ANARCHY 88

TWO SHILLINGS OR THIRTY CENTS

Wasteland Culture by George Benello
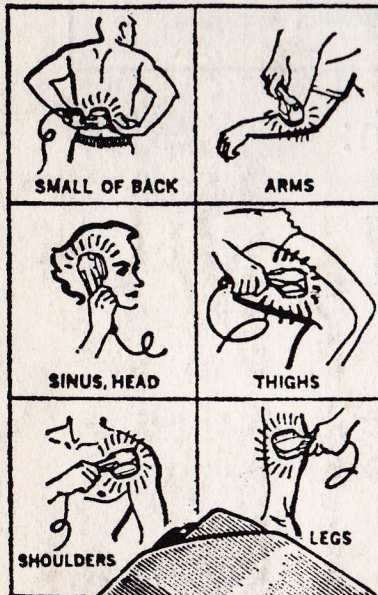
work. "In my job we have to keep up with new processes," he said.

Wilf Smith, also 44 and a

near future.

They are going to need more space in the workers' car parks.
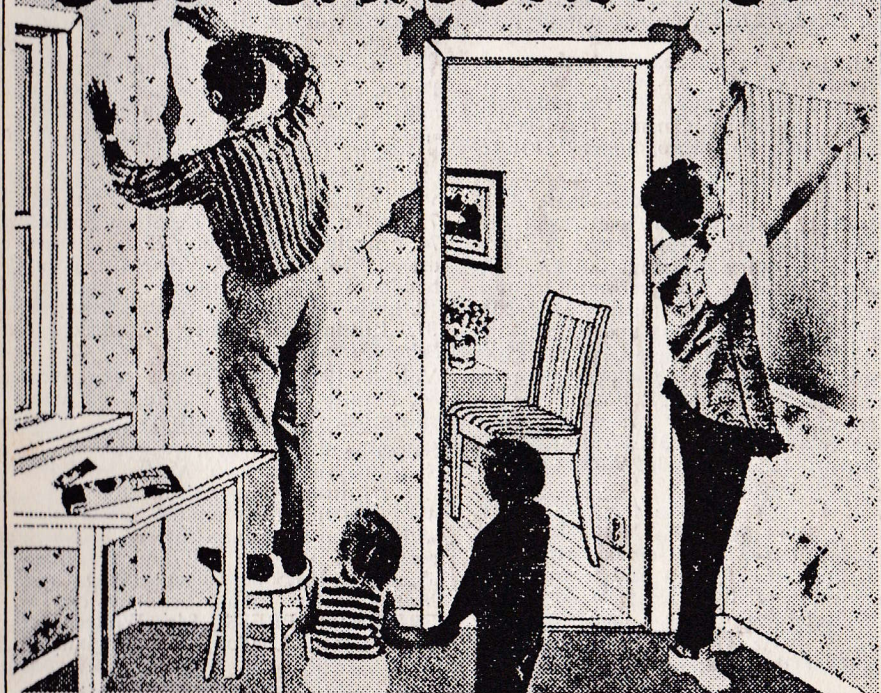
Contents of No. 88   June 1968

Out of the wasteland

GEORGE BENELLO's analysis of our wasteland culture and his criteria for new social structures are given immense relevance by last month's revolt in France, and by the world-wide uprising of students. It is precisely the fact that, as he puts it, "we live in a society today in which both the scale and structure of human organisation represent forces powerfully opposed to the possibility of human growth with freedom", that has engendered the revolt of the French students and workers. When a Parisian student declared that "I don't want to live in a society where enough to live on is only got at the expense of dying of boredom" he was voicing the dilemma of the wasteland culture. And when a senior government official declared on May 17th, "It's a general strike all right, and the worst thing about it is that nobody really knows what they are striking for", he simply showed how out of touch he was. In the interview with striking French workers published last year in ANARCHY 76 ("Stay-in Strike at Besancon"), one worker from the Rhodiaceta plant asked, "But what is this business of profiting from life? What does it mean to have a television or a car still not paid for? What is it? It's a downtrodden man. Do you call that profit? There are not only questions about money here at Rhodiaceta, there are also questions about man, about the family. More and more they're turning us into proles who can't think. . . ." And another echoed his remarks: "But what

will happen to our kids in ten years' time if we allow this to go on? They won't be kids any more but just complete robots. And this is what we've got to stop. . . ."

Last month millions of his fellow workers expressed their rejection of the wasteland culture. A London paper (*Evening Standard*, 27.5.68) asks, "What is then the link between the student uprising—spontaneous, fierce and lusty —and the widespread workers' strikes and occupation of factories?" And it answered, correctly, by explaining that "the occupation of factories, like the student sit-ins, implies a wish for control. . . . Was the university to be run for the benefit of the students or the professors or the State? Were the factories to be run for the benefit of the workers or the employers or the State?

"The syndicalist proper is hostile to the State. The socialist leader, particularly the Communist, wishes to take it over. . . . In the long run the revival and the successes of syndicalism could be more significant. Workers at many factories have already rejected the agreement between the union leaders and the government. They are asking for more than money.

"For those in Britain who, like the Minister of Technology, question the present workings of our Parliamentary system, there is much to be learnt from the French Revolution of May 1968."

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authoritarian social structure and new structures for social change

Wasteland Culture

GEORGE BENELLO

> "I sat upon the shore
> Fishing, with the arid plain behind me
> Shall I at least set my lands in order?"
> —T. S. ELIOT: "The Wasteland".

STRUCTURE

WE LIVE IN A PEOPLE-KILLING CULTURE, and if we use the term culture in its anthropological sense, there is good basis for saying that primitive South Sea Island cultures are considerably more advanced than our own machine-dominated society. What is implied is that there are certain psychological and ecological universals—laws which define the conditions under which human growth and self-realization can take place, no matter what the level of technology. Although the material conditions of culture may change and evolve, the basic conditions under which the primacy of the person can be affirmed do not. We live in a society today in which both the scale and structure of human organization represent forces powerfully opposed to the possibility of human growth and freedom. But the sheer momentum of the organizational and technological apparatus makes for acceptance, and so we content ourselves with attempts at internal adjustment, while the juggernaut rolls on.

The majority of approaches to socio-cultural criticism focus either on alienation as the primary characteristic of advanced industrial societies,

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or on domination and exploitation, if the emphasis is economic rather than psychosocial. Both approaches contain much truth, but the trouble with the first is that it is primarily a psychological category, and fails to show how different sectors of society exhibit more or less of it, and moreover describes a condition, but not its psychosocial and structural causes. The trouble with the second category is that it too easily leads to a devil theory, or leaves one with a view of human nature and social structure that, basing itself either on psychoanalytic or Christian versions of original sin, sees domination and exploitation as innate—a dogma of liberals and real politicians alike which effectively blocks significant change. Both conditions exist as powerful forces in society, but the problem first of all is to see them not as metaphysically ordained—with the Absurd as the root cause of all alienation, or the evil in man as the root cause of exploitation—but rather as conditions deeply rooted in a particular if pervasive dynamic. The problem secondly is to understand the dynamic in which both alienation and exploitation exist as interactive and related features.[1]

The Ontong Javanese call a person poor not when he is lacking in material goods, but when he lacks the resources of shared living. When he lacks family, working partners, intimate friends, he is then considered poor. The notion here is of psychic deprivation. We shall use the term loss of affectivity to signify this, and understand affectivity to mean something like libido or Eros, recalling such psychoanalytic studies of civilization as *Life Against Death* by Norman O. Brown, and *Eros and Civilization* by Marcuse. The notion has, however, considerable empirical content, as we shall see. Affectivity is the energy available to carry on the purposes of the individual in society. It inheres in social institutions, and is generated through personal interaction under the conditions of stability, trust, and belief in the possibilities of collaboration for common purpose.[2]

Seen negatively, affectivity is what deprived children are deprived of: warmth, support, an accepting love, but also causal efficacy, the opportunity to initiate interaction. As Bettelheim's recent study shows, the child is not passively oral, as Freud would have it, and requires not simply affection passively received, but the opportunity to exercise autonomy and initiative from the beginning of his life, if he is to avoid autism. We find here in combination the two major functions which all primary associations must provide: they must not only be emotionally supportive but functionally relevant, playing a significant part in society and in the lives of their members.

The Wasteland Culture is described poetically by T. S. Eliot in *The Wasteland, The Hollow Men*, and in other poems of that period. To switch to an economic metaphor, we live in an economy of psychic scarcity, wherein there is a net lowering of affectivity throughout the culture. (As an architect, interviewed on the subject, put it, "there is a coldness to our time.") The face-to-face associations which Nisbet,

Homans, Cooley and the cultural anthropologists speak of as constituting the nuclear structure of society, its basic building blocks, have lost their functional relevance, being dissociated from the big organizations which are the locus of politics and power. Thus, to continue the economic metaphor, the primary associations which when healthy are the producer centres of affectivity have been displaced within the social structure and what results is an economy of psychic scarcity.

