be rethought. That that's the gift, and at the same time whole role of having to deal with this in our time. What it means to be a king today is not to be the strong one who makes the decisions and leads~~es~~ the army, what it means to be the king today is to be the one who's got the inclusive picture. It's to be the one who's taken everything already into account. What it means to be the king of the family, by God, is/^{not} to be the one who can shout the loudest, and ~~blatantly~~ shove everybody back down and beat your wife if you have to, though that plays its part. It's the one who sees through the situation. What it means to be the king is to be the one who has the inclusive picture. Who already knows all the demands that are being placed on everyone. Who already knows the demands of the world, and the demands of the community, and the demands of the family, and the demands of the individual, and makes his decision out of that. Who acts as the one who states the consensus, huh, and not as the one who imposes his own individual judgement. Who states the consensus. What it means. And I think these days that Mayor Daley is a great symbol of that. What it means to be a king today isn't really different finally from what it meant to be a king any time. You think through what it is people want you think through what it is everybody will agree to, and you announce that. Now the problem is there isn't a lot of glory in that. It doesn't seem very noble to simply be the one who states the consensus. And yet that's the only possibility. And yet I want to say something like, that doesn't exclude war, that doesn't mean that you don't have to deal with the impingements of life if you want to be aman today, if you want to live before the reality that all the decision belong to all the people. You have to risk every bit of certitude you have. You can't be a fixated expert, and you can't depend on experts for anything. You can't have somebody telling you what to do with your financial situation, and you can't have somebody telling you what to do about your political situation. You can't have one expert after another after another, a marriage counsellor, a sex counsellor, a ~~psych~~ psychiatrist, or an educational specialist. You're the one who has got to decide. You are the one who in the midst of darkness and uncertainty has got to make those decisions. You got to pick up your sense after harmony. You remember Patton. I remember him standing at the bottom of the hill and watching the tanks go up the switchback. And he said, compared to war, all other human activity fades to nothingness. Well, I want to suggest that we're going to recover that. The man's going to recover the significance of war. At the bottom of humanness is not peace, is tension, is horrible tension, because human beings have the propensity for killing and maiming one another, and to reinject that in the midst of the decision making process, not to reenbody the possibility of taking a position in life and fight to the death and then being willing to change, or being willing to hire and to shout and to push, to see to it that the decision that has to be made gets made. To get over the illusion that somehow my wife is always impinging on me as a male, that somehow she's not letting me be a male. I remember my mother used to try on on my father every once in awhile to impinge on his male principle, and when she would impinge on his male principle, he'd knock her down. And all of a sudden the social process in that society got rebalanced, I mean it got rebalanced fast. I mean no longer do you have to operate out of the image of compatibility in marriage, that that's not the basis of human socialization

that it is tension, that every man who has every been married, and this has happened to me, wakes up sometime in the middle of the night, and he looks over at the bed next to him, and sees this thing, you know, he doesn't understand what this other thing is that he's in bed with, he doesn't understand how it got there or anything at all. Now most men, when they do that, they kind of assume that they are sleeping with someone else's wife and they feel guilty right away. But that isn't what's going on. What it is to be a man is to realize that that woman next to you is not you, I mean she is just not human, and not just that but she is out to destroy every human value you would have given your life for. And therefore you've got to do radical battle. You've got to grab that otherness, that enemy and fight to the death. ~~Ex~~ to create the future. Oh, how many times have you shown up in a meeting and a disagreement arose, and some ~~little~~ little milquetoast said, well we shouldn't have disagreements, that's not very nice, we better adjourn the meeting because we don't all know what we're going to do here. No. That isn't the way the destiny of Lake Forest gets decided. It gets decided in the midst of struggle, it gets decided in the midst of agony, it gets decided in the midst of radical decisions. It's out of the tension that the future gets hammered out. And honor, huh. You've got to give up your image of going to an honorable death, and that means going with clean hands. You remember Henry the IVth, huh, the scene at Agincourt, there it was, something like 5,000 English soldiers over against something like 15,000 French soldier, and the English soldiers were tired and all the French soldiers were rested and well equipped and well fed. Well, for him that only meant one thing. It didn't mean going down to die nobly. NO NO It meant those few people win over against the odds. That's what honor means. Honor only comes in the midst of victory. Honor only comes when you win. And honor requires pain, and that's the price of freedom. That's