THE TECHNOCRATS 1919-1967: A CASE STUDY OF CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the organizational and ideological changes within the Technocracy movement during the period 1919-1968. An attempt is made to account for the development within the movement of active reform factors at different points in time. The contrasts and conflicts between the active reform factions and the usually more passive, though ideologically revolutionary main segment of the movement, are focussed on and argued to be important determinants of subsequent organizational and ideological changes.

Technocracy is compared with the millennium movements, and the relationship between participants' conception of their role in terms of effecting change, and their time orientation on the relative imminence of the millennium, is examined. In this regard it is argued that a belief in an imminent millennium tends to militate against active efforts on the part of members to "make the revolution".

It is argued that Technocracy can only be considered a social movement for approximately half of its history, and the question: When does a movement cease to be a movement?, is dealt with.

Technocracy is described as a small-scale revolutionary movement in a predominantly non-revolutionary social setting. The problems and paradoxes confronting such a movement, and the various ideological and tactical alternatives open to it are examined in some detail. The meaning to its members of the organization in its later stages is analyzed, and it is argued that a number of the psychic attitudes of participants, normally considered to be explanations of such persons' propensity for initial recruitment into a movement may, in fact, be a consequence of participation rather than a cause of it.

Finally, the reasons for the relative lack of internal change and conflict in the movement since 1948 are examined briefly.

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CHAPTER ONE

TECHNOCRACY: THE QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED

The Technocracy movement in the U.S.A. and Canada has existed in one form or another for approximately thirty-seven years. The intellectual origins can be traced back considerably further (see Chapter Three), while a group called the Technical Alliance, which was organized in the 1918-1920 period, was clearly a forerunner of Technocracy as it developed the ideology that became the early basis of Technocracy and included several of the principal figures who launched the Technocracy movement in 1932-1933.

During this period of otherwise impressive longevity, the movement has had no discernable social-political effects on the wider society, and while its ability to survive is interesting, it is neither Technocracy's long life nor its 'works' that justify our study of the movement. Neither is the movement a particularly good example or refutation of a specific model or conception of movements. Nor is it an ideal case of a particular cell in some typology of movements. In fact it is the very opposite of this latter case that initially makes Technocracy of potential interest. There are two aspects of this interesting difficulty. In the first place it is not at all simple, regardless of the definition chosen, to decide just when Technocracy was, or was not, a social movement, and in the second place it is even more difficult to decide what KIND of movement Technocracy was. Various typologies are constructed for different uses and employ, therefore, differing criteria, and may focus on a wide variance of subjects even within the same general field of interest. Hence it is in itself neither strange nor contradictory that Technocracy can be described by a wide range of different labels. Hence the movement can, without any contradiction, be referred to as: Millennial, Utopian, Messianic, Authoritarian, Scientistic, Revolutionary, and Reformist. The utility of these designations starts to become questionable, however, when upon detailed examination of the history and development of the movement it becomes apparent that not only are they less accurate at some periods than at others,

but in addition they are sometimes inappropriate or misleading when applied to particular segments of the larger movement. For example, it is quite clear that the goals of that branch of the movement that still survives (Technocracy Inc.) have been rather consistently revolutionary in that they have advocated fundamental re-structuring of capitalist society, while on the other hand several of the other Technocracy groups have tended more toward a piecemeal reform approach.

Another commonly used typological distinction focusses on the means through which a movement seeks to attain its ends. Here too we find different segments of the Technocracy movement holding to radically different formulations. It is also apparent that within these divergent (and often competing) groups there occurs considerable fluctuation over a period of time, over these matters of tactics.

Unless Technocracy is to be regarded as unique, or atypical of social movements, which seems unlikely, the above observations raise questions both about the general utility of such typological distinctions and about their more specific value with regard to the Technocracy movement. There are two related possibilities that I see as relevant. In the first place it may be that the kinds of distinctions such labels allow are too general. That is, too many attributes are subsumed under the same category, with the result that some potentially interesting discrepancies or divergencies are lost. For example, we might observe that movement X is a revolutionary movement and proceed to analyze it as such, failing to note that there have been within the movement recurrent tendencies toward reformism. In consequence, no analysis would emerge on the subject of factors producing such trends in the movement.

The second matter, which is related to the first, is that such typological distinctions, in part because of excessive generality, may tend to produce a static analysis of the movement. If, for instance, we are describing an existing or now defunct movement and we conclude that this is, or was, X kind of movement, it is quite possible that we will fail to go further and examine contradictory attributes at various points in time. Normally our categorization is not so absolute as this, and what is said, or at least implied, is that this is (or was), by and large, X kind of movement.

Tendencies and tensions toward change, and contradictory characteristics within the movement, are thus regarded as of minor importance so long as the main body of the movement is not fundamentally altered. A second way in which a static bias is produced is that either implicitly or explicitly the movement is categorized, not (as above) by an overall or summary historical evaluation, but at one particular point in time. A sort of conceptual 'snapshot' is produced of the movement. Change is thereby ignored. Without going into an elaborate discussion of static versus dynamic models, it is clear that static concepts are of dubious value in analysis of what is BECOMING as opposed to what IS. We anticipate that the more static a concept is the less value it will have in helping us to understand the dynamics of movements.

It should be clear that the sort of difficulties we are considering with regard to these general typological distinctions are variously significant, depending upon the type of movement under consideration. They would be relatively insignificant, for instance, in movements that are short lived and consistent in terms of ideology, organization, and tactics, in which there is a high degree of consensus among participants about what the movement is and should be, and how it should pursue its goals, and in which this consistency is maintained throughout the life span of the movement. This is not to suggest that there will be no conflict or debate at any point, but only that it never comes to the point where it generates internal factions or "wings". Such internal consistency may not necessarily require a short life span, but is most likely to be found in short-lived movements. It seems likely, also, that most such movements will be those usually designated reform movements. The 'ideal' case is the small-scale reform movement that originates in response to a specific issue, propagandizes, recruits participants, exerts some sort of pressure on the relevant other group or individual, and then, upon attaining its ends within a relatively short time (to its own satisfaction at least), disbands or perhaps changes its function and becomes something other than a movement - say perhaps a voluntary association.

The 'ideal' opposite case to this, and the one where the typological problems raised are most severe, is the movement (like Technocracy) that exists over an

extended period of time, experiences extensive and differing pressures, both internal and external, generates changes in ideology, organizational form, and recruitment tactics, and goes through splits or schisms that may result in the emergence of opposing "wings". These "wings" or factions may separate from the original movement and form new movements, or may remain within the movement and force changes in various aspects of the larger movement. There are several other possible effects of such conflicts and probably empirical examples of each logical possibility. The most fundamental change, of course, occurs when such a conflict shifts a movement, from one cell in a typology to one diametrically opposed. Say, for instance, where a movement that was revolutionary becomes a reform movement.

To label these long-lived, heterogeneous, changing movements by one general label may be excessively simplistic and have the result of obscuring potentially significant internal tensions and changes, or more simply, movements' processes.

These comments are intended only to set a general framework from which to to develop the more specific questions that are the prime focus of this study of Technocracy. It is not my intention, therefore, to develop the, as yet, analytically 'rough' distinctions between these 'ideal' cases into a full blown typology. It is enough to draw a distinction between the simpler, more homogeneous sort of movement and the more complex, heterogeneous type of which Technocracy is an example. Given these general observations it is now possible to deal with the more detailed and specific questions relevant to this study.

It is implicit in the above that our questions center around matters of internal movement change and process. In examining these it is necessary to analyze in some greater detail the already noted difficulties of typological distinction.

Throughout the study of this movement, the parallels that I considered most striking and persistent were between Technocracy and those movements usually described as millennial. To be more precise, some segments of the movement, at some points in time, displayed a number of attributes similar to those of the millennial type of movement. For instance, both are revolutionary in the sense that parti-

cipants anticipate a fundamental restructuring of basic societal institutions. In addition, both regard "time as a linear process which leads to a final future";[1] in other words, "a decisive consummation of all history".[2] Technocracy developed an ideology that has been described by Henry Elsner Jr., who is perhaps the best informed student of the movement, as a form of Scientism.[3] The parallels between millennial beliefs and Scientism are pointed out most clearly by Jarvie in The Revolution in Anthropology.[4] A messianic form of leadership is an additional parallel between most millennial Movements[5] and Technocracy.[6] Other similarities could be noted, but two are of immediate significance.

The first involves participants' expectations regarding the relative immediacy of the coming millennium, while the second involves the more far-reaching matter of the role of the group in bringing about the millennium.

On the former, Talmon says, "Radical millenarian movements regard the millennium as imminent and live in tense expectation and preparation for it."[7] The inclusion of the phrase "and preparation for it" in an observation on time orientations is most appropriate as the two matters are closely intertwined. It seems likely, for instance, that the kinds of preparation regarded as suitable will depend at least in part upon the group's conception of the relative imminence of the coming millennium. This is one of the specific questions that we will examine in the case of Technocracy. A related problem, also relevant to Technocracy, is the group's response to changes, alterations, and outright failures of the prophecy of a coming millennium. The more specific the prophecy is, of course, the more open it is to being perceived as failing. Technocracy is interesting in this regard in that at one point in its history it had a very clear and specific prophecy, which was in no conceivable sense realized.[8]

The second parallel with millennial movements that is particularly relevant concerns changing definitions of the appropriate role of the movement in bringing about the anticipated changes. On this subject Talmon says, "All millenarian movements share a fundamental vagueness about the actual way in which the new order will be brought about."[9] And further, on the role of participants, "The followers of these

movements are not the makers of the revolution; they expect it to be brought about miraculously from above."[10]

These statements are perfect descriptions of the position of some segments of the Technocracy movement at several specific points in its history. This latter quotation from Talmon could be quite misleading, however, if interpreted to mean that such movements (and Technocracy) are all patiently and passively awaiting the millennium. Not only are these movements, in comparison with each other, variously active or passive, but any specific movement may be differentially active at different points in its history. That is to say, the movement may fluctuate between more or less active positions.[11] A common definition of the appropriate role of participants for the more passive movement (or a movement in a passive period in its history) is to "gather together, to watch for signs of the inevitable advent, to engage in ritual preparation and purify themselves".[12] Depending on the movement, this position may or may not involve extensive and aggressive recruitment of other participants. There are, of course, a wide range of tactics available to the more active movement, but the essence of this position is the belief that the group can and should contribute to bringing about the millennium. On the surface this 'contribution' seems somewhat contradictory to the belief that the millennium is both imminent and inevitable. We have already noted, however, the variability of the predicted time sequence as well as the possibility of prophecies being altered. The most common occurrence is for the advent to be "put off" for a bit, but it is quite possible for the movement to develop a belief that the timetable may be shortened and the advent of the millennium hastened through the actions of the group. Technocracy developed a variation of this theme in that its members believed that while the collapse of the "Price System"[13] was inevitable, the millennium, although also inevitable, would not necessarily follow immediately. An interim period of Fascism was seen as quite possible. In addition, a transition period of approximately ten years (following Price System collapse or the period of Fascism) was seen as necessary prior to the accomplishment of the full operation of the Technate (Technocracy's name for the new society). This is a somewhat more complex timetable

than those of most millennial movements, and it was periodically revised, but the essential components are the same.

It should be clear by now that the matter of anticipated time sequences and the group's view of its role in bringing about or preparing for social change are highly interdependent. Not only are a number of differing conceptions possible, but oscillations between two or more positions within any one movement are quite conceivable.

The observation that such is the case is, of course, of limited value without (a) some analysis of the factors contributing to such fluctuations, and (b) a discussion of the other attributes of the movement that seem to vary with such changes. The attempt to meet these requirements provides the central theme of this study of Technocracy. This movement, with its long history of internal conflict and schisms, its oscillation between activism and more passive roles (conceptualized by the Technocrats as activism versus education), and its persistent ambivalence with regard to reform versus revolution, make it an ideal case for such a study.

NOTES

1 Yonina Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation Between Religous and Social Change", Archives Europeennes De Sociologie, III, No. 1 (1962), p. 130.

2 Ibid.

3 Henry Elsner, Jr., "Messianic Scientism: Technocracy, 1919-1960." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1963.

4 I.C. Jarvie, The Revolution in Anthropology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1964), p. xiv.

5 Talmon, p. 133.

6 Elsner's evaluation of Technocracy as messianic is explicit in the title of his dissertation that was noted previously. The matter is also discussed throughout his study at some length.

7 Talmon, p. 130.

8 One of the questions that is interesting with regard to the prophecies of movements, sects, and so forth, is the effect on the movement if and when the prophecy fails to come true. This problem is the subject of Leon Festinger's interesting study, When Prophecy Fails. See: Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, When Prophecy Fails (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964) Several years after this study was completed an attempt was made to replicate it that resulted in some interesting qualifications of Festinger's original hypothesis. See: Jane Allyn Hardyck and Marcia Braden, "Prophecy Fails Again, A Report Of A Failure To Replicate". The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXV, No. 2 (1962), pp. 136-141.

9 Talmon, pp. 131-132.

10 Ibid., p. 131.

11 In this context Talmon argues that most millennial movements tend more often toward the more activist position rather than passively awaiting the millennium.

12 Talmon, p. 132.

13 The term "Price System" is original to Veblen. The Technocrats have always been adamant that the term was original to their movement. At one point I wasted a great deal of time searching Veblen's early work to see if he had used the term prior to his contact with the early Technocrats. (Veblen's relationship to the movement is discussed in a later chapter.) I found that he had, but am convinced that no one should be tempted to follow the matter any further, so I will dispense with the relevant references.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL SETTING: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND ITS MOVEMENTS

Technocracy was the first of a number of social movements generated by conditions in the decade of the Great Depression (1929-1939). To try to describe social conditions in North America during this period (in a few pages) would be both presumptuous and futile. The notes that follow are merely an attempt to sketch in the rough outlines of the social context in which Technocracy arose.

While the more academic treatments of the Depression are no doubt important for a full understanding, there are a number of more anecdotal and descriptive reports that have been of particular value to this student, who qualifies in Galbraith's terms as one who "wasn't even born in 1929, which bespeaks total innocence".[1] The titles of some of these texts are in themselves instructive; for example, The Winter Years (J.H. Gray), Just Around the Corner (Robert Bendiner), The Anxious Years (F. Fuller), The Great Depression (D.A. Shannon). These accounts do provide some statistical data, and while in some studies data on production, employment, distribution, and so forth, seem sterile in contrast with more literary descriptions of social conditions, in the case of the Depression there is some drama in the very extravagance of the changes for the worse.

Unemployment figures vary, and the accuracy of any set is open to question; however, those given by Shannon for the U.S.A. do not disagree too widely with various other estimates. He cites the following estimates:[2]

March 1930,	3,250,000 - 4,000,000 unemployed
March 1931,	7,500,000 - 8,000,000 unemployed
March 1932,	11,250,000 - 12,500,000 unemployed
March 1933,	13,577,000 - 16,000,000 unemployed

Total population in the U.S.A. in 1930 was 122,775,046.[3] The unemployment estimates for Canada (population 10,374,681 in 1931[4]) are less startling but still substantial:[5]

1929 - 107,000 unemployed	1932 - 639,000 unemployed
1930 - 341,000 unemployed	1933 - 646,000 unemployed
1931 - 442,000 unemployed	

Unfortunately the extremely approximate nature of these figures makes it pointless to work out comparative unemployment rates for the two countries. James C. Davis provides some broader comparative data on the situation in the U.S.A. "The national private production income in 1932 reverted to what it had been in 1916. Farm income in the same year was as low as 1900; manufacturing as low as in 1913. Construction had not been as low since 1908. Mining and quarrying was back at the 1909 level. For much of the population two decades of economic progress had been wiped out."[6] The deprivations were, of course, made relatively more acute by contrast with the preceding economic prosperity and optimism of the 1920's. As J.H. Gray noted, "Our world stopped and we got off."[7]

Not peculiar to this era, yet somehow uniquely irrelevant and preposterous were some of the classically Marie Antoinette-like statements attributed to various Establishment spokesmen. A few, of course, were simply poor observers. Henry Ford, for instance, commented in January of 1931 that "the country is far better off today than it was a year ago".[8] The Reverend Norman Vincent Peale, who at least cannot be faulted for inconsistency in his views over the years, claimed that nothing more drastic was required than "one good prayer meeting in Wall Street".[9] Herbert Hoover commented in October, 1932, "Perhaps what this country needs is a great poem", and, "Sometimes a great poem can do more than legislation."[10] Shrewd analysis was not lacking, with Mr. Coolidge contributing, "When more and more people are thrown out of work unemployment results".[11] One of the Du Ponts, with an acute business sense, refused to advertise his products on Sunday afternoons because, "at three o'clock on Sunday afternoons everybody is playing polo".[12] The incantation, "The Economy Is Fundamentally Sound", was so commonly a part of public pronouncements as to make its original source both cloudy and irrelevant. Not all of the population, of course, accepted this view, and "Over a hundred thousand American workers applied for jobs in the Soviet Union".[13]

This small sample of uninspired solutions and absurdities gives some idea of what a golden age this was for social critics. The period had all of the attributes

suggested by theorists as essential to revolution, and indeed the possibility of revolution was not considered farfetched at the time, for as Bottomore notes; "Even staid and responsible citizens began to take seriously the possibilities of revolutionary movements in America."[14]

A revolution and a revolutionary movement are, of course, different things. While there was no revolution, there were a number of movements, and of these some had clearly revolutionary goals. Bendiner, speaking of left-wing movements alone, claims that, "There were almost as many sects, creeds, cults, factions and fractions among the reformers and revolutionaries as the Christian community had endured in the most schismatic years of the Reformation."[15] Outside the left-wing, the variety was endless. California contributed the Townsend Movement and Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty In California). In the East, Father Coughlin was demonstrating the reach of the radio (and its financial potential), as was William Aberhart in Canada. Huey Long came out of the South with a Share-Our-Wealth program, and had he not been assassinated, might conceivably have effected the attempted coalition of his followers with Coughlin and Townsend. A. J. Smith and William Dudley Pelley tried American variations on a European theme, with Khaki shirts and Silver shirts respectively, but achieved rather limited results. Critics suggested that Smith's primary interest was marketing shirts.[16] Edward Bellamy's works became popular again (as did those of Veblen) and Bellamy Societies were formed in various places - probably in greatest number in California, where some are reported to still survive.[17] With doctrines for the haves and the have-nots respectively, were Dr. Frank Buchman (Moral Rearmament) and Father Divine. However, "The earliest and most grandiose [The evaluation is Robert Bendiner's] by far of the new Utopias was that of the Technocrats".[18] The fact that the Technocrats were the first 'out of the gate' was largely because both their ideology and the core of their leadership were "revivals" of an organization that had revolved around Thorstein Veblen more than a decade previously.

It is with this organization, the Technical Alliance, and the ideas it developed, that we must begin our examination of Technocracy.

NOTES

1 John Kenneth Galbraith, The Great Crash 1929 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1954), p. 1.

2 Paul Webbink, "Unemployment in the United States, 1930-1940," The Great Depression, ed. D.A. Shannon (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 6.

3 Leon E. Truesdell, "Population and Social Conditions," Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXII, (1958), p. 732.

4 Stephen B. Leacock and Charles Clay, "Canada, Social And Economic Conditions." Encyclopaedia Britannica, IV, (1958), p. 711.

5 Walter D. Young, Democracy And Discontent (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p. 46.

6 James C. Davies, "Toward A Theory Of Revolution," American Sociological Review, XXVII, No. 1, (February, 1962), p. 16.

7 James H. Grey, The Winter Years (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966), p. 8.

8 Robert Bendiner, Just Around The Corner (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1968), p. 7.

9 Ibid., p. 6.

10 Ibid., p. 8.

11 Ibid., p. 18.

12 Ibid., p. 49.

13 Shannon, p. 1.

14 T.B. Bottomore, Social Criticism In North America (Toronto: CBC Publication, 1966), p. 26.

15 Bendiner, p. 100.

16 An account of both of these ventures may be found in, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Politics of Upheaval 1935-1936 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966), pp. 79-81.

17 Sylvia E. Bowman, ed. and introd., Edward Bellamy Abroad (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), p. xx.

18 Bendiner, p. 137.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TECHNICAL ALLIANCE: FORERUNNER OF TECHNOCRACY

There were three distinct phases of the Technocracy movement in North America, each having, of course, various consequences for the succeeding periods.

The first was the rather short-lived Technical Alliance, which, while led by Howard Scott, had received its original organizational impetus and a good number of its ideas from Thorstein Veblen. The second was the period of intense public interest and debate centering around the 'findings' of the Energy Survey, directed by Scott at Columbia University. During this period there was no one organized movement, but rather a proliferation of groups across the continent with diverse degrees of congruence with (and comprehension of) Howard Scott and his associates. The remaining years, to the present, have seen amalgamations, conflicts, and schisms, until Scott's Technocracy, Inc., is the only remaining organization.

This section will examine the formation of the Technical Alliance (a decade prior to the stormy emergence of Technocracy), some of the groups and ideas germane to its initiation, and the brief though later much debated relationship of Thorstein Veblen to the organization.

The formation of the Technical Alliance brought together an otherwise heterogeneous group of men who had in common a conviction of the primacy of technology and related matters in social affairs. Harold Loeb, who was later to be heavily involved in Technocracy, described Howard Scott's basic argument in this phase as, "Technology was the revolutionary agent of our period".[1] Technocracy's summary definition of itself (which later became a slogan) was to be, "Technocracy is science applied to the social order".[2] In a letter to The Nation in December of 1932, W. H. Smyth was to claim credit for coinage of the term, and at least some credit for coinage of the term, and at least some credit for its widespread dispersal in a series of articles, the first of which was printed in the February, 1919, issue of Industrial Management. He says:

> Technocracy is a proposed new system and philosophy of government. It implies scientific reorganization of national energy and resources, co-ordinating industrial democracy to effect the will of the people. This is the concept and philosophy of government that I originated and for which I coined and defined the word Technocracy.[3]

We have no reason to doubt that Mr. Smyth created the word Technocracy. His implied claim to be also the originator of Technocratic thought is less acceptable; these concepts precede Mr. Smyth by a good number of years.

TECHNOCRATIC THOUGHT

In detailing the history of a term or a set of ideas, one is constantly plagued by the tendency toward infinite regression. Similarities and antecedents (logical if not consequential) continually assert themselves from deeper and deeper in the historical record. This is of some importance when discussing a social movement, as it is not uncommon for a movement to assert the unique and original nature of its ideas. This is especially true of messianic movements, with which Technocracy was to share a number of similarities. In actual fact, movements are situated in a social, historical context, and their belief systems are part of a broader history of ideas and social action. It is as well, then, to have some idea of the history and development of the ideas that a particular movement represents and consequently changes, modifies, etc.

The history of Technocratic thought could in itself be the central concern for an entire thesis; however, as this is not our primary interest, we will touch only a few major figures in a limited historical period.

Daniel Bell assigns the role of 'father' of Technocratic thought to Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, le Comte de Saint-Simon.[4] Felix Markham's discussion of Saint-Simon notes that while "most historians have been interested in Saint-Simon simply as the forerunner of socialist thought and have considered him only from that angle",[5] he is also important to positivistic conceptions that Markham defines as "the application of scientific method to every aspect of nature and human experience".[6] In Saint-Simon's society, "the certainties of science will replace the dogma of the medieval church; the scientist and captains of industry will replace the feudal lords as the national

leaders of society".[7] The economic system of Capitalism, or more specifically in later Technocratic terms, the Price System (after Veblen) was to replace the church as the primary antagonist, though the church was to remain a consistent though minor opponent.

The later Technocratic analysis, however, would remain highly positivistic. Frank Arkwright, an early Technocracy writer, sums up this orientation in the concluding paragraph of his book, The ABC of Technocracy (1933). "Technocracy has one fundamental principle and that is that the facts involved in the fundamental operation of our society are metrical, in other words, the working of our great social machine is susceptible to measurement."[8] Given this infinite ability to 'know', there still remains to examine the use to which this knowledge will be put. The following quote from Saint-Simon illustrates further some of his basic conceptions on this matter.

> All privileges will be abolished and never reappear since the most complete system of equality which can possibly exist will be constituted. The men who show the greatest capacity in the positive sciences, in the fine arts, and in industry will be called by the new system to the top echelon of social prestige and will be placed in charge of public affairs.[9]

In Saint-Simon's conception, then, we have on the one hand a particular methodology in which total confidence may be placed, and on the other, a society in which "equality" surplants "privileges". The former implies a particular conception of knowledge, while the latter is only one of the potential uses to which knowledge could be put. In Technocratic thought, however, the more common assumption is that the societal form envisioned is somehow a direct and necessary consequence of 'true', 'scientific' knowledge. The distinction between knowledge and the use to which it is put is of course a crucial one, and it is the fundamental failure of Technocratic thought that the question of "knowledge for what" is usually treated either superficially or not at all.

In order to disucss a second major figure in Technocratic thought it is necessary to make a distinction between the Technocrats' analysis and critique of the existent social order, and their highly detailed description of an alternate society. It is this latter aspect that allows us to see most clearly the similarities of Technocracy

and the work of Edward Bellamy. In other words, it is Bellamy's description of the good society that is very similar to both Saint-Simon and Technocracy rather than his analysis of Capitalism, which is far more class-based than that of Technocracy. Henry Elsner, Jr., has provided a good summary of the Bellamy/Technocracy parallels with regard to the new society:

1. The organization of all industries into a few large scale, publicly owned units, administered by technical experts who are selected from within the ranks of the units concerned.

2. A bureaucratic, rather than industrial-democratic organization of the workplace.

3. Equal, independent income issued to all members of society as a right of citizenship.

4. Income distribution through a non-monetary accounting system wherein the registration of items purchased serves as an automatic means of estimating future production requirements.

5. The elimination of political government, i.e. officials other than those at the heads of the productive, distributive, and professional units, and the abolition of political parties.[10]

There are other parallels as well; for instance, the selection of the army as the most appropriate organizational model, the insistence on the uniquely American (and specifically non-European) character of their ideas, and the highly automated technology of the future, in which human labour would largely have disappeared.

This latter point leads us into an area that may at first seem somewhat irrelevant, yet deserves some attention as it is the area in which Technocrats and non-Technocrats are most liable to share at least speculative interest, and which should serve to suggest one of the important appeals of Technocracy. In at least one sense the central preoccupation of Technocracy is the manner in which technology could be used for human welfare, were its use not restricted by current social and economic relations. The more general question is, of course, the broad relationship between technology and social structure, the Technocratic formulation of this question often tends toward consideration of technological potential (particularly in terms of the new society) as if it were largely independent of social and economic relations.

This is but one manifestation of a tendency sometimes apparent in positivism, wherein what is most measurable is defined as most significant, with the consequence that such things as social and economic relations, attitudes, beliefs, and values are seen as of minor relevance. This is an important key in understanding Technocratic thought. Consideration of the use of technology divorced from the inhibitions of social values, meaning, and the complexities of the social determination of human attributes, leads inevitably to the definition of any existing social structure as totally irrational and unnecessarily restrictive, insofar as the apparent potential of technology considered separately from such complications seems endless. Given a simplistic enough set of initial premises, the explanation of the nature of this irrational and constrictive society is likely to be largely in terms of conspiracy. In any case the abundance of technologically detailed utopian writing (I would include much of science fiction writing here) testifies to the appeal of such ideas.[11]

An early book by J. A. Etzler (1836) is interesting in this vein, and its elaborate title is itself instructive: The Paradise Within The Reach of All Men, Without Labor, By Powers of Nature and Machinery. An Address To All Intelligent Men. In Two Parts.[12] The basis of Etzler's proposal, he tells us, is: "That there are powers in nature at the disposal of man, mellien [sic] times greater than all men on earth could effect, with their united exertions, by their nerves and sinews. If I can show that such a superabundance of power is at our disposal, what should be the objections against applying them to our benefit in the best manner we can think of?"[13] He proceeds with a highly detailed description of the potential uses of power and technology that continually anticipates both Bellamy and Technocracy. He then challenges any of his readers to disprove his claims, but adds the characteristic Technocratic provision:

> I offer the opportunity for fair and open discussion upon the subject. But it is a mathematical matter, and none of vague opinion, or mere wordy dispute, as some might perhaps fancy. Any assertions without mathematical argument, will, and must be disregarded by me.[14]

The appeal of technological positivism is not only that it simplifies previously complex social affairs, but that small-scale projection of the application of technology

to everyday human existence is made possible for a wide range of people.[15] Hence, writing in this field almost inevitably tends toward detailed description of the liberated technology of everyday affairs.

Another writer of this genre was Chauncy Thomas, who wrote The Crystal Button in 1891, just seven years before Bellamy was to write Looking Backward. Thomas envisioned a centralized, Technocratic society and anticipated some of the concepts of Scientific Management.[16]

The Scientific Management movement is not as important an intellectual antecedent to Technocracy, but it had, on the other hand, a more direct organizational influence on the formation of the Technical Alliance. Nevertheless, the essential conceptual agreement should not be ignored. Taylor would clearly agree that in matters of importance, 'the facts of life are metrical'. Scientific Management was in many ways simply a comprehensive application of the Technocratic vision to a specific institutional sector; where Technocracy was to stand for "Science Applied to the Social Order", Scientific Management was for "Science in Management".[17]

One of the popular slogans of Taylorism was "the substitution of science for the rule of thumb".[18] The Scientific Management school is, of course, most commonly related to the writings of Frederick W. Taylor; but a later disciple, H. L. Gantt, provides the direct link to Veblen and the Technical Alliance. Two themes from Taylor's work are emphasized and extended in Gantt's writing and later became central to Technocracy: "the substitution of 'facts' for 'opinion' and the new hegemony of the engineer".[19] In December of 1916 Gantt created the New Machine, "an organization of engineers and sympathetic reformers under Gantt's leadership, which announced its intention to acquire political as well as economic power".[20] Aside from the basic themes noted above, the program was not altogether clear and the organization survived for only a brief time, many of its members entering government service with the United States entry into the war.[21] The New Machine was a preview and a precedent for the Technical Alliance of 1920.

In the Fall of 1919, Veblen was writing a series of articles for Dial, which

was to become The Engineers and The Price System; a group of engineers with the American Society of Mechanical Engineers was finalizing plans for extensive discussions with H. L. Gantt; and the New School began functioning in New York with Veblen on the staff. In November, however, Gantt died and Leon Ardzrooni, who was both a colleague of Veblen's and associated with the engineers of the ASME, wrote on behalf of Veblen to Guido Marx in California in order to renew and detail Veblen's invitation to Marx to lecture at the New School. Marx agreed to come, and his course was listed as "Conferences on the Social Function of the Engineer".[22] Ardzrooni summarizes these events as follows:

> Veblen conceived the idea of getting together a group of like-minded folk chosen from among young economists, accountants, engineers and technicians generally to form the nucleus of a 'soviet of technicians', a brief working plan for which was contrived in The Engineers and The Price System. In due time the New School came to be the headquarters for such a group...[23]

Veblen's associations with this group were apparently limited by his poor health, and Marx was somewhat less than impressed with one of the more active, though enigmatic of the members, Howard Scott. Joseph Dorfman recounts Marx's comments:

> Marx says that when he reached New York 'no mature members of the A.S.M.E. appeared in the picture'. Howard Scott was one of two men brought around for me to interview. I was not favourably impressed with him. I could not believe he was a trained technician, his use of technical terms being highly inaccurate and his thought processes, to my mind, lacking in logical structure and being basically unrealistic. His chief idea at that time was an industrial survey which would have required the complete staff and facilities of a census bureau. In brief, I chose to have as little to do with Scott as possible and advised Veblen and Ardzrooni to that effect.[24]

In the Fall of 1920, Veblen and Ardzrooni were giving a course together at the New School in "The Productive Use of Resources", in which Scott, Stuart Chase, and several others participated.[25] At the same time the Technical Alliance was formed, with Howard Scott listed as head engineer. Unlike the New Machine, the Alliance had no overt political goals; the prospectus, however, reiterated perspectives that should by now be familiar.

> The solution to the industrial problem is primarily an engineering one; therefore it is essential that an alliance of technicians be formed to ascertain and present the results of the present non-technical knowledge of the country at the service of the people that industry may be released from arbitrary rule.[26]

In addition, the Alliance set as its goal "an alliance of all individuals essential to the technique of production, including engineers, scientists, architects, educators, physicians and sanitary experts, foresters, managers, accountants, statisticians, etc."[27] The prospectus included the name of a "Temporary Organizing Committee" that probably encompassed the entire membership.[28] Included were:

Howard Scott.....Chief Engineer
Sullivan W. Jones.....Secretary
Frederick L. Ackerman.....Architect

Carol L. Alsberg.....Chemist
Allen Carpenter.....M.D.
L.K. Comstock.....Electrical Engineer
Stuart Chase.....C.P.A.
Alice Barrows Ferdandez.....Educator
Richard C. Tolman.....Physicist
John Carol Vaughn.....M.D.
Bassett Jones.....Electrical Engineer
Robert H. Kohn.....Architect
Benton MacKaye.....Forester
Leland Olds.....Statistician
Charles P. Steinmetz.....Electrical Engineer
Thorstein Veblen.....Educator
Charles H. Whitaker.....Housing Expert

The value of the list is somewhat questionable insofar as, upon sending a copy of the prospectus to Marx, Ardzrooni commented that "I have learned that most of the men whose names...appear here were never consulted nor informed of any meeting, eg., Veblen. Veblen gave them a calling down for using his name without asking him about it".[29] The Alliance did carry out several studies; one on the lumber industry for the I.W.W., a major study on industrial waste, and surveys on coal, milk distribution, and luxuries.[30] By March of 1921, an executive committee was struck to reorganize the Alliance, and on May 16 the committee reported that they had asked Scott to provide a detailed accounting of the Alliance's financial position and to turn over the books of which he was in charge. When he declined to do so the Technical Alliance was for all intents and purposes dissolved.[31]

For a brief period Scott worked for the I.W.W. as director of a bureau of Industrial Research. This arrangement was to last until 1921, when Scott's mentor on the I.W.W.'s executive, Ralph Chaplin, was sent to prison.[32] Within a decade Scott would be one of the most controversial figures in North America, but between

1921 and 1932 "He became a familiar figure in Greenwich Village... haranguing all who would listen about the energy bases of civilization and the need for energy units of measurement in production and distribution, and describing a technologically controlled state".[33] Veblen had argued in the Memorandum on a Practicable Soviet of Technicians that a successful revolution in America must necessarily be one instigated and controlled by the technicians and that:

> Before any overt move can reasonably be undertaken: (a) an extensive campaign of inquiry and publicity, such as will bring the underlying population to a reasonable understanding of what it is all about; and (b) the working out of a common understanding and a solidarity of sentiment between the technicians and the working force engaged in transportation and the great underlying industries of the system.[34]

He concluded his essay with the statement:

> There is nothing in the situation that should reasonably flutter the sensibilities of the Guardians or of that massive body of well to do citizens, just yet.[35]

Both of these statements were to seem oddly prophetic in just over a decade. Veblen may well have overestimated the potential for revolutionary consciousness on the part of the "technicians".[36] He certainly could not have anticipated the public furor these ideas and the attempted application of his criteria of pre-revolutionary activity (see (a) above) were to cause in the early years of the depression.

