Research Unit Order Base: Chicago Religious House Priors Council September 1, 1970

ORDER POLITY: THE PANJAYAT

By Gene Marshall

- Every lucid man knows that he is a worm, a nothing, that he's soon gone entirely from presence and from memory. And yet at the same time the man of faith knows himself to the king, in spite of all finitudes and sin. The man of faith is king over the whole creation. He is free lord. He is slave to no one.
- Istanding before this entire group even for a small task is a painful experience. And I was trying to get it said to myself why it was a painful experience. I think it's in that to stand in the focus of kings and queens of all of creation places you in a painful moment, especially when your most immediate knowledge of yourself is always on the worm side, and the kingship seems somewhat hidden and out of sight.
- I think that very minute experience is also a key to where our spirit struggle is, every one of us, and is a clue to how we have to relate to our appropriation of the problem of polity as a group of people struggling with how we are to govern ourselves as a body in history and get our job done. Our spirit agony over the last several years probably has been—at least I would say it has been for me—a dying to all of our statuses, learning how to stand loose from the many roles that society gives 'us to play, the many roles that we take for ourselves. You might say that in one sense society is nothing else than an arrangement of statuses. Most of us have finally become clear that most of those arrangements are sort of, you know, huge jokes, that you'll play the clown today, the bookkeeper tomorrow, the print shop operator the next day, and the teacher the next, and know pretty well that every one of those roles is a bit of a sham, that you'll learn how to ride loose in whatever role that you're given, knowing that finally there's just nothing there but total finitude.
- dash I think we've struggled that struggle for a long time, and now are struggling on the side of just being overwhelmed with living out the status of the king of all of creation that every man of faith is; and this word king gets hold of something that no other word does, for me, because of its historical rootage in our particular civilization. It's sort of like we're always overwhelmed with self-depreciation. and very very subtle kinds of self-depreciation, subtle because they're so extremely true. You don't have to be a liar to self-depreciate yourself. You just have to be honest, and there you are. How to break through that, which is sort of a death urge, I think, and be what's impossible ____ to be, is where our struggles are--depreciating our order, or depreciating the whole church. I think that's what the scandal of the church sometimes comes to us as. I'm part of that communion of people that celebrates Xmas and Easter, and I'm not part of that people that call themselves Hindu. It's sort of like you want to say to yourself, "Well, you ought to be." Or, "You should not pretend to yourself that those people who celebrate Christmas and Easter are anything special." You get how that story works itself out. The shame of undertaking an impossible role in history is what I think is underneath most of our struggling. All these feelings of self-depreciation are healthy, realistic feelings because they're true; but it's somehow a temptation to yield to them. But our real problem is accepting that burden of total responsibility and some clear statement to yourself that you can actually function in the role of having taken total responsibility for the creation, and then you can play your role of king or slave and any other role, ashamed for none of them.
- We want to talk this morning about order polity. And in particular, the fruition of almost a year's experimentation with the Panjayat concept. I've never been to India, but I understand that in the Indian village, they have 5 elders in the village who are a corporate chieftain. I don't even know how they function, but that seems to have been enough for me to be interested in these 5 elders in the village in India, or maybe it's just part of India, who call themselves a Panjayat, a corporate kingly function. How

could you help but be interested in such a thing, in such a historical struggle as the order has been in with its polity? I understand these 5 corporate kings have an intimate relationship with the village and the whole life of the village.

There are just universal functions in polity that we are struggling with in our own order. Every society of people that has ever existed in any form whatsoever has had the kingly role in the middle of it. That sort of symbolized something about being itself and symbolized something about society itself. Also, every society that's ever existed has had the democratic or the popular function present, and every society that's ever existed has had the bureaucratic, or the carrying put function. That forms our triangle. I don't know why the symbolic goes on the top, but this picture that I have in my mind, it goes

BUREAUCRATIC POLICY carrying out popular

SYMBOLIC

on the top. And on the left is the bureaucratic, or the administrative carrying out of decisions that are made. And on the right is the policy making, the popular participation in creation. Here is a rather simple illustration that I told in another context once that has helped me get said to myself how the democratic function of society is never absent. Just imagine yourself in a small tribe of people back in the early days of the human experiment. The king of that tribe, or the chieftain or whatever he's called, decides that it's time to go to war. So he goes out before the tribe and symbolizes and ritualizes the decision of going to war, and the whole tribe sits out on the other side and shakes their