The result is broader than simply alienation. Society becomes the dust heap of the individuals that Durkheim spoke of, as affectivity shrinks. Since the primary associations are the growth centres, where people become socialized and learn the possibility of group purpose, when these are displaced the development from narcissism to object cathexis—objective involvement—which Freud speaks of cannot take place. People remain self-centred, cynical, incapable of belief either in each other or in common goals. They fail to develop the psychic surplus which allows them to extend freely to each other and instead seek the security of bureaucratic rules to protect themselves from contact and involvement. As Nisbet puts it, all alienation is basically a product of the loss of the experience of community, seen as primary associations which have significant power.

According to Kenneth Boulding, there is only so much human energy around. When large organizations utilize these energy resources, they are drained away from the other spheres of family, local community, church, leisure and cultural activities. We must modify this by noting that it is the spheres indicated that produce energy in the form of affectivity. If other spheres existed which restored the balance, we would then at least have equilibrium. But the large organizations, as we shall see, are sterile, and their huge physical productivity is at the expense of the creation of a psychic surplus.[3]

Thus, as Merton shows in his well-known essay, "Social Structure and Anomie" the basic problem with the "success ethic" is that increasingly, the game isn't worth the candle. The discrepancy between the rules of the game and possibility of making it too great, and the results are various: some people throw away the rule book and take short cuts, while some throw away both the rule book and the success goal and simply opt out. Some—usually those favoured from the start—play the game and uphold the rules, while still others compulsively uphold the rules even though they have no hope of the goal.

Balancing Psychic and Material Rewards

What must be added to this analysis is that not simply riches, but psychic rewards inhere at the top of a narrow pyramid. Thus people flee from the barren base of the wasteland culture and scramble up the various status hierarchies to where the psychic plenty is. The success ethic is thus a structural product of the wasteland culture, and the ver-

tically organized, high rise society characterized by big organizations with their status hierarchies becomes in its fundamental nature power-ridden, since only through power can the elements of psychic plenty be achieved. As a result the contemporary ideology of organization—for this is what we have in its full fledged glory, and this is what must be changed—glorifies the *status quo* in all its anti-human splendour: as Goodman puts it, people are personnel, to be fitted to the purposes of the organization. As Caplow, a student of the *status quo* puts it *status* is what is central to the idea of human organization. Why? Because the more status, the less it is necessary to rely on human interaction and personal relationships. When people communicate too much, the prestige and the power of the superior drops. Moreover, organization is coterminous with compulsion; where compulsion does not exist, organization is impossible, and where compulsion is unnecessary, organization is also not required.[4]

The wasteland culture thus constitutes a power-ridden system, with all its parts interacting and consistent with each other in a state that Marcuse terms totalitarian co-ordination. Let us first sketch its outlines, and then take a deeper look at the psychology. The important purposes of the society are carried out by large organizations which are densely organized at the top into interlocking directorates wherein operates the integration of overall purpose that makes for community. The members of the directorate see each other at work and at play, as community figures or as business or political leaders. They operate the committees, boards of trustees, cabinets, and other forms of face-to-face associations which are the inevitable forms in which decision-making takes place. The lives of the members of these groups are rendered meaningful and their effectiveness is heightened through the graded relevance and integration of the fundamental spheres of work, leisure, public and private life. As we go down the vertically organized ladder of these establishments, we find that the density of intensive structure soon gives way to a machine form of organizing. Work is specialized, and jobs are narrowly defined according to a set of procedures. As a result there is little chance for an integration of purposes and functions within the work, and less chance still for an overall integration of work with the other spheres of living.

Bazelon, following in the footsteps of Thurman Arnold, indicates that we have really two governments: the official one and the one where power in its organized form is exercised most effectively: the corporation. Powell has pointed out that every functioning society is integrated by a nuclear institution. It used to be the church; now it is the corporation. The ideology of organization that is pervasive throughout society —in the public sector and in the private, in the college as well as the corporation—is based on what MacGregor calls a carrot and stick psychology which combines manipulation and bribery with coercion. It creates centralist, hierarchical and statute-ridden organizations which then create their own dynamic of self-perpetuation apart from purpose,

Parkinsonian aggrandizement, and general dysfunction. Leadership is co-opted from those who most closely adhere to the authoritarian ideology: typically White Anglo-Saxon Protestants with the right background.[5]

It is the corporation, moreover, as Andrew Hacker, expanding on C. Wright Mills' work, has pointed out, which determines prices, profits, the where and how of production, and how resources of the land will be allocated. In short, it determines to a basic degree the environment we live in. The manifest needs of the public sector are not linked to a profit level which interests the corporate structure. But it should also be made clear that even in terms of productivity and the efficient use of "personnel" the system is inefficient. The rigidity, hierarchy, and motive system discourages innovation and involvement in work. Modern management theorists like MacGregor and Likert, taking for granted the fundamental purposes of the system as they are, criticise it for its failure to provide for worker involvement through participation.[6]

Efficiency of Control

The real reasons for the present structure are discernible, though hidden. The organizations are power-ridden, and thus the purpose of the system is not efficiency as such, but efficiency of control. We live in a society in which power is to a high degree co-ordinated, not in a terroristic-political fashion but rather in a manipulative, economic-technical fashion, as Marcuse puts it. He further points out that in a society dominated by machine production, the machine becomes the most effective instrument for political control within the society. Exploitation goes on behind a façade of bureaucratic administration wherein power is concealed, distant, and highly rationalized. There are various interpretations of the history of this development, most of them focusing on the development of technology, as Marcuse does, although some thinkers such as Boulding, Seidenburg and Mumford focus on the development of the centralist, bureaucratic and rationalized form of organizing as the basis for the utilization of the technology of production.

Some ideologists such as Parsons, and on a more philosophic plane, Ellul, hold to a technological determination and are fatalistic about the impact of the organizational ideology, seeing it as an inevitable concommitant of technological advance. But they are both quite unaware of power factors at work. Dreyfus and Stein have pointed out that extreme specialization is a product of the need to create status hierarchies wherein status replaces the lost intrinsic satisfaction of work as a motive. Furthermore, with specialization, the dependency of employee on employer is promoted, and this too is conscious. As to centralism and size, this of itself promotes the high rise, status-ridden style, and is pathological, as Gouldner and Presthus have pointed out. Mills has added the insight that size is a product of the need to survive in a free market system, where the conditions of survival require financial amal-

gamation, since in the present system, the more you have the more you can get. The result of rationalized irrationality that characterizes the system is that although it is power-ridden, it is also impotent, and nobody is really in control, as Goodman puts it. Communities are built to fit into the demands of the highway system which in turn is determined by the demands of Detroit rather than of rationality; foreign policy is determined by the stages in the development of weapons systems and in the meanwhile the landscape degenerates into urban chaos. In its external effects, the organizational style has destroyed the integrity of the nuclear units of the society. A number of studies, summarized in Stein's *Eclipse of Community*, document this erosion, as does Homan's study of the history of "Hilltown", a New England community. As the big organizations have drawn off life and energies from the communities where people live, the major characteristics of the wasteland culture have emerged.

Now, rather than the communities where people live, with their structure of local organizations—town meeting, church, grange, and so forth—being the determiners of values and behaviour through socialization it is the big organizations which socialize. The result is manipulative, power-ridden people, as Presthus' study of the upward mobile administrator in big organizations shows. The split between the administrator and the professional is exacerbated and built in, and the wasteland culture is institutionalized in big organizations through inequitable distribution of the scarce values of prestige and power, which cluster disproportionately at the top. While the professional derives satisfaction predominantly from his work, the administrator derives satisfaction from the control of people within the organizational apparatus. In short, he is a politician, but an authoritarian one. He is the other directed man of whom David Reisman speaks, attuned to personal nuances, moulding himself in the image of those above him. He manifests many of the characteristics, thus, of the authoritarian personality, as studied extensively in the literature of social psychology. He believes in authority figures and is submissive to them, while in turn deriving satisfaction from the exercise of authority over those beneath him. He is conventional and unquestioning, is also hostile and aggressive, but tends to displace his hostility onto those inferior to him, or onto outgroups. He downgrades emotions, which he views as a sign of softness, and believes at all cost in being "tough". Not all identify with the ethos around them; some are marginal conformers. With those who do, the tendency is to become manipulative and self-alienated, rather than alienated from the job or society. At the heart of this alienation is the power orientation, taking the form of the internalized search for status.[7]

Deprivation and Youth

In the wasteland culture, children are born. The Berkeley Study, and subsequent studies of the authoritarian personality by people like

Lasewell, Lindner, Redl and Wineman, and Christie show that deprivation is the fundamental cause of the development of the power-centred personality. Complete deprivation produces autism, while another alternative to the authoritarian is the psychopath—which our society also turns out in significant numbers. The power-centred personality represents one fundamental and total response to deprivation, however, and the point to note is that there is a circular reinforcement between the conditions of affective deprivation in the family which produces the power-centred, manipulative personality and the authoritarian, power-ridden organization of society. As Fromm and the cultural anthropologists have pointed out, the society trains and socializes children to want what the society can provide, creating personality types oriented to the values that are prevalent. But the origins of the power orientation in affective deprivation should show us that psychosocially it is the high rise, power-ridden structure of society that must be changed, not simply the exploiters who inhabit the top. *If people happily join in the scramble up the status ladder to power, it is not universal human nature that drives them, but rather a fundamental reaction to an environment of psychic scarcity.*[8]

In the present vertically organized society, the only way to escape anomie at the bottom levels is to move upward, since as we have seen not only is power exercised at the top, but also community exists. But this generates a habit of escape from the areas of local community life much in the fashion of the colonial who after being educated in the mother country refuses to go home and use his knowledge for the good of his community. Where a community is rich in the tradition of local association and autonomy, the neurotic reification of power apart from function does not and need not exist. An integrated communal existence allows for personality growth, an essential for which is the opportunity to make significant decisions, as mental health studies show. Also, as Keniston has pointed out, for personal integration to develop, there must exist the objective interpretation of the basic spheres of human existence: work, leisure, the family, the voluntary association, the community.