NOTES

1 Harold Loeb, The Way It Was (New York: Criterion Books, Inc., 1959), p. 44.

2 M. Adamson and R.I. Moore, ed., Technocracy: Some Questions Answered (New York: Technocracy Inc., 1934), p. 3.

3 The Nation, V, (December, 1932), p. 646.

4 Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society," The Public Interest, VI, (Winter, 1967), p. 31.

5 Henri De Saint-Simon, Social Organization, The Science Of Man and Other Writings, ed., trans., with introd., Felix Markham (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. xvii.

6 Ibid., p. xxi.

7 Ibid.

8 Frank Arkright, The ABC of Technocracy (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1933), p. 73.

9 Frank E. Manuel, The Prophets Of Paris (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers Inc., 1965), p. 135. Those wishing to examine, in more depth, the utopian and technocratic thought of Saint-Simon in particular, and this period in general, will find this text by Professor Manuel to be a fascinating and scholarly treatment of the subject.

10 Elsner, pp. 79-80. The relationship of Technocracy's leader, Howard Scott, and Bellamy is not solely a matter of similar conceptions with no indication of actual influence. We do know that Scott was interested in Bellamy and engaged in discussions with people in Hollywood, at one point, about the possibility of making a film version of Looking Backward. Herbert Roth, "Bellamy Societies of Indonesia, South Africa, and New Zealand," Edward Bellamy Abroad, ed. Sylvia E. Bowman (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), pp. 240-241.

11 In the early 1930's several science-fiction writers recognized the affinity between Technocracy and the concerns of science-fiction. Hugo Gernsback, the author of the term "science-fiction", and publisher of Science Wonder Stories, also published the Technocracy Review for a short time in 1933. Several years later the "Dean" of science-fiction, Ray Bradbury, said that Technocracy was the embodiment of "all the hopes and dreams of science-fiction. We've been dreaming about it for years - now, in a short time, it may become a reality." For this latter quotation and further details on this subject see: W.H.G. Armytage, Yesterday's Tomorrows (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 132.

12 J.A. Etzler, The Paradise Within The Reach Of All Men, Without Labour, By Powers Of Nature And Machinery. An Address To All Intelligent Men. In Two Parts. (London: John Brooks, 1836). The second part was entitled, The New World or Mechanical System (Philadelphia, 1841).

13 Etzler, p. 3.

14 Ibid., p. 101.

15 It is in this context that the Technocrats' definition of 'professional' social analysists as obscurantists and apologists, is most understandable. Not only are such

persons seen as defenders of an irrational social system, but their 'obscurantism' is seen as primarily a form of professional exclusion and protectionism.

16 Vernon Parrington, Jr., American Dreams, A Study of American Utopias (2d. ed. New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1964), p. 67.

17 Samuel Haber, Efficiency and Uplift, Scientific Management in the Progressive Era 1890-1920 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 42.

18 Ibid., p. 43.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 44.

21 Ibid., p. 47.

22 Joseph Dorfman, Thorstein Veblen And His America (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Publisher, 1966), p. 454.

23 Leon Ardzrooni, "Veblen and Technocracy," Living Age, CCCXLIV, (March, 1934), p. 40.

24 Dorfman, p. 454.

25 Ibid.

26 Elsner, p. 17.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Dorfman, p. 460.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., and Elsner, p. 18.

32 Elsner, p. 19.

33 Ibid., pp. 24-25.

34 Thorstein Veblen, The Engineers and the Price System ("Harbinger Books"; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), p. 150.

35 Ibid., p. 151.

36 I am inclined to the view that Daniel Bell, in his introduction to the Harbinger edition of The Engineers and the Price System, exaggerates Veblen's gullibility on this matter and underestimates his powers of observation.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMERGENCE OF TECHNOCRACY AND THE EARLY PUBLIC RESPONSE

THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The Technocracy movement usually ranks rather low in the intellectual interests of historians of the Depression years and hence is normally afforded rather cursory attention.

The composite image of Technocracy that is created is one of a bizarre and inconsequential movement of short duration, the early success of which is only understandable as a response to the severe strains of the initial years of the Depression.

It is of course likely that any student who examines, in some detail, a small segment of a historical period, especially a segment as specific as the affairs of one relatively small movement, will feel that writers of more general accounts have been inadmissibly lax and deficient in their treatment of that student's interests. Such inadequacies, therefore are probably of limited importance, with the exception of the impression commonly given with reference to the life span of Technocracy. As noted above, the movement is usually depicted as a 'flash in the pan' that gained wide public notice for several months in 1931-1932 and subsequently faded from existence,[1] or was "reduced" to the status of a Californian cult thereafter. Were such the case, the reader might well question our continued use of the term social movement with reference to Technocracy. In fact, while it is clear that the span of widespread public interest was limited to 1931-1932, the period of greatest strength in terms of membership was, as nearly as can be determined, late in the Depression era, 1938-1940. Furthermore, the original leader of Technocracy, Howard Scott, still presides over a number of Technocracy sections today, some 35 years after it is supposed to have become defunct.[2]

Two further preliminary comments are relevant here. The first is a caution that the intrinsic bizarreness and/or irrationality of a set of ideas is neither a simple matter nor a reliable guide to prediction of the success or failure of a movement. We

should note, for instance, how the Social Credit Movement in Alberta, which, as T. B. Bottomore says, belongs "generally with the theories of Technocracy"[3] and would not appear to challenge the Technocracy movement on grounds of intrinsic rationality, was yet able to gain sufficient support to become the elected government in 1935. Secondly, a premature acceptance of the judgement of Technocracy as "irrationalist", "bizarre", and so forth, would obscure the fact that at least part of the movement's ability to retain members (and still attract to a limited degree) is the number of its early predictions that have, in the last 15 years, either been realized or become increasingly relevant.

THE EMERGENCE OF TECHNOCRACY

The initial impact of Technocracy was as dramatic and far reaching as its present obscurity is complete. The extensive interest of 1931-1932 in the Technocratic ideas was, at least in part, a function of its being the first of the Depression movements. The interest in Technocracy came at a time when the country was rejecting the "the economy is fundamentally sound" administration in favour of Roosevelt's New Deal, and on occasion the ideas of Technocracy and the New Deal tended to overlap and combine. One partisan of both Roosevelt and Technocracy said, "The economic revolution is approaching with greater speed than we realize. Only skillfull statemanship - the statemanship of a Roosevelt, and the sound economic principles, the principles of Technocracy, can successfully lead us out of the Chaos and Despair into which we are plunging."[4] The same writer went on to conclude that the only solution to Chaos would "best be accomplished by vesting supreme and emergency power in some one man who had the confidence and respect of a majority of the American people. That man is Franklin D. Roosevelt to whom should be given dictatorial powers in the approaching crisis."[5] The enthusiasm (if not the conflicting loyalities), and some might say the fervor, displayed above were not atypical of a large number of people in 1932. It is not, then, necessarily a concession to irrationalist conceptions of movements to note that, while clarity of the early Technocratic ideas was never a primary characteristic, this seemed not to inhibit public interest, which was phenomenally high.

The public first heard of the ideas (it is probably premature to refer to it as a movement as yet) when Howard Scott delivered a speech to a meeting of the American Statistical Association in New York, June 15, 1932,[6] in which he reported some of the early 'findings' of and Energy Survey that he was directing at Columbia University. On August 6, the New York Times reported on information released by Dr. Walter Rautenstrauch, head of the department of Industrial Engineering at Columbia. The Energy Survey was under the joint auspices of this department and the Architects Engineering Committee of New York, and was going to trace the "industrial and agricultural development of the United States during the last 100 years in terms of production, employment and energy expanded".[7] About 150 of the projected 3,000 charts had been completed and the project was being directed by Howard Scott as "consultant technologist".[8] Two further points in this article are of interest. The first is the statement that:

> The facts revealed by the charts completed through 1920 clearly indicate the coming of the present depression, although the figures point to 1930 instead of 1929 as the year of the crash"...and...secondly, Our greatest difficulty is the fact that the tremendous energy expended in this country is not distributed. Under the present industrial system unemployment will continue to increase until a maximum is reached, which will bring about the collapse of the system.[9]

At what point the name Technocracy came about is not clear. The newspapers, however, soon began referring to this work at Columbia as the findings of the Technocrats, and/or Technocracy. One partisian described the next few months as follows. "The gospel of Technocracy is spreading through our schools, universities and churches. Wall street is exhibiting an intense but worried interest and it is whispered even the Vatican is closely following the progress of this new brain child of our engineer-scientists."[10] One reflection of public attention was the number of articles, reviews, comments, and letters printed in the public press during 1931-1932. The figures show dramatically the rise and fall of public interest. As the movement was centered in New York at this point, the New York Times Index is relevant.

The Readers Guide to Periodical Literature indicates a similar trend, the slight retardation in both the peak number and the decline simply reflecting the difference between periodicals and newspaper writing.

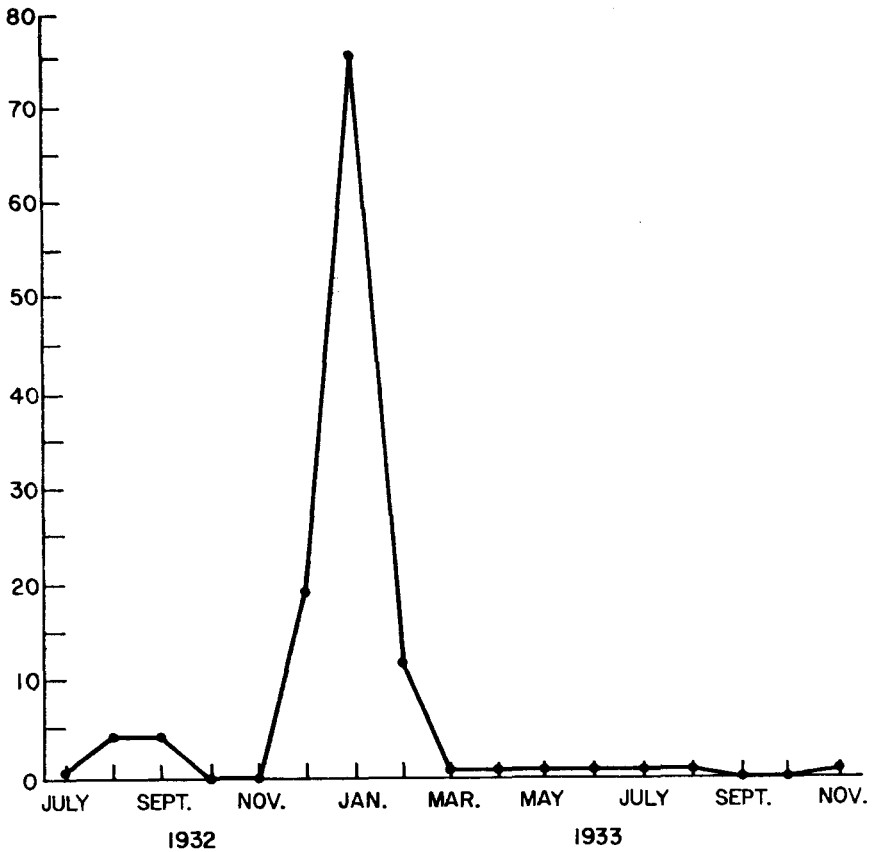


FIG. 4:1 ARTICLES ON TECHNOCRACY
NEW YORK TIMES 1932–1933

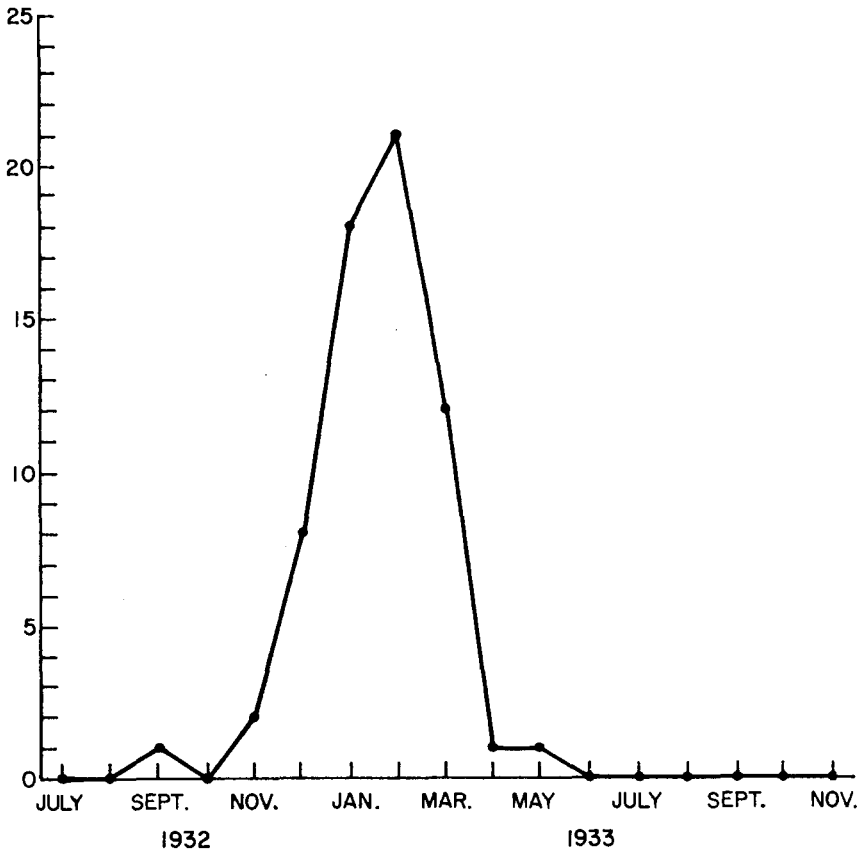


FIG. 4:2 PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON TECHNOCRACY
1932–1933

The volume of printed matter tells us nothing, of course, of the content of the evaluation by various segments of the population. The table reproduced below is a qualitative assessment taken from Henry Elsner's doctoral thesis on the movement.[11] It is an attempt to show the changing response to the Technocrats in this period as reflected in newspaper articles.

Table One

CONTROVERSIAL ARTICLES ON TECHNOCRACY

Date	New York Times		Detroit News	
	"For"	"Against"	"For"	"Against"
December 25-31	1	3	1	6
January 1-7	3	6	2	4
January 8-14	6	8	1	7
January 15-21	3	11	1	2
January 22-28	5	10	1	0
Total	18	38	6	19
Percent	32%	68%	24%	76%

Early response to the Technocrats was either relatively neutral or just slightly dubious. The findings of the Technocrats were, after all, Scientific, and supported by the prestige and reputation of a major university. Their charts reputedly had enabled them to predict the Depression, a feat unduplicated by others concerned with such affairs. The more the data and preliminary conclusions of the Energy Survey became available to the public, through news releases and the speeches by Howard Scott, the more questioning and critical became the response. Correspondingly, the statements by Scott became increasingly adamant and prophetic. A New York Times editorial of August 11th had suggested mildly that perhaps Scott went a little beyond the bounds of his competence as a scientist when he predicted the inevitable doom of the system.[12] The Times - Technocracy relationship deteriorated steadily, until late in January of 1933 the Times printed an article titled, "Technocracy Cult Now Is On The Wane". Howard Scott was now described as a Greenwich Village crackpot and the title, "technological consultant" was now written with quotation marks. The whole affair was dismissed as "just another economic fad".[13] The Times' treatment of Technocracy probably reflects the judgement of the majority of the population. Nevertheless,

to leave the description of Technocracy during these months of 1931-1932 at this, would be to miss the phenomenal attention and debate that these ideas were given.

Robert Bendiner comments: "Technocracy caught the public fancy and was for a year or so the biggest thing since mah-jong".[14] F.W. Allen notes the work at Columbia and recollects:

> Then the Living Age came out with an article about Technocracy; and then abruptly in December, 1932 - the thing was everywhere: in the newspapers, in the magazines, in sermons, in radio-actor's gags, in street corner conversation. The amazed Scott, who a little while before had been jubilant when a newspaper gave a few lines to Technocracy, was now pursued by interviewers ready to hang upon his lightest word.[15]

Publisher's Weekly devoted an article, December 31, 1932, to the increasing number of publications available in Technocracy. The introduction noted: "Technocracy is rapidly becoming the most discussed topic in America due to the timeliness of the movement and the resultant publicity which it has received in newspapers and periodicals throughout the country in the past month or so."[16] It went on to say that Viking Press was reprinting several of Veblen's books that were relevant to Technocracy and were in renewed demand. The Angelus Press on the West Coast reported selling 10,000 issues of a pamphlet on Technocracy in two days and a further 40,000 in two weeks. The same press was soon to issue G.A. Laing's Toward Technocracy with an introduction by Charles Beard of Columbia University. Farrar and Rinehart were coming out with Wayne Parish's An Outline of Technocracy, while the John Day Co. was printing Technocracy, An Interpretation, by Stuart Chase. On January 20, 1933, the New York Times noted that an "authorized" book written by Howard Scott and associates was released that day and entitled, Introduction to Technocracy. The book was said to qualify and explain overstatements and misinterpretations previously made by "unauthorized writers".[17]

Scrutiny of the Technocrats' statements had been extensive and widespread at this point and the evaluation was becoming increasingly negative. That much misleading and inaccurate information had been written on what Technocracy was supposed to be about, is clear. Demand for information was so high for several months that

anyone with even the remotest connection with the Columbia group (and a number who could not even claim this), or anyone with an interest in the ideas, felt competent to produce definitive statements and could rest assured of a market for his product. It is also clear that the Columbia group was overwhelmed by the public response and totally unable to cope with the demands for information from all over the continent.

NOTES

1 Arthur Schlesinger Jr., for instance, gives the impression that Technocracy was, to all intents and purposes, defunct by 1933 and survived solely as a California cult after that date. See: Arthur Schlesinger Jr., The Politics of Upheaval 1935-1936 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966), p. 110.

2 The movement has been 're-discovered' at various points throughout its history by different newspapers and journals. These 'discoveries' have been treated by contemporary Technocrats with ironic amusement. An example of one of these occasions was a piece in the New Yorker entitled, "Enemy of the Bourgeoisie" the tone of which was bemused nostalgia at the curiosity of the continued existence of such a period piece. See: "Enemy of the Bourgeoisie," New Yorker, XXIII, (June, 1947), p. 18.

3 Bottomore, p. 60.

4 Henry A. Porter, Roosevelt and Technocracy (Los Angeles: Wetzel Publishing Co. Ltd., 1932), p. 71.

5 Ibid., p. 72.

6 Joseph Kaye Faulkner, "The Emergence of Technocracy as a Social Reform Movement," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Economics, University of Utah, 1965, p. 25.

7 New York Times, August 6, 1932, p. 16.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Porter, p. 71.

11 Elsner, p. 44.

12 New York Times, August 11, 1932.

13 "Technocracy Cult Now Is On The Wane," New York Times, January 29, 1933, p. 1.

14 Bendiner, p. 138.

15 Frederick Lewis Allen, Since Yesterday 1929-1939 ("Bantam Books"; New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 71.

16 Publishers Weekly, CXXII, (December 31, 1932), p. 2393.

17 New York Times, January 20, 1933, p. 15.

CHAPTER FIVE

TECHNOCRACY 1932-1933, CRAZE OR MOVEMENT

The most common evaluation of the movement in this, the most public of its three phases, is that it was a fad or craze, not dissimilar to the intense, though short-lived, interest of the public in such things as mah-jong, miniature golf, the charleston, pole sitting, and marathon dances. On February 1st, 1933, Bruce Bliven, writing in the New Republic, summarized the past six to eight months:

> The Technocracy craze, as such, is about over. A few more weeks, and it bids fair to take its place with miniature golf, mah-jong, and the dodo. I wonder what will come next?... Personally I hope we go back to miniature golf; I hadn't quite finished with it when they whisked it away.[1]

One further note from this article is interesting. In describing the vast range of variously uninformed and contradictory statements about Technocracy, Bliven says:

> A bright young newspaper man in Los Angeles, being three thousand miles away and therefore able to dodge Howard Scott's wrath, has appeared in a talking motion picture explaining the subject...and further... Books on Technocracy have been issued from the presses at the rate of one a day, or on busy days, two, nearly all of them accompanied by the usual official repudiation by Mr. Scott.[2]

From Scott's point of view, events were clearly out of hand, public interest was clearly 'too much and too fast', and from the perspective of any true Technocrat, "too much opinion and not enough facts".

The original Energy Survey at Columbia had entertained far more limited and orderly goals, more in line with Veblen's prescription of "an extensive campaign of inquiry and publicity such as will bring the underlying population to a reasonable understanding of what it is all about".[3] The Energy Survey had, in fact, been quite consciously along the lines of the former Technical Alliance. Bassett Jones and Frederick Ackerman had returned and joined with Scott and a new recruit, M. King Hubbert (a geophysicist). On the basis of some preliminary work they were able to interest W. Rautenstrauch of Columbia, as well as the Architect's Emergency Relief Committee, which provided 20-30 unemployed draftsmen. In April of 1930 the Survey was installed at Columbia.[4]

Up to this point the Energy Survey was, like the Technical Alliance and the New Machine before it, primarily a professional group. It was not, and was never meant to be, "a soviet of technicians". It was, by intent at least, restricted to a highly skilled "professional" category of the labour force. It is also not totally by chance that Scott's first public address on the 'findings' of the Energy Survey was to a professional group, the American Statistical Association.[5] Given the social conditions in which the Technical Alliance had flourished briefly, the Survey might well have become a somewhat more extensive version of the Alliance, perhaps in the form of an industrial studies institute affiliated with Columbia.[6] This, however, was 1933 and neither the times nor the prophetic, almost messianic style of Howard Scott were conducive to cautious "scholarly enterprise". As we have already seen, the public response was avid, and Technocracy was removed forcibly and forever from the groves of academe.

Two factors are of fundamental importance in understanding the diverse, and often contradictory, public statements of the Technocrats during this period. The first is that the Technocrats were totally unprepared for the massive public response to their statements. The previous Technocratic organization, the Technical Alliance, had, after all, stimulated no interest from the public at all, and while the social conditions were considerably different now, the ideas had changed little and there was no way for the Technocrats to anticipate the furor they were to create. Also relevant here was their professional orientation. It was primarily, though not solely, the Technicians whom they were addressing. The second important factor is a partial qualification of this last observation. Throughout this period (and this is true of the subsequent movement as well) there is a persistent ambiguity of both goals and means. This is particularly true of this early phase of the movement, when considerable confusion existed (among Technocrats as well as on the part of the public) as to what the Technocrats' goals were. For some, a new form of government was implied, to others only minor economic reorganization, and there were those of whom it was science fiction 'come to life'. Variation on the means of obtaining the goals of

Technocracy (however conceived) was even greater. In part this was undoubtedly a consequence of the unanticipated and widespread public response, much of which anticipated the imminent formation of a Technocratic form of government. Scott and his associates, however, seemed either unable or unwilling to provide intelligible leadership on the classic question of "what is to be done".

AMBIGUITY AND INEVITABILITY -- THE EMERGENCE OF MILLENNIALISM

On September 7th of 1932, The Nation printed the following quote from a Technocrat's report:

> Our charts prove with startling vividness that the impact of technology on the price system is shattering the social structure. The production curve oscillates to the breaking point. When the crisis comes, no palliatives of a political nature will be adequate, because the problem is not political, but technical. Orators may appeal to and sway manpower, but they are impotent when it comes to handling energy. Neither socialism, communism, nor fascism is equipped to do this job in a society as highly technical as America today.[7]

The editors felt that "Technocracy's report is the first step toward a genuine revolutionary philosophy for America".[8] The analysis and predictions were dramatic and clear. The means of solving the problems were not. The inevitability of collapse had been even more clearly stated in a report on the Energy Survey, printed by the New York Times: "Under the present industrial system, unemployment will continue to increase until a maximum point is reached, which will bring about the collapse of the system."[9] In December, 1932, George Soule, noting the lack of program for achieving changes, observed: "Inevitability of change is particularly good, since it means we don't have to worry about effecting the change".[10] Nevertheless, the public (and some Technocrats) were still curious about the role that the Technocrats saw themselves playing in the coming changes. In the 'vacuum' created by the limited (or contradictory) comments by the Technocrats on both goals and means, the linking of Veblen's The Engineers and The Price System with Technocracy, combined with the anti-politics stance of the organization, as well as the connotations of the very name itself, were conducive to a public image of Technocracy as a dictatorship of engineers.

By January of 1933, the questioning and criticism were apparently severe enough to induce Scott to give out a signed interview on the matter. The gist of the statement was "that the organization is merely a voluntary research agency which is not staffed to answer questions".[11] The word, Technocracy, means only, "governance by science - social control through the power of technique and as such has no connotations of dictatorship by the technicians or a soviet of the engineer".[12] He did add, however, that: "The engineer and the technologist of today are the only functional group in our present social structure possessing both the knowledge and the capacity to direct this progression [into a new era] in a sane and orderly fashion".[13] Allen Raymond later reported in his book:

> In conversations held with reporters in the homes of the Technocrats, Scott in a more expansive mood had hinted at methods of transition from the present control over society by men whom he labels ignoramuses. The mechanics of revolution must not now be disclosed lest its strategy be betrayed prematurely to an inevitable foe.[14]

The editors were not lax in pointing out that all of this somehow begged the question of both "how it is to be done" and further, how were the decisions on 'ought' and 'whether' to be made.

The January 1933 issue of Harper's Magazine contained a major article by the Technocrats that was "prepared under the supervision of HOWARD SCOTT, Director of the Energy Survey of North America".[15] The opening paragraph was an excellent example of the millennial tone of the Technocrats at this time.

> A crisis in the history of American civilization is at hand. The nation stands at the threshold of what is simultaneously opportunity and disaster. The opportunity is one for social benefit, the disaster is the failure of the price system, and neither opportunity nor disaster may be escaped. The mills of the gods have ground almost their allotted time, and they have ground exceedingly fine.[16]

The article reiterated the by now familiar Technocratic arguments and examples, and concluded, "that is the problem before the people. It can be done. Are we going to set about it before it is too late?"[17]

It was still far from clear, however, just what one was to set about doing or how. The apogee of this phase of the movement was to come on the 13th of January,

1933, with Scott's Hotel Pierre Address. The continent-wide furor was at its most intense, and commentators both pro and con most adament in their positions. Howard Scott, the prophet of doom and the spokesman for a new era of unprecedented abundance, was to speak to a banquet audience of "capitalists, bankers, industrialists, economists and artists".[18] A nation-wide radio hookup had been arranged and was reported to be the most extensive ever afforded a speaker in America.[19] This was Scott's opportunity to respond to the critics, clarify the issues, and set the new directions. By all accounts the speech was a disaster. Scott started by saying that:

> At the outset Technocracy wishes it to be understood that all this publicity has broken upon it like nothing else that has happened to any similar organization in the history of man. Months ago we were unknown, working quietly [?] as a non-profit research organization...[20]

He went on to say that misunderstandings about Technocracy were primarily due to attacks and sensationalism in the press, and that: "these attacks, however beneficial to the newspaper and publishing interests, have added nothing to a proper understanding of our work".[21] The closing statement on the matter of program and tactics, was the important one. It was the clearest disavowal of any political program yet made by the Technocrats.

> Technocracy has no theory of the assumption of power; it is not concerned with going any place. It merely observes the present direction of social forces, striving to obtain a clear and unified picture of what is happening on this continent. What is to come is for the future to tell. We wish everybody a happy landing, and close with the affirmation that Technocracy will stand its ground. For the rest, we will leave it to tomorrow.[22]

Some thirty years later, Henry Elsner Jr. interviewed Charles Bonner, a leader of one of the later branches of the movement, on his evaluation of the speech. Bonner "emphatically recalls it as the crisis point of the early Technocratic movement. It was not so much what Scott said, as his inept delivery that made the whole thing anticlimactic".[23] An article by Allen Gordon gives a more detailed picture.

> The beginning of the act that night was tense; there was an expectent hush as the leading figure in the greatest economic drama of modern times took the stage. He began to speak haltingly; he groped for words; he sneered at times; he appeared absolutely inarticulate... Scott spoke of ergs and energy certificates and capitalistic economics... all that came over to the hearers was a jumble of unfinished and half-baked sentences. It was all over.[24]

Technocracy Inc. was to reprint this address continually throughout the years, with the claim that the banquet was somehow an attempt to co-opt the movement, and that Scott "knew that one radio broadcast would not make a social movement and that one banquet of funded wealth would not build a continental organization. He threw the bribe back".[25] Scott maintained that for some reason he never wanted to make the speech in the first place; that he got out of a sick bed to do so; that it was the first public address he had ever made;[26] and some time later, that prior to the address he had been drugged.[27] In any case, Scott delivered a "ranting diatribe which dismayed the public and disrupted the Technocratic movement".[28]

It soon became apparent that the tide had most definitely turned. The press became increasingly critical and mocking, and internal schisms, heretofore latent, became serious. To quote the Technocrats, "the Price System turned on Technocracy with bitterness and ridicule".[29]

On January 18th, Dr. Butler, president of Columbia, "disavowed any academic connection between the university and Technocracy",[30] and emphasized that Columbia merely provided space for them to work as they had "nowhere else to go".[31] On January 24, 1933, the front page of the N.Y. Times carried a report of a split at Columbia, headed "Scott Is Ousted From Technocracy By Split In Group". It was reported that four of the most important members of the Survey, Rautenstrauch, Henderson, Ackerman, and Jones, had resigned, and that while the work would be carried on at Columbia on a "scholarly basis", Scott would no longer be involved.[32]

The formal statement by those resigning made it clear that Scott's behaviour was at the root of the issue. "The misunderstanding and confusion concerning the aims and objects of Technocracy have caused us much concern"... and further... "We are not in accord with some of the statements expressed by Mr. Howard Scott."[33] The following day "Scott said he accepted the resignations of his former associates and announced the activities would be carried on outside the university with funds he expected to get from a public appeal."[34] Scott's sang-froid was impressive; nevertheless, his final bridge back into the fringes of the academic would had been burned,

and his major source of 'scientific' legitimacy lost. His credibility as the scientific prophet of inevitable doom and subsequent unprecedented abundance, seemed badly if not totally undermined.

We noted at the start of this chapter that Technocracy was, in this period, commonly described as a craze and consequently grouped with such phenomena as the public's intense and transitory adoption of miniature golf, the charleston, and 'Monopoly'. For purposes of satire such a categorization has obvious utility; however, it seems less valuable given a more analytic purpose. The prime difficulty is that while the form of the craze and the Technocracy 'affair' are similar (intense and transitory interest), their content differs radically. That is to say, although the distinctions between such things as fads, crazes, and panics are not altogether clear, there is commonly an implication of frivolity or superficiality with regard to the content of the craze. At least one connotation of the craze is, that a normally inconsequential matter is temporarily elevated to a position of prime importance in peoples' lives. The word "temporarily" highlights a second contrast between a craze and Technocracy. In the case of the craze there is, at least implicitly, a recognition by participants throughout its brief existence that the phenomenon is to be of short duration. Participants in this early phase of Technocracy never considered either its subject matter to be intrinsically inconsequential, nor its existence to be transitory. As at least some of the more usual connotations of the craze label seem to be misleading in the case of Technocracy, a somewhat different formulation seems to be required.

During this period the central focus of the Technocracy movement was on Howard Scott and the Energy Survey, but there were also a large number of diverse and unco-ordinated Technocratic groups across the entire continent. At this point Technocracy was just slightly more organized (by reason of its focus on Scott and the Energy Survey) than those movements defined by Herbert Blumer as General Movements: that is, movements with a developing set of ideas and a literature, but little or no organizational form. The literature of such movements is usually "as

varied and ill defined as is the movement itself".[35] Blumer's description of the leaders of such movements seems directly applicable to Howard Scott. He says, "...the "leaders" of a general social movement play an important part - not in the sense of exercising directive control over the movement, but in the sense of being pace-makers. Such leaders are likely to be 'voices in the wilderness', pioneers without any solid following, and frequently not very clear about their own goals."[36] In the case of Technocracy, the combination of Howard Scott's messianic style, and the unanticipated, intense public response to the ideas, seems to have raised the movement to a somewhat higher 'pitch' than that envisioned by Blumer as usual with general movements. This intensity of interest and activity is not at all unusual, however, in the early stages of millennial movements, the elements of which (as discussed in Chapter One) we have seen emerging in this 1932-1933 period.