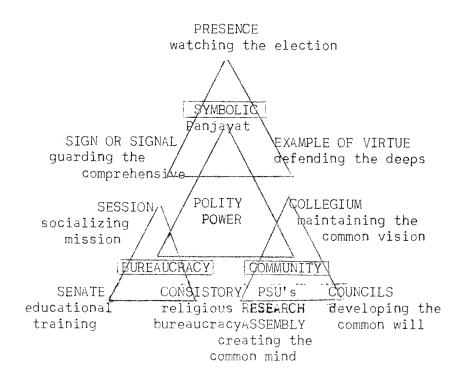
popular , and the mistory particip nheads back and forth, "Huh-un. Huh-un." That is the functioning of the popular pole of the political power. Save that king has done his contextualizing and his reading of the true consensus of the society of which he is a part, he will be thrown out and a new king will be selected who will function in the midst of that society in a way that holds and glues that society together. Never has there been, on the other side of that, a society in which it was not utterly necessary to have some way of ritualizing what the true decisions of a society were. When you drag President Kennedy out before society and he says that we're going to put a man on the moon, then you know our society... is geared to put a man on the mmon, and until we do that with our society's head and divert our imaginations in that direction, that's not the decision of the society, no matter how many popular mechanics magazines have done diagrams of how it's to be done. No. matter how many other sorts of PSU's have taken place across the society about how it really is possible in a couple of years to put one of our citizens on the moon. Still, until our symbolic figure ritualizes the decision of our society, there's no man going. The bureaucratic pole of this is very adequately symbolized, not simply by military constructs and bureaucratic machinery of industry, but by all it takes to carry out taking a man to the moon, all it takes to organize any decision that's made. In other words, we'll never get rid of the bureaucratic function of society either. What a crazy thing it is for people to get together in big polity meetings and stupid symbolic figures to come out on the stage and wave their arms about a decision and then there's no structure in society to carry it out. That would be the last joke. No, the king and the popular policy making struggles of society always presuppose some bureaucratic machinery that is going to organize the decision and see that the details are not forgotten, and everything from children's structures to teaching assignments actually do get concretely done.

What I'm trying to say by just talking is to call our attention back to the fact that struggle with polity in our order and the struggle with polity our new social vehicle are both of them the struggle with just humanness the way that you find it, trying to get that said fresh, trying to give fresh form to it for our own order, and as we continue to work, for our whole society. Probably in our society and therefore in our mindset, and in our order's functioning, the bureaucratic has been the tyrannizing pole of that dynamic. It is certainly true in our society. We've got big old bureaucracies of economic, cultural, and political structures that just go on functioning, without any kingly role to radically question them from that angle, or without any genuine popular participation of communities to question them from that angle. It's sort of like some petty bureaucrat who's been

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given some particular role in society has been given the rights in our society at this time to tyrannize both President Kennedy and Mrs. Bigbottom, and neither one of them seem to have any channels of approach to rip loose the situation and allow fresh air to breathe through the society. That temptation is always true in our order, to give every person their own little thing to do over here on the sidelines, and not have some force that holds the comprehensive and has the capacity to ring the changes and get results relative to altering reduced practices, and that other problem of how those two things function. And you still have functioning in a very meaningful way how every single citizen of the order or every single citizen of society participates in building the policy which both king and bureaucrat are obedient to, that both king and bureaucrat operate out of the consensus of the society. The building of that consensus and the shaping of that common mind is the possibility and responsibility of every single citizen that makes up the whole ship. That's our background that we've all of us been struggling with for a long time.

I want to put up a diagram of recent creation that Joe, working with some of us, recently spelled out a little more completely, a picture that helps get a hold of these dynamics and how they relate to the experiment we've been doing in the order. This is a three triangle picture with a couple of words on each corner.



I suppose you could put in the middle, Polity, and you could also put in the middle, just <u>power</u>, for power does not reside anywhere; it resides in the dynamics itself. The whole dynamic is the dynamic of power in the sense of a couporate decision power.