The fragmentation of the spheres of work and leisure, family and public life, destroys what Keniston has called the deep psychic need for wholeness. Growth and realization involve a central process of dynamic unification, as the psychologist Prescott Lecky has put it. Affectivity can expand from narcissism to broader involvement only when the basic spheres of life are objectively interrelated. And, as Freud has noted, narcissism is the basis of psychopathology. But when the social structure is objectively schizophrenic, as Becker has called it, then the self can neither grow nor become integrated. Not only must organizations be built to human scale, through reconstituting what Buber has called the cell tissue of society, but instead of the narrow-scope organizations that are the present style, we must create modern variants of *gemeinschaft*-type organizations, capable of embodying the major spheres of human

activity in integrated fashion.[9]

RESTRUCTURING

We are caught, seemingly, between a pseudo-realism of the *status quo*, on the one hand, and the unrealism of utopian or apocalyptic visions. If we are in one way or another followers of the Marxist vision, we must seek, following the model of class conflict, for the class which can represent the move toward revolution. Much discussion takes place regarding this among the ranks of both the Old and New Left. Who will be the vanguard, and where are the constituencies: the Negro, the unemployed, the poor, the unions, the intellectuals, or coalitions thereof? But little evidence presents itself for the objective conditions of revolution. Youth, in the form of the hippies, the beats, and the New Left, is opting out, and within the society, cynicism and disaffection grows. But there is seemingly nowhere to go, at least in the political sense. Here and there we see enclaves—free universities, listener supported radio, magazines of dissent, protest organizations, honest theatre. But there is nothing of significance in the primary sphere of industry, and nothing to challenge in any significant way the vast baronies which cast their corporate shadow across the land, dictating so much of how we live and what we value.

The problem seems to be that we are still too much heirs to a liberal-progressive tradition which holds that if we but liberate mankind from his chains of exploitation he will simply fall into Utopia. This tradition, which believes either in the "permanent revolution" of managerialism, along with the editors of *Fortune*, or the class revolution of Marxism, manifests a naive faith in unrestrained technology as leading to the promised land. We seem to share the Marxist belief that to look too closely at the shape of the good society is utopian, which means unrealistic. But as Martin Buber pointed out, it is the faith in revolution as solving all problems that is naive, not the effort to create paradigms. Without the outlines of the desired society already in evidence, revolution becomes simply the replacement of one set of elites with others.

Utopian Vision

The all-important element that has been reintroduced into politics by the New Left is Utopian vision. The politics of dissent has been beset by the aftermath of the God That Failed. What resulted from the disenchantment of liberals with the prophetic promise of communism was the end of ideology politics of Bell, Galbraith, Lipset, et al. But if the Great Depression of the Thirties is symptomatic of what the Communist vision spoke to, the rapidly growing alienation of the wasteland culture of the sixties is equally symptomatic of the need for a new vision. The old vision spoke to the visible facts of exploitation in its crudest form: millions out of work and an economy that was crumbling. The contradictions in the system were obvious and its failure was basic:

it simply failed to work. But the requirements of the new vision are different. It is not that the system fails to work, for it works all too well, and in the process grinds up human beings. Domination and exploitation have retreated behind the smooth façade of administration, and thus the problem is to give resistance a proper object. But if it is the basic organizational style and structure that is the problem, then the objective must be to create a different style and structure.[10]

As Seidenburg, Bazelon, and a number of other people have put it, the basic problem is the problem of organization. Organization is power, which is what politics is about, as Bazelon says. All organization is ultimately political, as the Maoists, following Lenin, say, and so the problem is to counter organized power with organization, but with a different kind of organization, and a different kind of power. For Seidenburg the problem for post-historic man is how to get from a society organized along the lines of instinct rigidities to a society that has been able to salvage the instinctual but value-filled organizational forms of the past and make them relevant to the technological present. Another way of looking at the problem is to pose the dilemma of the Yogi and the Commissar: what is the balance between change of the institutions of society and change of the heart of man? Or, to use the current jargon, what is the balance between institution change and attitude change? In point of fact, *both* are needed, and the answer lies in the infra-structure: where human association is a matter of face-to-face groups living and working together, both the heart as well as the organizational form are involved.[11]

The basic assumptions

We have been dealing implicitly with a set of assumptions which together make up the current ideology of organization. Let us look at them: firstly, the assumption that centralization and size are both necessary in modern technological society, and are moreover required by the dictates of efficiency. As we have seen, modern bureaucracies are dysfunctional. Their psychology does not work, they have difficulty maintaining communication from the outside with the internal structure, and they are rigid and inflexible in the face of external change. Given the fundamental dissociation of narrow profit-making purposes from integrated human ends, centralization is necessary in the interests of control, even if not efficient. Where participation and involvement is not enlisted, the structure must be authoritarian.

A related assumption is that the logic of technology is the basic determiner of such matters as organizational form, and size. But the question in both cities and in factories is not the overall size of the endeavour, but rather the nuclear organization. We shall see how this works later.

A further related assumption is that an iron law of progress dictates

how we shall handle the project of technological advance, and how it affects society. This assumption is shared by the centralist bureaucracies of both East and West, and issues forth in naive versions of technological utopias, *Popular Mechanics* paradises inhabited by robots. In part this is due to bedazzlement with the panoply of gadgetry that technology has produced, in part, at least in the West, due to the requirements of the economic system for the New and Improved model of everything, in order to maintain forced consumption. But more deeply, it is due to the vague yet deep malaise induced by the wasteland culture, creating an attitude of febrile restlessness which embraces the new as offering an answer to the un-named malaise.

Again related to the assumption above (we are dealing with a system of beliefs) is the assumption that to speak of *gemeinschaft* and other aspects of psychic and communal wholeness is first of all to go back into the past, into a pre-technological Garden of Eden, and secondly to re-introduce all the old forms of coercion: the church, the aristocracy, and also the narrowness and stultification of pre-industrial rural life. But the past is only relevant where it gives examples of organic institutions suited to human needs; the guild, as opposed to the modern labour union would be one such. As with cities, which before technology could be unplanned but aesthetically harmonious and pleasing, and functional, so we must reintegrate a social fabric which technology and its instrumentalities has torn apart. In part we are dealing with the Rousseauistic belief which was the basis of the French Revolution. Tear apart all the old institutions which keep man in bonds and replace them with overall institutions—for Rousseau the state—co-ordinated mystically via the General Will, and now by the market system, in the West, or in the East by a totalitarianism which speaks in the name of the proletariat. Nisbet has pointed out how easily this simplistic co-ordination leads to totalitarianism, through its destruction of the nuclear structure, that stands between the individual and the state.

This brings us to a key assumption which is central to liberal ideology, neo-protestant theology, traditional psychoanalysis, and real-politik political philosophy. In a word, it is the assumption of the iron law of oligarchy. It is a profoundly pessimistic and fatalistic assumption which in part claims that man is not fitted to govern himself, and thus must be governed by those who know best. But as Goodman says, *quis custodiet custodes*? If you cannot trust human nature, then all the more reason to disperse power as much as possible. The more philosophical variant of this belief bases itself either on the Christian doctrine of original sin, or on its psychoanalytic variant of instinctual dualism, as with Freud. But as suggested earlier, the power orientation is basic only in the sense of being a basic response to psychic deprivation, not in the sense of being an inevitable product of a fallen human nature or a psychic dualism of Eros and Thanatos. As Third Force psychology sees it, the self exists, is either good or neutral, but can be easily overwhelmed by the environment, especially when young and weak. It requires affective

plenty for growth, and when healthy is equalitarian, not power-oriented.[12]

As to the ecological, as opposed to psychological aspects of the iron law, the studies of Barker and Gump have shown that size of itself creates hierarchy, over-specialization, and inequality. A structure densely organized only at the top will of necessity be oligarchic. Moreover, as a study of labour unions shows, where members are widespread and do not communicate with their leadership, oligarchy is facilitated. But communication requires intensive organization. Labour unions are generally oligarchic, and so is the "classless society" with its New Class, following the predictions of Weber, who rightly saw bureaucracy as more basic than class, in contradistinction to Marx, who believed it would wither away with the advent of the proletariat. Workers' councils and other forms of industrial democracy themselves become oligarchic unless there is a substructure of "free groups" as Gillespie, the English industrial expert calls them—small groups, organized at the work place, meeting regularly, and sending representatives to the workers' councils. In other words, it is *group structure*, not *class solidarity*, which is required for democratic participation.[13]

Finally there is the assumption which Keniston calls the "fallacy of the psychosocial vice". Here we find the familiar assumption of power-lessness which is so characteristic of contemporary alienation. *But it is precisely this sense of powerlessness which must be combated by showing its locus in a particular organizational style, ideology, and practice which defines how people live and work together.* Any change, for those who have gone through the thirties and experienced the God that Failed, is either impossible, or undesirable because it leads to something worse than before. What this points to has been indicated by anarchists like Goodman and Comfort as well as by psychologists such as Fromm and Keniston. The problem is to develop an approach to change which takes into account both social structure and human nature. One-sided approaches to change do rebound into something worse than before: the French Revolution led to the Reign of Terror, seeing things in exclusively political terms; the Russian Revolution led to Stalinism and the purges, and was economic; religious reform led to the Inquisition.