Finally, the craze does not usually become a social movement, while it is quite common that the general movement becomes the base out of which a more specific social movement emerges. As Blumer notes, a specific movement is often a "crystalization of much of the maturation of dissatisfaction, hope, and desire awakened by the general social movement..."[37] Such was the case with Technocracy, which went on to become a highly organized movement of tenacious longevity.

The next chapter is concerned with this process of becoming an organized movement with a relatively unified ideology.

NOTES

1 Bruce Bliven, "Technocracy and Communism," The New Republic, LXXIII, (February, 1933), p. 315.

2 Ibid.

3 Veblen, p. 130.

4 Elsner, p. 28.

5 Ibid., p. 29.

6 Something of this nature did in fact happen when Scott and his associates split with Columbia in January of 1933, and it was announced that the Department of Industrial Engineering would henceforth carry on the work, "as a scholarly enterprise of the university which up to this time had merely been host to the Technocracy group." See New York Times, January 24, 1933, p. 1.

7 "Toward a New System," The Nation, CXXXV, (September 7, 1932), p. 205.

8 Ibid.

9 New York Times, August 6, 1932, p. 13.

10 George Soule, "Technocracy, Good Medicine or a Bedtime Story?" The New Republic, LXXIII, (December 28, 1932), p. 178.

11 The New Republic, January 4, 1933, p. 199.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Allen Raymond, What is Technocracy? (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1933), p. 97.

15 "Technology Smashes The Price System," Harpers Magazine, CLXVI, (January, 1933), pp. 129-142.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 142.

18 New York Times, January 14, 1933, p. 1.

19 Norman F. Benson, "The Origins And Impact Of An American Radicalism; A History Of Technocracy, Inc.," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Education, Ball State University, 1965, p. 40.

20 "The Hotel Pierre Address," The Northwest Technocrat, XVIII, No. 175, (April, 1954), p. 1.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 16.

23 Elsner, p. 52.

[24] Allen Gordon, "Scott, the Technocrat, Is Sold Out!", Mac Fadden Weekly, November 24, 1934, p. 4, as quoted in Elsner, p. 51.

[25] "No Platinum Handcuffs!", Technocracy Digest, Special Supplement, 1949, p. 15.

[26] Elsner, pp. 51-52.

[27] Benson, p. 42f.

[28] Ibid., p. 41.

[29] "The Hotel Pierre Address", The Northwest Technocrat (April, 1954), p. 1.

[30] New York Times, January 18, 1933, p. 1.

[31] Ibid.

[32] New York Times, January 24, 1933, p. 1.

[33] Ibid.

[34] New York Times, January 29, 1933, p. 3.

[35] Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," Principles Of Sociology, ed. Alfred Mc Lung Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951), p. 201.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 202.

CHAPTER SIX

TECHNOCRACY 1933–1935: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ORGANIZED MOVEMENT

The emergence of Technocracy Inc. as THE Technocracy movement out of the numerous heterogeneous Technocratic groups that existed in early 1933, is important to our understanding of this movement inasmuch as the events of this period had definite consequences for the future character of the movement.

A fundamental conflict developed in this period over the broad issue of what role the movement should play in effecting social change. We have already noted the ambiguity in the General Movement period on this issue, with positions wavering back and forth between an active political stance and the more passive millennial concept of the inevitability of change unassisted by Technocracy. This was, in various forms, to be the central conflict within the movement for many years, and was to be both the basis of distinction between the two main factions of the movement that developed in 1933-1934 (Technocracy Inc. and the Continental Committee on Technocracy), and the central issue of a later major schism within Technocracy Inc. The details of the early development of the two major conflicting Technocracy groups are significant, therefore, as the first elaboration of the many facets of this issue.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TWO FACTIONS

Our estimate of the number of Technocratic groups in existence at this time (January 1933) must necessarily remain somewhat incomplete because of the diffuse and autonomous nature of their relationship to each other and the relatively short life span of many of these groups. The larger, more enduring groups are reasonably well documented. One of the most important (the Continental Committee on Technocracy) was originally an outgrowth of Scott's Energy Survey. The group had been organized to respond to the massive public demand for information, and to enable Scott and the Energy Survey to proceed uninterrupted in their research. Members included a number of prominent persons in various public media. "...Richard Walsh, founder of the John Day Press; James Waterman Wise, editor of Opinion; Quincy

Howe, editor of The Living Age and later a well known radio commentator; John Franklin Carter of Time... Harold Loeb and Felix Fraser, later to be prominent in the Committee, joined several months after it had been organized."[1] While the Committee was initially formed to further public relations for Technocracy, we should note that in addition, its members considered themselves the nucleus of Technocracy's potential political activities.[2] Immediately following the announcement of the split at Columbia, however, an announcement was given out by the temporary chairman of the Committee, former Assemblyman Langdon W. Post, that the Committee would temporarily suspend its activities.[3] Scott, responding to questioning reporters about future relations with the Continental Committee, replied, "Technocracy does not wish to be associated with any political enterprise. Read what you want into that."[4]

Members had, by this time, a number of reservations about Scott and the ambiguity of his intentions in both the long and the short run, and a meeting was arranged at which representatives of the various local Technocracy factions were present. These included members of the Continental Committee, participants in the Columbia group, and Scott with a friend whom he was later to marry, Eleanor Steele. The following quote is Charles Bonner's report of the most contentious issue of the discussion. Apparently, someone asked Scott if the movement was to be run in a democratic fashion. "Scott did not reply. But Eleanor Steele answered for him. 'Of course it will be democratic - - but Howard should always have the power of veto.' Scott said nothing. That decided it so far as we were concerned."[5] The members of the Committee then decided to initiate a movement of their own, which would eliminate what they considered to be the defects of Scott's Technocracy. In their words:

> Some of us contended that behind the fad, the fantastic figures, and the pseudo-scientific jargon, was a sound idea. And that civilization itself might very well depend on getting this fundamental idea accepted, on proving to the people that the days of material scarcity would be over as soon as they willed it. We argued that the Continental Committee instead of being through, had, on the contrary, not yet begun its real work.[6]

As of the end of January, 1933, there were two main Technocratic groups (Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc.), each attempting to forge a movement

by consolidating the various groups across the country. The Continental Committee tended toward an active political reformism. A leading member, Harold Loeb, later wrote "... I saw no necessity for transforming our system of government. I argued that a department of the government subordinate to the political authorities, democratically elected, should be entrusted with the job."[7] Technocracy Inc. developed along somewhat different lines. Loeb felt that the new society of abundance could be achieved, "by convincing enough people it was to their advantage. Technocracy Inc. considered such a tactic ineffective. It believed in recruiting a small group of trained technicians who would prepare to take over the switchboards when the price system collapsed."[8]

We have already seen some traces of millennialism in Scott's conceptions, and these were to become even more pronounced at this branch of the movement developed. In this early period, as Loeb's comments indicate, it was clearly a very passive millennialism with regard to the movement's role in effecting changes. At later stages in the movement there was to be considerable internal conflict over the issue of relatively passive versus more active roles for the movement in social affairs. While the Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc. became, in 1933-1934, the main contenders for the leadership of the Technocracy movement, it is important not to oversimplify the situation by failing to note the vast numbers of Technocratic groups across the North American continent, each with its own ideological, tactical, and organizational variants on the common Technocratic theme. It was these diverse groups that the two main factions had somehow to try to weld together into a unified and relatively homogeneous movement.

The west coast of the continent seems to have been the most receptive to all variants of Technocratic ideas. In Los Angeles alone there were the Technocracy Lecture Bureau, the Technocracy Society, the American Society of Technocracy, and the Los Angeles School of Technocracy.[9] In Denver, Colorado, there were the American Technocratic League and in Chicago, the Technocratic Party and the All American Technological Society.[10] In Vancouver, as early as December of 1932,

Robert Cromie, owner and publisher of the Vancouver Sun, was giving Technocracy front page coverage and describing it in terms almost as favourable as those of Howard Scott.[11]

In discussing this period in some detail, Henry Elsner, Jr. reports six different Technocratic journals published in various centers,[12] which does not include the various newspaper and periodical 'specials' or the numerous pamphlets that appeared. Howard Scott had apparently survived his discouraging début as a public speaker at the Hotel Pierre, as it was reported that "for 16 days continuously he spoke no less than three times a day";[13] but his successes in recruitment were apparently quite limited. Financially he was clearly a failure. On March 5, the New York Times reported that he was bankrupt. He and his wife shared a friend's apartment and he testified that his basic source of support was the contributions of various friends. He also told the court that his numerous lectures seldom paid more than his expenses. When questioned about Technocracy he said that incorporation papers were being prepared, but refused to indicate the number of members in the organization.[14]

In May, Technocracy Inc. issued an extensive statement intended to correct "misconceptions" as well as to assert its position as THE Technocracy movement. This statement began:

> Sir: In order to avoid further misunderstandings of its aims, Technocracy now wishes to make a declaration of policy of such a nature that it cannot be misconstrued or falsified.[15]

The rest of the article was a concise summary of previous statements. The findings of Technocracy Inc. indicated, they reported:

> ... an imminent and progressive social instability under price-system operation, with corresponding disorder, that will threaten large portions of the people with decreasing purchasing power, and, consequently, increasing hardship and deprivation.[16]

The next sentence did nothing to avoid misunderstandings, particularly in view of their previous, oft represented, statements that Technocracy Inc. had "no assumption of power theory", and never would have. The statement:

> ... in order to avoid the consequences of such a débacle it is imperative to organize a disciplined body which will resist the forces of disruption and

> ensure the free flow of food and other necessities to the population at large during the time of crisis and afterward in the period of readjustment.[17]

could clearly be construed to advocate rather definite powers to some unspecified "disciplined body", presumably Scott and associates. Readers were further assured that,

> Technocracy stands ready with a plan to salvage American civilization, if and when democracy as now functioning can no longer cope with the inherent disruptive forces.[18]

On the 22nd of May the Continental Committee countered with a press release of their own that announced that their membership stood at 250,000, which included six regional divisions and "more than seventy local units".[19] The release stressed the Committee's lack of connection with Scott, but noted a "working contact, though no official connection",[20] with the Columbia group. The Committee's program at this stage was no clearer than Scott's with reference to tactics. In part it said:

> That the people legally acquire the means of production and distribution and the natural resources of the continent; that the trained technicians, in all fields, be drafted to integrate and modernize the equipment, operate the machinery and administer the resources of the continent for the equal benefit of all, and that a technologically sound social mechanism be established, under which every adult capable of service shall contribute his service to the end that by such co-operative industry the individual shall vastly increase the standard of his living and acquire a leisure in which to pursue his own interests in a way hitherto possible only to the privileged few.[21]

Reference was made in this report to an event that was to be the next important crisis point in the Technocracy movement. "The committee," it said, " is co-operating with the All American Technological Society in the first Congress of Technicians to be held in Chicago beginning June 25."[22] The convention was in part a result of the rather extensive consolidation of various Technocratic groups, effected by the Continental Committee. While the claim of 250,000 members was clearly inflated,[23] these organizational activities were nevertheless highly successful. Included were the Los Angeles American Council of Technocracy (including all of the above-mentioned Los Angeles groups), the American Technocratic League of Denver, and according to now executive director Harold Loeb, "practically all other groups".[24] In negotiating a possible merger with Chicago's A.A.T.S. (All American Technological Society) this

group's "projected 1933 National Technological Congress was broadened in scope to be a 'Continental Convention on Technocracy', to be held during the Chicago World's Fair, June 27-30th".[25]

While it was the Continental Committee and Chicago's A.A.T.S. that initiated the conference, Technocracy Inc. was invited, as were approximately 20 other groups. Not insensitive to the possibility of a Technocracy revival, Howard Scott reportedly accepted his invitation, by wire, immediately, and within a short time was well on the way to dominating the organizational planning. In view of the open conflict between Scott and the Continental Committee, it is difficult to see how he managed it; yet by the time June 27th arrived, he had 'appointed' two of Technocracy Inc.'s members to the Agenda Committee (one day after having been invited), issued invitations to speakers (without conferring with original sponsors), been influential in control of both topics and speakers, achieved the recognition of Technocracy Inc. as one of the three official sponsors of the conference, and arranged that all stationery be on Technocracy Inc. grey paper and stamped with the Technocracy Inc. symbol, the Monad.[26]

A number of prestigious public figures were scheduled to speak, and the stage was set for the Technocracy revival and the laying of the groundwork of an extensive and unified Technocracy movement.

What might have been the outcome of this conference was to become a matter of immaterial speculation, as Howard Scott's flair for headlines, combined with the perhaps exaggerated reporting of Time, produced an article in Time entitled: "Bayonets for Technocrats".[27] The events of the conference are unclear, as various reports are contradictory, but it is obvious that the conflicts centered around Scott and the issue of tactics and program, which as noted previously, had been the areas of most ambiguity and sensitivity. Scott is reported by Time as having said: "Our fight is to abolish the price system. Bayonets will line up those who wilfully refuse to join the movement."[28] A.A.T.S.'s General Westervelt apparently found Scott a little too radical and was "obliged" to miss the final banquet. Scott did not consider

the loss of the All American Technological Society too serious as they were, he said, "a pretty reactionary crowd".[29] Scott did deny, however, that he had ever advocated the use of force.[30]

Harold Loeb (Continental Committee) felt the result of the conference was that in terms of future recruitment: "Technocracy Inc., Scott's personal organization, recruited those individuals who favoured a conspiracy of picked men in key positions who would wait around to seize power by force when the economy collapsed. All the others, the dreamers, the utopians, the anarchists, and the left-wing liberals joined up with the Continental Committee."[31]

This meeting did define more clearly the two main branches of the movement, and it appears that the various other groupings either merged with the Continental Committee or Technocracy Inc., or simply faded out of existence.

Up to this point the Continental Committee had made the most organizational gains and was to become both less radical and correspondingly more liable to co-optation into New Deal programs than Technocracy Inc. It is the increasing polarization between these two factions that forms the next important stage in the developmental process of the Technocracy movement. In order to comprehend best these contrasts, and the consequences of the conflicts between the two organizations as well as internally specific to each, it is important to set them in some preliminary theoretical context.

The classical dialectic: reform - revolution is normally most commonly and clearly understood with reference to large-scale nationalist and/or socialist peasant/worker movements. I argue, however, that the label revolutionary may conceivably be appropriate to movements of more limited range (i.e. institutionally specific) in the sense that such movements do advocate fundamental restructuring of institutionalized social relations. Furthermore, it is important to stress that reform - revolution is not only a typological description, but in fact a central focus of a dialectic process generating characteristic contradictions. While it is arguable to what extent reform movements generate tendencies toward revolution, it is clear that

revolutionary movements continually must deal with internal tendencies towards reformism. The result is the growth of factions and schisms, and frequently the polarization of the factions relative to each other, each faction clarifying its own position through this conflicting interaction. The opposing faction becomes then a negative reference group. This process is important, not simply as an exercise in the polemics of conflict and mutual accusation and recrimination, but more fundamentally as a process of Becoming, or achieving self-identity, analogous to individuals' becoming social through interaction with significant others. The above seems, at least, one reasonable way of interpreting the relations between the Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc. in the 1933-1934 period.

This way of perceiving movement process is not uncommon with reference to the kind of large-scale political movements noted above (though the theoretical analysis of it is limited). It is less commonly utilized, however, with reference to the whole range of less extensive movements. The usage of the term revolutionary is, by way of example, normally limited to references to national revolutions. Technocracy has never become a politically relevent national revolutionary force. Nevertheless we would argue that it cannot be properly understood as other than a revolutionary movement, in that it advocated fundamental and complete restructuring of all major societal institutions.

The schism between Scott and Columbia, and the early split from the Continental Committee are difficult to analyze in terms of movement dynamics inasmuch as no organized coherent movement in fact existed at this stage. By the time of the Technocracy Convention at the Hotel Morrison, a movement with various conflicting groups clearly did exist. Following the conference, the two main factions, Scott's Technocracy Inc. and the Continental Committee, developed along clearly and consciously different paths. Increasingly these two groups tended to define themselves both publicly and to their own memberships by way of contrast to the faction. The 'other' faction becomes a negative reference group.

The distinction between reform and revolutionary movements (or factions of

movements) has to do with the kinds of changes sought. With reference to the Technocracy movement, it is also clearly important to distinguish between differing conceptions of how these changes are to come about, or more specifically, the movement's definition of its role in effecting changes. The debate within the Technocracy movement has consistently been between relatively more active versus more passive positions. We can construct, then, a reasonably accurate representation of the internal tendencies of this movement in a four-fold typology, which should serve to highlight characteristic differences within the context of this specific movement.

Revolutionary - Active	Reform - Active
Revolutionary - Passive	Reform - Passive

The Continental Committee had come into existence as a conscious reform of Scott's variant of Technocracy, primarily in terms of a less revolutionary set of goals (i.e. a less fundamental re-structuring of the existing social structure). In addition, their critique of the existing society (and specific groups) became more moderate than Scott's, in an attempt to broaden the social base of their movement. Technocracy Inc. was, by contrast, more revolutionary, though in later stages it was to fluctuate between active and passive roles.

The contrasts between the two main Technocratic groups became increasingly evident as each developed and clarified its ideology and produced several major pieces of literature to carry its image. The Continental Committee had Harold Loeb's previously published Life In A Technocracy, which was somewhat reminiscent of Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward. Howard Scott noted that the manuscript had been turned down by three publishers before it was finally printed, the reason being, by his account, that Technocracy "refused to approve the manuscript in any way, shape or form",[32] and furthermore the "kindest thing we can say is that Bellamy did far, far better many years ago".[33] The Committee's other major piece was the Plan of Plenty, written by Loeb and Felix Fraser, following the Committee's "First Continental Conference", July, 1933.[34] This document displayed some of the growing contrasts between the

Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc. Below is one summary of the paper.

> It is a plan to end the Depression and ensure maximum distribution of technologically produced abundance. It is not a blue print for the total reconstruction of society: the political institutional structure is not mentioned nor is a general theory of social evolution and change.[35]

The "Plan" was in essence a set of relatively extensive reforms. Technocracy Inc. produced Science Versus Chaos[36] by Howard Scott, which was the text of his concluding speech at the ill-fated Continental Convention on Technocracy. This pamphlet was distributed by Scott on his continent-wide tour in 1934 and has since gone through six printings. It is still a standard piece of Technocracy Inc. literature. Technocracy Inc. also produced (in 1934) the Technocracy Study Guide,[37] initially in mimeograph form and later in a hardcover volume, which has also been reprinted a number of times. This text was to serve as the basic resource for Technocracy Study groups, of which more will be said later.

A third important piece of literature for this group was: Technocracy: Some Questions Answered (1934). This publication was the 'official party line' on questions and/or criticisms directed at Technocracy advocates. As such it served both the potential recruit and the inadequately informed member faced with the task of handling difficult questions. The foreword to the document stated: "It is based wholly upon questions asked by audiences attending official lectures on the subject".[38] The pamphlet was essentially a dictionary of "correct" answers to queries and criticism. The introduction to the pamphlet indicated that its purpose was solely to inform the public about various aspects of Technocracy that had commonly given rise to confusion, both inadvertently and through the proliferation of 'unofficial' writings. Nevertheless, the significance for members should not be ignored and will be discussed in some detail when we examine in depth the Technocracy movement in Vancouver. The publication is of some importance for the light it sheds on the movement in this 1933-1935 period. "Technocracy Inc." readers were told:

> ... is the organization which is being developed under the leadership of Howard Scott, to act [italics added] upon the facts and to set up in America as speedily as possible [italics added] the new order of society which science designates as the most probable sequel to the present inadequate price system.[39]

Further on in the pamphlet we find: "It is, of course, our hope to unite for concerted action the technical man of the entire continental area."[40] If this was solely a research and education organization (as it claimed whenever questions were asked as to how Technocracy was to come about), it had a curiously activist way of describing itself. The millennial attributes of inevitability, combined with the perception of time as "a final future" were also evident.[41] Time is seen as a linear, perhaps evolutionary process culminating in the present, which is the final threshold to a glorious new era. On page 7 we find: "The price system is crashing of its own inherent contradictions. We are at the end of an era."[42]

The relationship of Technocracy Inc. to the New Deal was dealt with under the question: "Do any members of Technocracy Inc. act as advisors to the present Administration"?[43] The answer rejected any attempts at political co-optation, but indicated that perhaps a purely research role would be acceptable. The writers claimed to have been approached by an emissary of the President but that: "The way in which the approach was made carried with it implications of a political nature, and Technocracy declined to become involved."[44] Reference was also made to the Continental Committee as a former "auxiliary organization of laymen" of Technocracy Inc. that had been "dropped largely because of its attempts to involve Technocracy politically with the National Administration".[45] The final question and answer in the document furthered the impression of an elite conspiracy. The question read: "How do the Technocrats propose to come into power?" The response is printed in full. All italics, however, have been added by this writer.

> It is the policy of the leaders of Technocracy not to discuss tactics, because it is impossible to say definitely just exactly what would be done in a situation that is still some distance in the future and in which so much would depend upon the attitude and actions of others. All we can say is that, as scientifically trained men and women, we would weigh the facts and act upon them as intelligently as possible when the time comes. For the present, we know that we must educate and organize, not to foment a revolution, but to be prepared to keep our industrial mechanism operating when the price system can no longer function. This must be done in two ways: first, by building up a closely knit organization of technically trained men and women in strategic positions in industry; secondly, by developing a "new climate of opinion" among the intelligent minority to support the first group when the crisis comes. On thing is certain: given a strong sentiment on the part of this sufficiently large minority

> in favor of having those men and women operate our functional sequences who are capable of doing so, and, as Howard Scott says significantly, "Even the supreme court knows how to bow to force majeure when it becomes necessary".[46]

Technocracy Inc.'s evaluation of the Continental Committee, while relatively clear in this public document, was defined more forcefully in a paper on the subject circulated only to members. The rival organization was seen as not only co-opted, but also as manipulated by Establishment forces in an effort to hinder the 'real' Technocracy movement. The statement reads in part: "The nationalized Tammany political machine of the Roosevelt - Farley Administration not only attempted to disrupt the original Technocracy, but sponsored and promoted the spurious 'right wing deviation' known as the Continental Committee".[47] Further on in the same paper we find: "The Continental Committee was the vehicle by which the nationalized Tammany political machine was going to render Technocracy harmless and innocuous to the present price system".[48] The document includes a detailed description of a New Deal project that the Continental Committee was deeply involved in, called the "National Survey of Potential Product Capacity", and lists the weekly government salaries of the Committee's members, the highest of which was Harold Loeb's as director, $45 per week. Scott comments that: "We are surprised,...to find that even the Roosevelt - Farley machine values our erstwhile competitors so cheaply".[49]

While this project was perhaps no so pernicious as claimed by Scott, it is indicative of the differences of the two factions. The project had, in fact, been conceived by Loeb and the Committee and they had solicited federal funds, in February of 1934, through the Civil Works Administration.[50] This department of the government soon folded, however, and the survey was transferred to Langden Post's New York Housing Authority. In many ways the project was similar to the earlier Energy Survey at Columbia, and it became at this time the primary focus of activity of the Continental Committee. Their distinctness from Scott and his group was stressed. "It would be disastrous", a bulletin announced prior to the survey, "to have the sober and accurate findings of the survey ascribed to Howard Scott or Frank Vanderlip, early priests of Technocracy".[51] There were other efforts as well in this direction:

"Units and divisions were urged to use their own discretion in acquainting the public 'with the drastic differences between Technocracy Inc., and the Continental Committee'. The term 'Plan of Plenty' and 'Continental Committee' were to be emphasized, and the word 'technocracy' relegated to its historical significance." Scott responded: "The Continental Committee on Technocracy had officially dropped the word 'Technocracy' from its title according to its bulletin No. 11, and it now speaks of itself as the Continental Committee on Advice, stating that it can no longer afford to be associated with Technocracy. Technocracy returns the compliment."[53]

It was not only in New York, but on the national level, that the Committee showed the tendency toward various alliances with other groups. Decision making was decentralized on a grand scale and "Local units were allowed, or took upon themselves, almost complete authority, issuing their own membership cards, setting and collecting dues, issuing literature, and making and breaking alliances with other reform, radical and political organizations".[54] In Washington State the majority of the Continental Committee group amalgamated with the Commonwealth Builders[55] and developed a program analogous to Upton Sinclair's EPIC[56] (End Poverty in California), named appropriately, End Poverty in Washington. They participated in sponsoring political delegates to the Senate and the state legislature, and in 1936 became the Washington Commonwealth Federation. The W. C. F. amalgamated with various other organizations and took over the local Democratic Party. The W. C. F. was in turn eventually captured by the American C. P.[57] When the Utopian Society (a 1933 combination of technocracy economics and secret society ritual) experienced difficulties in 1935, the Californian branch of the Committee attempted an alliance, which turned out to be less than a resounding success.[58] The conflict and competition between the two main Technocratic contenders was intense in California, and members defected back and forth between them with monotonous regularity. In the long run the advantage was to Technocracy Inc. The detailed story of the decline of the Continental Committee will not be examined here. The final disposition of the group is characteristic. Loeb recommended, and the membership accepted, a merger of the

Committee with the League for Abundance.[59] This group eventually dissolved, and while various groups across the country still called themselves Continental Committee Technocrats, bit by bit the remnants of Scott's main rival faded out of existence. It had been a loosely integrated, heterogeneous grouping of primarily reform-oriented elements with a continually disrupting tendency toward extending itself by merger and alliance with other movements. Its ideology was flexible to say the least, and it was continually sidetracked from its main programs by forays into diverse forms of political activity. Howard Scott was to maintain the longevity (if not the public relevance) of Technocracy Inc. by developing his movement along precisely the opposite lines.

In August of 1934, a Technocracy Inc. bulletin to members said: "There are several imitators, but only the genuine is making headway. Having kept its scientific groundwork clear and its organization free from entangling alliances with other groups, Technocracy under Howard Scott's leadership has won the respect of enemy and friend alike."[60] An internal policy statement in March of 1935, signed by Howard Scott and titled General Policy on Political Action, elaborated Technocracy Inc.'s position on such affairs and threw an interesting light on Scott's position at this time on the question of a program for attaining power.

A major section of the communication is reproduced in full here with italics added by this writer.

> Technocracy is not a political party. Technocracy is the 'Technological Army of the New America', and as such, it must be a vertical alignment of all functional capacities necessary to operate the entire social mechanism of this continental 'New America'. Technocracy may take political action but it will only do so when the organization of Technocracy Inc., is sufficiently trained, disciplined and widespread to permit the execution of that action in all sections of this country simultaneously. It must be realized that if Technocracy takes political action, it will have to be the last political action, as this action will be taken for the transition of the present economy to a Technate, and that this action will be taken solely for the abolition of this price system and its accompanying political administration.
>
> It is the duty of every Technocrat to prevent the abortive attempts to involve Technocracy Inc. in political action local or otherwise, before the organization is prepared to act. Any member or officer guilty of such practices should have general charges preferred against him at C.H.Q. The regulations prescribe that wherever such charges shall be sustained and substantiated against the member so charged he shall be found guilty of

conduct unbecoming a Technocrat and subject to immediate expulsion.
It is the duty of every Technocrat to keep C.H.Q. fully informed regarding any action in the field that has even the slightest appearance of sabotage.[61]

Scott's position, then, while largely consistent in the matter of predominantly revolutionary goals, is more ambiguous with regard to means of effecting changes. The most dominant theme is that Price System collapse is inevitable, and hence requires and will receive no 'push' from Technocracy Inc. It is the movement's purpose to provide the blueprints for the new society, and perhaps the nucleus of the required personnel to operate the Technate. This latter goal tended to change over the years as it became clear that Technocracy Inc. could not recruit and/or retain the required "technicians". As the italicized sections of the above quotation indicate, there was, quite early in the movement, some ambiguity about effecting change. Contrary to the more passive position of preparing for the millennium, there was the "promise" that if and when the organization was sufficiently well and widely organized it might indeed take action to itself, "make the revolution". This possibility was to remain an important undercurrent throughout most of the history of the Technocracy movement. With the collapse of the Continental Committee, Technocracy Inc. became THE Technocracy movement and it is with the development of this organization, with particular focus on the Vancouver sections, that the remainder of this paper will deal.

NOTES

1 Elsner, p. 50.

2 Ibid., pp. 50 and 55.

3 New York Times, January 24, 1933, p. 1.

4 New York Times, January 25, 1933, p. 19.

5 Elsner, p. 55.

6 The Continental Committee on Technocracy, Bulletin No. 13, August 1, 1934 (mimeographed), as quoted in Elsner, p. 56.

7 Harold Loeb, "Technocracy - A Forgotten Episode that Changed the World" (Unpublished manuscript), p. 4.

8 Ibid., p. 8

9 Elsner, pp. 64-65.

10 Ibid., pp. 60-67.

11 The Vancouver Sun, December 7, 1932, p. 1.

12 Howard Scott later estimated that there were in this period about 20 different Technocratic groups across the continent. (Letter from Howard Scott to J. Kaye Faulkner, May 15, 1964; copy in this writer's possession.)

13 Elsner, p. 70.

14 New York Times, March 5, 1933, p. 1.

15 "The Social Objectives Of Technocracy," The New Republic, LXXV, (May 17, 1933), p. 20.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 New York Times, May 22, 1933, p. 15.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Elsner, p. 71.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., p. 72.

26 Ibid., pp. 72-73.

27 "Bayonets For Technocrats," Time, XXII, (July 10, 1933), p. 36.

28 Ibid.

29 Letter from Howard Scott to J. Kaye Faulkner, November 25, 1964. (Copy in this writer's possession.)

30 Ibid.

31 Harold Loeb, "Technocracy: A Forgotten Episode that Changed The World," pp. 14-15.

32 Letter from Scott to Faulkner, November 25, 1964.

33 Ibid.

34 Elsner, p. 85.

35 Ibid.

36 Howard Scott, Science Versus Chaos (Chicago: Technocracy Inc., 1933)

37 Technocracy Study Course, New York: Technocracy Inc., 1934.

38 Technocracy, Some Questions Answered, (1934), p. 1.

39 Ibid., p. 6.

40 Ibid., p. 20.

41 Talmon, p. 130.

42 Technocracy, Some Questions Answered, (1934), p. 7.

43 Ibid., p. 22.

44 Ibid., p. 23.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 31.

47 Ibid.

48 Technocracy Inc., Continental Committee, New York, July 1934, n.d. mimeographed, p. 1.

49 Ibid.

50 Elsner, p. 42.

51 Continental Committee on Technocracy, Bulletin No. 11, April 14, 1934, as quoted by Elsner, p. 96.

52 Ibid.

[53] Technocracy Inc., Continental Committee, p. 2-3.

[54] Elsner, p. 98.

[55] This was apparently the result of an internal schism over the issue of political activity versus education.

[56] A Continental Committee splinter group backed Sinclair's EPIC program and supported him for Governor of California.

[57] Schlesinger, p. 123.

[58] Elsner, p. 100, and Schlesinger, p. 110.

[59] Elsner, p. 110.

[60] Technocracy Inc., Some Differences Between Technocracy And Other Groups, New York, August 1934, n.d. mimeographed, p. 3.

[61] Howard Scott, General Policy On Political Action, New York, N.Y.: Technocracy Inc., March 1935. mimeographed, p. 2.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TECHNOCRACY INC. – 1934 TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The choice of the Vancouver Technocrats as a focus for a study of the Technocracy Inc. movement was in part a coincidence, inasmuch as the writer and one of the few remaining sections of the movement were both in Vancouver; it was possible for the author to study this section as a participant observer for approximately one year.

There is, however, another legitimation for centering our study on the Vancouver section. This area has been a stronghold of Technocratic activity since 1934, and remains today the only Canadian center with a section of Technocracy Inc. still operating. The question of how representative this section is of other areas is less clear. The strongly centralized control of the movement seems to have maintained a high degree of similarity among the various groups. Different centers may be more or less successful in recruitment, but ideology, organizational forms and practices, and various activities are formulated and controlled by CHQ (Continental Headquarters) and Howard Scott. The organization values (and enforces) discipline and uniformity, and hence wide divergence and heterogeneity are not characteristic of various segments of the movement. The Vancouver section should reflect, to some extent at least, the general character of the movement.

The introduction of Technocracy to Vancouver was initially through the highly favourable reporting of the Vancouver Sun newspaper. The owner and publisher, Robert Cromie, was apparently favourably impressed with the Wayne Parish articles, and the Sun gave the ideas wide coverage. This was in November and December of 1932, and if the reports were factually questionable and the interpretations somewhat at variance with those of other proponents of Technocracy, this simply reflected the general confusion on the subject at this point. Inadequacies of fact and understanding were more than compensated for by enthusiasm. The headline of a special edition on December 3, 1932 read: MAN AND MACHINE HERALD NEW ERA. Further down the page it read, "Technocracy will probably be North America's NEW ECONOMIC

POLICY".[1] Shortly before this was printed, a Sun editorial had said:

> Just as Technocracy in 1920 forecast the crash of 1929, so does Technocracy today forecast that unless drastic adjustments are made in distribution, within 18 months the modern 'world faces national bankruptcy and chaos'. This prophecy is something that must at once engage the mind of all thinking people.[2]

Given this statement, it was not surprising to find in the December 7th edition:

> Technocracy offers a relief from the tyranny of automatic machinery, a tyranny that is responsible for all the unemployment of today. It implies a breaking down of most of our political and economic conceptions. It may mean a new civilization. It is the most important and vital word on the lips of people today.[3]

That Cromie defined the newspaper man's role as somewhat broader than mere reporting, is indicated by the following statement from the same edition: "Technocracy - the use of automatic machines - is making a new world for the boys and girls of today and tomorrow. How are they prepared for the world? Interpretation and leadership must come from Educators and Editors."[4] Mr. R. Cromie's interpretive activities on behalf of Technocracy seem not to have been restricted to printed editorials, for in January the Sun reported three public lectures he had given locally to the Kiwanis, the Legion Hall in New Westminster, and the Vancouver Institute at U.B.C. on three consecutive days.[5]

Details on the fortunes of Technocracy during the next year and a half are lacking. We do not know how those interested in Technocracy in the Vancouver area responded to the various conflicts and crises affecting the movement in the eastern United States. The Continental Committee, although very strong in Washington State, seems to have made no gains in British Columbia in this period. At some point in 1933-1934,[6] a Technocracy Inc. section was formed that met in various members' homes, and on September of 1934 a mimeographed bulletin called the Technocracy Digest commenced publication. The editor was a journalist named L.M. Dickenson, and W.E. Walter was listed as local Director of Technocracy Inc.[7] The introduction to this first issue was a hyperbolical description of the upstanding character and immense abilities of Howard Scott, which is indicative of the Vancouver section's loyalties in the early conflicts. It is quoted in full here, as it is a characteristic example of the hyperbole Scott was able to inspire.