Beginning with the <u>Bureaucratic</u>, I'm going to put three functional words, and then three words of giving structural form to that function as we're doing it in our order. The first is the <u>Social Mission Bureaucracy</u>, understanding that as a function; the second is the <u>Educational Training Bureaucracy</u>; and the third is the <u>Religious Bureaucracy</u>. No matter how many PSU's we do on the Ecclesiola, there's always finally going to be a religious bureaucracy that gets out to you your study book, and your solitary office printed up the way it's printed up. The Consistory is the category that we've been using to point to the religious bureaucracy. The Senate is the educational training bureaucracy. The Session, the social mission bureaucracy. For the whole thing we've been playing with the word Presbytery. The Presbytery made up of the Senate, the Consistory, and the Session performs

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the supervisory oligarchy of the order. Do you like those great old words? Those are all very experimental constructs. As a matter of fact, they seem to pass clear out of being some quarters and come back into being with different lives the next. But the functions are pretty well constant and never go out of being, and it seems that these have to be related very carefully to all the functions of our life--divisions, and so on. At any rate that pole is functionally the clearest one of all of them for me. It's just there, and has to be there.

Common Mind, and Developing the Common Will. A collegium meeting is where we're maintaining the common vision. Collegium goes on frequently, and its job is to keep abreast of the constant policy, the constant vision, the constant motivating of participating vision that every person in the whole order participates in. Put the Council on the pole of the Developing the Common Will. The Council, where you think through to the bottom what the patterns of action are going to be, and sort of establish will for a year, or a longer period of time, are a different sort of a functioning than collegium, although these are both policy making realities in which the whole body participates. In Creating theCommon Mind, put the PSU's and Research. If you think of a Research Assembly of the Order of some kind, a Research Assembly is just a big PSU that is complexly present to a research task for a sustained period of time.

√ We've been very clear for a long time that our PSU is part of our polity construct. That opportunity to get a group of the order on behalf of the whole order together and corporately push their brain overagainst the particular abyss that they chose for the weekend, is a time for making decisions. It is sometimes surprising to me as I've reflected on several PSU's that I've happened to be a part of, to hear coming back from other members of the order a year later, things that we ironed out in a PSU. They never knew that that PSU had ironed it out. They never knew where they had got that image, that idea; but now, it's like the whole order functions out of that image and didn't know that it just emerged out of the abyss in a PSU a year ago in ways that are almost impossible to trace or describe. whenever any group of our order like this gets together and has a conversation out into the reaches of our own corporate future, history is changed. If something happens to you profoundly in your grasp of what's real and what's necessary, history is changed. Anytime you have the opportunity to participate in one of those PSU's, it's hard to tell yourself that this is where the initiating points of decision go on. We've been so brainwashed that if you really want to make a decision you've got to be some bureaucratic structure somewhere, or they have to have appointed you president, or whatever, that it's hard for us to see when you sit down at a table with a bunch of scroungy people that don't know anything about what you re doing any more than you do, and you battle and play games it seems with something utterly mysterious for a whole weekend, that that's where the decision for the future is being forged and initiated. But that is true.

And wouldn't it be a fantastic thing if in all communities around the whole world it were possible for people just out here in the society to have the PSU, to have the opportunity to get their insight into a historical construct that allowed those insights to be considered by the President of the United States of America or the emperor of the new global social vehicle. Wouldn't that be the cat's canary, if we really pulled that off? where every single citizen of this globe had the opportunity to PSU what society had to become on the global level?

That's the kind of reality we're struggling with, and struggling very hard, because democracy as we had it on the early American farm has been destroyed in history. Urban society has destroyed it. We don't have any democracy any more. It's a matter of recreating democracy in an urban form, recreating democracy in crystal clarity on the first principles of what participatory decision-making really is at the grass roots and at the deeps of what participation really means in the broad society. How to teach ourselves in our society to quit kidding themselves about the one man, one vote really being something

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helpful, is part of what you're struggling with—to get said what we're trying to get said here. Until society at large participates in PSU's in Councils, in Collegiums, whatever that would be, community congresses or whatever, there isn't any popular participation.

The third pole is the <u>Symbolic</u>. Its task is to <u>Guard the Comprehensive</u>, to <u>Defend the Deeps</u>, and to <u>Watch the Election</u>. "watching" there is a very active category. It doesn't mean standing on the sidelines. It means being on guard, being present to what history is demanding of the entire body. Structural form here corresponding to PSU, Collegiu'm, and Senate comes out more as roles that are played—here is where our word "Panjayat" would go—roles that are played by that corporate king, if that's the form we want to give this pole of polity.