Problem of organisation: New Approach

The decentralists, Goodman, Mumford, Borsodi, and Fromm, have argued for a fundamentally altered approach to the problem of organization. But to speak of decentralizing skews the perspective slightly. What is needed is a change in organizational form. Organization is power only for those sectors of the organisation which are involved in face-to-face communication—as at the top—where decision-making in its full dimensions takes place: proposing, planning, deciding, and testing. The need is to spread this form throughout the entire organizational structure, as with Gillespie's free groups which worked successfully in Standard Autos, and raised productivity. What we have now is intensive

organization at the top and mass organization elsewhere, and what is needed is a social structure with an organizational density capable of distributing in a functional way the extensive power of technological and productive instrumentalities.

Further approaches to the problem of organization have come from two quite disparate sources: on the one hand the New Left, which speaks of participatory democracy and counter communities, and on the other hand a vanguard of management theorists, people like Bennis, McGregor, and Likert, who speak of the need for an organic-adaptive rather than bureaucratic structure, and for worker participation in decision-making. But the trouble with the New Left is that it is occupied —still following the Marxist class model—with a search for the issues to organize around, rather than seeing organization itself as the central problem. And, as a corollary of this, although it speaks of participatory democracy, it too fundamentally fears intensive organization as leading to oligarchy, and thus contents itself with various and fuzzy forms of non-organization.[14]

The trouble with the management theorists is that they do not go far enough. They argue for all the right things: group organization, participation in decision-making, organizations which would embody the cybernetics principle called redundancy of potential command, wherein as different objective problems arose, different task forces would take over command of the whole organization. One of the most popular books on management theory, by McGregor, suggests the possibility that work can be intrinsically satisfying (!), that decisions should be arrived at with the participation of those involved, and that the wishes of the individual are equal to those of the organization. But it fails to mention what stockholders would do if those involved wanted to work for something beside profits. In fact, much of this theory consciously or unconsciously strengthens overall authority through greater psychological involvement within a context of manipulated agreement and consent. One cannot dissociate overall structure from internal function. To argue as some of the managerialists and *Fortune* people do, that one can exhort managers to concern themselves with the social good is to ignore what happens when this comes into conflict with profits. Profits are the goal of the corporation, built into the structure of control, and in a market economy these are achieved through aggrandizement and forced consumption, not through social service. Given the structure, the functions must follow. As Bertallanffy comments, speaking of biological systems, structure is simply function in slow time.[15]

Neurone and the Brain

To pursue the notion of an organic-adaptive structure for a moment, keeping in mind the need to deal with the overall financial structure as well as the substructure, an analogy presents itself from the neurone

structure of the brain. Only in the lower reflex pathways is there a linear, specialized, chain-of-command form of organization. Here networks are specialized to control a particular function: reflex actions in the limb, digestion, heart, and so on. But in the cortex the neuron networks function in a manner similar to task forces. Any frequently repeated stimulation leads to the development of a "cell assembly"—a structure consisting of many cells in the cortex and diencephalon which can act briefly as a closed system, relate to other closed systems, and also to motor channels. Excise a part of the cortex and its functions, within broad limits, can be taken over by other parts: there is no one-to-one correlation between parts and functions. Excise a lower brain centre and the functions it controls is destroyed. At present organizations parallel the control organization of the lower brain. They should follow the cortical model.

Natural groups, of the sort studied by Homans, Maslow, and the cultural anthropologists, exemplify many of the principles indicated above. The Indians studied by Maslow exemplified functional leadership, changing with the situation. The natural groups studied by Homans exemplify hierarchy and leadership, but both were functional, subject to overall group consent rather than coercively imposed. Primitive tribes, organized primarily in terms of kinship groups, do not suffer from the dichotomies of freedom and group participation that modern organizations are subject to. Where participation is not coerced or bribed, individual growth is integral with group function, since the group culture provides the values and settings where individual growth can occur, as Dorothy Lee shows in her studies of primitive groups. Freedom then is not a product of legislated and protected equality— freedom from—but is integral with group structure. Purposes, when they are fully within the control of those communally engaged, objectively interpenetrate. Where there is interaction as a result of the performance of joint tasks, friendship and co-operativeness develop beyond what is required by the task. Homans suggests that it is this surplus of human co-operation derived from groups carrying on the important functions of their lives together that enables such groups to evolve new purposes and thus create cultural evolution. But in the wasteland culture such surpluses of affectivity do not exist.

We begin to see, at least in outline, the structure and values of equalitarian organization. It is based on groups, rather than the individual as the nuclear unit. As the transactionists such as Mead point out, people are not simply socialized in primary association; their basic identity is inseparable from them. Where the present organizational style creates a mass of personnel fixed in specialized pigeonholes, and a status hierarchy with an elite in control at the top, the alternate style would create groups which communicate both vertically and horizontally through a system of delegates whose power is limited by the groups they represent. Structure and function interrelate, and thus the values that flow from such a structure would be in accord with it: since decision,

control, and power are distributed throughout the organization, the dichotomy between the professional, job-oriented, and the status, administration-oriented will disappear, since authority will not be dissociated from function. Economic reward, now tied to a system of status hierarchy so as to reinforce it, will give way to a more egalitarian system of rewards. With power distributed throughout the organization, there will be no scrambling for status positions, where the power is. This in turn will reinforce the work orientation, since evaluation of achievement will be based on how well the job is done, not on ability at inter-office or inter-organizational politics. Authority will be rational, since based on professional capacity.[16]

The psychological effect on the individual will be to increase both freedom and involvement, rather than one at the expense of the other. Where work based on financial reward reinforces self-seeking individualism and encourages a passive orientation toward authority, work based on functional incentives reinforces responsibility, co-operativeness, and involvement. With self fulfilment through pride in work—Veblen's instinct of craftsmanship—and from joint endeavour, many of the conflicts between free enterprise and overall planning on the macro-economic level will be lessened. The worker as producer will not be dissociated from the worker as consumer, or the worker as community member, and thus the project of integrating work more fully with the other spheres of living will become possible. This will occur as the interests of the productive enterprise become identified with the needs of all its members, since its members after all form the society.[17]

STRATEGY OF CHANGE

If we can agree that the primary problem in advanced industrial society is the problem of organization, and how it works, then we have already taken a large step toward determining how to go about changing it. The quickest way is also the shortest way. At the heart of the present ideology of organization is an image of man which is strongly dystopian, wherein human possibility is seen as confined totally within the vast economic-technical structures set off against it. This one-dimensionality, as Marcuse calls it, serves to define a pervasive ethos which tends to limit thought as well as action. Change must strike at the heart of this, and for this, it is not enough to agitate and lecture. People must experience the implications of a different ideology. Thus rather than seeking to tinker with existing organizations, since it is the structure and ideology which must be changed, it is better to build from scratch.

At the top of the present organizational structures, there is a community that is real, since it involves not simply togetherness and belonging, but also power, and the integration of work with life. But on the other levels the pseudo community that prevails (see for example

Alan Harrington's *Life in a Crystal Palace* for a description of the benevolent paternalism and secure unfreedom provided by a large corporation) palls when confronted with the real thing. Thus any organization that seeks seriously to work for change must be capable of offering a counter community possessed of a capacity to present a vision of at least the same existential power as the present one. The pervasiveness of the reigning ideology gives it a specious power: its basic failure to satisfy and be functional is masked from view because there is nothing else on the horizon. People do not opt out in general because there is nowhere to go. Those at the top have their community and power, but for the rest, the wasteland culture is fundamentally repressive. But people have grown cynical; having invested energy in the present system with minimal rewards, they are not about to listen to mere promises. Thus the need to create.