> Howard Scott... The tall, rangy, dynamic, almost legendary leader of Technocracy Inc., was born in Virginia, educated in Europe and has stored in his brain probably the greatest mass of engineering and scientific data ever accumulated by any single man. In his clear, decisive voice he can pour forth facts and figures until the listener reels. He has the capacity for dramatizing the enormous body of thought thet [sic] is Technocracy. He is a leader.
>
> Howard Scott as director of Technocracy is supremely well qualified for the position. He formulated the ideas from which emerged Technocracy; he has stayed with his ideas all through the false prosperity of the twenties, and he has brought the ideas to the searching glare of wide publicity. He has great organizational ability, and has energy to carry his six feet two through the strenuous job of conducting the greatest engineering job ever conceived; the planning of a social order to fit the needs of the new age of power and technology.[8]

The December, 1934 issue of the Digest announced that Technocracy Inc. was moving into rented meeting rooms on Pender Street, and that this "headquarters" would be large enough for small meetings and study groups.[9] The primary activities of a Technocracy Inc. group at this point were education and recruitment. The Technocracy Study Course was available and was the basic reading matter for new members.[10] To complete the course, meeting one night per week, took anywhere from 15 - 20 weeks. Other Technocracy writings were, of course, also recommended, as were the works of Thorstein Veblen and Bassett Jones.[11] A number of regularly published Technocracy journals were available and widely subscribed to. In addition to the local Technocracy Digest, there was The Monad (Kansas City) and The Wisconsin Technocrat (Milwaukee), as well as several pamphlets and regular "releases" from CHQ (Continental Headquarters).[12]

By February, came the first hint of internal difficulties on the issues of "activism" versus "education". Nearby Washington State Technocrats under the Continental Committee were, it must be remembered, extremely active in a diverse range of activities, including those political. Education was all very well, but after all, the "inevitable collapse of the price system" was imminent, and the role the membership was to play in saving the continent and bringing about the Technate was not too clear. The editor of the Digest castigated the waverers.

> There comes a time when some pseudo Technocrats cast longing eyes at the activities of certain political groups, frothing in apparent activity, and they raise the cry too of "Activity"... They who howl "Activity", meaning political or co-operative activity have missed the entire purpose of Technocracy.[13]

The editorial went on to say that clearly such people did not understand the 'thought' of Howard Scott. It reiterated the research and education goals of Technocracy Inc., but this of course did not solve the basic ambiguities.

The movement seemed not to be suffering in terms of recruitment, however, as in this same issue the formation of a New Westminster Study Group was announced.[14] In March the Digest carried another page one editorial of the follies of "activism" and included a statement from CHQ:

> Technocracy must have no internecine quarrels within the ranks over stupid orthodoxies carried over from any social philosophy.[15]

A statement directly from Howard Scott said:

> Organize your section, get your discipline, get your instructions, and you'll be ready to go somewhere.[16]

As the only instructions forthcoming demanded essentially that members educate themselves more thoroughly in a literature that contained no solution to the ambiguity over program and tactics, this was a rather limited solution.

Developments in May and June were to intensify and clarify the situation to some extent. Previous statements by Scott had indicated that the "inevitable collapse of the price system" might come as soon as 1940. Now in May of 1935 a new prediction:

> Howard Scott, the Director in Chief of Technocracy Inc., has issued one more of his rare statements. As usual, it is important. Instead of 1940 being the year beyond which the price system cannot last, the date is now brought as close as 1937. Howard Scott does not guess at things. He knows. His knowledge is as accurate as scientific observation can make it. The time is now short. It is time that all Technocrats got busy.[17]

It may perhaps be overly cynical to see this change in the predicted date of "collapse" as a deliberate manoeuvre to eliminate internal dissension, and of course the effect could have been to aggravate doubts over ambiguities in the program for dealing with the impending collapse. The June Digest dealt with this problem by disclosing the existence of necessarily secret plans and reiterating the necessity of a "disciplined army". The release read:

> When the time comes to act those at the top, with a bird's eye view of the whole scene, will issue orders to this "army" and every Technocrat who is a Technocrat will obey without question; not in a slavery sort of way, but because he or she will be able to understand why such an order is given! . . .

> just as the parliamentary - democratic form of government is a failure so is the military army where every private is a general is a mob.[18]

Membership figures have always been secret in Technocracy Inc., even to members, so that the strength and activity of the movement must be gauged in other ways. At this point the combination of reassurances about tactics and the prophecy of even more imminent collapse of the social system seem to have had the effect of increasing the range and intensity of participation in the movement. Whereas in February there had been four general activities per week, that is, two study classes, one public speaking class, and a directors' meeting, in June the offices were kept open all day (10 a.m. - 5 p.m.) and in the evening from 8 p.m. - 10 p.m.,[19] and in the July issue we read:

> The office is being kept open each night in the week by a committee. Realizing that organization time is growing shorter, the committee has been reorganized with excellent prospects for activity. We are finding that the office is humming with activity day and night.[20]

There is a phrase in Talman's article (discussed in Chapter One) that is highly appropriate as descriptive of these years of the Technocracy movements. Talman says: "Radical millennium movements regard the millennium as imminent and live in tense expectation and preparation for it."[21] The previous quotation from the July Technocracy Digest exemplified this condition, but perhaps the following from the August edition is even clearer.

> Time! Much has been written about how it speeds relentlessly on. We know that it does, and we, in Technocracy know that in a short distance off in the future... the price system is going to collapse.[22]
> and further ... We of Technocracy Inc. must first realize that time is desperately short. We have before us the most arduous and the greatest job that has ever been attempted in history. Chaos and stark terror are right ahead, and with airplane speed we are rushing toward it.[23]

The interesting question becomes, of course: and when prophecy fails? This will be examined at the point where the question becomes more relevant to Technocracy Inc., the period of World War II. Between the time of the just-quoted statements (1935) and the Second World War seems to have been a period of increasing activity and membership expansion. Although organizational strength is difficult to estimate because membership figures have always been kept secret, other writers

using various means of extrapolation (number of sections, volume of literature and so forth) are generally agreed that 1938-1940 was the high point of both activities and membership.[24] Following 1939-1940 the "imminence" of collapse becomes more questionable.

In 1935, we observe that there was no such ambiguity to mar Howard Scott's second continental tour. The 1935 Continental Tour reflected the growing organizational strength of the movement. In 1934 many centers visited had few or no organized Technocracy groups, and often Scott's speeches were given under the auspices of other organizations or ad hoc organizing committees. In 1935, on the other hand, delegates from local sections turned out to meet Scott at the train.[25] The Hollywood Bowl seated 10,000 to hear him speak, and San Diego's California Pacific International Exposition declared a "Technocracy Day".[26] He arrived in Vancouver on November 9th and was given a half hour to speak on a local radio station (CNRU).[27] The local Technocrats reported a 461% membership gain in the August 1934 - August 1935 period, offset by a mere 4% loss. No base figures were given, however.[28] Throughout 1936, we find suggestions of a continuing conflict involving on the one hand internal discussion on tactics and goals, and on the other, emphasis by the leadership on the need for unamimity, cohesion, and discipline, and alternately, stresses on the limited time remaining for the Price System. The debate seems less intense than previously; nevertheless it is still discernible. It seems to have focussed increasingly on the claimed uniqueness of Technocracy, by comparison with "other organizations", and less on the previous question of just what Technocracy's plans were, if any. New members were seen as particularily susceptible to various 'false' conceptions. In an editorial entitled A Tip To New Members, we find:

> You are joining an organization which stands alone in this day and age and which has no counterpart in all history.[29]
> and further... You must leave outside any and all arguments, re class antagonisms, political ideas, philosophical and religious differences, opinions and pipe dreams of all kinds. The organization demands unswerving loyalty from its members. Technocracy comes first last and always.[30]

The importance of these editorial quotes may be underestimated by readers used to social movement writings, which are normally heavily weighted in the direction

of continual debate on matters of organizational forms, practices, programs, and tactics. In other words, those observers of, and participants in, social movements whose experience is that 90% of discussion, both verbal and written, concerns organizational tactics and direction, may feel that these isolated quotations from Technocracy's writings are of limited significance. With Technocracy, though, the case is somewhat different. Increasingly as the movement develops the various journals tell us less and less about organizational affairs, such as, debates, conflicts, program, and tactics. Increasingly the bulk of the writing concerns such things as: demonstrations of the correctness of Technocracy's ideas, prophecies fulfilled (excluding the major one of course), introduction of new technology, debunking of other movements, establishment politics, and critiques (often detailed and incisive) of the Price System in general. This process reflects the increasing insularity and sectarianism of the movement, which will be a major theme of discussion as we examine the process of development of this movement. It is important to recognize that in the period 1934-1940 this trend was developing, and that comments in the Technocracy journals on matters of organizational forms and practices are significant precisely because they were increasing by the exception rather than the rule.

With increases in membership in late 1935 and 1936, emphasis within the Vancouver section started to focus on the study course for new members. Technocrats were not reticent in stressing its value. In the December, 1936 issue of the Technocracy Digest we find this evaluation:

> The study course has received the highest commendation from some of the greatest educators on the continent and has been termed the greatest single contribution to education within a decade.[31]

The value of a definite educational program for the membership had been clearly recognized by the rival Continental Committee and identified as one of the disadvantages they suffered by comparison with Technocracy Inc. In a letter to Harold Loeb from Charles Bonner in October of 1935, Bonner notes: "I warn you however, that the people expect a step-by-step training".[32] Elsner, drawing from various other sources on the Continental Committee, adds: "Bonner had repeatedly emphasized the

necessity for such lessons to keep an avowedly educational organization functioning, and the rival Technocracy Inc., had begun to issue its rather substantial Study Course late in 1934."[33]

In Technocracy Inc., both in Vancouver and elsewhere, the Study Course became the single most important axis of activity in these early years. New members were immediately channeled into a study course that provided a complete and thorough initiation into the intricacies of Technocratic thought. One indication of the efficiency of this program is indicated in A.W. Jones' book, Life, Liberty and Prosperity.[34] The book is primarily a study of the attitudes of various groups toward labour and business, and the conflicts between these two. The study was carried out in Akron, Ohio in 1938-1939, and a Technocracy group was intentially singled out in a sampling. The study is useful for our purpose inasmuch as the author deliberately selected two groups of Technocrats: one group that had completed the Study Course and one that was just beginning it. The "beginners", he found, were by and large "no different from other citizens in their attitudes towards corporate property".[35] "Indoctrination, however," he continues, "changes the individual into a type that we found to be unique."[36] On a scale that ran from 0 to 32, high scores indicating favourable attitudes towards corporate property rights, the Technocracy initiates scored "an average of 11.9, which is very near to the average of the representative random sample".[37] Those who had completed the Study Course, on the other hand, "scored an average of 2.9".[38] These results indicate the efficiency of the course in changing members' viewpoints, at least so far as attitudes toward corporate property rights are concerned. We will discuss in later chapters other, broader changes in members' lives resulting from participation in the movement.

The Study Course was not the only Technocracy Inc., "educational" literature, of course; by this time there were a number of journals being published across the continent. The actual dates of publication and other particulars of this kind of 'fugitive' literature are always hard to track down. Nevertheless, Benson cites a 1936 printing of Introduction to Technocracy by Howard Scott et al as listing 10

different Technocracy Inc. Journals at this time. These included:[39]

1.	Technocracy Digest	Vancouver
2.	81 41	Cleveland
3.	The Section Post	Portland
4.	The Northern Technocrat	Edmonton
5.	The Southwest Corner	San Diego
6.	The Desert Salute	Hinckley, California
7.	The Foothills Technocrat	Calgary
8.	Streamline Age	Phoenix
9.	Technocratic America	Fontana, California
10.	The Monad	Kansas City, Missouri

Technocracy's definition of itself as an "educational" organization has several levels of meaning to participants. The first we have discussed is a way of distinguishing it from "activist" organizations, politics, and of course the Continental Committee while it was in existence. At another level the reference is primarily to the initiations and indoctrination embodied in the extensive Study Course that serves as well as in the early years (1934-1940) to distinguish Technocracy Inc. from other Technocratic groups. "Educational activities" refers also to both proselytization of potential recruits and educating the wider public in the importance of Technocratic ideas. There is yet one other important aspect of Technocracy's definition of itself as "educational", which is that Technocrats see themselves as people who have "had the advantage" of a unique and valuable EDUCATION. They are now EDUCATED PEOPLE. We will discuss this in more detail below in the section dealing with the movement today.

The period from August, 1936 to August, 1937 seems to have been in somewhat of a lower key than the previous two years. The writings still stress that "time is short", but not so often nor so forcefully. Emphasis seems to have been on internal organizational consolidation. Where before, much time and organizational resources had been focussed on recruiting and consequently "educating" members through the Study Course, now a comprehensive committee system was elaborated and members were encouraged to participate on various committees. In the February, 1936 Digest, we read: "Members are required to fill positions on various committees. Every member should be on some committee".[40] For children of members and young recruits a Technocratic version of the Boy Scouts was created and the Digest reported:

"The Farad Section composed of boys between the ages of 16 and 21 is making wonderful progress".[41] The main emphasis of Technocracy Inc. seemed to have shifted from publicity and recruitment toward "the building of the only organization that can control the situation that will arise".[42] (Italics added.)

Other movements, members were told, rely on "emotional appeals and while Technocracy Inc. could do this, the effects would not be lasting and the quality of recruits so gained would be questionable. This is amply illustrated by the rapid growth and decay of many contemporary social movements that have employed such tactics".[43] A slacking off of recruitment was implicitly admitted but justified in terms of the quality of those who were attracted.

> Growth by such methods [unspecified] will be slow, but it will be a selective process, and will ensure a membership of the type required. Men who enter an organization through an emotional excitation are as readily lost to another; men who enter an organization with understanding and with the acceptance of the factual basis of its program cannot be led astray.[44]

> The job of the Technocrats, [members were told] now is to digest and build according to the specification and organization that is completely functional in structure, capable of operating the entire equipment on this continent at the time of crisis; embracing all types of people, particularly those capable individuals who are now designing, constructing, and operating the existing equipment, and disciplined and trained to act intelligently under any and all circumstances.[45]

The focus on organization is clear, but it seems that this combination of declining recruitment and a shift toward stress on organizational structure tended to allow previously unsolved problems to resurface. This last quotation, for instance, allows some ambiguity as to the precise role of Technocracy in the impending chaos. This ambiguity is highlighted not only by the fact that recruitment is proceeding slowly, but also that the kind of people joining are not predominantly those "designing, constructing, and operating the existing equipment". The movement is not a soviet of technicians. The potential role of the Technocrat is interpreted in a slightly different manner further on in this same publication. The Technocrat, it is conceeded, is not necessarily the "expert". Nevertheless, "Upon this group [Technocracy Inc.] will rest the responsibility of persuading the functionally capable specialists to assume the uninterrupted continuation of their particular function", as well as in some

circumstances "providing pinch hitters for emergencies".[46]

We now have seen two instances where the ambiguity of Technocracy Inc.'s program had become a matter of internal debate and conflict. These instances were merely the initial ones, in what has been a recurrent theme in the movement. As early as 1932 Scott had defined Technocracy solely as a "research and education" organization, but continually thereafter the movement was to make tentative excursions toward qualification and re-definition of this description. Critics claim that Technocracy had no program for attaining its goals. Such criticisms unfortunately tend to obscure the constantly recurring internal debate and conflict over the problem of tactics and program. We will be touching on this area at various points below, as it is relevant to the development of the movement.

Scott's yearly tour was limited in 1936 to the American Central States, and apparently inspired few if any new sections. Jonathan Glendon, who was becoming the most prominent Technocracy Inc. public speaker (after Scott) toured California and the Pacific Northwest, speaking in some 55 different places.[47] In British Columbia, Glendon spoke in 10 different places, including the Vancouver section. These included North Vancouver, Chilliwack, Revelstoke, Salmon Arm, Vernon, Kelowna, Penticton, Creston, and Cranbrook.[48] In the same issue it was reported that the findings of Technocracy Inc. clearly showed that the Price System "is going to completely collapse sometime between now and 1940".[49] Scott's earlier, more specific prediction of the timing of the crucial events had been postponed from 1937 to 1940 and had also been made substantially less specific. By contrast with the announcement of the earlier prediction, the 'revision' was not dramatized. The alteration was made quietly with little fanfare and the "intense expectation" of imminent chaos seems not to have abated too greatly. This was, after all, 1936, and "sometime between now and 1940" was still not that distant.

The movement in British Columbia, as we have seen, had reached somewhat of a plateau, although there was still some growth. The Technocracy Digest improved its format from a mimeograph form to offset printing, and it was announced that both

Victoria and Kelowna had now reached charter size (25 members).[50] Elsewhere in western Canada - Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Moose Jaw,[51] Banff and Prince Albert, also attained the requisite 25 members.[52] In April of 1937 the Vancouver Technocrats started their own radio program, which was on the air every Wednesday at 7:30 for 15 minutes.[53]

The Fall of 1937 saw Howard Scott's most extensive continental tour to date. The following map indicates the itinerary as originally planned. In September of 1937 a more complete tour of California was included, covering 10 more centers.[54] Since, in almost all cases, the centers encompassed by the tour were ones that had a Technocracy Inc. group of some sort already existent, the schedule gives a clear picture of the geographic distribution of the movement at this point. A movement originally centered in the eastern United States in its early, highly public phase, had gained its only organized strength in the western part of the continent, and moreover, had become an organization as well established (if not more so) in Canada as in the U.S.A., as the map, and the data following, on audiences at lectures, suggest.

Scott actually spoke in 64 different places, 30 of which were in Canada. In Vancouver the Technocracy Digest carried a continuing commentary on the tour from August to November, reporting, among other things, particularly substantial audiences. The following list is compiled from these reports.

Canada:	Winnipeg..... 2000	people at a public lecture by Scott
	Prince Albert 650	" " " " " " "
	Edmonton..... 1000	" " " " " " "
	Calgary..... 2500	" " " " " " "
	Salmon Arm..... 350	" " " " " " "
	Port Alberni 500	" " " " " " "
	Nanaimo..... 500	" " " " " " "
	Vancouver 2500	" " " " " " "
U.S.A.	Cleveland..... 1000	people at a public lecture by Scott
	Bellingham..... 500	" " " " " " "
	Steward..... 360	" " " " " " "
	Everett..... 750	" " " " " " "
	Puyallup..... 500	" " " " " " "
	Tacoma..... 900	" " " " " " "
	Grants Pass..... 250	" " " " " " "
	Los Angeles..... 6000	" " " " " " "

With the exception of the audience in Los Angeles, it is clear that the overall trend was toward greater interest in Canadian centers.

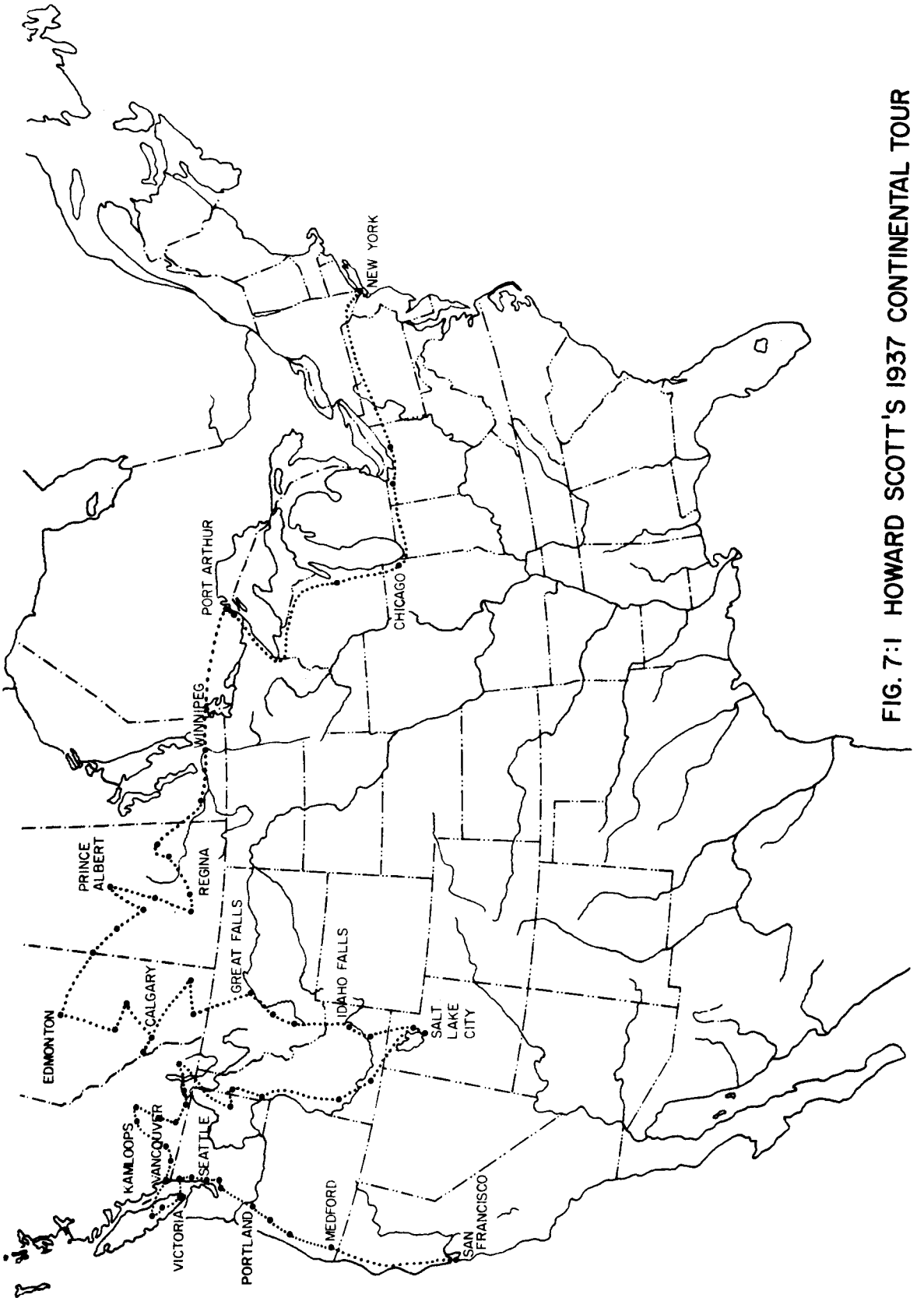


FIG. 7:1 HOWARD SCOTT'S 1937 CONTINENTAL TOUR

We have previously described Technocracy Inc. as increasingly polarized and sectarian, and there are two main features of this tour that tend to support this conception. The first is an increasing emphasis on the concept of Technocrats as an elite, and moreover a biological elite, and the other is the initiation of additional movement-distinguishing symbols (uniforms and grey cars) above and beyond those already utilized (salutes, the Monad, Technocracy colours (red and gray)).

The idea of biological elitism was not original to this phase of the movement. It had, for instance, been dealt with at various points in the Study Course, but in that context primarily as a means of debunking Democracy; for example, "Upon biologic fact, theories of democracy go to pieces".[55] The new focus in 1937 was on the direct relationship of biological elitism and participation in Technocracy. The page one editorial of the Technocracy Digest of September, 1937 included the following:

> Genius is a rare biological occurrence. The behaviour of the majority of the 165,000,000 people on this continent indicates a capacity but little about the moron level. Three percent or roughly about five million of them have a sufficiently well developed cerebral cortex, the activity and past training to become Technocrats. The balance are never expected to understand it, participate in it, or supply the requisite leadership to effect the greatest social transition in all history.[56]

At the conclusion of the tour, L.M. Dickinson, a Vancouver founder of Technocracy now working at CHQ, related this concept more directly to organizational recruitment:

> This necessary minority of people must be reached and trained. The balance of the public is not interested and is incapable of assimilating the necessary facts and implications... At the proper moment, the trained organization of Technocracy may find it necessary to present Technocracy to the masses in an assimilatible form to prevent a descent to mob hysteria. Technocracy does not discuss tactics, but presents a mobile front to take care of any emergent situations.[57]

He also reiterated that: "...it will be necessary to build a strong organization that will be able to assume the responsibility when given complete authority to act by the pressure of events."[58] Emphasis was being focussed on a small, trained, disciplined, elite that would, at the appropriate time, act under the, as yet, secret plans being formulated at CHQ.

It was during this tour that the "technological army" created the idea of uniforms and grey cars. The idea seems to have emerged relatively spontaneously from

the membership originally. Throughout the tour Howard Scott had been dressed in a grey suit and had driven a grey car with red lined wheels. The December issue of the Technocracy Digest commented favourably on both the "uniform" and the car and suggested that members do likewise as soon as there was official word from CHQ on "regulation dress" and "official specifications" on the cars. This seems to have been the first mention of the idea, and such spontaneous emergence of ideas on policy became increasingly rare as the movement developed. The uniforms and cars were later to be the basis of Technocracy's Symbolization Program, and resulted in considerable adverse publicity in which the public image of the movement as Fascistic was more clearly developed by the public press.

This program, and the resulting image of the movement as Fascistic, was not to come until the early 1940's; the 1938-1940 period was to be the organizational high point of the movement. One index of this growth was a substantial increase in publishing efforts, which indicates not only organizational resources and zeal in producing this literature, but an increasingly wide audience willing to purchase the items. In this regard it should be noted that the expenses of publication had to be completely covered either by internal subsidy or returns from sales, as the journals have never carried any outside, Price System, advertising. In addition to the regular journals listed on page 68, Edmonton now produced The Northern Technocrat, Calgary had The Foothills Technocrat, and Phoenix published Streamline Age.[59] "Saskatoon and Winnipeg each got out a printed edition of the official Study Course", and "Vancouver reprinted the Introduction to Technocracy and Science Versus Chaos."[60]

Scott's 1938 continental tour was significantly different in one major aspect from the extensive one of 1937. The difference was that in 1938, when Scott concluded his speech, people applied for membership. In 1937 the reports of the tour stressed either the large numbers of people in his audiences and/or the high qualifications of his listeners. In 1938 they reported: "The significant feature was the number of listeners who were ready and eager to join the organization. In no city along the way was the working force equal to the flood of membership applicants."[61] The movement's

official journal, The Technocrat, reported: "Every indication shows that the impetus resulting from this 1938 tour is skyrocketing Technocracy Inc. into the first place as the dominant organization in both Canada and the United States preparing for social change."[62]

CHQ New York moved into larger (and more expensive) quarters, as did the Vancouver section. Henry Elsner compiled the following list of existing Technocracy Inc. sections for the period 1938-1941.[63]

California		Arizona
Alhambra	Los Angeles	Glendale
Arcadia	Lynwood	Phoenix
Bakersfield	Maywood	Tucson
Bellflower	Pasadena	
Burbank	South Pasadena	Neveda
Colton	Red Bluff	Las Vegas
Eagle Rock	Riverside	
El Monte	San Diego	Colorado
Graham	San Francisco	Denver
Hawthorne	San Jose	
Hinkley	San Pedro	
Hollywood	Santa Monica	
Huntington Park	Van Nuys	
Long Beach	Victorvile	

Northwest:

Washington		British Columbia	Alberta
Bellingham	Snohomish	Kelowna	Banff
Camas	Spokane	Kimberly	Calgary
Edmonds	Tacoma	Nanaimo	Edmonton
East Stanwood	Vancouver	New Westminster	
Everett		Port Alberni	Idaho
Marysville	Oregon	Salmon Arm	Couer d'Alene
Mt. Vernon	Astoria	Trail	
Olympia	Grants Pass	Vancouver	Montana
Puyallup	Newburg	Victoria	Butte
Seattle	Portland		Great Falls

Great Lakes:

Ohio				
Akron	Cleveland	Galion	Ravenna	
Ashtabula	Columbus	Kent	South Euclid	Willoughby
Barberton	Cuyahoga Falls	Maple Heights	Springfield	
Canton	Dayton	Mansfield	Toledo	

Michigan	Wisconsin	Ontario	Pennsylvania	Illinois
Detroit	Appleton	Hamilton	Ambridge	Chicago
Flint	Green Bay	Kitchener	Pittsburg	
Pontiac	Milwaukee	St. Thomas	Rochester	
	Neenah	Toronto	Tarentum	
		Windsor		

Central:

Minnesota	Utah	Saskatchewan
Minneapolis	Ogden	Moose Jaw
Warren	Salt Lake City	Prince Albert
		Regina
Missouri		Saskatoon
Kansas City	Manitoba	Yorkton
St. Louis	Winnipeg	

South:

Florida	Mississippi
Miami	Hattiesburg

East:

Massachusetts	New York
Mansfield	New York City

Nine sections are listed for British Columbia, and it should be added that 25 members were the minimum required to meet the CHQ requirements. Elsner qualifies this list by saying that it may well underestimate the number of sections in Canada because of limited data. This is true with reference to British Columbia, as at least one additional section (Port Moody) existed at this time. There is a more important source of underestimation inherent in these data. The difficulty resides in the fact that, whereas the rapid growth of the movement in these two years did result in a number of sections, it also resulted in a far larger number of semi-independent study groups that were not part of established sections. These groups, sparked by Scott's tours, set up their own study groups with the help of established local sections, to study the course guide and learn about Technocracy. Discussion leaders and speakers were provided by the 'parent' sections, with the idea that these groups would themselves eventually meet "charter requirements" and become separate sections.

Data are extremely limited here, but one specific example is available. Port Moody and Ioco both had study groups in 1938, which eventually amalgamated to form the Port Moody section, subsequently taking on the responsibility of assisting other study groups in this area. Sam Ott, the director of education for the now defunct

Port Moody section, reports that at the high point of this period there were 17 different study groups in the area. Haney, Port Coquitlam, Abbotsford, Coquitlam, Websters Corner, Mission, and Matsqui all had one or more sections, and Mr. Ott's responsibilities as director of education took him out "6 nights out of 7, visiting groups".[64] "Back in the thirties it seemed rather urgent", he says, "that's why I was out so much. Because there was this urgency to impart sufficient knowledge so that in case of a crisis they could act sensibly. This was the critical time, the system had broken down."[65] We have no way of knowing how representative the Port Moody area was relative to the rest of British Columbia. Nevertheless it seems to indicate that Elsner's list of chartered sections does, in fact, underestimate the scope of Technocracy Inc. during this period.

A paragraph in the Technocracy journal summed up the overall picture from their point of view.

> Today it [Technocracy Inc.] has a trained personel, publishes 12 magazines and numerous items of literature; has offices in all major cities and towns in Western Canada, the Pacific Coast and Mountain States, and in key cities throughout the middle west and eastern states; promotes an almost continuous succession of lecture tours; holds hundreds of study classes and dozens of public lectures weekly; and in numerous places has research staffs which carry on extensive research.[66]

Another factor was soon to enter into the situation. In 1939 Scott told his audiences that Technocracy was expanding so fast, "...that before long neither Canada nor the U.S. could discuss war without permission of this organization."[67]

To most outside observers, and probably to many Technocrats, this statement undoubtedly seemed somewhat hyperbolic. Nevertheless, within 24 hours of Britain's declaration of war on Germany, Scott dispatched a lengthy telegram to Prime Minister MacKenzie King stating among other things, that "Technocracy Inc. is unequivocally opposed to the conscription of the manpower of Canada for any war anywhere off this continent."[68] This in itself could be interpreted as simply a form of isolationist protest. Some other statements from the telegram, though, suggested that Howard Scott considered that the movement had a more major and direct role to play in these affairs.

> Therefore, Mr. Premier, Technocracy Inc. will consider the attempt of any political leader on this Continent to conscript the manpower of this Continent for death and destruction abroad to be a violation of the destiny of this Continent. Technocracy Inc. contends that this Continent at its imminent rendezvous with destiny will hold such violators of this Continent's progression responsible for their acts.
>
> The Continent of North America when organized according to the Continental strategy of a Pax Americana will lead civilization and will be immune from all attack. Technocracy Inc. stands ready with the blueprints of this Pax Americana.[69]

A major Technocracy program called Total Conscription, which became official policy in mid 1940, contained some radical reversals from the positions stated in this telegram. One idea that the Technocrats presented shortly after this telegram was sent, however, was quite consistent with the rather grandiose image of the movement's significance in social affairs, implicit in the telegram. It was recommended that Howard Scott be made Director of National Defense, with rather wide reaching powers. The Yorkton, Saskatchewan section announced the program on June 4, 1940, somewhat prematurely, and on June 21, 1940, the Government of Canada, by an Order-in-Council, banned Technocracy Inc.[70] Elsner reports that "In the House of Commons, July 16, 1940, Prime Minister MacKenzie King had answered an M. P.'s query on the matter by stating that: '... the literature of Technocracy discloses, in effect, that one of its objectives is to overthrow the government and constitution of this country by force'."[71] The ban was to be in effect for approximately three years, the announcement of its removal being made personally by MacKenzie King on October 15, 1943.[72]

In July of 1940, the complete specifications of the Total Conscription program were released by CHQ.[73] This program was to be an important one for the movement as a whole. The participation of the Canadian Technocrats was, owing to the official ban, necessarily minimal. Howard Scott had instructed Technocrats in Canada to accept the action of the government, and for the three-year period there was reportedly no further communication between CHQ and Canadian Technocrats.[74] In Vancouver, signs were removed from official meeting places, and the RCMP confiscated all files and records. The interesting question at this point is, of course, what was the effect

of this ban on the Canadian part of the movement. Unfortunately data on this period are extremely limited.