Under <u>Guarding the Comprehensive</u>, the role is that of being a <u>Sign</u> or a signal. Signs and signals point to what's taking place, call attention to the reductionisms, call attention to the perversion of the original intent. That's power. There's no question but what that's power. Where a community has invested themselves in a symbolic role such as this and that symbolic role comes into your division meeting and rips your model to shreds, history is altered. That division has to respond to that happening, or however else this particular role gets played, signaling a new possibility that more adequately honors all the values that are indeed our values. That has power in the community.

Secondly is the word <u>Example</u>, example of the virtue of that community, example that calls forth the permission of every human being in that community to play their roles. That's a hard one for me to get clearly understood.

Thirdly we put Presence. It's obvious that our work is not done on this diagram, where all clarity of those functions is thought through to the bottom, but at least those three functions are pretty clear. Guarding the comprehensive, the symbolic pole of society always moves on the reductionisms. Maybe it doesn't move immediately. Maybe in the immediate situation of reductionism the role of the symbolic, the Panjayat function, is patient; but it rever misses the reductionism, and finally moves on it. That's one of its responsibilities. If it allows for a year the society to go down a reduced path, it never forgets that the society is going down—a reduced path. Our society in America sure needs a king to deal with our educational bureaucracy, as an illustration, and a society that would respect it if the king dealt with it—respect the king.

The second pole is to <u>Defend the Deeps</u>, defend the deeps of man and the deeps of that history, defend the community's deeps. That's going on when you're creating morale, when you're gluing a community together, calling forth the deepest levels of participation in the whole operation. You can't imagine there being the function of collegium in a healthy form save you have this function functioning that enables collegium to function in a healthy form. You can't imagine a PSU or Council functioning in a healthy form save you have established something that is a defender of the deeps of those functions and goes beyond those functions of the community to the deeps of the mystery itself and demands that the functioning of collegium always participate in the deeps of the mystery of life, that the functioning of the PSU participate in the deeps of the mystery itself.

The third pole is <u>watching the Election</u>, that radical obedience to the mission, when one is concerned with the whole mission of history. You begin stuttering a little bit at this point in talking about those functions and somehow feel that you've got a lot more thinking to do. Yet you know what's there. You know that something extremely important is there in the polity of our order and in the polity of our whole new social vehicle as we begin to think about it.

One of the most difficult things to get clear about for me is the relationship of the bureaucratic pole to the symbolic pole. How is the symbolic pole related to the bureaucratic pole? One of the places this becomes very concrete is that it is not possible for the Paniavat to function if every time we have to have a new costage stame, that decision

has to come to the symbolic to be authenticated. Somehow, what's being struggled with here has nothing to do with making the job come off for the thousands of history-making and wonderful and overwhelming decisions that go on in all the bureaucratic structures that you wouldn't bother even to ask the Panjayat about. Yet nothing can go on in the bureaucracy save this relationship is living there. It has to a living and tension-filled relation-ship. I'm sure that means in our practical functioning around here giving a lot more power to Session and Senate and Consistory in terms of the actual making of decisions which govern our lives, and not have to go to some little group meeting in the Lumumba Room for every little thing that comes up. That's one way to talk about the problem that's there. The administrative pole of the Panjayat itself is a problem. How do you get into the body the kinds of considerations that have been thought through on behalf of the body? I also have deep problems in how to relate the bureaucratic to the community and the community to the bureaucratic. I also have problems in how to relate the community to the symbolic and how to relate the symbolic to the community. There's a lot of thinking to do on those relationships yet. Yet I would suspect that we are farther along in our new polity model than we have been willing to believe, that we are in history with it already in a rather remarkable fashion.

A Now I want to lay out 12 principles of the Panjayat. These are suggestions that Joe Mathews gave some of us just before he left on his most recent trip, as sort of a guide for our thought between now and 1972.