Attitudes, and thus belief, are formed and also changed at the level where people interact directly with one another—in cells, chapters, or groups. There is now arising, in fact, a sort of movement toward "therapeutic communities" where people join together in such face-to-face groups not, in Freudian fashion, to deliver themselves of unexpressed aggression or sexuality, but rather to benefit from mutual openness, honesty, and an ethic of mutual aid. Such openness and self disclosure, as Mowrer calls it, is essential for human growth. Three levels are involved in the process of change. Groups must be created which function as therapeutic communities, where members are expected to live, not merely talk about, the values of openness, honesty, co-operation, deriving from a less dystopian view of man, based on the primacy of the person. But for this to happen the vision must be made clear: that the goal is a society organized in such a fashion that the basic activities of living are carried out through organizations whose style and structure mirror the values sought for experientially by those who come together to realize the values in their lives. But again, just as within the groups the objective is to live the values, so the broad social objectives must be demonstrated, not preached. The movement for change must seek to mobilize the resources that can actually create the alternate structures of work, education, community living, communication that are seen as representing the values of openness, psychological freedom, and participation.[18]

Traditionally the project of intensive organization into cells, chapters, and other forms of face-to-face groups has been the prerogative of conservative groups, or of totalitarian regimes. The Birch Society on the far right, mimicking the secret cell organization of the Communist Party during the days of the International, uses it, and so do the Buchmanites. But the early Christian Church also used it during the period of communistic Christianity, before the time that it developed its own organizational hierarchy of bishops. The church also used public or group confession, another feature which parallels the psychology of

openness adhered to by modern therapeutic communities. In the words of one of its members, the Birch Society is more like a body than an organization. It possesses an ideology, makes real demands on its members, and concerns itself not simply with political goals, but has an explicitly moral vision. Its cells operate much in the fashion of Communist Party cells (use the methods of Enemy) so as to fuse self-educational activities with particular, locally oriented action projects such as local smear campaigns, taking over PTAs, developing bookstores selling Birch literature, and so forth.

Soka Gakkai, and Birch Society

In Japan, a similarly patterned organization, the Soka Gakkai, or Value Creating Academy, now has a political arm (Komeito, the Clean Government Party) which is the third largest political party. It too has a cell structure involving a maximum of ten households, and derives from a neo-Buddhist tradition which in its own way effectively combines the Yogi and the Commissar, by explicitly preaching that both social change and individual change are necessary. Based on the curiously Western style pragmatism of its founder, Makiguchi, which holds that while truth is discovered, values are created through the experience of living, it too presents a vision. As Keniston points out, the tragedy of alienation is that it prevents commitment. Both the Birch Society and the Soka Gakkai demand commitment, and provide a framework for it: small groups in which people experience the existential satisfaction of working together for a cause. The Soka Gakkai is more explicitly therapeutic than the Birch Society, reaching the individual where he is by group sessions in which personal problems are frankly discussed in an atmosphere of openness. Thus people work together for change, but within the secure confines of their group interact with one another to reinforce the change within themselves.[19]

The Soko Gakkai sees society as decadent and competitive, and explicitly demands a new morality of its members: co-operation, mutual involvement, responsibility for one another. What results is an organization that is the envy of the unions, the political parties and the churches, with a membership close to ten million, one-tenth the population of Japan, and with an unparalleled commitment from its members, exemplified in proselytising fervour and fund raising capacity. Members of a cell receive financial assistance when required, and come to feel great solidarity with their group. Community is fostered by all manner of singing groups, discussion groups, dance groups, and cultural groups. The organization has three separate and overlapping structures: the blocks, organized into larger local and regional units: the political units, similarly organized into local and regional sections; and lastly the youth corps with their own structure.

The density of interlocking structures follows the ecological prin-

ciple that with variety of organization and membership within an eco-system, there comes greater stability, and that paucity of life forms are a destabilizing influence. The machine style of organizing is destructive of equilibrium, whereas an organic form of organizing involving a multiplicity of free associations (which the anarchists such as Kropotkin favour) creates a world where, as with the Soka Gakkai member, the major activities of life can be co-ordinated and integrated. We may not think much of the paranoiac style of the Birch Society, nor is the fuzzy social analysis and political programme of the Soka Gakkai likely to make for significant social change, but the capacity of both organizations to create *gemeinschaft* type "bodies" which meet their members where they are (despite an analysis in the case of the Birch Society which is individualist, even though the practice is group oriented) indicates the paramount importance of restoring nuclear structure.

As the movement develops and enlists members and the resources of money and human skills, it must seek to achieve take-off: the stage where it can begin to build significant paradigms that challenge the style and structure of existing institutions. At this stage there will develop a powerful reinforcing process which should give great impetus to the movement. There will be a process of mutual reinforcement and interaction between the three basic levels described above where change is taking place: *firstly*, the level of changed human relationships wherein openness, honesty, and co-operation take the place of manipulation, dishonesty and selfishness. The direct existential satisfaction derived from groups acting as therapeutic communities will become evident, and will thus clarify the meaning of goals and programmes. *Second*, as resources become available for the creation of definite projects, concrete and definite achievements will give embodiment and meaning to both the group experience and the goals. *Third*, because the vision is a total one, rather than centred on specific issues and problems, projects of many sorts will reinforce the vision: co-operative schools, day care centres, community unions, newspapers, radio, and later producer enterprises. As the projects grow, the organization will gain associational density: associations of schools, mass media, community projects, and so forth.[20]

Wholeness in living is in fact a product of the objective interaction and interpenetration of the basic spheres of human existence. When one is lucky enough to be able to realize in one's personal behaviour values which are also exemplified in one's daily work, and for which there exists an articulated vision embracing man in society, then one can be said to be living wholly. To achieve this goal we must depart as rapidly as possible from the condition of both rigid organization and psychological fragmentation that characterizes our present society. Rather than forming small groups to discuss and plan, we must combine theory and practice in a movement by mustering the resources in sufficient strength to exemplify the goals. Both the intensive project of developing personal understanding and through it commitment and

the extensive project of mustering resources and people into a group-organised but mass movement must go on apace.

The objection is raised by those imbued with a liberal ideology (who see freedom primarily in its civil libertarian negative form, rather than in terms of the freedom to achieve personal realization through community within the context of a society structured to encourage it) that such a movement is totalitarian. By virtue of its own extensive organization, its overall goals, its capacity to call forth commitment, it can create true believers. The answer to this must be given on four levels. *First,* for the individual, the process that should take place is precisely the freeing from authoritarianism, and the recognition of the importance of personal participation. *Second,* if we are speaking of the totalitarianism of the group, evidence indicates that groups which are democratic in structure must confront the deep seated authority problems of their members, and that this is one of the dominant features of group process. When, with capable assistance, they do so effectively, what emerges is group leadership.

Third, if we are speaking of the totalitarianism of the organization, the answer is that its goal is not, like the Birch Society, to infiltrate and take over existing structures, but to create its own. A major task will be to develop a truly democratic structure for the organization or organizations seeking to achieve change. *Fourth,* if we turn to the idea framework, there is nothing totalitarian in having an ideology of organization, since we have one already. It all depends on which ideology. Opponents of participatory democracy argue that it is totalitarian because it requires the participation of everyone, thus denying the freedom of non-participation. Not so, although where there are group tasks, then group participation in managing the task will be expected, since a theory of participation must be based on the primacy of groups as the nuclear decision-making units. But it is precisely the non-participation that characterizes the present organizational style that makes it coercive. With participation, what one is left with is the truism that freedom requires responsibility. Beyond that, the freedom to not participate should be protected; but as coerciveness and authoritarianism are generally reduced, this should not be difficult.

A logical and pervasive product of the present organizational pattern is that people fear organizational involvement, having the experience of such involvement as phony, manipulative, and disrespectful of the true needs of the person for responsibility and mutuality. Thus the nuclear units of the new organization must show by their operation that the ideology they are committed to is precisely one which asserts the primacy of the person. Given this, the initiation of the process of integration on the primary level can begin: the demonstration that there can be an integration rather than an inevitable conflict between working together as a primary association and asserting the primacy of the

person. The dialectic of this process is a continuing one, wherein the group as it accepts new members confronts its own problems as well and grows toward solidarity. Psychoanalytic studies of real or natural groups by people like Bion and Slater indicate that primary in the unconscious agenda that people bring to such groups is the fear of submersion of their individuality in the group, and the unresolved problem of authority, brought forward from a childhood of deprivation and authoritarianism.

It is evident then that the primary stage in the growth toward solidarity is a cathartic one, wherein frustrations which have had no outlet and have been repressed are de-repressed, and raised to the level of consciousness. Group members must be encouraged to speak out, releasing pent up frustrations and bitterness. An historical example of the successful use of this method is the Chinese "speak bitterness" groups used at the beginning of the revolution to enable farmers and other oppressed to give vent to their bitterness and frustrations against the landlords, war lords, and others who exploited them. The psychology of this echoes Fanon's ideas on the psychology of colonialist peoples. This sort of cathartic process is of central importance both in Alcoholics Anonymous, and in Chuck Deidrich's Synanon centres. Moreover, people who have achieved no compensatory method of dealing with alienation, such as opting out into the Beat culture, or through compulsive conformity, internalize their condition and see it as something for which they are to blame. They see their loneliness as a result of their own failings, and thus to their loneliness is added guilt, as Thelen's study of community organizing has shown. But when neighbours are organized into groups, and experience small successes in changing the conditions of their neighbourhood, the sense of powerlessness and loneliness gives way to solidarity and a sense that something can be done.[21]

It is significant that in both the Soka Gakkai and the Birch Society there is no charismatic figure who moulds his followers into a loyal mass, in the fashion of Castro or Mao. Solidarity is achieved through *ideology* and *structure*, which in both cases speak to existential need. The identification of theory and practice, of working for values that are also lived, creates a level of commitment which a single-issue organization can never match. The investment in such organizations is worth the effort, because the psychic returns are great; and this is so precisely because a high level of commitment is made possible, in fact required, thus defeating the alienation of the wasteland culture. The satisfaction derives from the opportunity to live and act in functionally relevant association with others, to share a common sense of worth, and a common purpose capable of structuring and giving meaning to experience. It is irrelevant here that in both cases the ideology is wrong-headed and simplistic in its analysis. The important thing is the power of organization when made up nuclear units and coupled with a shared vision.