There is some indication that Scott's passive response to the ban was perceived negatively by some Canadian members. It was, after all, a grave contrast with the tone of very recent statements from Scott that Technocracy Inc. was rapidly becoming so dominant in North America that neither the U.S.A. nor Canada could even "discuss" war without the movement's participation and consent. Mrs. Long, an ex-Technocrat whose father was an authorized Technocracy Inc. speaker at the time, says:

> They [Scott and CHQ] never made any defense. They never took any steps to counteract the bad publicity and these statements, which were to my knowledge completely false. That was when we started to realize that something was dead at the top, you see. We felt that Scott had either lost interest or lost control or somewhere along the line, just wasn't keeping up.[75]

However widespread this kind of response was, it appears that all formal activities stopped, while some small, less organized meetings continued on an ad hoc basis in various members' homes. The only 'underground' sort of activity that seems to have taken place, and that apparently for a short time (approximately one year), was the formation of a committee that called itself the Canadians for Victory Committee. The Committee was not formed until 1942 and reverted to Technocracy Inc. when the ban on the organization was lifted in 1943.[76]

This group produced one pamphlet called Trends, which outlined in complete detail the Technocracy program for Total Conscription. This was in the Technocracy style, used the Technocracy language and symbols, was printed in red and grey; in fact the only thing missing was the name Technocracy Inc. Aside from printing and distributing this pamphlet, the Committee publicized the program on at least two occasions (September 8th, 1943 and September 22nd) on local radio broadcasts.[77]

When the ban on the movement was lifted in 1943, the pre-war thrust of the movement had been effectively halted. Of the various Canadian journals, only the Technocracy Digest resumed publication. The ban, and Scott's limited response to it, had been detrimental to some degree. The dislocation and dispersal of people

affected by war-time conditions also contributed. In any event, the removal of the ban on Technocracy Inc. in Canada occurred prior to the war's end, and Total Conscription was still the primary concern for the movement as a whole. As this program was in some senses fundamentally important in terms of its consequences for the future of the movement, we will discuss it at some length in the following chapter before returning to a discussion of the movement in British Columbia.

NOTES

1 The Vancouver Sun, Special Edition, December 3, 1932, p. 1.

2 The Vancouver Sun, November 30, 1932 (reprinted in Special Edition December 3, 1932), p. 1.

3 The Vancouver Sun, December 7, 1932.

4 Ibid.

5 The Vancouver Sun, January 27, 1933.

6 Howard Scott made his first continental tour in the Spring of 1934 and it seems probable that the formation of the first official Vancouver section coincided with his lectures and organizational recruitment in Vancouver at that time.

7 Technocracy Digest, I, September, 1934, p. 1.

8 Technocracy Digest, September 1934, p. 5.

9 Ibid., p. 1.

10 The official study course had been announced in March of 1934 and chapters were issued initially in mimeographed form, "the first 16 of an eventual 22 were completed by the end of the year." Elsner, p. 120.

11 Technocracy Digest, November, 1934, p. 10. Also, Technocracy Digest, December, 1934, p. 12. and, Technocracy Digest, January, 1935, p. 9.

12 Elsner, p. 120.

13 Technocracy Digest, February, 1935, p. 1.

14 Ibid., p. 22.

15 Technocracy Digest, March, 1935, p. 1.

16 Ibid.

17 Technocracy Digest, May, 1935, p. 3.

18 Technocracy Digest, June, 1935, p. 1.

19 Ibid., p. 24.

20 Technocracy Digest, July 1935, p. 1.

21 Tolman, p. 130.

22 Technocracy Digest, August, 1935, p. 6.

23 Ibid.

24 Elsner, pp. 115, 124, 127,. and Benson, p. 51.

25 Elsner, p. 122.

26 Ibid.

27 Technocracy Digest, November, 1935, p. 1.

28 Technocracy Digest, September, 1935, p. 2.

29 "A Tip to New Members," Technocracy Digest, November, 1935, p. 22.

30 Ibid.

31 Technocracy Digest, December, 1936, p. 18.

32 Letter to Harold Loeb from Charles Bonner, as quoted by Elsner, p. 101.

33 Elsner, p. 108.

34 A.W. Jones, Life, Liberty and Property (New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1964).

35 Ibid., p. 308.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Benson, p. 49.

40 Technocracy Digest, February, 1936, p. 23.

41 Ibid.

42 Technocracy Digest, November, 1936, p. 14.

43 Ibid., p. 15.

44 Ibid.

45 Technocracy Digest, January, 1936, p. 2.

46 Ibid., p. 5.

47 Technocracy Digest, October, 1936, pp. 10-11.

48 Ibid., p. 15.

49 Ibid., p. 1.

50 Technocracy Digest, December, 1936, p. 1.

51 Ibid.

52 Technocracy Digest, January, 1937, p. 1.

53 Technocracy Digest, April, 1937, p. 1.

54 The figures are from a number of reports in Technocracy Digest over several months.

55 Technocracy Study Course, (1934), p. 204.

56 Technocracy Digest, October, 1937, p. 1.

57 Technocracy Digest, January, 1938, p. 1.

58 Ibid.

59 Technocracy Digest, December, 1937, p. 3.

60 Elsner, p. 123.

61 The Technocrat, January, 1939, p. 14.

62 The Technocrat, December, 1938, pp. 3-5.

63 Elsner, pp. 129-130.

64 Interview with a former Technocrat.

65 Ibid.

66 Technocracy, series A No. 13, August, 1938, p. 21.

67 Elsner, p. 215.

68 Telegram from Howard Scott to W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada. (Copy in this writer's possession.)

69 Ibid.

70 Elsner, p. 216.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Total Conscription! Your Questions Answered, New York: Technocracy Inc., October, 1942. p. inside cover.

74 Interview with a former Technocrat.

75 Interview with a former Technocrat.

76 Trends, Vancouver: Canadians For Victory Committee, 1942, Pamphlet No. 1., p. 12.

77 Ibid., pp. 12 and 22.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TOTAL CONSCRIPTION

The start of the Total Conscription program in July, 1940, and the consequent ban on the Canadian movement have already been noted. The summary slogan of the program was:

> . . . Technocracy proposes that the governments of the United States and Canada shall conscript the Men, Machines, Material and Money of their nations - with national service from all and profits to none.[1]

The program was described as a "total mobilization", which Technocracy's 'scientific' studies found to be the only way in which the war could be won. The "stress of total war" and the "impact of peace" were said to compel this program. "Conflicting private and group interests must be submerged and replaced by compulsory national service."[2] The main parts of the proposal were as follows:

1. Conscription of all citizens between the ages of 18 and 65.
2. The nationalization of all business and industry and correspondingly the "suspension of profits".
3. The centralization of both economic and political (including military) power. That is, all state, county, and local governments to be eliminated.
4. All foreign language communication media and organizations to be suppressed.
5. All liquor outlets to be closed.

The program would be in effect for the duration of the war and for six months afterwards. Essentially, the thrust of the proposal was to install a slightly modified Technate. The model of the Technological Army was updated and altered to apply directly to the wartime situation.

While Technocracy was later to stress that this program was completely divorced from their "social program" for a Technate, and simply a "patriotic" plan for winning the war, there were strong grounds for suspicion. In the first official description of the program in July of 1940, Scott said:

> The Continental defense program of Technocracy is an emergency transitional device to usher in the timely arrival - in an orderly manner and by efficient

> means - the new social order, the new design for living that this country and this continent must possess.[3]

This reads much more like a way of instituting Technocracy's goal of a Technate than a temporary way of facilitating the war effort. In 1941, the effects of war on the economy were seen as contributing to the internal contradictions of the Price System and speeding up its rate of progress towards the "inevitable collapse". In a general mailing to the membership, CHQ claimed:

> Events of the past 18 months have demonstrated conclusively that once again Technocracy is correct. Every long term trend previously indicated has been greatly accelerated by the effect of the war, and therefore, as predicted by Technocracy, America's Date With Destiny has been confirmed[4] [underlined in original].

With the entry of the U.S.A. into the war, the importance of the program and the immediacy of its relevance were felt even more strongly throughout the movement. Following Pearl Harbour, Scott wrote to President Roosevelt placing at his disposal "the entire personnel and equipment of Technocracy Inc. on the North American continent".[5] The telegram was dispatched on December 7th, 1941. Then on the 31st of December came the move that gave added weight to the queries about the meaning and intent of the July 1940 statement. A press release was issued by CHQ to all sections of Technocracy Inc. for immediate release through all channels of communication available to them. The headline of the release read: TOTAL WAR STRATEGY DEMANDED DIRECTOR GENERAL OF DEFENSE NEEDED TECHNOCRACY URGES PRESIDENT CALL HOWARD SCOTT. The text of the statement continued:

> Technocracy puts forward, with full realization of the gravity and enormity of of the task, the name of the one man in America who has demonstrated the knowledge, the vision, and the capacity to install and execute the strategy of total war for the defense of America - Howard Scott.[6]

For an "educational and research" organization with "no assumption of power theory" this series of developments seemed a little incongruous. In the document, Total Conscription - Your Questions Answered, the Technocrats had reiterated that the program was not a Technate, nor intended to lead to one. In the document, however, we also find:

> The men who do the fighting are in the national service now and Technocracy

> contends that such national service must become the permanent [italics added] national duty of all North America.[7]

It does not require a great deal of reading between the lines of the above quotations to raise a very strong suspicion in our minds that the basic thrust of the Total Conscription program was toward the institution of a Technate under the guise of another name. If the program, and Howard Scott's suggested role in it, seemed rather grandiose for so small and insignificant a movement, this is in part an indicator of the sectarian isolation of the movement at this point. The movement's focus on "education" versus "activism" had allowed it to maintain a kind of Technocratic revolutionary 'purity' and had saved it from the various kinds of ideologically and organizationally sidetracking alliances that had characterized the Continental Committee. On the other hand, the maintainance of uncompromised revolutionary principles in a non-revolutionary social situation resulted in a sect-like isolation from ongoing social affairs. The Total Conscription program was to be a major (though temporary) shift away from the more passive, inward-focussed stance. In terms of the typology in Chapter Six, the goals remained revolutionary while the means of realizing them became far more "active" than before. The mobilization of Technocratic skills and resources was impressive, and to outside observers both astounding and, in some cases, a little frightening.

The December, 1941, CHQ press release to all sections had indicated that all possible channels of communication were to be utilized. The response was immediate and impressive. Wherever Technocracy Inc. sections existed, billboards, press releases, radio broadcasts, and full and one-half page newspaper advertisements started to appear. Scott later claimed that 14,000,000 copies of full-page advertisements, hundreds of thousands of leaflets, and radio broadcasts in almost every major population center on the Continent, advocated the program.[8] Scott said the advertising cost was in excess of $50,000.[9] Publisher's Weekly estimated $100,000 as nearer the cost; they also claimed that the advertisements had appeared in 100 newspapers and that time had been purchased from 92 radio stations.[10] Public reaction was massive and uniformly critical. As a result, the Technocrats' position shifted slightly

and an advertisement carried by the New York Times on March 8, 1942, deleted all references to Scott as Director of Defense and intensified the movement's anti-alien position by substituting, "America Must Liquidate Its Pro-Fascists At Home ... Before It Can Defeat Its Fascist Enemies Abroad".[11] (Previous statements had identified various "aliens" as a primary source of pro-Fascist sentiment.) Scott also indicated that the proposal that he be made Director of Defense was a consequence of local section initiative rather than an inherent part of the program as formulated by CHQ.[12] This was, of course, quite at variance with the facts. Various commentators were uniform in their surprise at the active and apparently affluent revival of a movement commonly understood to have died in 1933, and were in basic agreement in their judgement that in its new form it was nothing short of "native American Fascism".

It must be remembered that the 1932-1933 phase of the movement had been a badly disorganized affair, and while the implications of technological elitism had been present, no really coherent organization and ideology had been obvious. It should also be remembered that the media treatment of the early movement had in the end 'buried' the movement not only by criticism but by massive doses of ridicule as well.

Now it was back, an apparently highly organized, cohesive movement, complete with grey uniforms, salutes, the Monad symbol, fleets of grey cars and motorcycles (also an occasional motorboat and an airplane), and an enigmatic leader referred to by members as the "Chief". Its program combined appeals to almost every prejudice that had ever stimulated a movement, with almost total disregard for ideological consistency. It was anti-Democratic, anti-Communist, anti-Fascist. It combined the Fascist attributes of high evaluation of efficiency, discipline, and elitism with a program of militant anti-Fascism, at home and abroad. It appealed as well to the racists with a nationalistic America First 100 per cent Americanism. This aspect of the program included a consolidation by force of the entire continental area, including parts of South America, and the "annihilation of minorities" that might protest such a plan. In addition, all foreign language publications were to be closed down, as were vendors of alcoholic beverages. Populist sentiment was appealed to

with an anti-banker, anti-big business position. Throughout the ideology, the paradox was to be found of a positivist reification of science and technology combined with a pervasive anti-intellectualism.[13] Technocracy had always condemned the activities of more active movements as misguided, inasmuch as they were based upon a "psychological" approach. In essence, the Technocratic argument was a simplified naturalistic one. That is, social change is produced by changes in Technology, not by changes in thought inspired by rational (or irrational) argument. At the same time there were hints to the members that when the time was appropriate Technocracy might make use of a "mass psychological approach" in order to facilitate the institution of a Technate. This was only to occur if and when Technocracy had recruited the technological elite necessary to "take over the controls". As one ex-Technocrat recalled, the idea at the time was that "if we feel that the whole setup will go down the drain within a period of anywhere between three and six months and if we do have this 3% of the educated population behind us, then we could turn on the tap for a mass emotional appeal".[14] The Total Conscription program with its massive publicity directed at an extremely wide and disparate social base seems to have been such an appeal.

In any event, the massive critical response to the Technocrats forced some modification in the program. The proposal for Scott as Director of Defense was dropped and the temporary nature of the program was stressed. The distinction between Technocracy's "social program" and Total Conscription was continually asserted, although not demonstrated. Technocrats were simply loyal citizens, they claimed, who, until the war was over, had no other objectives beyond the most efficient termination of hostilities. An internal communication to the membership, however, implied that no setback of any sort had occurred and that everything was, in effect, going according to plan.

> America is in a state of Transition, and Technocracy understands the forces underlying the situation. Technocracy also knows the probabilities of its outcome. Technocracy plays the role at present of an observer and an interpreter. This declaration - the call for a strategy of total war headed by Howard Scott - was made at this time as a contribution toward the efficient total mobilization

> of America in winning the war and the peace for America. The historical significance of Technocracy's position will not be apparent immediately.[15]

The Total Conscription program was to remain the primary concern of the movement until shortly after the end of the war. That this program had been but a lightly disguised move to install a permanent Technate is a matter of observation and inference. While it is plausible that rank and file membership may have so perceived the program (that is, as a way of instituting the Technate), it is also clear that such an objective was never openly stated. Quite the contrary, in fact, for it was continually denied officially, while at the same time ambiguous statements like the one quoted above were circulating internally. As a consequence, the failure of the program was not defined as any kind of failure of prophecy, nor was it allowed to be construed as any sort of challenge to the movement's main analysis and program. In fact quite the opposite occurred as the North American governments brought under military forms of organization more and more institutional areas in response to wartime conditions (for example, rationing, price controls, and government controls on production priorities). The Technocrats interpreted this as vindication of their claims about the value of a state run as a "Technological Army".

The war itself was used as an explanation of the earlier, more important prophecy about the inevitable collapse of the Price System "prior to 1940". It was argued (and this view is not unique to the Technocrats) that only the economic stimulus of the war, and the willingness of citizens to accept temporarily changed economic relations in order to facilitate the war effort, enabled the Price System to (a) survive (the Technocratic version), or (b) emerge out of the lingering Depression of the 1930's (the more widely held view). This argument may of course be regarded either as an explanation or as a rationalization of the failure of prophecy. In any event we have yet to explain this major fluctuation of the movement from the relatively passive to the more active mode of operation, and the matter of "prophecy failed" may be relevant.

It is not possible to account for this program in any significant sense inasmuch as the decision for its implementation seems to have been almost solely that of Howard Scott, and data are simply not available on his motivation. We can only speculate on some of the more plausible interpretations.

One possibility is that Scott recognized that the War would invalidate his prophecy of Price System collapse by 1940, and saw the Total Conscription program as a means of avoiding the possible ill effects to the movement of such a failure. In this context, then, the increased activity and commitment demanded of participants in carrying the message to the public was a means of maintaining, or possibly increasing, movement cohesion. It must be remembered that the prediction of collapse by 1940 was central to the movement's existence prior to 1939. The Technocrats' extremely limited role in effecting changes was based on the inevitability of this "collapse". Such an interpretation may, however, be excessively elaborate and may impute far too much cunning and manipulation to Scott's behaviour. It may have been simply that Scott considered the domestic pressures created by the crisis of a major war were fertile ground for a resurgence of Technocracy. It has also been suggested that the most likely explanation for this "dynamic phase" of the movement (as the Technocrats called it) was that someone secretly contributed a considerable amount of money to the cause.[16] While it seems that the reasons for this "dynamic phase" must remain matters of speculation, we are in a more favourable position with regard to the effects of the program.

Despite the success, the failure, the logic or illogic of the program, the movement that had been publicly dead for ten or more years, and that had legitimized its limited participation in the larger political arena with a millennial "inevitability" concept, as well as a self-definition of the movement as "educational", had now set for itself the precedent of widespread political activity. This new self-concept was clearly exemplified in an internal policy statement in 1943.

> Technocracy is now participating in social change. Technocracy's work is primarily educational. But during the past year this educational work has been pitched into a dynamic phase. Technocracy has become an active participant in the social conflict by urgently presenting a blueprint of national operations for the United States and Canada, here and now. That blueprint is Total Conscription. By this means Technocracy has introduced a change in the basic strategy of this Organization, and during the past year the membership has put this strategy into full operation. Canadian members will be in a position to observe this change from the policy in 1940. Technocracy has developed to the point where it can now execute nationwide tactical maneuvers in an organand disciplined manner. CHQ states unequivocally that this has forced a

> recognition of Technocracy as an organized factor in future events on this continent.[17]

It was to be extremely difficult to reconcile this precedent with attempts to revert to a non-activist "educational" organization. The movement's concept of its role in effecting social change had previously been centered on ideas appropriate for a small-scale movement of limited resources and limited appeal to the wider public. Consequently its role was defined as limited. It was not to facilitate the breakdown of the established order. That was to come as the inevitable consequence of irreconcilable contradictions inherent in the order itself. Technocracy was not to be a mass movement - only a small biological elite was capable of comprehending its analysis. Its primary role was education and research with occasional ambiguous implications of possible direct action when the time was right. The precedent that the Total Conscription program set was, however, one of direct action in the political affairs of the continent. A gradual re-decline into the position of an obscure educational organization patiently awaiting the milliennium was a prospect that was soon to generate a major internal conflict that would split the movement, in a manner parallel to the early conflict between Technocracy Inc. and the Continental Committee.

We will deal first with the years immediately following the war, with the focus again on the Vancouver area sections and the events preceding this conflict.

NOTES

1 Total Conscription! Your Questions Answered, p. inside cover.

2 Ibid., p. 5.

3 Technocracy, July, 1940, p. 12-14.

4 Technocracy Inc., General Mailing, April 30, 1941. (mimeographed)

5 The Nation, XIX, March 23, 1942, p. 28.

6 Technocracy Inc., General Mailing, December 31, 1941. (mimeographed)

7 Total Conscription! Your Questions Answered, pp. 12-13.

8 Benson, p. 55.

9 Ibid.

10 "Technocracy Rears Its Head Again," The Publishers' Weekly, CXLI, April 25, 1942, p. 1578.

11 Elsner, p. 233.

12 Faulkner, p. 58.

13 The term anti-intellectualism in this context requires some elaboration, given the Technocrats' positivistic view of science. We would normally expect a positivistic view of knowledge to be linked to a highly favourable image of the creators of knowledge, that is, intellectuals. With the Technocrats, however, quite the reverse tendency can be observed. In large part this is due to their definition of the "technicians" (this term in their vocabulary being, for all intents and purposes, synonymous with intellectuals) as the most appropriate revolutionary 'class'. The continued failure of the "technicians" to develop a significant revolutionary consciousness resulted quite naturally in some disillusionment on the part of the Technocrats. Consequently, while their view of science remained highly favourable, their view of scientists became derogatory. Intellectuals, whatever their field of interest, are seen primarily as tools or accomplices of the ruling classes. The definition of intellectuals as misguided or falsely conscious would most properly be described as anti-intellectuals rather than as anti-intellectualism. Nevertheless, there are numerous occasions in the Technocracy literature where the distinction seems to have been lost and the value of intellectual work itself is seen as questionable. In the Technocracy Study Course, for instance, there is one fairly obvious example of this tendency. The author is deriding the reactionary views of Ortega y Gasset, and says; "Professor Ortega y Gasset is a Jesuit Professor of Philosophy at the University of Madrid, and, as such, so far as is publicly known, has never done anything of more importance in his entire life than to read books, talk, and write more books." Technocracy Study Course, p. 205.

14 Interview with an ex-Technocrat.

15 Technocracy Inc., General Mailing, January 31, 1942, (mimeographed) as quoted by Elsner, p. 231.

16 Other students of the movement have considered this question and been unable to find any evidence of the existence of any such benefactor. I am inclined to doubt the 'rich benefactor' view, but given the secrecy that the Technocrats maintain about their affairs, evidence for either view is simply not available.

17 Technocracy Inc., General Mailing, December, 1943, (mimeographed) as quoted by Elsner, p. 241.

CHAPTER NINE

VANCOUVER AFTER THE WAR

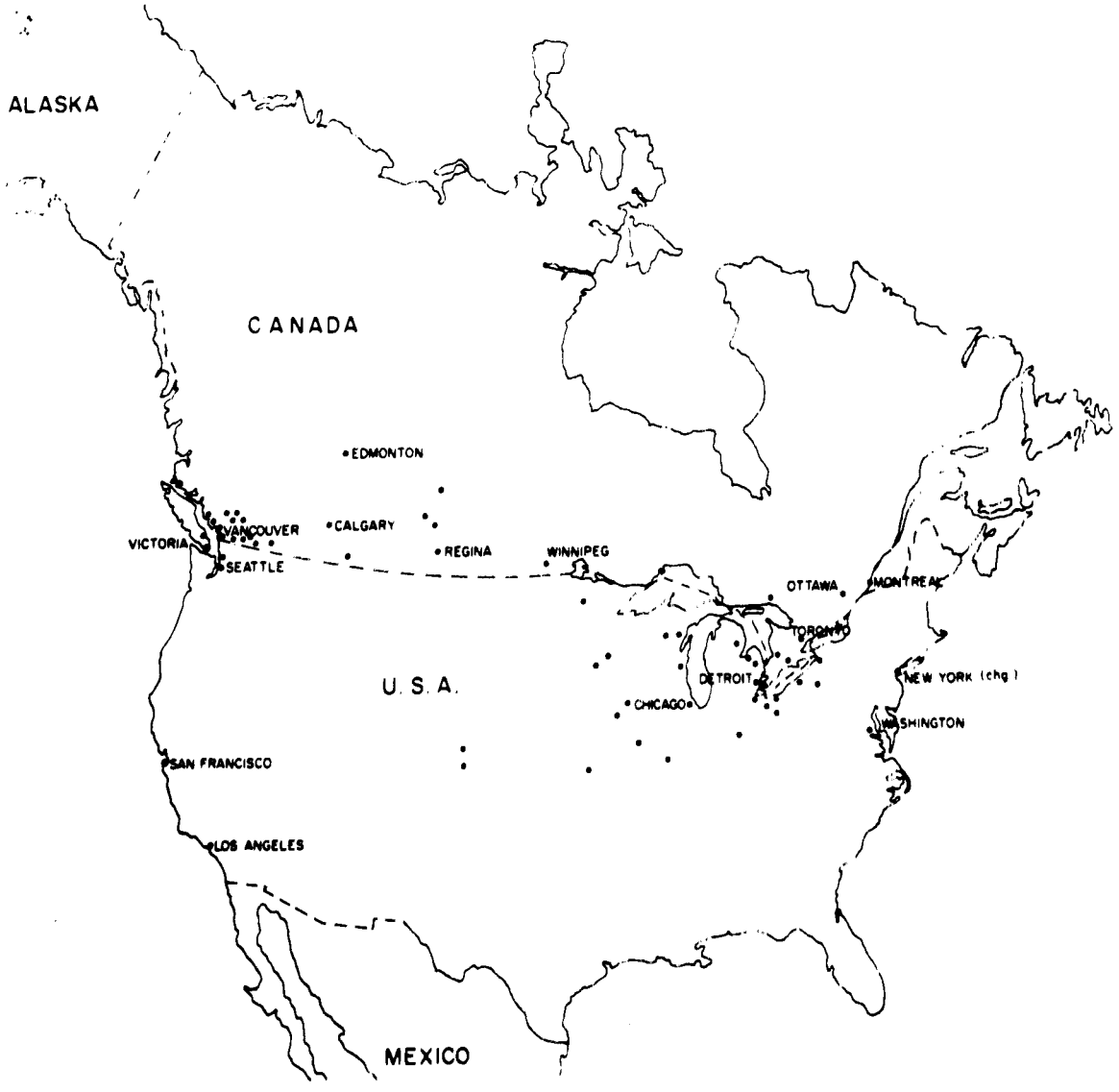
With the lifting of the ban on Technocracy in Canada, only Vancouver's Technocracy Digest resumed publication. During the period in which the ban was in effect, the Vancouver Technocrats had advocated the Total Conscription program through their Canadians for Victory Committee, and with the resumption of regular activities they moved full force into widespread advocacy of the program. As the war moved toward a close, the Digest articles and editorials increasingly stressed the necessity of Total Conscription in order to facilitate a return to peace time conditions. Throughout these writings there is a continual ambiguity as to whether acceptance of Total Conscription necessitated eventual acceptance of a Technate. Two key social problems were identified (first as potential and then as prophecy fulfilled) as ones that only Total Conscription could solve. The first was unemployment, and the second, lack of housing facilities. Labor groups and war veterans were identified as appropriate targets for the message, and editorials and "open letters" were addressed to these groups. The CCF was seen as in potential competition for this audience, and a series of articles was devoted to debunking this party's program.[1] In June of 1945, the Digest came out with a new answer to the question of how the Total Conscription-Technate was to be instituted. It was suggested that a national referendum be held on the question. "The job ahead", readers were told, "is not the planning of a coup d'état of technical men in key places, or any sort of insurrection or revolution ... Technocracy Inc. stresses the national referendum as an orderly means of bringing about the Technate."[2] The idea of a referendum did not, however, become integrated into the Technocratic ideology. Mention of it in the Technocracy literature was to be extremely rare. As time went on, mention of the Total Conscription program also became less frequent, as the program was gradually abandoned.[3]

In September, 1954, the Digest had initiated a section entitled "Notes on Organization", which appeared with fair regularity over the next few years, and which gives

us additional information about local Technocratic activities. From the time of its initiation until April of 1946, the column dealt mainly with matters of ideology and organizational forms. Then, reports of Technocracy speaking tours became the main items, and the number and range over the next two years is impressive. The reports include activities in both countries, and while it is probable that U. S. activities may have been under-reported, it seems, nevertheless, that the organizational focus was largely on Canada. The tours seem to have had two goals: consolidation and expansion in areas where the movement was already established (Pacific Northwest and Canadian Prairies) and secondly, expansion to areas of eastern Canada. The following maps give some idea of the scope and geographic focus of these tours.

The first diagram (Figure 9:1) indicates centers where Technocracy Inc. had

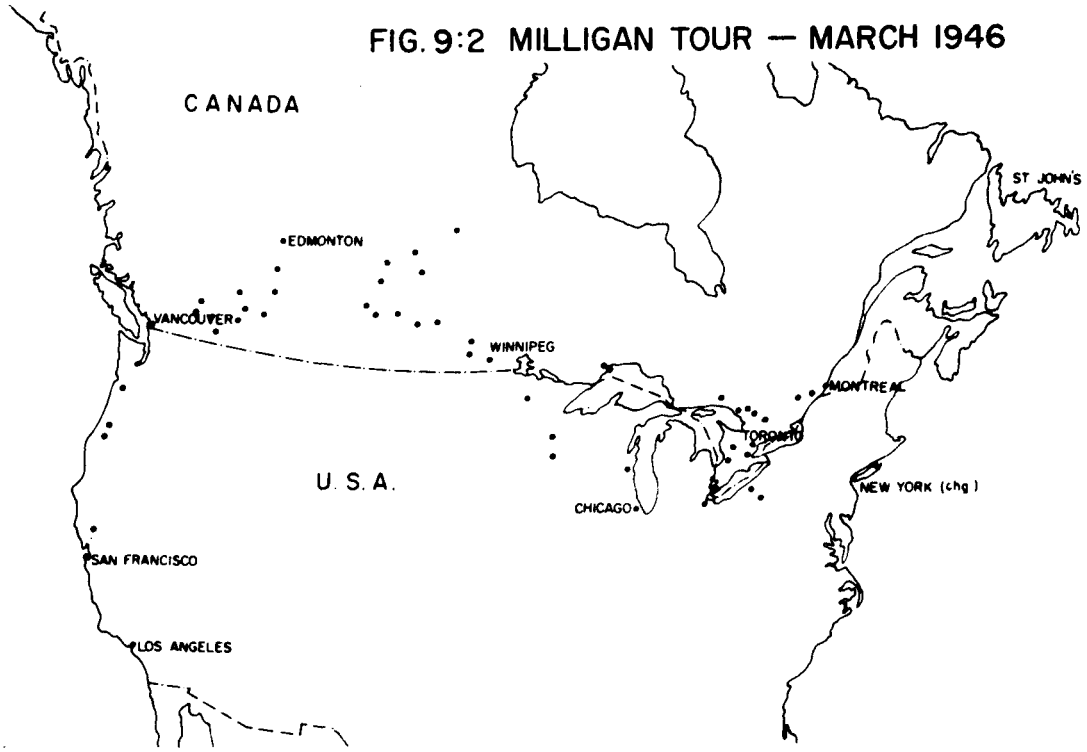
FIG. 9:1 TECHNOCRACY SECTIONS IN CANADA AND U.S.A.



sections established in the 1946-1948 period. As the Digest reported Canadian sections in some detail, the diagram is probably fairly accurate with reference to Canada. With reference to the U.S.A., however, data are available only on the Great Lakes area (from the journal Great Lakes Technocrat), and therefore West Coast sections (California and Washington State), which we know from other sources to have been numerous, are not shown. The distribution of sections in Canada shows clearly that British Columbia was the major center of Canadian Technocratic activity. The existence of sections in the East, for example Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and St. John's, was a post-war development. We have noted previously that the 1938-1940 period is widely accepted (both by members and outside observers) as the time when, in terms of both membership and activity, the movement was at its peak. The existence of 43 sections in Canada alone (and probably a comparable number in the U.S.A.) demonstrates that despite the inevitable interruptions of the war period, and the government ban in Canada, Technocracy was still a movement of some strength.

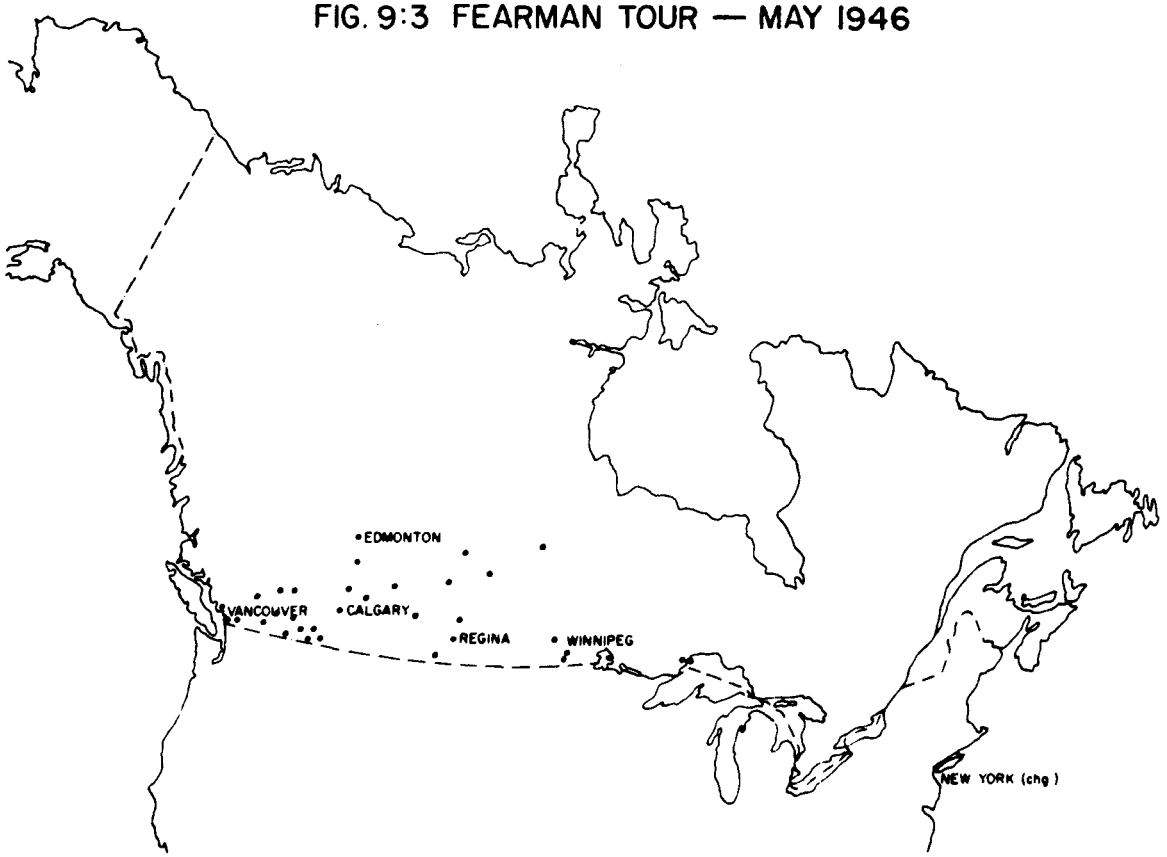
The following diagram (Figure 9:2) indicates the itinerary of the 1946 Trans-Canada tour of Technocracy speaker, A.A. Milligan. This tour encompassed approximately 45 points in Canada[4] and at least 14 U.S.A. centers.