12 PRINCIPLES OF THE PANJAYAT TO GUIDE OUR THOUGHT UNTIL 1972

- I. That there be 5 members on the Panjayat, three confreres, and two colleagues of the order; not less than two of them residing at Base; one of whom is a confrere; no more than 4 men, no more than 4 men, to make up the five.
- II. That there be 5 proxies, one for each Panjayat member. They should be assigned one-to-one (i.e., each Panjayat member has one specific person who is his proxy). All the proxies reside at Base. They also are 3 confreres and 2 colleagues. The proxies shall have equal powers with the 5 Panjayat members. No more than 4 of the proxies are women and no more than 4 men.
- III. The chair is the convener of the Panjayat; one member of the Panjayat shall be selected to be its convener. This office or chair shall be rotated on a monthly basis, relative to the thirteen week quarter (two 4-week months and one 5-week month make up the thirteen week quarter). Having a chair does not mean turning the responsibility over to the one. That's probably a deep temptation when you have a five-member team. But every one of the Panjayat members is to sit down every night and brood and be in prayer and show up the next day with his concrete list. It's sort of like what we've done in having a Panjayat is instead of having one person who every day is assigned to the comprehensive care of the whole order, you set aside five who pray over the whole group every night, and every morning who show up together with five thought-through constructs that are then looked at. We'll come back to that meeting and when meetings are held in a moment.
- IV. Selection of the chair or office: that shall be done by the Panjayat itself in consensus.
- V. Proxies must keep the Panjayat member informed of all the proceedings, the crucial decisions especially. For example, if you are a Panjayat member in Houston, whoever your proxy is from the Base is responsible to see to it that you are kept up on the critical decisions that are made in the Panjayat. If that seems to reflect to you that you ought to get on the next airplane and fly in there and put a few words into the stew, that opportunity is given. All the meetings of the Panjayat are open to all proxies, and the proxy must attend when the one he represents is off campus—that place is not to be empty is the

principle. I suppose you could function with a Panjayat meeting of four, but the concept is that there are to be five minds there at the Panjayat meeting, period.

VI. Term of service: the term of service for all ten is set up on an eight quarter or two year basis. A member of the Panjayat may serve only five of the eight quarters of a two-year block. He may serve for more than one two-year period, but only for five quarters of each two-year block. That applies to both Panjayat member and proxies. What the principle is trying to get a hold of is that you have a constant flow of continuity, that those five terms are served consecutively and then one drops off and a new one comes on. The next quarter one drops off and a new one comes on, and so forth through all quarters. So you have continuity functioning in the Panjayat. At the same time there is a flow of experience and prejudice into the Panjayat. This doesn't mean some kind of romantic principle, that you're passing this thing around to give everybody a chance to be king, a kind of MYFism. The function of the Panjayat has to be earned. It's hard to get said what earned means, because you're working with the internal symbol structure of a community. That is, the Panjayat has to be those in the community who are a part of that community's internal leadership montage, or prior structure (from the meditation charts). It has that kind of deeps to it that you're fiddling with. This is not a minor kind of choice when you decide who is for this quarter going to be the guardian of your destiny in this kind of a way, of guarding the destiny on your behalf.

VII. The Panjayat shall meet formally not less than once a week. That means a three hour meeting as a minimum. And the Panjayat shall gather once a day briefly. That once a day meeting may be nothing more than a listing of the five lists of problems and facing the impossible responsibility of a global movement. I don't know how you experience what we're becoming, but it's sort of like if you don't appoint five people just to stand before the horrible responsibility of this whole ship every day, we are going to corporately, intentionally forget a great number of things, because to stand before even for five minutes the entire responsibility that we have taken upon ourselves is just short of psychotic. ---Even if all five of the Panjayat members are proxies, it is a Panjayat meeting. That's another subsidiary principle to that meeting. These meetings of the Panjayat are wide open to all; intern to confrere are welcome. I suppose some kind of protocol has to be set up so the meeting is not completely stampeded, but the principle is that all members of the order are welcome at those meetings, in fact are frequently invited, except in rare occasions when it may be necessary for the moment to withhold data from the whole group Like we're having a riot. Then we'll need to get the facts straight before we can have 17 people walking through the room with reverse models. Another case when this is an occasion of privacy is where the sacred soul of some particular person is being considered and as few people as possible need to know. Then a closing of some limited sort of that meeting needs to take place.