Group Dynamics

Group dynamics people, T-group enthusiasts who work with industry and group therapists object that imparting an ideology is manipulative, and that they seek only to free people psychologically. As if training people to be more adjusted within the framework of a system that grinds up people to suit its profit-making ends is not itself an advanced stage of manipulation. The present ideology masks itself as a non-ideology and as the only rational way to carry on the project of technological advance. The imperative is to question this thesis at its roots by posing to it the alternative of an organizational view capable of affirming and maintaining the primacy of the person in his integrity through the objective integration of life and work. For this, what is needed is insight into the many ways in which the present pattern of working and living together affects us so as to make us mistrustful, leery of open mutuality, and apathetic toward the possibility of having any real effect. C. Wright Mills has written of the current condition wherein people are sunk within their milieu, and lack perspective on the structural conditions which determine that milieu. Thus personal understanding must be related to structural understanding, and the pervading sense of personal powerlessness shown to have a particular locus in a particular organizational style which can be altered.[22]

Importance of Paradigms

In a one dimensional society, pervaded by its monolithic assumptions, the importance of paradigms is great. There is a large literature of criticism around dealing with alienation, fragmentation, exploitation and their variants, but people see no other way, and either ascribe their problems moralistically to a conspiratorial group behind the scenes—as with the Birch Society and elements of the Left—or simply shrug their shoulders fatalistically, ascribe conditions to the determinism of the *weltgeist*, or technology, and try to make out. But to create paradigms that represent serious structural change, it is imperative that such paradigms be significant alternatives to existing institutions, capable of equalling or surpassing them in quality of output. Melman has shown that a workers' controlled factory in Israel could outproduce a traditionally organized counterpart, and Boimondeau, the first French community of work outproduced its competitors and saved an hour a day for education.[23]

The failure of movements to create intentional communities or co-operative paradigms in the past has been largely a failure to think ecologically. Where producer co-operatives have been developed, for example, they have in general taken on a totally corporate colouration, so that while one of them is among the hundred largest corporations in the United States, in its personnel policies and general management it is indistinguishable from its corporate counterparts. Such enterprises

must operate within a market economy, and more important, a market ideology, and they are themselves single-purpose operations in an alien environment. In contrast, what must be created is a set of organizations which taken together are mutually interdependent and thus form an ecosystem. The ecosystem then can provide the major environment for each organization considered separately, and reinforce rather than destroy the variant style and structure. Such an ecosystem in particular would have to incorporate independent financial institutions—its own development banks, as it were—so that the traditional systems of control would not be enforced as a result of external financial dependency.

As both Goodman and Mary Parker Follett put it, the problem is not how to *influence* politics, but how to *be* politics—thus not how to get into power but how to transform and humanize it. The thrust of the analysis is thus toward the intensive view of the democratic project, to use Follett's words again. The civil rights movement, at first preoccupied with the extensive project of bringing in the still disenfranchised, then turned toward the intensive project with its Poor People's Corporations, its Freedom Labor Union, and its co-operatives. But where the issue is the quality of life itself, it is not simply the many injustices of the present power-ridden system which can serve as the motive power for change, but rather the experience, as it is created, of a life made meaningful through institutions which truly serve. In the historical development of such a movement, the nuclear structure comes first. But as it grows, confrontations with the present system will inevitably occur, and with it, the development of a new form of political power. At this time the necessity of maintaining the essentially para-political goals of the movement which seeks for wholeness in living based on the primacy of the person must be balanced with the political struggle to maintain itself and grow. But by then what is being defended is not simply a set of discrete political goals, but a way of life.[24]

The objective then is a society which is fully democratized. This means a society both densely and intensively organized in an integrative fashion wherein the basic activities of life interrelate. Such interrelatedness is inevitable when the centre of concern changes from the efficiency of the organization in pursuing its particular objectives to the primacy of the person as the locus for the objective interrelation of human purposes. The central image of this process is people working in face-to-face relations with their fellows in order to bring the uniqueness of their own perspective to the business of solving common problems and achieving common goals. Expertise, technology, is then the servant, not the master of such groups, since where the primacy of the person is affirmed there is no formula that can define the substance of the common good. Particular groups, associations, and communities must work out particular solutions and a particular destiny in accord with a style and culture that evolve

uniquely. In 1918 Mary Parker Follett wrote that democracy has not yet been tried. It has still not been tried.

At present the centralist and power-oriented ideology grows unchecked, and in the upper reaches of the warfare state coalesces into smoothly meshed elites, patriotically co-operating to make the world safe for democracy. With this comes the pyramiding of iniquities of income and of power, so that while the rich grow richer and more powerful, those at the base drop out into increasing poverty. And underneath the base, things begin to crumble: the long hot summers multiply, crime rates reach new highs, and a recent study of a large New York neighbourhood showed mental disease to be the rule, not the exception. There is in short no lack of symptoms that evidence a breakdown. But breakdown does not of itself automatically give assurance of reform. Thus the movement for change must rely primarily on the validity of its own vision, and the congruence of its structure with that vision if it is to benefit from the breakdown. It can then draw off energy and resources from the present system, as it becomes increasingly a fundamental and mutually exclusive alternative to it. As it develops a critical mass allowing it autonomy in major ways it can renounce the present system, creating its own fundamental institutions of law and government, and at this stage it will have passed from paradigms into politics.

What is being affirmed is the organic or systemic quality of the present social structure which, with all its defects and even contradictions is still based on a powerful, if neurotic and destructive, power dynamic. To effect significant change nothing less than a different dynamic and motive system must be created, and so the requirement of building anew is an imperative one. Thus the need to precede politics with paradigms, and to not get caught in the old bind of getting into power. In the end, it is a philosophy of the person, and of human possibility that is in question. But the expression of this philosophy must confront the organized power of dehumanization that has grown so tremendously in this century, and created the wasteland culture we see around us. For this, it is not enough to be on the right side, committed to the right philosophy. One must act.[25]

NOTES:

[1] For the studies of primitive culture I am referring mainly to Dorothy Lee's essays *Freedom and Culture*, which is where I found the Ontong Javanese notion of poverty. I have also borrowed ideas from the writings of Firth about the Tikopians and Malinowski about the Trobrianders. The notion that radical thought, rather than basing itself on a liberal or Marxist belief in Progress must base itself on the constancies of human nature and human values finds eloquent expression in Dwight Macdonald's *The Root is Man*.

[2] As to the studies by Brown and Marcuse, neither confront, at least to my satisfaction, the causes of exploitation and repression. The position taken in this paper is much more specific: that human organizational forms, which have never been adequate to the job of containing power, are now undergoing a crisis as a result of the growth of organizational and technological power.

The quote from the architect is from a significant book on alienation done through interviews with seventy randomly selected city dwellers: *Division Street: America*, by Studs Terkel.

Bettelheim's *The Empty Fortress* is far more than a study of deprived children, but rather a basic tract on the importance of initiation and autonomy for human growth—psychological freedom, in short.

[3] Nisbet's book, *Community and Power*, is an important treatment of the loss of community through loss of the power of primary associations. For me its two major errors are to see this as a product of statism, and to see the problem as one of false theory, rather than faulty organizational forms.

Kenneth Boulding's works, especially *The Organizational Revolution* and *The Image*, are the only ones I have seen which deal with social organization as examples of the laws of General Systems Theory. The analysis of organization in this paper is much indebted to this theory. Boulding, however, fails almost entirely to deal with the problems of alienation and deprivation, and thus comes out as a market economist.

[4] Merton's essay may be found in a number of collections. For a description of life at the top, I am indebted to C. Wright Mill's work, and also to such studies of community power structure as Floyd Hunter's *Community Power Structure*, and Carol Estes Thometz' *The Decision Makers*, a study of a city (Dallas) almost totally controlled by a group at the top, operating through a Civic Committee.

Caplow's *Principles of Organization* is characteristic of a large body of literature in the sociology of organization which sees the current pattern as given from on high—although they fail to either show what necessity in human nature is involved, or what the effect is on human nature and society. Goodman's writings, especially *Growing Up Absurd* and *People or Personnel*, represent a brilliant criticism of the present pattern, without, in my opinion, an adequate confrontation with the power factors involved.

[5] David Bazelon's *The Paper Economy* is excellent in its analysis of the inefficiencies of the present system. The reference to Elwin Powell comes from his essay in *The New Sociology*, edited by Irving Louis Horowitz. The reference to Andrew Hacker comes from his essay, same collection.

[6] As to management theorists, McGregor's *The Human Side of Enterprise*, Bennis' *Changing Organisations*, Likert's *New Patterns in Management*, and Chris Argyris' *Personality and Organization* all deal with collaborative, horizontally organized, group-based approaches to organization which see human realization as an essential factor. The influence of Maslow and Third Force psychology is strong here.

Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* is quite Hegelian, and also leaves one wondering where exploitation comes from and how it arose. But it is a powerful study of the ways culture conditions thought and action. Seidenburg's *Post Historical Man* is an excellent philosophical critique of modern "ant organisation" but does not go into the more concrete questions dealt with by the management theorists. Kalhler's *The Tower and the Abyss* parallels

Seidenburg's distinction between collective and community. The present paper is much indebted to both writers. The writer has dealt with technological determinism in a review essay of Ellul's *The Technological Society*, published in *Our Generation*. The reference to Maurice Stein is to his *The Eclipse of Community*. Carl Dreyfuss is mentioned in Gouldner's essay, "The Metaphysical Pathos of Bureaucracy" which is an excellent critique of the bureaucratic metaphysic. The essay is in *Sociological Theory*, edited by Coser and Rosenburg.

[7]The Gouldner reference comes from the mentioned essay above. Roger Hagan, in an excellent essay, "The New Radical and the Market System" makes a critique of the "market ideology". He points out that it is essentially an answer to the power-ridden character of society, in terms of an effort to equalize and balance off powers against each other—instead of changing the nature of that power.

Goodman's essay "On Getting into Power" indicates the impotence of the powerful trapped in the system. One thinks of Svetlana Alelyuva's memoirs of her father, isolated and trapped in the power system he had created.

The Hillstown study, in Homan's *The Human Group*, traces a small town over a hundred years from a thriving community to an anomic bedroom non-community.

Presthus' *The Organizational Society* is a good study of life in the big organizations, although I believe his derivation of authoritarianism is somewhat simplistic. Whyte's *The Organization Man* deals with conformism and the other-directed psychology of the administrator.

[8]The references are to Laswell's essay in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, edited by Christie and Jahoda. The Berkeley study is the original work: *The Authoritarian Personality*, by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford. Lindner's *Rebel Without a Cause* and Redl and Wineman's *Children Who Hate* establish how rejection and deprivation cause psychopathic toughness and the power orientation. The essay is also from the Christie and Jahoda. The Fromm reference, further down, is to his *Sane Society*.

[9]The major reference on mental health is to the essay by Erich Lindemann, "Mental Health and the Environment" in *The Urban Condition*, edited by Leonard Duhl. The Kenniston book, *The Uncommitted* is a fundamental treatment of alienation as a product of general social conditions. It seeks no overall theoretical framework, but argues powerfully that social change is necessary, and that society is at present fundamentally alienating. Two excellent essays on alienation are to be found in *The New Sociology* (referred to above); the Becker reference comes from one: "Mill's Social Psychology and the Great Historical Convergence on the Problem of Alienation" by Ernest Becker. This essay focuses on the social causes of mental illness. The other is Marvin Scott's "The Social Sources of Alienation". The thought of Nisbet and Homans are central in this essay.

The discussion re constituencies takes place in *Liberation, New Left Notes* and *Studies on the Left* predominantly.

[10]Mulford Sibey, in an essay in the Fall 1961 issue of *New Politics* has criticised, from a socialist perspective, the Marxist faith in technology. Martin Buber's *Paths in Utopia* is in my opinion an excellent treatment of the whole question of social organization from the perspective of the argument between the scientific socialists and the utopian socialists.

Bell's famous book, *The End of Ideology* sounds the keynote in this line of thinking. See Alan Haber's excellent article in *Our Generation* volume 3 No. 4 on the subject.

[11]For the dysfunctions of bureaucracy, see Merton's essay, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", reprinted in a number of places, for example in Amitai Etzioni's reader, *Complex Organizations*. Or see, in another reader, *Organizations and Human Behaviour*, edited by Gerald Bell the essay by March and Simon. Neither essay really raises the possibility of alternate styles of organization. The "gemeinschaft" reference is to Tonnies' famous work, *Community and Society*.

[12]In the reference to Rousseau, I am following Nisbet, and also Roger Hagan's essay.

Discussions on the "Iron Law" are legion. Ralf Dahrendorf's *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* is an excellent treatment. The "iron law" is derived pre-eminently from Michels' *Political Parties*. The book contains the important point that decentralizing while maintaining an oligarchic organizational style changes little—something some of the decentralists should think about.

The Goodman reference is from his "Some Prima Facie Objections" (to decentralism) in *People or Personnel*. The Barker and Gump study (which I have reviewed in *Our Generation*) *Big School, Small School*, develops an approach which it calls "behavioural ecology" which is the study of the influence of group size on human behaviour.

[13]The reference is of course to Djilas' famous book, *The New Class*. James Gillespie's notion of free groups is found in "Toward Freedom in Work" a full length essay in ANARCHY 47. It gives in considerable detail a description of how a "free group" experiment actually worked.

Goodman and Comfort stress child raising, libertarian education, and general de-bureaucratizing. Fromm and Keniston in different ways point to the need for change that is integrative, and Fromm speaks of communities of work as an example of what he means. Keniston implicitly and Boulding explicitly have an ecological approach. Since society is an ecosystem, interrelated, a small change in one part can lead to large change in others.

[14]The book is the one already referred to by McGregor, *The Human Side of Organisation*.

[15]Bertalanffy, one of the founders of General Systems Theory, has unfortunately not applied these ideas to problems of social organization. But his book, *Problems of Life*, is filled with generalizations from biological organization which cast insight into the nature of social organization. Another significant book in this regard is Kurt Goldstein's *The Organism*. In both the organicist point of view, of whole and parts in interaction, is well expressed. The analogy (which may well be, following General Systems Theory, much closer to isomorphism) is taken from Hebb's, *The Organization of Behaviour*.

The references to Maslow are to his major work, *Towards a Psychology of Being*, which distinguishes growth psychology from the traditional instinctual psychology, and from his *Eupsychian Management*.

[16]The classic statement of work alienation is Marx's, in his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. For a more recent study, see Robert Blauner's *Alienation and Freedom*. As to equalitarian organization, the historian Gierke sees two opposing principles as basic within history: the libertarian principle and the authoritarian principle. As Amitai Etzioni points out, Weber's classical study of bureaucracy does not contain the distinction between line and staff functions.

[17]Robert Blau, in a study of competition versus co-operation, pointed out that in the absence of group cohesiveness, competitive striving develops in order to reduce status anxiety.

[18]Robert Merton has written tellingly on what he calls "pseudo gemeinschaft" which is the attempt of big organisations to encourage groupiness and through it employee morale.

As to therapeutic communities, the book by Mowrer, *The New Group Therapy*, describes this movement. The philosophy behind one such community is described by its founder, Jacob List, a psychiatrist, in his book *Education for Living*.

[19]For a study of the Birch Society, see J. Allen Broyles, *The John Birch Society, Anatomy of a Protest*. See also the Birch Society literature, especially the Blue Book, which describes its ideology.

For the Soka Gakkai, see the article in the *New York Times* magazine section, July 18, 1965. The therapeutic groups appeal to socially and psychologically dislocated urban workers, immigrants from rural communities, and the emphasis on co-operation is in contrast to a competitive economic system which has only recently begun to affect the traditional patterns of collaboration.

See also an article by Lawrence Olson in the East Asia Series, Vol. 11 No. 6 for an insightful but critical study of the organization. From studies written by the Soka Gakkai, see *Science and Religion*, written by Daisaku Ikeda, *The Nichiren Shoshu Sokagakkai* (no author indicated) both published by the organization's press. As for Makiguchi's work, see his *Philosophy of Value*, also published by the organization.

[20]The only treatment I know of, the dialectical mutual reinforcement which can and must take place to achieve fundamental change in orientation and behaviour is an article in the volume *The Planning of Change*, edited by Bennis, Benne and Chin, entitled "Dialectics in the Influence Process" which studies the interaction of cognition and experience, the existing state and the desired state, the self and the other, knowledge and action, as continuing and reinforcing dialectic.

The notion of psychological wholeness as a psychological requisite for healthy living strongly recalls the whole laws, studied by Bertalanffy and Goldstein, that apply to organic life. As to negative freedom versus positive freedom to grow and be self realized, Christian Bay's *The Structure of Freedom* contains an excellent treatment of the difference, and the importance of the latter. Also Roger Hagan's article, already mentioned.

[21]The argument against this view has been made in a critique of participatory democracy by Vernon Dibble, in *New University Thought*. It is, I believe, an argument typical of social thinkers imbued with "Iron Law" ideas.

As to catharsis, Gordon Allport has indicated the importance of this in attitude change. It also forms part of psychoanalytic doctrine.

Thelen's study, *Dynamics of Groups at Work*, is revealing in its analysis of attitude change as a result of group action.

[22]Much of small group sociology is for all practical purposes useless. The exceptions are generally in the area of work by the psychoanalytically oriented, such as Bion, Slater's *Microcosm*, and an excellent article by Didier Anzieu in *Les Temps Moderne*, July 1966, entitled "Etude Psychanalytique des Groupes Reels", which equates the dynamics of groups to the dynamics of dreams.

[23]For studies of paradigms that did work, see Claire Huchet Bishop's *All Things Common* on communities of work in France, and see Spiro's works on the kibbutz. Melman's study, so far as I know, is not yet published. See also the British journal ANARCHY.

As to the notion of ecosystem, as applied to organizations, I am indebted to the work of Kenneth Boulding, although his application does not include the idea in the article.