FIG. 9:2 MILLIGAN TOUR — MARCH 1946



The next diagram (Figure 9:3) shows the points at which E. L. Fearman spoke, in what was billed as the second Trans-Canada tour. The frequency of these tours is indicated by the fact that this second tour commenced on the West Coast in May 1946, at which time A.A. Milligan was on the return lap from the East Coast on the first Trans-Canada tour. In addition to these major tours, there were a number of local ones on a smaller scale. The amount of overlap on these small tours is even more apparent. That is to say, the number of touring speakers 'in motion' at any one time

FIG. 9:3 FEARMAN TOUR — MAY 1946



was substantial. Figure 9:4 gives Edith Gerald's West Coast tour, which extended from May 1st to May 17th. Later in May, Reo McCaslin made a short tour over some of the same major points (Figure 9:5). The tours were not, of course, the only indices of Technocratic activity in this period. The first issue of Technews, an internal publication (for members only) of the Vancouver section, included an annual report of the year 1946. Local Technocrats, it was reported, had painted 30 cars in regulation colours over the year.[5] Two hundred and twenty-one public meetings had been held

FIG. 9:4 GERALD TOUR — MAY 1946

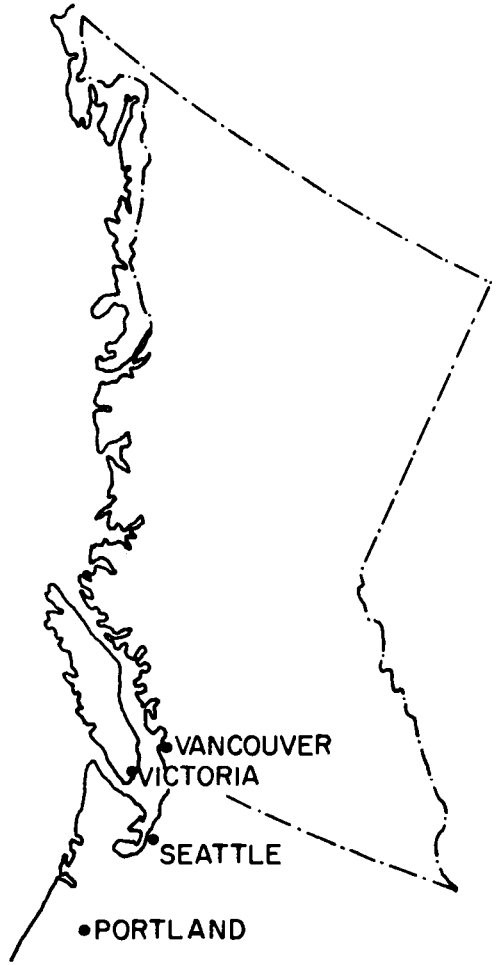
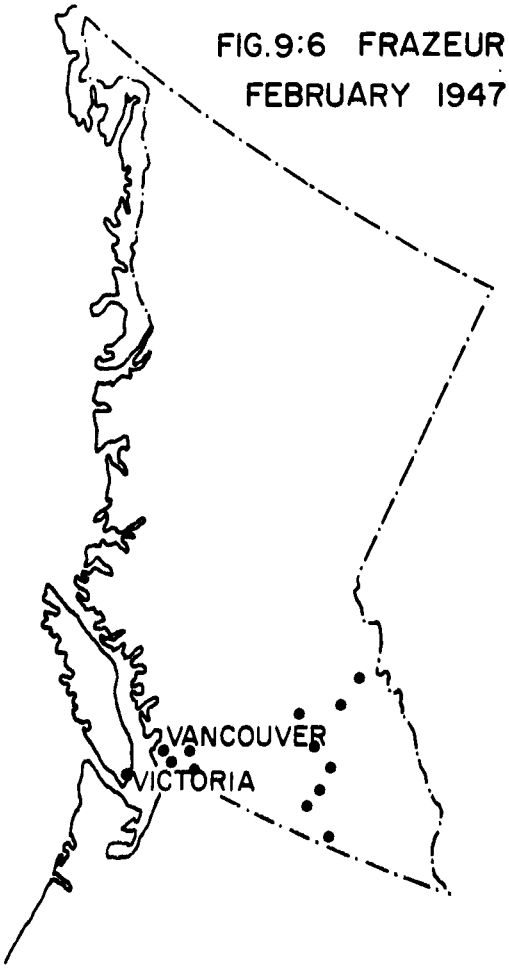


FIG. 9:5 McCASLIN TOUR — MAY 1946

with a total attendance of 17,326 people, 10,792 of whom were non-members.[6] This amounts to something over four meetings per week, at which approximately 60% of attenders were non-members. Six hundred and seventy-six membership applications were received overall. Finally, Technocracy literature to the value of $1,949.72 was sold during 1946.[7] It was also reported that the New Westminster sections had a 15-minute radio broadcast weekly on radio station CKMO (Monday at 7:15).[8]

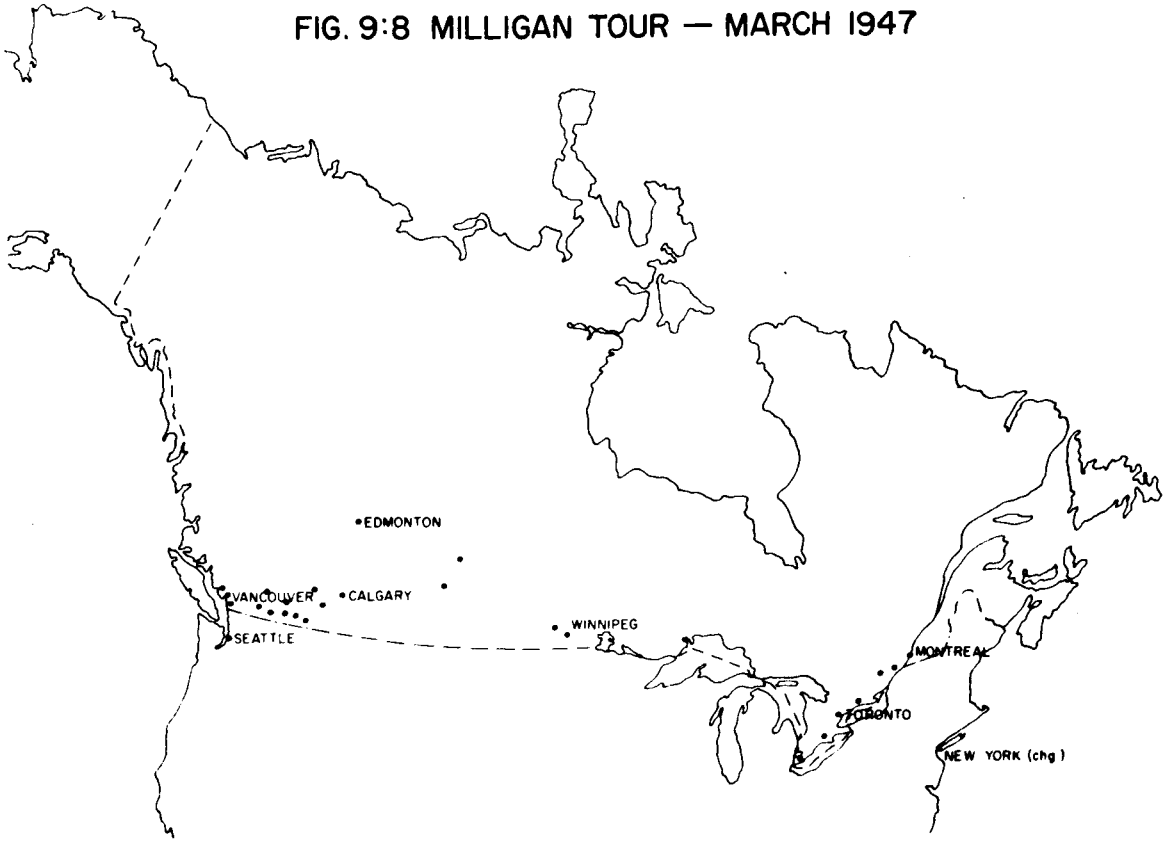
The 1947 tour season started in Vancouver in February with speaker L.E. Frazeur. His tour lasted for a month and covered the points indicated in Figure 9:6.

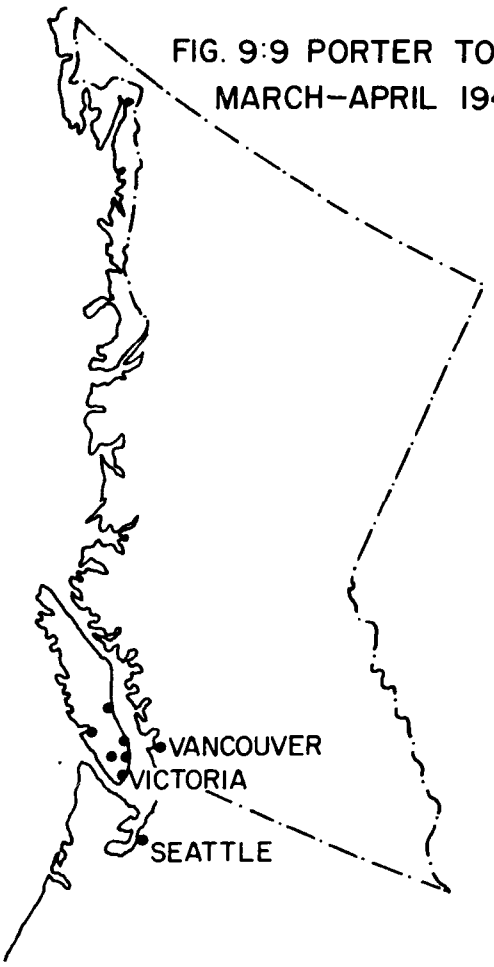


Thomas Porter toured the British Columbia interior in February as well (Feb. 14-15), covering slightly different points (Figure 9:7). In March, A.A. Milligan commenced his second Trans-Canada tour in Vancouver; Figure 9:8 shows his itinerary. Thomas Porter, after a few weeks pause, resumed his lecturing in British Columbia (see Figure 9:9).

FIG. 9:7 PORTER TOUR
FEBRUARY 1947

FIG. 9:8 MILLIGAN TOUR — MARCH 1947





May 4th saw Milton Wildfong on a British Columbia Interior tour, visiting the towns shown in Figure 9:10; in June, Vic Templeton covered a similar area (see Figure 9:11). The Digest reported two other small tours in this period, one in the eastern United States and the other on the Canadian Prairies.

The final and most important tour of 1947 was the Howard Scott visit to Seattle and Vancouver late in June. This was Scott's first talk in Canada since 1939. The tour was also the occasion of the first major Technocracy motorcade of the "grey Fleet". This first major effort, in what was to be described as the "Symbolization" program, consisted of a motorcade from Los Angeles to Vancouver, called "Operation Columbia". In the Vancouver forum 5,000 people paid the $1.00 attendance fee to hear Scott speak. The local press devoted a large amount of space to the event, and some questions were raised about the meaning of the grey motorcade and grey uniforms. Scott's response was:

I wonder how you are going to feel when 50 times that number rolls in.[9]

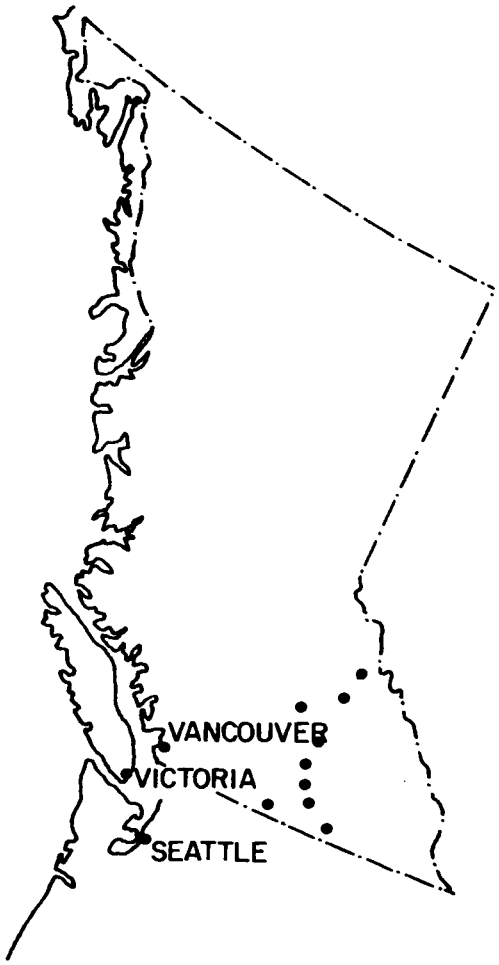


FIG.9:10 WILDFONG TOUR — MAY 1947

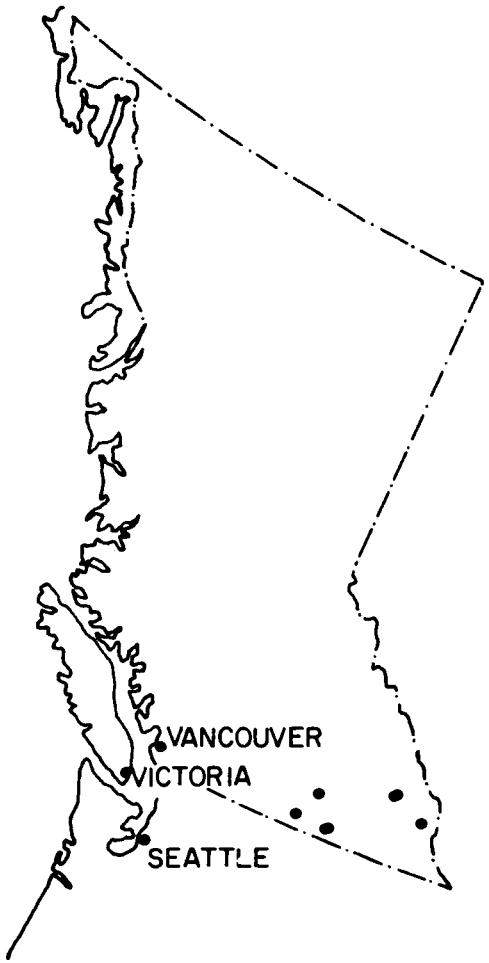


FIG. 9:11 TEMPLETON TOUR — JUNE 1947

Considering the scope of the tour in question, this statement indicates considerable optimism about future growth. Hundreds of cars, trucks, and trailers, all regulation grey, from all over the Pacific Northwest, participated. An old school bus, repainted and refitted with sleeping and office facilities, a two-way radio, and a public address system, impressed observers. A huge war surplus searchlight mounted on a truck bed was included, and grey-painted motorcycles acted as parade marshalls. A small grey aircraft, with a Monad symbol on its wings, flew overhead. All this was recorded by the Technocrats on a 16-mm 900-foot colour film.[10] In Vancouver, the Technocrats anticipated significant membership increases. The membership committee devised a system whereby, following Scott's speech, they would "be able to sign up applicants at the rate of over 16 per minute or approximately 500 applicants in half an hour".[11] The July issue of Vancouver's Technews reported that prior to Scott's visit 92,000 handbills had been mailed (it was claimed, to every household in Vancouver), 1,500 posters had been put up, 800 bumper strips distributed, six billboards rented, regular spot announcements bought on two radio stations, and finally a half-page newspaper advertisement run to climax the publicity.[12] The education committee was reported busy preparing study course leaders for the "expected hordes of new members".[13] While no figures were ever released about the actual number of recruits, the July issue of Technews (published three weeks after the visit) reported that 17 applicants were interviewed per day during this three-week period.[14]

Various issues of Technews give several other indications of local activities throughout 1947. One demonstration of the level of membership commitment to the movement is contained in the July issue. On page 4, we read:

> You remember in our May issue we mentioned the drive being launched by the Board of Governors of 12349-1 among the section membership to pay off the balance of $19,000 owing on our SHQ building? Well, we dood it! [sic] At the membership meeting on June 6th, the balance still required at that date, was raised among those present.[15]

While we have no way of definitely ascertaining the actual number of members in this section, it seems highly unlikely that it ever exceeded several hundred, which makes the raising of $19,000 in one month a significant index of considerable commitment to

the movement.

At the same time, the Port Moody section was starting to build its own headquarters on the main street in Port Moody.[16] The entire cost of this SHQ (Section Headquarters) was carried by the section membership, through the method of selling shares to its members. It is unlikely that this section had more than 50-75 members at the time.[17]

Another indication of participation came from the Vancouver section, which reported that their suggestion box had received so far (over several months) 455 suggestions.[18] The annual report gives some additional data on various activities. Percentages are computed, for instance, on the "functioning" of members. While it is not totally clear, this seems to mean participation on various committees. Thus "the committees had a busy year too, with 40% of the total membership functioning in some capacity".[19] It was reported that 87 public meetings were held at which, on the average, 55.3% of the audience were non-Technocrats.[20] This is an impressive number of meetings if we note that it approaches two meetings per week, excluding major holiday periods. By way of contrast, and somewhat in anticipation of a later section of the paper, we would note that today this same section holds approximately 15 public meetings a year, and the percentage of non-members attending such meetings rarely exceeds 2-3%. Continuing with the report, we find that 19 more cars were painted regulation grey and that 10 motorcades were organized.[21] In addition, four more billboards were constructed, bringing the total to 14.[22] Finally, a total of 4,355 "contact mailings" (Technocracy pamphlets sent to non-members) were sent out during the year.[23] The suggested New Year's Resolutions did not, however, contain any hint of complacency. For instance:

1. More non-members at meetings.
2. More house meetings organized.
3. More speakers, promotors in clubs, etc.
4. More names for contact mailings, either individuals or groups.
5. More suggestions via the suggestion box.[24]

These resolutions are some indication of the focus on expansion and recruitment, and although we have noted that the above data indicate rather considerable

activity by comparison with the earlier information on activities of 1946, there was a clear decrease in both intensity and scope of movement affairs. A list of "functional prerequisites" for members, published in March of 1946, gives some indication of their current image of the "good Technocrat".

> How do you rate as a functional member anyway? We realize that it is not easy to assess the functioning of anyone, but on the basis of ten points for each of the following, where would you stand?
> 1. Are your dues paid to the end of 1946?
> 2. Are you active on a committee?
> 3. Are you making a regular monthly pledge?
> 4. Are you selling tickets for meetings?
> 5. Do you subscribe to the publications?
> 6. Do you sell literature to contacts?
> 7. Do you bring contacts to SHQ?
> 8. Are you attending a study class?
> 9. Do you take a shift at SHQ?
> 10. Do you have a grey suit? [25]

Clearly the ideal member spent a great deal of his time engaged in Technocratic activities. The annual reports, personal interviews with current and ex-Technocrats, and the estimation of other students of the movement, make it clear that a good number of members in this period (as well as in 1938-1940) did in fact live up to, and indeed surpassed, this ideal.

In 1948 there was a further decrease in activities, particularly in terms of tours. Only two were reported locally: "Operation Vancouver", a small motorcade with speeches in Vancouver and Victoria, by Reo McCaslin, and "Operation Golden Gate", on July 4th in California, with Scott as speaker. This latter was intended to be larger than the previous "Operation Columbia". In all probability it involved about 400 grey cars, and 2,500 Technocrats participated.[26] Vancouver publications did not list any of the smaller local tours that had been so much a part of the previous two years' activity. The section in the Digest on organizational matters appeared with less regularity, and when it was included, dealt mainly with "symbolization" projects, and not tours. The April 1948 issue of Technews reported, with tentative approval, the legitimation of the Penticton section, for limited proselytization. On page 9 we find:

> Lack of high pressure in sign-ups was intended and will prove itself a more healthful approach than what so frequently was the custom. [27]

Further on this logic is detailed more fully.

> There were no sign-ups [after a public meeting], but we have learned the futility of putting pressure on people to sign up at public meetings and then chasing them for dues, finally to drop them for non-payment. Instead, we decided to let the ones who turn out for the meetings figure it out for themselves and if they are not prepared to do something about it, they are not the material for which we are searching.[28]

Clearly, recruitment had declined since systems were being prepared to handle 500 applicants every half hour just a year before.

NOTES

1 See, for instance, Technocracy Digest, February, March, April, 1945, and January 1946.

2 Technocracy Digest, June, 1945, p. 48.

3 Mention of this program continues in the Digest until late into 1946 and then simply ceases to be talked about. The program was revived again briefly in 1950 but on a very small scale.

4 The data for this tour have been gathered from issues of the Digest as well as from various internally distributed papers. Owing to both haphazard reporting on the Technocrats' part and the possibility that some reports have been missed, it is quite possible that the tour was even more extensive than the map would indicate.

5 Technews, I, January, 1947, Vancouver: Technocracy Inc., Sec.R.D. 12349., p. 1.

6 Ibid., p. 5.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., p. 8.

9 Technocracy Digest, August, 1947, p. 50.

10 Elsner, p. 251. This tour was also noted by Benson who recently viewed the film "Operation Columbia" at the Technocracy Inc. CHQ (Central Headquarters), Benson, p. 57.

11 Technews, June, 1947, p. 4.

12 Technews, July, 1947, p. 2.

13 Ibid., p. 4.

14 Ibid., p. 4.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., p. 13.

17 Interview with an ex-Technocrat.

18 Technews, November, 1947, p. 9. A sample of the "regulation" suggestion form is included in Appendix 2. The 'scientific' emphasis should be noted.

19 Technews, February, 1948, p. 1.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 3.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 4.

25 Canadian Section News, March, 1946, Vancouver: Technocracy Inc., Sec. R.D. 12349., p. 3.

26 The Nation, CLXVII, No. 6, (August 7, 1948), pp. 142-143.

27 Technews, April, 1948, p. 9.

28 Ibid., p. 16.

CHAPTER TEN

THE SPLIT OF 1948

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

James C. Davies argues that revolution is most likely to occur "when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal".[1] Without arguing that the internal 'revolution' in Technocracy Inc. late in 1948 substantiates Davies' idea, we simply argue that there are some suggestive parallels. We have observed a decline in Technocratic activities between 1946 and 1947, and an even sharper drop in 1948. The combination of numerous tours (both local and continental), "symbolization" (uniforms, grey cars, airplanes, motorcycles, parades or "operations", roadside billboards), and active (and reasonably successful) recruitment during 1946-1947, plus the various other movement activities noted, justified or substantiated members' perception of Technocracy as a "functioning organization", actively participating in North American social affairs.

Our data on 1948 are less complete, but we have noted some of the indicators of a sharp decline. The continued absence in the literature of reports of activities, while not conclusive, is suggestive of decline, inasmuch as the Technocrats have never been lax in 'reporting' their successes. The changed definition of meaningful activity is also a significant contrast. Compared with the activities noted above, by November of 1948 the following were defined as significant movement advances.

> Technocracy Inc. received a Blue Ribbon Award for the participation of Technocracy sound cars in the Pioneer Day Parade activities at 29 Palms, California. It is reported that a letter of thanks was received from the Chamber of Commerce at 29 Palms, also. A Technocrat who is accepting sound assignments in that area has covered two Parent-Teachers affairs...[2]

Later, in a Christmas parade in Canoga Palm, California, it was reported that, "playing Christmas records in the parade line were two grey cars of Technocracy Inc.".[3] Similar activities were noted, and in summary the Column concluded: "Besides those reported, the Co-ordinating Committee of Sound Sequence of 11833-34 has been on the

job at baseball games, teen-age dances, football games, community sings, square dances, bazaars, parades, folk dances and different civic functions."[4] In Vancouver and New Westminster the Technocrats mobilized to assist in the fight against the serious Fraser river flooding of 1948. The "grey fleet" (approximately 100 cars) was used for transportation, Technocracy Inc. communications equipment was widely utilized by the Army, and the Technocracy searchlight (the "Big Eye") was brought in from the U.S.A. The Technocrats were quick to point out that "The Big Eye" was three times more powerful than any other available. The New Westminster section hall provided food on a continuous basis for flood workers as well as sleeping space when needed.[5]

The Technocrats understandably viewed this project as a significant demonstration of organizational resources and efficiency. Nevertheless, the general level of Technocracy's participation in civic affairs was obviously of a quite different nature. Even fully loyal members must have been aware at some point of the paradox of a "truly revolutionary movement" that defined groups such as the CCF and the Communist Party as insufficiently radical, at the same time considering significant the presentation to the organization of a "blue ribbon" and a "letter of thanks" from a local Chamber of Commerce.

There were other symptoms of movement decline as well, an important one being the relative inactivity of CHQ. No new pamphlets had been issued for some time, and only three issues of the General Mailing (previously a monthly publication) had appeared between April 1945 and March 1947.[6] The Total Conscription program had been the only response to changed social conditions in years, and when that was eventually abandoned, no new alternative was developed. This program had set a clear precedent for active participation in continental social affairs, and now the membership was, in effect, expected to revert to a vaguely utopian "educational" program of "symbolization" that, as we have seen, tended to degenerate into participation and assistance in civic holiday parades, PTA meetings, and ladies' softball games. Both Bensen and Elsner argue that another factor in the eventual confrontation in 1948 was

that "Operation Columbia" and "Operation Golden Gate" brought together for the first time a large number of Technocrats from various parts of the country, and hence facilitated discussion and evaluation of the strength and activities of the movement in various locals. Furthermore, it provided potential dissidents with wider support in their concerns.[7] Elsner quotes from an interview with a former Technocrat:

> It came up casually, imperceptibly ... I had no idea others were thinking the same way. I remember meeting _____ from Ontario at a picnic ... we got off away from the others, and gradually felt each other out. Then I got in touch with others who had been thinking the same way.[8]

The "Operations" were also an occasion for a number of members to see the "Chief" in action, either for the first time in many years, or in many cases, for the first time. For some the experience was disillusioning.

> ... he now seemed somehow "different". He seemed to be "nervous", "afraid of something", "unwilling to participate" in section conferences, to be avoiding publicity for himself and the organization, and lacking in the elementary co-ordinating sense necessary for the leader of a large organization.[9]

The Canadian Technocrats had previously felt that CHQ should have been more active in responding to the wartime ban, and in the post-war years a new issue had come to the fore. At various times, Canadian Technocrats reported difficulty crossing the border into the U.S.A. It was never clear that there was any actual ban on their so doing, or how extensive the difficulty was; nevertheless, CHQ made no attempt to deal with the issue in any way, and this inactivity became further cause for dissent and questioning of affairs at CHQ.

One other factor contributed to internal dissent: the Price System had not collapsed, and predictions about the expected demise were becoming more and more vague.

As we have seen, quite specific predictions were made during the Depression, the first giving 1937 as the date, and the second prophesying the collapse as occurring "prior to 1940". The advent of the Second World War was then interpreted as saving the Price System economically. By 1947-1948, however, the prophecy as to the timing of the inevitable demise was imprecise, to say the least. The Great Lakes

Technocrat of March-April, 1948, provided a characteristic answer. It may have been unintentional, but the manner of posing the question suggested weariness. The question read: "About how much longer does Technocracy believe the Price System will continue?"[10] And the answer was given: "The Price System on this continent cannot continue much longer. Just how much longer no man knows. What is a year or two in the life of a social system? it is only a moment."[11] The answer continued with a standard Technocracy analysis and then said: "Inevitably, it [the Price System] must be replaced by a totally new system..."[12] Interestingly, the term "inevitably" had, with the change in context over the years, lost the original connotation of "imminent necessity" and came closer to meaning, certain in some distant future.

The culmination of the various factors discussed above came in 1948 when a major internal conflict (and eventual schism) developed in the movement. The details of this schism are important in that two conflicting groups eventually polarized their opposition, the dissident group being expelled, and the remaining Technocracy Inc. committing itself even further to sectarian isolation and educational utopianism.

The original nucleus of the dissenting group consisted of the editor of the Great Lakes Technocrat (one of the more sophisticated and innovative of the journals), the assistant director of organization from CHQ, and directors of sections from Toronto, Chicago, and Detroit. They met in Buffalo, N.Y., on August 11, 1948 and agreed among themselves to recruit those of like mind across the country.[13] As a result of their effort, an expanded meeting was held in Chicago in September and a proposal for "The Expansion of Technocracy" was drawn up and signed by 25 participants. Of these, seven or eight were from the Vancouver area.[14] The elements of the proposal were as follows:

1. Annual elections by membership of Continental Board of Governors.
2. Minutes of B.O.G. meetings to be kept and a majority of the board to be required to vote on all items.
3. Annual financial reports to be issued.
4. Names and occupations of present Directors to be disclosed.
5. Full time CHQ Field Representatives to be appointed.
6. Monthly general meetings to be resumed.
7. Steps to be taken immediately to resolve border crossing difficulties.[15]

The framers of these proposals sent a five-man delegation to Scott with the demand that he ratify it and then release it to the membership in a General Mailing from CHQ. After two fruitless meetings with Scott and a third attempt where he refused even to speak with them, it became clear to the delegation that he had no intention of acceding to their proposals. The delegates returned home and informed Scott by letter that they now felt it necessary to seek general support from the membership as a whole. Scott then unilaterally expelled from Technocracy Inc. all of the signers of the document, as well as at least 75 others who for some reason could be defined as fellow conspirators. In a suit that came before the U. S. Supreme Court in early December, 100 of those expelled claimed that Scott's action was illegal. They also charged Scott with displaying "an unquenchable thirst for power" and receiving "excessive compensation in the guise of an expense account".[16] The Court upheld their claim and ordered their reinstatement.[17] While versions of the conflict appeared in a couple of issues of eastern Technocratic journals, no mention at all was made in Vancouver's Technocracy Digest. A report from CHQ (unsigned) was sent, however, individually to the home address of each member of Technocracy Inc. It was entitled: "Preliminary Report of Treachery, Conspiracy, and Sabotage".[18] The "conspiracy", it said, had been developing for two years and at the appropriate moment had been smashed by the forthright action of CHQ. The affair was said to have but one purpose - "the disruption and destruction of Technocracy Inc." The report reads in part:

> Their claim that they wished to promote and expand Technocracy Inc. is a sheer tissue of lies; for, if one of their proposals alone were instituted, namely, the annual election of the Continental Board of Governers from the membership, it would create a continuous political struggle for power within the organization...

And further: "CHQ must of necessity originate the policy and control the strategy of the Organization in its entirety..." The final paragraph hints at a larger conspiracy by unnamed hostile elements external to the movement, and concludes: "CHQ asks the membership of Technocracy Inc. to close its ranks and clean house, for there is no room in Technocracy for traitors."

In Vancouver a hearing was held to consider the actions of local Technocrats

who had attended the Chicago meeting. The daughter of one of them, herself a member at the time, recalls that the 'accused' were not allowed to speak on their own behalf and were then expelled.[19] The conflict continued at a high emotional and low intellectual plane for several months, primarily in the eastern part of the continent. The dissidents failed to gain majority support for their program, although they claimed at one point to have received 2000 letters of support out of total membership that has been estimated at this time to have been in the neighbourhood of 8000.[20] Consequently, in March 1949, the dissidents formed a new organization called Technodemocracy that listed an initial membership of 600.[21]

Over the next two years this group paralleled almost exactly the pattern of schisms and splinter groups that had characterized the Continental Committee. Two of the offshoot groups also succumbed to the temptation to make alliances and mergers with other causes, as had several of the CCT factions previously. An additional parallel with the earlier CCT was that the goals of these groups tended to be more reform oriented than was Technocracy Inc. Eventually all that remained was a very small Technodemocracy group centered around R.B. Langdon, the former editor of the Great Lakes Technocrat.[22] Little is known about the eventual fate of this group. It was still in existence in 1954, calling itself the Institute of Social Engineering,[23] and publishing ten leaflets, seven different pamphlets, and two periodicals. There were probably at this point more pamphlets than members.

It seems to have differed substantially from Technocracy Inc. on four main points.

a) It claimed to be democratic.
b) It had a transition plan for achieving the altered social system.
c) It favoured a national referendum on the subject.
d) It limited its objectives initially to the U.S.A.

The second of these points (the transition plan) underlines an important issue that was largely obscured or implicit in the original conflict. This was the recurrent tension between "activity" and "education", between passive millennial sectarianism and purposive political activity. The Total Conscription program had resolved the

earlier ambiguities on this matter by moving directly into political participation in continental affairs, and in the first few years following the war the movement had altered this program and maintained a flurry of public proselytization. These activities, however, had tended both to decline and to deteriorate into civic good works. CHQ was offering little or no leadership at this point - a matter of some importance in such a centralized movement - and the slogans "we are an education and research organization" and "Technocracy has no assumption of power theory", were starting to become re-enshrined. The schism crystalized the two polar positions, with the dissidents wanting to facilitate the arrival of the new day and the loyalists willing patiently to await the millennium.