VIII. Selection of the Panjayat: The selection of the Panjayat is by the total order, intern to confrere. Next quarter we are going to select the Panjayat member and the new proxy in this kind of a manner tested out. Each member of the order forwards his choice (maybe we'll send out a form to every religious house, every intern), everyone fills out who the Panjayat member ought to be on a piece of paper and forwards this choice to one designated confrere who is not a member of the Panjayat and who is a different person each quarter. This one designated confrere forwards the results to the Panjayat. Now the results that he forwards to the Panjayat are a count of the ten highest with a figure after their names; i.e., who voted for X are not listed; rather how many votes there were for X. Then that selected person, that designated occonfrere, after having counted and forwarded the count to the Panjayat, burns all the papers. In the ancient days when they had this kind of a function and wished to withhold data from the kingly structure, they took the person and cut out his tongue. That was recommended, but since we're a teaching order, we decided against it. Losing one confrere per quarter wouldn't do too well. Then the Panjayat having received this data selects the new member and the new proxy for that quarter. They make their decision not necessarily on the basis of the largest number of order members who turned the name in, although that certainly would be a crucial part of their data; but they're not bound to select the one who got the most votes. The intent is to give the Panjayat no more power to maintain itself in being that is absolutely necessary, and yet to give the Panjayat the sense of the mind of the group that it needs. That's going to be increasingly complicated as the group becomes more dispersed and deployed as we are now operating. We may find after a few quarters of this that there have to be some minor adjustments and corrections. At least that's the principle we're going to work with. For this quarter a new Panjayat has been selected at Mathew's suggestion and will be announced later this week, but hence forth the selection process that I've just outlined will be followed. Sometime along in December you may receive some kind of curious form that has to be filled out relative to who the Panjayat is going to be for the winter quarter of the ensuing year. Maybe I'll just interrupt that at this time and put the chart up on the board of how this rotation system will actually work.

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- IX. Inclusive functions of the Panjayat: Guarding the comprehensive, watching the election, and defending the deeps.
- X. The practical functions of the Panjayat: There are four:
 - l. The Panjayat is never to make policy directly. It is to continually provide the missional context that enables the reflection of the total body. That is, the total body makes the policy by which the total body operates. The Panjayat is not a policy-making body, but provides the contextual shove that enables the total body to provide the policy for the total body.
 - 2. The Panjayat symbolizes by word, deed, and presence the crucial decisions of the body. You will notice how in the past we have waited for Joe operating in this function in our polity to put his being into a decision before we moved on it. If Joe Mathews had not signalled that we go for broke on the local church, we would not be going for broke on the local church. That's the way it actually operates. Some of us would still be nudging him out on the stage; or others holding his arm to keep him from getting out on the stage, maybe, and so on. But until that staging has taken place, the order's not going for broke on the local church. Crucial decisions just must be ritualized before they are the crucial decisions; and we must never be ashamed of that. What we've got to do is guard against the superimposition of will. That is, we're not establishing, the kind of kingly function that you have experienced through the ages of Western civilization. It's a function in relationship to the whole body and never the top god on a chain of gods, so to speak.

- 3. The third practical function is to watch over the morale of the total body and of each member in it. Those two are not the same thing. I 's sort of like it's one thing to watch over the morale of the total body, it's something else to watch over the morale of each member in the total body. The seventeenth intern family in the 297th religious house is what each member of the body is destined to mean.
- 4. The fourth is to represent the body between collegium meetings--which collegium meetings represent the body between councils and PSU plenaries, is the principle. The whole body is present in the persons of the Panjayat between the collegium meetings. That is, policy has to be interpreted and adapted and made real on a moment by moment or daily basis. And so between the policy-making function of the collegium and the broader picture of the policy-making function of the plenaries and councils the Panjayat represents the body.
- XI. The Panjayat must be seen in the master polity dynamic, which is this tri-polar dynamic. We've already worked that through.
- XII. The P anjayat does not exist apart from the relation to the administrative bureaucracy and apart from the relation to the policy determining dynamic, and that policy determining dynamic is made up of, in principle, the total community. The reason the "in principle" is there is that there are a few people gone from collegium meeting on children's structures and so on and so on. The collegium meeting never represents the total body in actual fact, but in principle it represents the total body and so also the PSU's and councils and so on. These functions represent in principle the total community.

Now maybe to say just a closing word or two. There never has been a society without a kingly figure. Community self-consciousness depends upon it. That has been a shocking insight to many of us who have been so brain-washed against that image. There never has been a society without the other two poles as well. Cur concern is how we can radically renew, and experimentally give form to all three of the poles. This has meaning for urban democracy as well as for our whole order. For the practical operation of our order between now and 1972, if Joe gets killed travelling around the East, we're going to find a way to make the Panjayat function in a hurry. I mean that's what you have to realize is our actual state of being. Joe's specific recommendation in such an event was that these 12 rough principles be the wall until we are on our feet and are ready to maybe alter them here or there to more practical wisdom.