[24]As to the writings of Mary Parker Follett, see her *Dynamic Administration: the Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett* (referred to admiringly by Homans), and especially her *The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government*. Despite her Hegelian somewhat statist bias which tends to ignore the possibility, much less the reality of conflict, her analysis of group decision and the group process is the best I have seen, and she is one of very few thinkers who has the courage to make a fundamental and radical criticism of the failings of the present democratic process. For a much less powerful criticism of the democratic process, still instructive, see Frankel's *The Democratic Prospect*.

[25]The systemic quality of the present social structure referred to is expressed in General Systems Theory by the notion of "equifinality", wherein a system in steady state cannot be understood either by its antecedent causes or by its apparent goals. Rather, it is the present pattern or gestalt which explains most truly what it is and how it acts. This holds especially for open systems—biological or social systems.

The low-down on an eye-opening job

JEFF ROBINSON

ABOUT A YEAR AGO, out of work and not having the energy to look very far, I walked into one of the many tea-shops of the J. Lyons chain in response to a notice in the window "counter-hand required".

The manageress was very pleased that I had applied (I found out why later) and I was taken on immediately. The job, and I stuck it for a couple of months, was an eye-opener to me. There are many jobs around that are Dickensian—you see them advertised in the big circulation London papers, wages clerk at £12 in some pokey little building site office, garment workers at £11, funny little posts in hospitals at even less—and J. Lyons is Dickensian. Although such jobs pay such low wages that it is hard to imagine how people, especially breadwinners, live on them, they must be filled to some extent, else either the wages would go up or the firms would go out of business for lack of staff. There must be tens of thousands of people in London and hundreds of thousands in the rest of the country who eke out miserable existences on these pittances. These are the jobs that the trade unions pass by.

Although Lyons is Dickensian in its pay and working conditions, and many of the buildings and fittings date from the nineteenth century, the atmosphere in the tea-shops is positively feudal. Lyons has always set out to attract the lower middle classes—*Daily Express*—reading clerks out for a morning coffee, families up to see the Christmas lights, Oxford Street window-shoppers—and their pale, little snobberies create a unique and unpleasant atmosphere. One can imagine generations of underpaid counter-hands and kitchen staff sweating in the grease and steam catering for the shabby, genteel desires of the lower middle class.

Nobody in Lyons ever calls the manageress by her Christian name

or even knows it and the staff are always addressed formally. Until a few years ago staff were required to address the manageress as "Madam" and many still do out of habit and genuine respect, even taking it as far as referring to her as "Madam". "Madam says you're to hurry up with those dishes", etc. Time-keeping is strict and everyone is supposed to keep "busy" even if there is no real work to do. During slack periods staff are supposed to "busy" themselves with dusters and dish-cloths, "cleaning" already clean surfaces. This is not a whim of the manageress but is company policy.

As feudalism is a system in which you get fixed privileges as well as fixed duties there are little perks, carefully supervised by the manageress, which can only be described as quaint. At meal times and you are allowed two or three free meals a day depending on your shift, you can take one plain cake to eat with your meal, never a fancy cake, that is a privilege reserved for the manageress (who herself never took more than one). You could take home a certain number of stale or broken cakes at the end of the day but never any more. You were allowed a tiny discount on purchases which was calculated, often with some difficulty, to the exact halfpenny.

There was a staff magazine (solemnly handed round) which fitted in precisely with the feudal image. Perfectly serious little articles would give potted biographies of members of the staff and their hobbies. (Some firms are more interested in employees' hobbies than in employees.) Under the picture of a smiling girl in an immaculate apron (specially provided for the occasion) it might say "Mademoiselle Odette Lejeune is from Lyons and has been with us for two months. She is a table-clearer in the Piccadilly branch. Her hobbies are so and so. . . ." It never told you that Miss Lejeune works for £9 a week (men get £10), that due to the infernal heat and steam in the kitchens and behind the counter she has no appetite for her free meals and medieval plain cake, and that she was only doing the job because it is easy (or was, anyway) to get a visitor's work permit for a job in Lyons. One thing that Lyons does provide, rather surprisingly unless it is part of the hobbies obsession, is a first-rate sports ground but I never met anyone who had been near the place or even know where it was. Catering work dulls the body even quicker that it dulls the mind.

I found that the reason I was so eagerly taken on was that I am white-skinned and English is my native tongue. Although the manageress was not a racist, in fact she was a kind-hearted woman so far as company regulations permitted, she preferred white, English-speaking people on the counters because many customers are unpleasant if served by blacks or foreigners. (Even Ian Smith doesn't object to black waiters.) The black women were marvellous to work with, slap-happy and untidy but always cheerful and smiling. Most of them belonged to fundamentalist Christian sects and I have never before or since been in a staff-room where Jesus is mentioned more than Tottenham Hotspurs.

For over forty years, in the terrific heat and din of the kitchen, worked "cook" (I never discovered her real name), a gaunt wreck of a woman, shortly to retire on a pension of 30/- a week. Her companion was George, a young Irishman, who worked the washing-up machine continuously for eight hours a day. He was intelligent and well-spoken and could have made something of himself were it not for his alcoholism. He worked at the casual rate (less than 5/- an hour) and tried to work a seven day week because at the end of the day he craved alcohol and would spend all his money on it. He had to have a job where he got paid daily, to have waited for a weekly wage packet would have killed him. The hellish heat of the kitchen sweated out the alcohol from the previous night's bender then built up a powerful thirst for the coming evening. He will be at Lyons all his life or until he graduates to the bomb-sites.

It was uncanny, while I was there, to think that only two walls away in one direction was a quiet little bookshop where I had once worked, a stone's throw in another the students of King's College were at their lectures, and at an equal distance in another, tourists were imbibing atmosphere in an ancient pub. Great gulfs separated them from us and until you have worked in a place like Lyons it is hard to imagine what it is like.

AGAINST MELIORISM

AFTER READING ANARCHY 85, I would have gladly discarded the word "anarchist" if I did not remember that men like Bakunin, Malatesta, Ravachol, Makhno, and Durruti once called themselves anarchists. I would have been disgusted with the word "anarchism" if I forgot that there were once movements like the FAI in Spain that marched and fought under the black banner.

Do the views expressed by most of the participants in the BBC interview fairly reflect those of the British movement? Is it true that propaganda of the deed by English anarchists "is almost invariably non-violent", that the police force is merely "rather like crutches . . . at the present day it's necessary"? Is it true that "anarchism is becoming almost modish" in Britain, today—a cute, harmless little doll cradled in the comfortable arms of the United Kingdom?

Who the hell are they trying to please out there?

And then there is, of course, the inevitable Paul Goodman. It is true that Goodman did some good, years ago, in churning up some libertarian ideas in the American student left (so did Camus, incidentally) and, where he is outspoken and uncompromising about the Vietnam War, his personal courage arouses admiration. But it should be made plain that Goodman's ideas exercise no serious influence on the revolutionary left. He may be hot stuff in the old pacifist movement and among "leftish" liberal types of the sort

who are now flocking around Eugene McCarthy's candidacy, but that roughly demarcates the range of his intellectual impact. My point is not to deal with Goodman's "pragmatism" in detail, but to emphasize the trends that are developing among American radical youth today. Our radical youth have drifted far away from the kind of opportunism that is euphemistically called "pragmatism" and "meliorism" in ANARCHY 85. Some have turned to Marcuse's writings, others to Che's style (if not all of his concepts), and still others are developing their own *revolutionary* anarchistic approaches. Pacifism, ironically enough, has been all but co-optated by the American Establishment, especially since the assassination of Martin Luther King (the official eulogies were positively sickening!) and the adoption of "anti-war" postures by McCarthy and Kennedy. Goodman's "pragmatism" is almost indistinguishable from countless quasi-Establishment notions of city planning, school decentralization, poverty programmes, etc., that beleaguer American society and muddy up the scene, here.

The ideas that are taking hold, here, differ qualitatively from "melioristic" rubbish advanced by Molnar. Had this "paper" been read to the anarchist groups I'm familiar with in New York, I can safely say there would have been no laughter or shouting. Molnar would have been looked upon as though he were a freak. After more than a century of bourgeois reformism, is it necessary to examine in detail how the majority of reforms represent more subtle modes of coercion under capitalism than outright means of social control? Is it necessary to emphasize how the "pragmatism" of Molnar-Goodman helps the system of authority, manipulation, and unfreedom operate more effectively? How it confuses consciousness of overall enslavement and dilutes both the revolutionary opposition and its target? Molnar completely confuses the issue when he counterposes the "Marxist-historicist belief in the impossibility of reform within capitalism" to his "melioristic" opportunism. Aside from the fact that Molnar plainly does not know his ass from his elbow about Marxism, *reform* is quite possible under capitalism—and *only* reform. In fact reform represents the key strategy, today, for the co-optation of revolutionary ideas and the disorientation of the revolutionary movement.

For Molnar it becomes a question "just to live on a little"—to survive and make out. For us it is a question of Life, and not merely survival! For Goodman, the Vietnam War is a "bore"; "If only they'd let us alone," he adds, "then we're fine." For us, the war and the whole stinking system, including its cheap reforms, are the *essential* nature of the beast that must be destroyed! We want nothing of this kind of shit.

Long Live Revolutionary Libertarian Communism!

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