The West Coast sections of Technocracy Inc. seem to have suffered the smallest membership loss in the schism, eastern Canada and the Great Lakes region being the hardest hit. Today almost all Technocracy Inc. sections are on the west coast of the continent.

The technological army had long been the model of organization for Technocracy Inc., and the 1948 conflict produced a renewed emphasis on the authoritarian (as opposed simply to "efficiency") aspects of this model. In December of 1948 the Digest printed the "William Knight Letter", which was widely circulated in 1948, and which summarizes well the organizational position on leader-follower roles. The letter is cast in the framework of a reply to a new, questioning member, by a close friend of Scott's. The 'answers' in the letter deal with most of the issues raised by the Chicago group: namely, lack of support and resources from CHQ, secret identity of the Continental Board of Governors, Howard Scott as dictator, and the lack of a currently relevant overall program. The following quotations indicate the tenor of the responses.

> CHQ can help in providing lectures to a very limited extent and get things started, but we cannot and will not go out of our way trying to cram Technocracy down the throats of people who want to be entertained.[24]

> You seem to worry a lot about the leadership of Technocracy Inc., and if I understand you rightly you would feel more comfortable if you knew that in the present leadership of Technocracy Inc. are included well known personalities whose names appear in the newspapers quite often.[25]

The Technocracy literature had continually intimated that the Continental Board of Governors was made up of precisely such personalities, whose public stature made it necessary that their participation remain secret. Knight goes on to tell his questioner that such a concern is a "herd instinct" and that "big names" don't make the ideas right. If "you need to bolster yourself with beliefs that some big men believe in the same things you do, I would advise you to drop out of Technocracy."[26] The question having thus been defined as a problem of the questioner's psyche, no legitimation for secrecy is given, and the letter goes on to discuss Howard Scott as dictator.

> In my estimation he is the only logical leader of Technocracy Inc., and I bow to his leadership.
>
> To think of Howard Scott as dictator of tomorrow is ridiculous.... He would be the last man in the world to cherish the task of being a dictator.... As far as I am concerned, to bask in the reflected glory of a man of that size is a great deal more than I deserve for the very little that I have done for Technocracy. I try to serve the Chief and I do not question what he does, nor do I ask him for any certificates proving to me that he can carry on the work that he is doing.[27]

Thus we have the continuing paradox of the ideological combination of oil and water: the scientific method and the divine right of kings. The final paragraphs are quoted below in full as they are so explicit about the quality of faith now required of the membership.

> My advice to you is to keep on doing your work and do not worry about the leadership of the action program of Technocracy. As your ability to serve increases, you will have ever increasing opportunities to know who the leaders of Technocracy are and how it is proposed to bring about the change from the America of today to the America of tomorrow.
>
> For the time being what we need is a well-disciplined organization of men and women who can prepare themselves for the task of officering the Technological Army which will stave off disaster and chaos when the Price System is ready to fold up. And the time is not very far off.
>
> You have joined this Army, and whether you like it or not, you will be part of it either as a soldier or as an officer. When you join an Army you do not expect to be introduced to the General Staff, or do you? And you do not expect to be shown the mobilization plans of the next war, or do you? and so what? [28]

Scott was not content however, with mere exhortation to the membership. Shortly after the publication of the Knight Letter, a "Loyalty Statement" was sent to a number of sections to be signed by the membership. Participants were to denounce the Chicago meetings as a "subversive conspiracy" and swear "unqualified support for

Technocracy Inc., its Continental Headquarters, its Board of Governors [whoever they were], and its Director in Chief, Howard Scott."[29] A rigid authoritarianism had been clearly characteristic of the movement prior to this date. It was simply more clearly and manifestly defined in the course of the conflict. Innovation and criticism were now largely taboo. As in the early conflict at Columbia and later with the CCT, the solution to difference and conflict was expulsion and separation, accommodation and compromise being rejected in favour of polarization. This inability and/or unwillingness to effect mergers and compromises has resulted increasingly in Technocracy Inc. having a kind of sectarian integrity and organizational strength. With each conflict, the organization became smaller, more cohesive, and ideologically more polarized relative to opposing organizations and factions. Correspondingly, public relevance declined, as did active participation in public affairs. This last major schism in 1948 is important in that it contributed to the subsequent rapid decline of Technocracy Inc. into obscurity and isolation. When the Knight Letter was written, the movement had been publishing 11 different journals. By early 1950 it produced only three. The five West Coast radio broadcasts were reduced to one.[30] CHQ has issued no new pamphlets since 1950, and its headquarters moved, soon after the split, to a farm in Pennsylvania. The Technodemocrats had recruited a substantial number of Technocracy's members, and a number of West Coast Technocrats, while not forming Technodemocracy sections, simply left the movement. While several new themes developed in the Technocracy Inc. literature between 1950 and today, no new programs or tactics have been developed. We will now touch briefly on organizational affairs through this period and then discuss in some detail the movement in Vancouver today.

NOTES

1 James C. Davies, "Toward A Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, XXVII, (February, 1962), p. 5.

2 "Notes on Organization", Technocracy Digest, January, 1949, p. 49.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 50.

5 This event was discussed in a number of issues of both the Technocracy Digest (e.g. August, 1948, pp. 10-11., July, 1948, p. 3.), and The Technocrat (e.g. August, 1948, p. 15, and December, 1948, p. 2.)

6 Elsner, p. 256.

7 Elsner, p. 254, and Benson pp. 57-58.

8 Interview with a former Technocrat as quoted by Elsner, pp. 256-257.

9 Ibid.

10 "Question", Great Lakes Technocrat, IV, No. 9, Sec. 1, R.D. 8741, March-April, 1948, p. 17.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Elsner, p. 257.

14 Interview with an ex-Technocrat, who was a member at this time.

15 Elsner, pp. 260-261.

16 New York Times, December 3, 1948, p. 17.

17 Ibid.

18 Technocracy Inc., "Preliminary Report Of Treachery, Conspiracy And Sabotage", September 28, 1948 (mimeographed), as quoted by Elsner, pp. 259-260. All references to this report are from Elsner.

19 Interview with an ex-Technocrat.

20 Elsner, p. 263.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 269.

23 New Analyst, IV, No. 9, March, 1954, Chicago: Technodemocracy (mimeographed).

24 "The William Knight Letter," Technocracy Digest, December, 1948, pp. 6-11.

[25] Ibid., p. 7.

[26] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[27] Ibid., p. 9.

[28] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[29] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[30] Technocracy Inc., "My Support for Technocracy Inc.," February 5, 1949 (triplicate mimeographed form) as quoted by Elsner, pp. 263-264.

[31] Elsner, p. 264.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1950 TO 1968 — CHANGING THEMES AND DECLINING ACTIVITY

Between 1950 and the time of this study (1967-1969) there have been no significant changes in Technocracy's basic program, although it is clear that participation of the movement in ongoing social affairs has declined to almost nil. Before detailing the movement's declining fortunes, however, the qualification must be made that henceforth we will be dealing almost solely with the Vancouver section. We have already argued that such a focus is defensible inasmuch as the movement's total centralization of control and intolerance of autonomous innovation precludes significant diversity in different sections. By and large, the limited data that are available on sections other than Vancouver support this contention. There is some slight indication, however, that at various times during this period some of the California Technocrats have been somewhat more active in terms of proselytization and the related "symbolization" program than have the Vancouver Technocrats.

Vancouver has published the Digest continually throughout this period, and a generalized content analysis is instructive regarding the changing nature of the movement.

Several new themes were developed in this time span. With the Korean War, the Total Conscription program was half-heartedly revived for a brief period and then quietly dropped. As the Cold War ideology was developed across the continent, Technocracy developed and maintained a solid anti-Cold War theme, focussing directly on a critique of Cold War propaganda. Linked to this set of ideas was a definition of the U.S.A. as imperialist (a state of affairs seen as necessitated by a Price System). The movement's strongest attack, however, was reserved for the Roman Catholic Church, which was seen as a "Fascist" collaborator, and in some instances, an instigator of American imperialism. This theme was most clearly and comprehensively developed in an article released by CHQ (unsigned) in 1950. The Catholic Church's activities in political affairs since the Second World War were reviewed, and its

'policy' as regards the U.S.A. was summarized as follows.

> For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church has dominated South and Central America. Its great ambition now is to capture Protestant North America and turn it into a satellite of the Vatican.[1]

The link was then made to Cold War politics,

> Since the war, the United States has become the arsenal and treasure house of the Vatican in its aggressive war against the U.S.S.R., and the political, financial, and military leaders of this great nation in effect, are being cunningly turned into puppets of the Vatican.[2]

Aside from this continuing concern with a "Fascist, Catholic conspiracy", Technocracy was extremely sensitive to U.S. interventions and alliances with various totalitarian and/or Fascist governments, primarily, of course, in South America. As Howard Scott put it in a speech in 1956, "we've hooked up with every Fascist bum from hell to breakfast".[3] The movement was of course strongly opposed to Joseph McCarthy.

Another theme that occupied increasing attention throughout this period was automation. The Technocrats, of course, had anticipated the growth of automated technology previously, and with the expansion of automated techniques throughout the 1950's they were able to claim a "prophecy fulfilled". Against the writers and commentators who either lauded automation or who detailed its dangers they argued that within a Price System it did indeed cause problems, but in a Technate this need not, in fact would not, be the case.

Automation was the major case where the Technocrats claimed foresight. In addition, a growing proportion of the articles were concerned not so much with current program and organization, but with self-congratulatory items on the correctness of previous analysis. Several times entire articles were devoted to this kind of theme.[4] Similarily, we find an increase in the number of reprints of old articles, always prefaced by the claim that the article in question was still relevant despite its age, and that this continuing relevance of early analysis was a demonstration of the veracity and superiority of Technocratic thought. Through the 1950's we find only a few of these reprints, but so far in the 1960's there has been at least one per year.

At the same time, the number of articles dealing with current program, tactics, and organizational forms and practices declined noticeably, while concurrently there

was an increase in discussions of what the new society (the Technate) would be like. In other words, the discussion of ways and means of achieving the Technate declined, while utopian speculation on the anticipated new society increased. The regular feature "Notes on Organization" ceased to be included in the Digest circa 1950, and the proportion of items on organizational affairs decreased as time went by. During the 1950's the percentage of such articles was 1.4 per four issues, while to date in 1969 it has dropped to 0.4.

One further observation should be made on the direction in which the movement has been developing, as reflected in the writings. In the early and middle 1950's the number of Technocrats participating in writing for each issue was proportionately larger than is true for the late 1950's and early 1960's. In the earlier period an issue would usually contain a brief editorial by the main editor, an article issued by CHQ (invariably signed by Wilton Ivie, who seems to have replaced Scott as main ideologue), several short reprints from Price System journals, and a couple of articles by different members. This distribution has gradually changed to the point that currently we would be likely to find in any one issue: one main article by the editor, one article from CHQ, one reprint of an earlier Technocracy article (either local or CHQ), four or five reprints from Price System journals and newspapers, and a large number of fillers. To find an article today by a member other than the editor is rare. In the earlier period, eight or nine different Technocrats might contribute articles in the course of a year (four issues), while today writing is restricted primarily to the Digest editor and CHQ. It should perhaps be noted here that the centralized control of the movement is also reflected in publication, insofar as all articles must be cleared by CHQ prior to publication.

This completes our brief summary of the process of decline of the movement. In 1960 an article in The Technocrat asserted:

> Twice within recent decades, the American people have been ready for revolutionary change... [1932 and prior to the U.S. entry into World War II are identified]... And when opportunity knocks again, Technocracy Inc. will be at the doors, ready and waiting![5]

What remains of Technocracy Inc. is, then, patiently awaiting the millennium, and it is to this group of people that we now turn our attention.

NOTES

1 Technocracy Digest, November, 1950, p. 15.

2 Ibid.

3 Howard Scott, "The Chips Are Down," Tape recording of a speech given in Detroit, March 17, 1956.

4 See, for instance, "We Told You Way Back Then," Technocracy Digest, May, 1957 pp. 17-23; and "Idea Ahead Of Time," Technocracy Digest, May, 1962, pp. 49-50.

5 The Technocrat, March, 1960, p. 8, as quoted by Elsner, p. 268.

CHAPTER TWELVE

TECHNOCRACY TODAY IN VANCOUVER

Technocracy today contrasts dramatically with the earlier movement, particularly in the periods of greatest movement strength, 1938-1940 and 1945-1947. The millennium has been postponed indefinitely and only a relative handful of the 'faithful' remain to perpetuate the organization.[1] The result is a small, socially isolated, highly alienated organization that has become increasingly less central to participants' lives. The effect of the 1948 schism was a polarization of Technocracy Inc. to a fully passive millennial position in terms of "making the revolution". Prior to this conflict there had been ambiguity about how active a role the movement should play in social affairs. Following the events of 1948, considerably less ambiguity on these matters is discernable. In fact the surest means of identifying a novice Technocrat today is to note those who respond to Technocratic critiques of some aspect of Price System operations by asking, "What can we [as Technocrats] do about it?"

Today there is only one section of Technocracy Inc. in Vancouver (there are no other remaining sections in British Columbia), and while the Technocrats claim a total British Columbia membership of several hundred, probably not more than 50-70 members participate in Technocracy activities over the course of a year.

Active participation is limited largely to 15-20 members, the majority of whom are also the local board of directors. Participation for other members is characteristically limited to three or four events per year, and for these members their contact with Technocracy and other Technocrats is limited to these extremely occasional meetings. As one member said to me: "You'd be surprised at how many people are members; you would have to attend 20 meetings to meet everyone." New members are rare and are certainly offset by at least a corresponding loss of older participants. Proselyting is limited and clearly not a high priority. The movement defines itself relative to both the larger public and specific other groups and movements, as both highly alienated and subject to a "conspiracy of silence" about its existence and meaning.

In a 1968 television interview, Donald Bruce, who is an ex-editor of the Digest and a member both on the local Board of Directors and the Continental Board of Directors, said: "We regard ourselves as in enemy territory, i.e., the Price System, and we will never let the forces of the Price System know our strength in any locale".[2] (This in response to a question on membership figures.) Few members actually know, in fact, what the number of dues-paying members is, in Vancouver alone, let alone in any other city. This brings us to the point that not only is Technocracy largely isolated from the larger society, but today there is also an internal isolation among various sections. Vancouver Technocrats, for instance, have relatively little awareness of the present overall scope of the movement and activities in various centers. In most cases knowledge about the rest of the movement is limited to the centers that publish the other two Technocracy magazines, but even this is limited, for as we have already seen very little is carried in the various journals about organizational activities.

Before going on to detail some of the above characterizations of the current state of the movement, we will give a brief description of the Vancouver section's facilities, organizational structure, and activities.

All Technocracy activities take place in the Vancouver section hall on the Kingsway. This building, owned by the Technocrats, is a former funeral parlor, and has undergone considerable interior re-decoration since its change in function. The main floor includes three offices and a meeting hall capable of seating perhaps 75 people. This main hall is used primarily for the monthly public lecture meetings, of which some description will be given below. The basement floor of the building includes a kitchen and a large meeting room filled with small tables. In one corner of this room is a small reading area, intermittently supplied with various periodicals. Also in this corner is a bulletin board on which are tacked notices of future meetings and speakers and clippings from newspapers and magazines, the subject matter of which is seen to parallel Technocracy's in some manner. Beneath this bulletin board is a suggestion box with appropriate official forms (see Appendix 2). During the year that this writer participated in Technocracy, he never saw anyone make use of this

box; the dust level and aging character of the printed suggestion forms are graphic witness that it has perhaps been years since anyone has done so. Several large scrapbooks are kept in the basement hall, containing photographs and newspaper clippings of previous Technocratic activities. Similarly, it is years since any entry has been made in these books.

The primary use of this room is the monthly "Current Events Class", which is normally preceded by supper prepared by the ladies in the "functional" kitchen. This room is also used for the Technocracy Study Course whenever there is one in operation. Both of these activities will be discussed in more detail below. The monthly Board of Directors meetings are held either in the main or the basement hall. These various meetings make up the core of official Technocracy activities.

The formal organization of the movement is specified in great detail in releases and by-laws from CHQ. The section Board of Directors is the basic governing body, presided over by the Section Director and Chief of Staff. At various times in the past this director might be the sole salaried officer in a section, but at this point, while he may receive a small salary, it is insufficient to allow him to avoid a Price System job. The Director has, in all matters, a veto power that can be overruled only by a unanimous vote of the entire Board. There is no explicit mechanism for selecting a Director, and he can be removed only through appeal to CHQ. The Board is made up of directors of various standing committees such as membership, publication, and finance, and is subject yearly to majority approval of the membership. Regular reports are required by CHQ as well as copies of ALL correspondence. Technocracy speakers are designated as "John Doe - - Authorized Technocracy Speaker"; this authorization also granted solely by CHQ.

Today this Board of Directors makes up the central core of actively participating Technocrats. There are only two authorized Technocracy speakers, both being on the Board of Directors as well. John Darvil, the section Chief of Staff, is the most frequent speaker at public meetings, runs the monthly Current Events class, and is an assistant editor of the Digest.[3] Aside from those noted above who participate in an

overlapping fashion on the Board and various committees, there are perhaps only five or six Technocrats who are present for all activities on a regular basis. The majority of the 'regulars' also interact socially 'outside' of Technocracy. This is not true of the members who attend less frequently, who seem often to know each other superficially, if at all.

We shall now discuss the regular monthly activities of Technocracy, commencing with the once-monthly Public Meeting.

These meetings are usually held on a Sunday evening, and are often preceded by a membership supper. Public advertising is limited to a few bulletin boards to which some members have access (at places of work and so forth) and a small notice on the door of the section hall. On the night of the meeting a sign saying "Public Meeting" is placed outside the hall. This is usually the sum total of publicity. Technocrats argue that they publicize to the limit of their financial means, but clearly this is not the case. In the earlier, more active phases of the movement, participants demonstrated considerably more ingenuity in obtaining public attention. Our observation is that, while in all matters of recruitment and "spreading the word" Technocrats today still go through the motions, the substance of such efforts is a pale imitation of previous times.

Public meetings are always held in the main hall. The visitor first passes through a small foyer where current issues of Technocracy Inc. journals, which are for sale, are displayed. On entering the hall he finds two tables completely covered with various Technocracy pamphlets, bulletins, and hand-outs. At the rear of the hall is a bookcase filled with the various books and reports that the organization has used at different times. On the right-hand wall are silk-screen multi-colour charts that illustrate points from the study course. In the front of the hall is a speaker's podium, and beside it a small table where the membership secretary is prepared to sign up new members following the meeting. On the wall behind the podium is a large reproduction of the Monad symbol.

The meetings follow a regular ritual. While people are being seated, the ushers

(two uniformed Technocrats) hand out "statement of interest" forms to non-members. These are for use in "contact" mailing, to inform of activities and send literature on Technocracy. Average attendance at these meetings is usually about 20-25, and of these usually no more than three or four are non-members. The entire meeting, however, proceeds as if the majority of the audience were strangers to the movement. When the speaker is ready, another Technocrat (also in uniform[4]) comes to the podium, gives the Technocracy salute, and welcomes the audience in the name of Technocracy Inc., Section 1, R.D. 12349.[5] He briefly introduces the speaker by name and Technocracy rank only: for instance, Authorized Technocracy Speaker Mr. John Darvil, Chief of Staff, Section 12349 Technocracy Inc. The speaker (also in uniform) then appears, salutes the audience and begins his talk, which lasts about an hour. These lectures follow a characteristically unflamboyant pattern. The manner of delivery is, in fact, prescribed in some detail in the speakers' guide, and the overall projected image is of the social technician - calm, dignified, detached, and above all 'scientific'. It is the social professor in a (grey) lab coat presenting his findings. The content varies, but the elements are characteristically the same. Current social problems are discussed, and are shown to be the inescapable consequences of a Price System and of the unidirectional trends of technological developments. Facts and figures are presented copiously (as much as possible without notes in the manner of Howard Scott). Current political solutions are shown to be totally inadequate, and a summary of the idea of the Technate is presented. Some history of the movement is usually given, often in order to demonstrate 'scientific prediction' fulfilled. Usually, the presentation ends with a stress on the inevitability of Price System collapse and the, therefore, sole remaining alternative of "Technocracy or Chaos". The entire talk has been directed solely to non-members. In terms of Technocratic thought no content has been introduced with which a non-member, after reading two or three pamphlets, would be unfamiliar.

The speaker then sits down, and the member who originally introduced him takes the podium and announces that there will be a question period "as soon as the

speaker catches his breath", and that in the meantime he wishes to announce that following the meeting there will be coffee served downstairs to give non-members an opportunity to meet with and question the Technocrats present. At this point there is usually a reminder that literature on Technocracy is available at the rear of the hall. Prior to recalling the speaker, a basic ground rule of the question period is presented. The speaker will be most happy to answer questions, but Technocracy rules prohibit him from engaging in any form of debate. Technocracy, the audience is told, is concerned with matters of fact, not speculation and philosophy, and matters of fact are not open to debate. While these announcements are being made, a collection is taken. The speaker then returns and usually gives quite long, involved answers to each question. The average number of questions asked is between four and five, and usually at least half of these are asked by members. This is not a problem of ignorance of the belief system, as the questions are normally ones that could be answered by the least-trained of members. It seems rather that this is a form of participation, whereby the member feels that the speaker's arguments will be strengthened by the inclusion of the answer implied by the member's question. Following one of these lectures, one member told me that he was disappointed by the rather limited answer his question had received, and said that he hoped "to tip him [the speaker] off" to expand on a particular subject matter. At various times I heard similar comments. When no further questions are forthcoming, the speaker announces that a member of the membership committee will be available at the front desk to receive applications for membership, and the lecture is completed.[6]

As we have noted, attendance at these meetings is usually around 20. An out-of-town speaker (for example from Seattle or Los Angeles) may double normal attendance, though not the percentage of new members. At all meetings there are slightly more men than women, and the average age of the audience must be between 55 and 60. A question asked at one of these public meetings (of an out-of-town speaker) was the occasion of another more significant observation. The questioner (a non-member who was attending for the first time) said: "This is all very interesting if irrelevant to ... (problem X); how is it related to... etc." This brought surprised gasps from the rest of the audience, and a large number turned to stare at the questioner. The "Authorized

Speaker" was also clearly thrown off balance by a critical question. His response was halting and disjointed, and he moved quickly to another subject. This encounter highlighted the isolation of the movement from the political conflict that is the daily fare of dynamic movements (including Technocracy at an earlier time). Questions at "Public Meetings" are either a form of participation by members, or simple requests for information, often in the form of "What does Technocracy say about ...?" Critical questions are simply no longer the norm, which accents the hollowness of the ritual of addressing the meetings to non-members. We are also reminded of the paradox of a non-questioning 'science'.

The nature of the monthly Current Events class is instructive about the current state of the movement.

THE CURRENT EVENTS CLASSES

The education that a Technocrat acquires through his participation in the Study Course and Public Meetings and from the numerous pamphlets and journals, provides him with a highly detailed and comprehensive critical model to interpret the Price System. The monthly Current Events classes[7] deal with contemporary applications of the model. As well as putting topical social affairs in the Technocratic context, these classes continually emphasize the inexorable unfolding of societal (primarily technological) trends in a manner congruent with the predictions of Technocracy.[8] If some Technocrats feel that they participate somewhat less than sufficiently in the making of history, there is no question but that they do feel that they understand it.

This continued feeling that participation in Technocracy provides a contemporary understanding of "where the world is going" is in large part attributable to the monthly classes. Technocrats have an obvious confidence that the movement, and these meetings in particular, give one "an inside track on what is going on". I suspect that these meetings are of fundamental importance in confirming members' definitions of the movement as of continuing relevance and significance in their lives. We have indicated earlier that the description of Technocrats as waiting in "tense expectation of the millennium" largely ceased to be applicable as of late 1939-1940,

with perhaps some revival of expectation in the period 1945-1947. With the decline of Technocracy since the 1940's, the inevitable breakdown of the Price System and the ensuing millennium becomes increasingly problematic for participants. The contemporary analysis of these classes seems, however, to have the effect of confirming members' confidence in the prophecy of an inevitable Technate. Much of the "instruction" is cast in the form of a demonstration of increasing crisis of Price System operations. The effects of this format are reflected in the following comment made in the form of a summation by a participant following one of the classes. He said: "Things are getting so bad they can't be hidden." Such a statement inevitably is greeted by confirming nods of agreement. A more elaborate personal summation was given to me one night after such a class. It seems to sum up quite well the basic effects of these meetings. "I've been through a number of meetings like these, both disturbing and stimulating, and you are left wondering how long it [the Price System] can keep operating."

We are not arguing here that it is solely or even primarily these classes that serve to retain the current membership. Most of the participants have been members for 20 years or more, and this represents a considerable investment in the relevance and significance of the movement. We have discussed some of the consequences of these classes and will now describe in more detail the form and substance of this activity.

The classes are usually held on a ~~Sunday~~ SAT. evening and are preceded by a dinner. The Chief of Staff for this section, John Darvil, is the instructor, and normal attendance is between 15 and 20. Non-members may attend these meetings, but few in fact do, and the bulk of those present will be 'regulars', the remaining four or five being part of that larger pool of Technocrats whose participation is limited to two or three events per year. The class sits around a long table with the instructor at one end. Pencils and paper are distributed for people to make notes. For the next two hours the instructor reads and comments on a number of extracts from various newspapers and journals. Subject matter is heavily weighted in terms of social problems,

consequent interpretation dealing with the Price System's inability to deal with the issue in question. In addition, there are always several items dealing with technological developments, and quite often one or two articles dealing with "futuristic projections". The characteristic treatment of these latter is: either they are not so far reaching as Technocracy's projections, or they are "unattainable within the framework of a Price System" and hence "science fiction utopian fantasy". The role of the leader is very much that of 'information giving'. On many items there is no comment from participants at all, and on all others the number of discussants is extremely limited.

While seating arrangements are not completely ritualized, those who normally comment on articles sit close to the instructor, while more passive members sit at the farther end of the table, where they mostly sit and listen with occasional whispered comments to their neighbours. In one meeting, for instance, I noted that 60 out of 74 comments came from participants at the end of the table nearest the speaker. Some actual figures on participation from another of these classes are perhaps instructive. On 16 out of the 23 items discussed by the instructor, there was some comment by participants. In four of these instances the comment was simply added information on the subject, leaving 12 items on which there was at least some discussion. Of the 17 people present (excluding the instructor and myself), seven participated not at all in these discussions, four spoke once, one twice, one three times, one five, one seven, one ten, and one seventeen. Clearly the bulk of verbalization centers around about four or five people. The term discussion used above may be somewhat misleading as there is, in fact, <u>never</u> any debate of any sort. Comments are always more anecdotal than analytic, with participants normally seeming to instruct each other rather than contradicting and/or debating.

While only a few of the articles used by the instructor deal with new technology, many of the participants' anecdotes and much of the information giving deal with such matters. Most Technocrats collect such data avidly, and in this sense most are experts in technological developments. Most Technocrats are also extremely sensitive

to the Price System's restrictions on the full utilization of the potential of technology, and this subject is therefore a common theme in these meetings. In this context we should note that a basic (though unacknowledged) root of Technocratic analysis is a generalized form of Veblen's distinction between "Business" and "Industry", with the Price System and Technology seen as fully analogous to Business and Industry. That is to say, the form of economic relations described as the Price System is considered to have essentially the same relation to Technology as that which Veblen argued existed between Business and Industry. Whereas Veblen argued that the "logic" of Business enterprise "sabotaged" the full utilization of Industry, the Technocrats argue that the same relationship holds between Technology and a Price System.

The following list of topics noted from one Current Events class may be helpful in describing the substance of these meetings. Sources of the articles are included where possible. (Original publication is not always stated by the instructor.)

1.	Mental Health and Children	Vancouver Sun
2.	Military Industrial Complex	Nation
3.	Population of U.S.A. Reaches 200 Million	Newsweek and Saturday Review
4.	Conservation of Wildlife in U.S.A.	source unknown
5.	Problems of Negroes in U.S.A.	Newsweek
6.	Poverty and Welfare Payments	Business Week
7.	Unequal Justice for Rich and Poor	Vancouver Sun
8.	Defense spending in U.S.A.	Business Week
9.	Guerrilla Warfare in South America	source unknown
10.	U.S. Investment in Europe	source unknown
11.	New Technology in Transistors	Business Week
12.	Notes on Report from Iron Mountain	New York Times
13.	Use of Terms Technocracy and Technocrats in Article on Russia	Nation
14.	Book on Winston Churchill	New York Times

The sources generally used for articles are (in order), The New York Times, The Nation, Business Week, The Vancouver Sun and Province, Newsweek, and The Progressive. Business Week is used primarily for the statistical and technological reports found therein, and consistently right-wing journals are seldom if ever consulted. Although Technocracy shares right-wing concerns with its anti-intellectual, anti-Catholic, anti-alien, 100% Americanism[9] position, and is clearly authoritarian in structure, it has at the same time consistently repudiated right-wing groups. We will discuss this paradox more fully in the following section: "Being a Technocrat Today".

To continue the discussion on the manner of participation in these classes, one further observation is in order. While several members have comments to make, or information to give, on a heterogeneous range of subject matter, the majority participate far more selectively. That is to say, after a time an observer can identify particular people with their specific topics of interest and observe as well that their attention to other topics is often quite limited. Hence Mrs. _____ participates only when air pollution is the subject of discussion, while Mr. _____ seems to be interested almost solely in conservation. This kind of selectivity of interest highlights the difficulty of extrapolating sources of movement support from the tenets of ideology that seem to the observer to be logically central to the belief system, as sometimes happens in studies of movements.[10]

The class ends with a collection being taken, and an attendance sheet is passed around for participants to sign. Coffee is then served and the class breaks up into groups of two or three, in which the conversation often revolves around subjects raised during the formal class. It is more common for some actual discussion to evolve in these small informal groupings than in the more rigidly controlled "class". Most of the interaction, however, still remains at the level of informational monologue. The manner of discontinuing conflict, when it does arise, is interesting, and reflects the Technocratic use of science as a legitimation of belief rather than as a method. When debate and discussion reach the point where a non-Technocrat would say, "Well, every man is entitled to his own opinion",[11] or some variant on this theme, a Technocrat usually substitutes for the above phrase: "Well, it seems to me that we are getting into speculation (or philosophy) here", or "For Technocrats, we're not talking very factually here." As a reflection of scientific method this would be a signal to refocus the question more precisely. For the Technocrat it is a way of ending debate and changing the subject. I observed this kind of situation a number of times, and in every instance the participants accepted the "speculation" phrase as a resolution and retired from the debate, dropping the question entirely. Never was it the occasion for refocussing the original question in a more 'scientific' manner.

There is another recurrent phrase in the Technocratic language that occurs frequently in these classes, and that is similarly paradoxical with reference to Technocracy's claim to follow scientific canons. Very often, when Technocrats are discussing social problems produced by a Price System, the subject is concluded when one of the participants says: "Well anyhow this wouldn't be a problem in a Technate". This phrase occurs most commonly at the point where the discussants are experiencing some difficulty in achieving agreement on an analysis that demonstrates precisely how X problem is, in fact, generated by the Price System. In such instances the phrase is a resolution, and in terms of scientific canons a premature closure of questioning. Common variants on this theme are: "Merely an extension of normal Price System procedures", and "A solution doesn't exist within the framework of the Price System".

Furthermore, in the highly detailed plan for the Technate, solutions are presented for many of the things that Technocrats perceive as social problems. The main formulations of the Technocracy model however, have not been revised for 20 years. Hence, increasingly, the Technate model has no specific provisions to resolve problems that Technocrats say "will not be a problem in a Technate". The value of the Technate therefore becomes increasingly a matter of general faith, which enhances the paradox between this and the movement's 'scientific' self legitimations.

This is perhaps the most useful point at which to expand on a somewhat more general problem relevant to interpretations of any social movement. The study of any movement inevitably reveals paradoxes, inconsistencies, gulfs between rhetoric and practice, and various ideological contradictions. The commonest kinds of interpretations of these sorts of observations tend in the extreme instances to center on conceptions of the participant as determined by an inordinate, almost fanatical "need to believe", that excludes the possibility of recognizing and/or reconciling contradictions. Eric Hoffer's conception of the "True Believer" is one of the more extreme versions of this form of interpretation, while various formulations of the idea of the "authoritarian personality" contributed more sophisticated statements on a similar theme.

Such interpretation is usually (and often justifiably) phrased as a disparagement of the movement as dogmatic and rigid. Participants are seen as variously divorced from reality, and as incapable, by reason of their dogmatic faith, of reasoned thought. The evaluation then follows that the participants in X movement are basically irrational, and the beliefs are seen as ritualistic dogma. Such an interpretation is only fully tenable, we would argue, given, in the first place, a non-comparative methodology, and in the second place, a serious underestimation of the extent to which "reason" and "rationality" are matters of situational and problematic social definition. This is not to say that a specific movement, or movements in general, are in any sense intrinsically rational, but simply that "reason" and "rationality" are matters relative to time and place (situational) and must therefore be defined by comparison with specific other cases or situations. Hence the importance of comparative methodology. To compare the Technocracy movement, for instance, with the larger society of which it is a part, we would suggest that the contradiction between legitimizing myths and actual social relations is, in fact, usually just as profound in the larger society as in the movement; and hence the unquestioning or anti-questioning acceptance of inconsistency is in no way specific and unique to the movement participants. Such conceptions tend, therefore, implicitly to exaggerate the degree to which non-movement thought is systematic and free of internal contradictions.