the entrance to the other world. Somebody was talking about. That's what it means to be transparent. All of a sudden you realize that the nitty-gritty situation that you are in doesn't determine your destiny. You determine your destiny because you determine the nitty-gritty situation you're in. You're not bound by how much money you make, you're not bound by whether you can take off from your job. You decide how it is you relate to your job, how it is you relate to the economic. The government doesn't decide about you. And in the midst of that you get to decide not about whatever issue happens to come up in your family. You got permission to make a decision about the the next 20 years of your life, and to make every other decision you got out of that vision. I give you that permission, that's freedom. That's what it means to be a man who craves after his historic destiny. You remember Patton. "I must have my destiny" There isn't a man alive today who doesn't yearn for destiny. I give you permission to have your destiny. I give you permission to say no to having to reduce your time down to 8 to 5 five days a week and then having to use the evenings and the weekends to consume what you ~~yearn~~ produced in 8 to 5 so Monday morning you can go back and produce some more. I give you permission to say no to that and to make a decision over against the whole globe to decide what has to come into being. I give you permission to let your wife enable you to make decision and let her participate. I give you permission to let your 18 year old son to make the decisions of the family. I give you permission to deal with the geography you live in. I give you permission to grasp your next door neighbors, ~~xxxxh~~ the community in which you live, that the community in which you live can be taken seriously as a locus of human concern where you can begin to deal with the whole globe. I give you permission not to reduce your community down to the PSA and women's clubs, but to grasp that that that is precisely where the future of the global society gets built. I give you permission to stand before the whole globe. That's the social possibility in our time. It's the grasp that we already have, you see, the world consensus, all the decision belong to all the people, just period.

That isn't a vision, that isn't something that's coming into being. Japan, Ireland, Germany, Italy, wherever you look and now Southern Rhodesia. My Lord, if there's anyplace where ~~any~~ you'd think people would be afraid to act on all the decisions belong to all the people. They stand in the face of dogs, in the face of water, in the face of guns, saying I've got a right to participate in that decision. Just period. People who don't have an education, people who don't have an adequate context, people who don't have money. I've got a right to participate in that decision. I've got a right to participate. That's already a consensus. The only question is how are we going to put that in a form. Democracy isn't going to work. What's going to be the form where all the decisions belong to all the people, where that's the decision on which we organize our political life. It's one globe, the moonshot gave us the symbol of that, huh, and the power is going to be corporate power, you say, just like what it is to be the king in your family. What it means to be the king in your family is to be the one who knows the needs and demands of all the people in that family. So what it means for this country' to recover its greatness is to be that body of people who are sensitive to the demands of the total globe, who are sensitive to the total society. I don't know, maybe in 1976 we ought to see to it that France has a say in the society about who's the president in the United States. I mean they already do. Richard Nixon's got the country of China helping to decide who's going to be next president of the United States. Now why shouldn't we just make that out in the open. Why shouldn't we just keep that to ourselves. And it's something like that in the local. It's like, in the future, in the very near future, that 8 to 5 money through Friday is going to cease to be as the time when I engage myself in society. That's a joke, that's what's keeping the tyranny in being, because you work from 8 to 5 Gentlemen, you work from 8 to 5 and the economic has captured all that time. Well, that time, Monday to Friday from 8 to 5 is going to be your economic engagement in building civilization. From 5 to 8 every day, and Saturday and Sunday, is going to be your direct engagement. Is going to be the place where you take your hands and engage in the building of a new society, engage in the rebalancing of the social process, and that you do that in the context that isn't reduced down to just yourself, or just your family, or just your community or just your nation or even, I want to say to just the globe, but it goes beyond even that - I don't know what you put beyond even that. Maybe that's what we've been spinning about the other world. I give you permission to be free to grasp that what it means to be a human being is to be driven by some strange on to be the common one, to be the ones who organize themselves for the sake of not just themselves, not just for their family, not just community, but for the sake of something beyond that. And out of that responsibility I give you permission to risk the life of the whole globe, to risk the life ~~and~~ of the whole nation, to risk the life of your community, to risk the life of your family, and to risk your own life in the creation of a brand new society. for the coming into being of a new kingdom of the man, a new grasp after what it means to be a ruler, a new grasp after what it means to a ruler, a new possibility in society.