Furthermore, it is at least as plausible a hypothesis, that where movement participants are by some objective criteria more dogmatic, rigid, and authoritarian than a sample of the non-member population, their stance is not necessarily a demonstration of an original propensity to movement participation, but may be a product of the movement's conflict with the 'outside' society in which conflict over ideological inconsistency is often a focus of debate and defense. It is at least possible that movements attract particular kinds of people less often than does participation in the movement create them.

To return to the specific case of Technocracy Inc., the previous discussion has direct relevance to the final comment I wish to make on the Current Events classes.

The observation is that most Technocrats are, by comparison with the bulk of the population of the wider society, better informed about current events and social trends and have a far more questioning and critical attitude. This is primarily a consequence of the acceptance and application of the Technocratic model of societal affairs, which the classes serve to augment and concretize. For Technocrats, reports of current events are not, in Alfred Schoetz's phrase, part of the "world-taken-for-granted",[12] but are data to be questioned and examined. While it is unquestionably true that this process often serves more to fortify and legitimize their belief system than to raise questions about previous ideas, it is important to recognize that the model being so fortified is a complex and critical one. Furthermore, the existence of a movement requires that analysis and belief must, on occasion, be defended. One must be able to explain how current events are "more than they seem", and very often this necessitates placing such events in a comparative historical context.

I do not wish to belabour these points; nevertheless, one further note is relevant. One manner in which a movement can maintain a critical stance within a totally closed, non-questioning system of thought is to account for all events by way of a "conspiracy theory". Critical, in this context, means primarily opposition and not analysis. The clearest contemporary example of such a case is the assignment of all that is defined as evil by extreme right-wing groups to an "international Communist conspiracy". The Technocrats do not have a general conspiracy theory. They do have a "conspiracy of silence" explanation of the lack of attention their movement is afforded by the public media, but this is hardly the same thing.

At the start of this discussion we noted that the analysis of any movement inevitably reveals paradoxes and inconsistencies, but by way of comparison we must add that this is true of any system of thought. The peaceful co-existence of disparate ideas is not the sole property of movements, although often the non-comparative analysis of movements would leave us with this impression.

Technocracy study classes are in large part a ritual, a reaffirmation of the correctness of the movement, but they provide, as well, a far richer, more complex

and critical understanding of current events than is available, for instance, in the public media.

NOTES

1 This custodial character of the movement today is explicit in the concluding sentence of a recent Technocracy comment in Technocracy Digest, February, 1960, p. 50, i.e., "Technocrats are the custodians of the most significant physical concepts in the history of man".

2 Interview of Donald Bruce by Mark Raines, March 5, 1968. (Tape recording of this interview in this writer's possession.)

3 The ranking system for Digest editors is at least as complicated as that of university professors. There are: an Editor, an Associate Editor, an Assistant Editor, and an Advisory Editor. As well as other means of centralized control, all copy must be approved by CHQ prior to publication.

4 In earlier days Technocrats commonly wore their uniforms on a wide variety of occasions (both Technocratic and public) and many wore it on an everyday basis, to work, social gatherings and so forth. Today the uniform is worn almost solely for official meetings at SHQ.

5 The designation R.D. 12349, indicates the geographic location of the Vancouver section of Technocracy Inc. The numbers are a combination of latitudinal and longitudinal figures. The Technocrats proposed that in the Technate all place names of cities and towns would be dispensed with and in their place be substituted this combination of latitudinal and longitudinal designations. The suggested advantage was that, given an understanding of the principle, one would no longer be required to remember a large number of place names. This is an example of what I earlier called 'detailed utopian' planning.

6 Elsner has described a typical Public Meeting during an earlier period and, by comparison, today's lectures are slightly less rigid in terms of procedures. See Elsner, pp. 193-196.

7 Note the terminology, that is, "classes", not seminars or discussion groups, but "classes" - the language of formal schooling. Correspondingly, Public Meetings are called "lectures".

8 Many of the predictions defined as confirming Technocratic analysis are of so general a nature and the substantiating data so specific and limited that a non-Technocrat may be less than convinced. In this context, the form (though not the substance) is parallel to the daily horoscope in the newspapers and the kind of data accepted as verification by the two groups is similar.

9 See, for instance, the pamphlet, Technocracy Inc., Our Country Right Or Wrong (New York, 1946).

10 In general terms the reasoning is that in identifying the groups that the movement opposes (or supports), we may by inference discover groups of persons to whom such an ideology would appeal. This approach has been extensively utilized in American Studies of the Radical Right. This is to say that potential sources of support are 'discovered' through extrapolation from the logical thrust of the movement's ideology.

The usual kind of statement is that X ideology would appear "to be designed to appeal to" A, B, and C groups. There are several rather obvious problems in focussing on ideology in order to explain support and/or participation in movements.

In the first place there is no reason to assume that the elements of ideology that are logically of central importance are therefore of greatest significance to the membership as a whole. Hans Toch states this point clearly when he says:

> There is nothing about the ideology itself that testifies to the centrality of this belief. The ultimate test of how central a belief is, is not its position in the logical structure or its objective importance, but the way it is perceived by the believer.

We would add that there is no good reason for expecting the elements of the ideology either to remain constant (no alterations, additions, or deletions) or to retain the same degree of relative importance for the membership. Also important, in this context, is a matter of time sequence with regard to attitudes. In other words, it may well be that the attributes considered by the observer as conducive to recruitment are, in fact, a product of the individual's participation in the movement.

The study by Jones, noted in Chapter Seven, would seem to support this latter contention with regard to the Technocrats. His study showed clearly that, for his sample, there was very little difference between new Technocrats and non-Technocrats (in terms of attitudes toward corporate property), but that the attitudes of Technocrats who had been in the movement long enough to have completed its Study Course contrasted radically with both of the other groups. The quotation from Hans Toch is from; Hans Toch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p. 24.

[11] For the Technocrats, with their positivistic stance that rejects all "non-factual" or non-countable data from consideration, opinions are not acceptable. The Technocrats continually assert: "We are not interested in belief, speculation, philosophy or opinion, but in facts."

[12] The phrase: "world-taken-for-granted" is that of Alfred Schuetz. It is used by Peter Berger in: Peter Berger, Invitation To Sociology (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), p. 24.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE PROBLEM OF "BEING A TECHNOCRAT TODAY"

This, and the following chapter will deal with some of the dynamics of "Being a Technocrat Today". In order to discuss the nature and meaning of current participation in this movement, it is necessary first to develop some comparative theoretical perspective on the kinds of conflicts and tensions generated by differing movement processes and situations in general. Our analysis will focus on matters specifically relevant to Technocracy, particularly those questions raised in Chapter One, with generalization about other movements remaining tentative and suggestive.

A useful starting point for examining the conflicts and tensions of movement processes is the conception of characteristically different marginal situations in which members of various kinds of movements may find themselves. Although we would not consider the idea of a marginal personality a particularly viable manner of explaining recruitment to movements, this does not eliminate the possibility of variously marginal situations as determinants of movement processes. The usual understanding of marginal situations is of areas in which participants are "in but not of" two or more groups that are in some form of structural opposition to each other. Some manner of conflict between the groups is obviously a prerequisite of a marginal situation, as multiple membership in various groups is in itself not necessarily a source of tension. Participation in a movement involves, by definition, some degree of conflict (see page 166), and therefore quite commonly produces situations of ambiguous and divided loyalties to, and acceptance by, various groups.

The core of this idea was originally suggested by Everett C. Hughes, in 1949, in a more general article on marginality and status. He lists a number of characteristic means by which a person can cope with marginal status:

> All such persons could give up the struggle by retiring completely into the status with which they are most stubbornly identified by society .... One of the statuses could disappear as a status .... Persons of marginal position might individually

> resign from the status which interferes with their other status aims.... One or both of the statuses might, without disappearing, be so broadened and redefined as to reduce both the inner dilemma and the outward contradiction.[1]

He adds the further possibility that a marginal group may come to be defined as an additional and legitimate new category of people. In relation to movements, he says: "One can see in social movements - - cultural, national, racial, feminist, class - - all of these tendencies .... The internal politics of a social movement turns about the choice of these solutions."[2] While noting this as an important initial formulation, we would hesitate to isolate too quickly, internal and external relations. That is, marginality implies interaction, and hence we are not concerned solely with the participant and the movement, but with external groups that participate in the marginal situation as well. Movements are self-evidently in various degrees of conflict with specific groups external to themselves and/or to the larger society as a whole. Inevitably, however, except in the case of a successful revolution, participants live in two worlds; that is, the movement, and their particular position in the outside world. Herein lies the potential marginality. Depending on the kind of movement, participants are variously in, but not totally of, two different sets of social relationships. As one Technocrat told me: "I have Price System friends, and Technocrat friends, and I keep them separate". This marginality is characteristically different for reform and revolutionary movements. Eric Hobsbawm's distinction between these two kinds of movements is useful here.[3] He says:

> Reformists accept the general framework of an institution or social arrangement, but consider it capable of improvement, or where abuses have crept in, reform; revolutionaries insist that it must be fundamentally transformed or replaced.[4]

To return to the main argument, the distinction between reform and revolution is neither an absolute nor an unchanging one, and it seems evident then, that members of characteristically different movements (for example Reform or Revolutionary) will have divergent definitions of their own unique identity relative to outsiders. The more severe the contrast (and conflict) between the movement and the 'outside' society, the more marginal is the situation for members, who must participate in both social contexts. The members of revolutionary movements are liable to experience more severe

contradictions between their roles within the movement and those that they must play on the 'outside', than is the participant in a reform movement. To the extent, then, that reform and revolutionary movements create contrasting marginal situations for members, we might expect to find characteristically different means by which participants (in the different kinds of movements) seek to cope with marginal status.

We might list a number of possible alternative means of coping with marginal situations similar to, though perhaps more extensive than, that of Hughes noted above, and develop hypotheses on their relative frequency pertaining to reform or revolutionary movements. Such a procedure would seem to be most useful with regard to those kinds of movements we discussed in Chapter One as simple, homogeneous, and of comparatively short life span. This is because, in such movements, it is clear that they are EITHER reform movements OR revolutionary ones, by comparison with the more complex, ideologically and tactically heterogeneous movements such as Technocracy, where different segments of the movement, at different points in time, develop in contrasting directions. In the latter types of movements the distinction between reform and revolution is neither an absolute nor an unchanging one, and hence the differing kinds of marginal situations produced by members' changing self-definitions, and changing relationships with the outside world, are often quite complex. Clearly the situation for participants in such movements would be simpler if the movement could maintain a relatively fixed or static position with regard to its relations with the 'outside'. There seem, however, to be a number of forces affecting movement affairs that work against this.

> Every social movement undergoes the pull of both reformism and revolutionism, and with varying strength at different times. Except at the rare moments just preceding or during profound crisis and revolutions, the most extreme revolutionaries must also have a policy about the existing world in which they are obliged to live. If they want to make it more tolerable while preparing for revolutions, or even if they want to prepare effectively, they must also be reformists....[5]

The editors of the Monthly Review recently focussed on this problem as "the most difficult problem of revolutionary movements".[6] In one sense this problem is the source of the basic contradictions inherent in, and determinant of, internal move-

ment processes in both revolutionary and reform movements. The former necessarily confront the contradictions between long-range revolutionary goals and tactics and those demanded by short-term ameliorative reforms. Some of the pressures leading participants in revolutionary movements toward consideration of a reformist perspective are noted by Hobsbawm above. Reforms may be considered impossible within the society or its institutions without larger, more fundamental changes; nevertheless, if they are considered at all possible, the effect of introducing them may be seen as potentially reducing participants' consciousness of the wider changes required, and hence the reforms may be opposed. Whatever the reasons accounting for this tension, it seems clear that when revolutionary change is seen as less than imminent, the constant tendency is for participants to consider the possibility of at least some amelioration (reform) of the social structure. The tension in the more reform-oriented movement is generated by the interdependence of various institutional sectors and these sectors' resistance to changes not forced by a power-based organization. Both factors lead to more systematic revolutionary perspectives. This kind of conflict is frequently the basis of schisms in movements, but in any event, the manner in which movements deal with it produces different kinds of marginal situations for participants.

Although it should be apparent that I consider the concepts above to be potentially relevant to analysis of a wide range of movements, the prime purpose in elaborating them is to test their utility in dealing with the types of questions about Technocracy detailed in Chapter One.

We noted in Chapter One the difficulties involved in the Technocracy movement as a whole, in terms of the more common typological distinctions, inasmuch as different segments of the movement at different points of time developed in contrasting directions. In succeeding chapters the details of some of these differences were elaborated. In line with the formulations developed above, we would now argue that a basic tension in the movement has been between (in Hobsbawn's words) "reformism and revolutionism, and with varying strength at different times". The tension between

these two alternatives resulted in two major conflicts and schisms within the movement. The first resulted in the development of two main branches of the movement in the early stages - the Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc., and the second in the conflict internal to Technocracy Inc., which produced the Technodemocrats in 1948.

As we noted previously, it is not sufficient in our discussion of Technocracy to focus solely on the reform-revolution dialectic since the issue of how actively the movement was to pursue its goals has also been an important and continuing debate. Consequently we developed, in Chapter Six a four-fold typology to distinguish between different factors in Technocracy at different points in time. This typology focussed, on the one hand, on the kinds of social changes sought (Reformist or Revolutionary) and on the other, on the movement's conception of its role in effecting changes (Activist or Passive). Now a typology is in itself solely descriptive, but our observations of the movement allow us to develop some tentative conclusions about the relationships between the various cells of the typology.

The revolutionary wing of the movement, Technocracy Inc., while it has remained consistently revolutionary in its goals, has fluctuated between active and passive roles in its participation in social affairs. For most of its existence it has had to deal with the problems (more active, reformist splinter groups being one such problem) of a revolutionary movement existing in what is (and is so perceived by movement participants) a non-revolutionary social setting.

Technocratic groups other than Technocracy Inc. have consistently developed along more reformist and more active lines. This correlation between reformist goals and more active participation in social affairs is not entirely coincidental. The revolutionary seeks broad and systematic changes, and in a social context where such changes seem (at this time) unlikely, tends to see minor non-systematic reforms as counterproductive to increasing revolutionary consciousness, that is, an awareness of the need for such systematic and broad changes as the revolutionary is proposing. The reformer, on the other hand, with his non-systematic (piecemeal) approach is more

open to a wide range of what are, from his perspective, isolated or separate problems. In other words, the revolutionary focusses on a fundamental change, which is seen as the only basis of solving a wide range of social problems, whereas the reformer is essentially trying to deal with such social problems as matters solvable in and of themselves. The revolutionary tends to consider attempts at reform futile or only mildly ameliorative, inasmuch as he considers the problems in question to be insoluble without more basic, structural, social change. In the language of Technocracy Inc. such problems, "are not solvable within the framework of a Price System". Consequently the range of activities for a revolutionary in a social context that he perceives to be non-revolutionary is severely restricted. For the former, however, there is an endless variety of reforms that can actively be sought.

Brian Wilson has written that millennial groups "expect something which is beyond man's capacity to realize. Men can only put themselves in the right moral, mental and ritual condition to receive the new order."[7] While his observation is most applicable to movements with extra-natural belief systems, there are clear parallels with this most materialistic of movements. In the first place, it is possible to develop a more secular interpretation than that implied by Wilson's statement. We might observe, then, that millennial and other revolutionary movements desire changes that are beyond their capacity to realize in their particular social context. A possible consequence of this dilemma may be the development of an ideology that rationalizes the movement's failure by defining its goals as in that realm of matters beyond man's capacity. The recognition that the movement's goals are not immediately attainable by participants' efforts may, then, be both an accurate analysis and a form of rationalization that legitimizes participants' relative inactivity in seeking to initiate social change. In relation to Technocracy Inc., their analysis of the Price System stressed that its demise was inevitable in the face of its own "internal contradictions" (between the "logic" of technology and the "logic" of business enterprise). Throughout the history of the movement the substance of this argument remained the same, but the Technocrats' conception of the degree to which the inevitable collapse of the system

was independent of their actions, varied.

In periods when the millennium was regarded as imminent there was a tendency for Technocrats to attempt in various ways to facilitate its arrival (the early phases of the Total Conscription program being the best example of this tendency) even though the "logic" of changing technology was still regarded as the primary determinant of social change. In other periods when the Price System appeared not to be on the verge of collapse and the millennium, therefore, somewhat distant, increased emphasis was placed on the importance of factors beyond the control or influence of Technocrats (that is, "internal contradictions in the Price System") and "educational activities" tended to focus increasingly on self-education of Technocrats rather than 'educating' the non-Technocrat population.

We started this chapter with a discussion of the concept of marginality and argued that revolutionary and reform movements produce contrasting marginal situations for movement participants. It was then necessary to elaborate on some of the broad contrasts and changes that have characterized the history of the Technocracy movement. Against this background it is now possible to examine in more detail several aspects of the nature and meaning of membership in this movement from the point of view of participants. Because data are limited on earlier periods in the movement's history, we will have to focus primarily on the contemporary situation.

NATURE OF COMMITMENTS DEMANDED OF PARTICIPANTS

Different movements make contrasting claims on the lives of participants. Some, like the religious utopian community movement, necessitate a total life commitment, while others, such as limited reform movements, make more limited claims on members' resources. The Townsend Movement for instance - a Depression movement concerned with financial assistance of the elderly - clearly made more limited demands on the time, resources, and behaviour of its membership than the utopian communities noted above. James W. Vander Zanden in his article "The Klan Revival", makes a similar observation but does not expand on it in the way we have here. He notes that: "Since the organization lays claim to his whole person (not merely to a

segment, as do most American voluntary associations), his social being tends to become submerged within a greater whole."[8] While there may well be additional factors explaining these contrasts, it seems evident that the wide range or scope and the high intensity of such life commitments is congruent with revolutionary movements, while conversely, reform movements would have lower requirements. This is especially clear in reform movements like the YMCA, which become voluntary associations with professional secretaries taking responsibility for functions previously the province of lay participants.[9]

A related, but slightly different, element revolves around the question of the centrality of the movement in members' lives. To the extent that a movement can successfully claim large proportions of participants' time and other resources, the members' and the movement's existences are largely congruent. In most cases the revolutionary small-scale movement (like Technocracy) has such limited resources and such restricted effects on the wider society that members must live in an increasingly schizophrenic situation. The movement should be of central importance, but lives must be lived, careers advanced, and responsibilities met in the wider society. A successful movement in this situation must find ways of justifying the contradictions, that is, "giving to Caesar what is Caesar's". A common Technocracy phrase here is: "Well, even Technocrats have to eat". This is the most marginal of all possible situations for movement participants. From the participant's perspective the movement has a monopoly on systematic explanation, meaning, goals, and values, but the outside world enforces large claims on his time, activity, resources, and at least surface, loyalty. Technocracy, for instance, defines a number of Price System occupations as exploitative and/or unnecessary, yet participants must survive economically in the Price System, and some are involved in those very occupations, such as salesmanship and advertising. The utopian, or more recently named "intentional" communities, solve the dilemma of conflicts of interest, loyalty, membership and so forth, by creating a new and totally separate society. The intentional community then often achieves almost complete autonomy, and correspondingly can successfully define itself

as the sole legitimate power with respect to members' behaviour.

NATURE OF CONTROL AND COMPLIANCE APPLICABLE TO PARTICIPANTS[10]

The nature of participants' commitments to a movement is plainly not independent of the form and content of inducing conformity to the movement norms. James W. Vander Zanden is succinct on this point where he says: "The Klan demands unconditional obedience to its rules and norms, and enforces them".[11] And further: "The result is that the individual tends to evaluate his behaviour according to the norms of the Klan rather than of the society-at-large."[12] It is almost trite to observe that reform-oriented movements are able to demand comparatively minimal life commitments of participants by comparison with revolutionary (or counter-revolutionary) ones, and are also likely to have limited means and accepted legitimations for attaining compliance. That is to say that the range or scope of matters (in terms of participants' behaviour) defined as an area of legitimate concern to the movement is likely to be quite limited for the reform movement. The revolutionary movement, on the other hand, tends to take on more and more of the attributes, consciousness, and prerogatives of a separate state or society. The contemporary example that is clearest is the U.S. Black Power movement(s). Witness demands for a separate state for Blacks and claims to the right of self-policing in the Ghettos. The religious utopian communities of the 1800's in the U.S.A. and Canada in fact established largely separate states, and their conflicts with the 'host' state have most often been, at base, conflicts over prerogatives of control and compliance. The control of schooling, a central agency of socialization by and for the dominant groups in a society, has recently become a concern of Black Nationalism, and has historically been a recurring focus of conflict between the utopian communities and various segments of the wider society. The examples given are either large-scale movements, or ones existing in a historical period when agricultural communes could exist relatively independently of the 'host' societies. Contemporary small-scale revolutionary movements, however, have a different set of problems growing out of the contradictions between high goals combined with the limited means and resources of such movements, as discussed above. Unless

they create an isolated, independent community (the pragmatic possibilities of which seem rapidly to be decreasing), coercion relating to all fundamental matters remains the prerogative of the state, or possibly the specific institution with which the movement is in conflict.

It may well be that the elaborate and closely guarded 'secrets', ritual, and ceremony of some fraternal and secret societies, together with their imaginatively macabre penalties for participants who reveal such 'secrets' to outsiders, can be partly understood as a response to this contradiction.[13] This is only one way, of course, in which a movement may respond to the dilemma implied in small-scale, highly alienated (revolutionary) movements, and it is also quite possible that such ritual becomes functionally autonomous (that is, independent of its origins) and therefore may outlive the tension that produced it. As a result, future changes may give such ritual a highly anachronistic character.

NATURE OF DEFINITIONS OF PARTICIPANTS AND 'OUTSIDERS'

One of the more obvious differences between movements is the contrasting manner in which they define the similarities, differences, and appropriate interaction between members and non-members. At the most general level, increasing revolutionary consciousness coincides with greater intensity and clarity of insider-outsider, we-they, perceptions; while reform-oriented movements tend to blur these distinctions. Initiation ceremonies, rituals, and various forms of rite-de-passage are plausible only where at least two reference points, such as statuses or groups, are definable.

While the insider-outsider contrast may well be useful in examining changes in some movements, and differences between movements, it becomes somewhat more complex, and also potentially more instructive, where such definitions correspond with and influence the additional dichotomous variable of the openness or closedness of the movement. In a small-scale revolutionary movement like Technocracy, for instance, a contradiction arises between desires to recruit new members (who are also, of course, "outsiders") and the increasingly closed 'boundaries' of the movement, which, while serving to contrast, isolate, and protect the movement, may also be a

deterrent to recruitment. Furthermore, such movements frequently legitimize their limited membership with an elitist doctrine like the one so explicit in the Technocracy literature. This conception is simply one specific variant on the "chosen people" theme. Such doctrines may serve to further isolate the movement and make it inaccessible to outsiders if the extravagant definitions of insiders are translated into admissions criteria. Usually, of course, the movement defines application for membership as in itself sufficient evidence of at least the potential to achieve the lofty plane of full-fledged membership. Potential recruits, however, observing the limited public achievements of the movement in conjunction with the extravagant self-definitions of participants, may simply write off the movement as an increasing absurdity. While we think that these observations may have wider relevance, they are at this stage primarily a generalization of the history and development of Technocracy. Insiders are defined as part of an intellectual and moral elite. They are "educated", "socially conscious", "aware of what is really going on". Outsiders are "conditioned by the Price System", "apathetic", in other words, the very opposite of the 'good' qualities of participants. At times this contrast becomes lavish to say the least, when, for instance, insiders are likened to social Galileos or Leonardo da Vincis. At the same time the movement has become increasingly alienated, closed, and secret, envisioning itself more and more as a small island of enlightenment, afloat in a sea of hostile and ignorant forces.

Given the above kinds of developments, we expect to find in similar movements, and do observe with Technocracy, changes in the nature and scope of proselytizing activities. In other words, given increasing closure and limited recruitment over a time, resulting in doctrines (often elitist) to legitimize this state of affairs, we will expect attempts at recruitment to decrease. This does not necessarily imply that the movement will formally close its membership or issue injunctions to members to cease attempts to recruit. No matter how alienated and closed a movement becomes, new recruitments still represent justification of the belief system. The Technocrats today still go through the motions of seeking new members, for instance in the Public

Lecture and in the literature, but the response to those expressing interest is unenthusiastic to say the least. In one, not uncommon instance, I observed a potential recruit who was quite eager to join, having considerable difficulty in finding a member willing to take the trouble to find the appropriate forms. This was not a question of lack of knowledge of procedures or authority on the part of members he approached, as two of them (out of three) were, in fact, on the membership committee. There is some difficulty in coming to definite conclusions in this area, as potential recruits are so rare that the number of such observations is very small. The pattern of reluctant recruitment was the same, however, in the several instances I did observe.[14] In addition, members were consistent in telling me that they seldom initiated discussions on Technocracy outside of section headquarters (at work or with other acquaintances), and then only when the other person seemed receptive. In this regard the socialization of two new members who joined while I was a participant, is instructive. Both were eager to "spread the word" about the movement, and several old timers undertook to ease their anticipated disillusionment. Their eagerness to recruit was defined for them as a "stage" that all new members go through until they realize that "Technocracy is an educational organization that is interested only in certain people [that small elite seen as capable of understanding the ideas] and not the general public". The term "educational" here should not be passed over too quickly, for as we have noted previously, one of its meanings is: not activist. Should the new recruit start advocating that "we do something about ..." he will be told that "Technocracy has no assumption of power theory", and, "we are an educational organization concerned with the functional elite capable of understanding what Technocracy means". This used to mean active 'education' of relevant outsiders as well as self-education of members. Today, however, the latter is the primary and almost sole activity. The effectiveness of this membership "education" has already been touched upon, but deserves some further mention. The following chapter deals with the "educated" Technocrat.

NOTES

1 Everett C. Hughes, "Social Change and Status Protest: An Essay on the Marginal Man," Phylon, X, (First Quarter, 1949), pp. 61-62.

2 Ibid., p. 63.

3 The distinction is normally used with reference to large-scale movements, the goals of which are society-wide. Nevertheless I consider it equally valid with reference to movements whose focus is on specific institutional areas. In other words I would argue that a movement may hold revolutionary views on specific institutional arrangements without necessarily generalizing these to include the total societal structure. It may well be that such orientations are not ultimately viable, but this is another matter. We may not consider beliefs in flying saucers as tenable but this does not remove such beliefs from existence and importance as data.

4 E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1959), pp. 10-11.

5 Ibid. p. 12.

6 "Reform and Revolution," Monthly Review, XX, No. 2, (June, 1968), p. 1.

7 Bryan Wilson, "Millennialism In Comparative Perspective," Comparative Studies in Society And History, X, I, (October, 1963), p. 99.

8 James W. Vander Zanden, "The Klan Revival," American Journal of Sociology, LXV, (March, 1960), p. 461.

9 The YMCA has in recent years become so clearly a middle-class voluntary association that its early history as an evangelical and reform movement is sometimes forgotten. An interesting paper on this process of change from a movement to a voluntary association is that by Mayer N. Zald and Patricia Denton, "From Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA," Administrative Science Quarterly, VIII, (June, 1963), pp. 214-234.

10 Amitai Etzioni has developed an extensive model of complex organizations focussing on the concepts of coercion and compliance. See: Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press, 1961). He does not, however, consider movements as a possible focus for analysis within his model, for the rather curious reason that "they are not organizations." The relevant section from his book is the following: "Social movements are not organizations. They are not oriented to specific goals; their dominant subsystems are expressive and not instrumental: there is little segregation between the various institutional spheres; there is no systematic division of labour, power, and communication." (Etzioni, p. 53.)

We find these assertions curious ones for a sociologist to make about any group, and in general, with the exception of the statement about "dominant subsystems", which we do not claim to understand, we would argue that the opposite of each of the assertions is closer to the truth.

11 Vander Zanden, p. 461.

12 Ibid.

13 Noel P. Gist has written an interesting article on this subject of secret society ceremonials, with special emphasis on common themes in these affairs. See: Noel P. Gist, "Culture Patterning In Secret Society Ceremonials," Social Forces, XIV, No. 4, (May, 1963), pp. 497-505.

Recurrent themes include: rite-de-passage, the 'journey', death, re-birth, or resurrection. Symbolically the participant has been reborn into a new order, a new world, with new commitments, constraints, and norms. Gist includes several of the oaths relating to failure to keep secret the affairs of the society: e.g., "that his hair be torn from his scalp, his scalp torn from his body, and his body burned to ashes and 'scattered to the four winds of heaven' should he ever betray his obligation." (Gist, p. 436). One of the Masonic oaths runs: "under no less a penalty than having my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by its roots and buried in the rough sands of the sea at low water mark where the tide ebbs and flows once in twenty four hours." (Ibid.)

14 The indicators of this increasing isolation are not only to be identified in terms of proselytization. The movement defines itself, as we have seen, as a 'research' organization. Little or no systematic research in fact takes place today except the following kind of activity, which is indicative of the movement's current conception of research. When a subject is defined as a matter to be more extensively examined (for publication or public lectures) a member is assigned to do a survey of back issues of the Technocracy journals to see what previous articles on the subject are available. On two such occasions I offered to assist by making university library facilities available, and in both cases the members concerned indicated that the demands of the research could adequately be met by the back issues of movement journals. This contemporary manner of doing 'research' is in contrast with earlier points where 'outside' resources (libraries, government reports, and statistics from a wide variety of sources) were commonly utilized.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE EDUCATED TECHNOCRAT AND THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

The comprehensiveness of the Technocratic model and the extent to which it is internalized by participants cannot be overestimated. An informed observer listening to two strangers conversing on social affairs could quite probably identify either one as a Technocrat in the first five minutes of discussion. The style, the language, and the recurrent phrases are unique (often reminiscent of a combination of Veblen, Will Rogers, and Mencken) and common to all Technocrats. The homogeneity of Technocratic discussions becomes even more pronounced when the subject is the movement itself. In this area there is no ambiguity or heterogeneity of response. The answer given by almost any Technocrat about the movement and its beliefs, will normally be similar to that of any other member's, including identical wording. I found this to be true even with ex-Technocrats who had been out of the movement for 20 or more years.[1] The movement has always been sensitive to outside questioning and criticism and has consistently provided the membership with carefully constructed answers to the common or recurrent criticisms. Two main documents that met this need were: "Technocracy: Some Questions Answered",[2] and "Total Conscription: Your Questions Answered".[3] These were ostensibly directed toward non-members; however, they were utilized widely by members as a kind of dictionary of answers to crucial questions. The Technocracy Digest carried for a number of years a section entitled: "A Question Answered", which reprinted questions and answers from the above documents and also added new ones that were contemporarily relevant. Digest articles themselves often quote (without so noting) entire sections from the above and other official pamphlets. The result is that in discussing Technocracy with a member, one often has the feeling of having a conversation with a 'direct quote'.

I expect that within the literature on movements, the commonest kind of interpretation of these latter observations would be as a kind of authoritarian reiteration of a doctrinaire party line.

We would argue that this homogeneity of Technocratic response is not so much an authoritarian subservience to a written 'line' as it is indicative of the non-innovative, caretaking nature of Technocracy today. These standard, slogan-like responses are, then, less authoritarian, disciplined, 'correct' answers, than they are a kind of shorthand, growing increasingly stale through lack of innovation. This ideological inertia is, we would argue, primarily attributable to the decreasing priority placed on proselytization. In a dynamic movement, the ideology is constantly being contested, and clearly one of the most sensitive and important foci of this debate is the recurrent situation of attempted recruitment. The recruitment situation is the most concrete and intimate feedback for the movement on the value of its belief system. It provides (potentially) a means of assessing current general response to the movement as well as specific 'problems' that tend consistently to deter recruitment. Proselytizing activities initiate an interaction whereby ideology may be modified. This is not to say that the belief system is infinitely malleable. Some positions may be altered or dropped entirely, while in other areas the response is to develop a more extensive and rigorous set of arguments. This latter alternative results in an extensive 'recruitment script' whereby the movement recruiter is able to anticipate all of the usual arguments and can provide a strong rebuttal. In this situation the recruiter has an obvious argumentative advantage since he has answers to more questions than the outsider has yet even thought of. Any reader who has conversed with a Jehovah's Witness will recognize this situation. Technocrats are not, however, like the Jehovah's Witnesses in that their ideology has changed and altered more readily through the years in response to debate. With the gradual inward turn of the movement, and the corresponding decline of proselytization attempts, the intense interaction that challenged the value and contemporary relevance of the ideas has gradually been eliminated.

A problem related to this question of authoritarian dogma, and to the homogeneity of Technocratic responses to questions, is the common definition of Technocracy as American Fascism. In several senses the definition is valid. The organizational structure is clearly authoritarian, as is the model of the technological army

of the new society. The Technate, as envisioned in the literature, would completely eliminate the public's access to political decision making. The stress on discipline, the unquestioning obedience, the exclusion of aliens, and the emphasis on the omnipotence of the leader, are all congruent with a Fascist movement. While the movement, in response to this label, has disavowed such a description and attempted to define itself as the most adamant opponent of Fascism on the continent, this in itself could easily be dismissed as pure rhetoric. Members, nevertheless, unanimously express a profound conviction that Technocracy has no basic affinity at all with any form of Fascism. Now this, too, could also be interpreted as the not uncommon phenomenon of believing one's own propaganda. There are other factors, however, that make me consider that the Fascist label is misleading. To understand this, it is necessary to reiterate briefly some of the basics of Technocratic ideas.

In the first place, Technocrats utilize Veblen's distinction between Business and Industry. Secondly, they believe that there is a natural "logic" or process of Industry that could, if allowed to operate unimpeded by Business, produce abundance for all in North America. This paradox (for them) of scarcity within the context of a potential abundance is perhaps the most basic, and at least the most oft repeated Technocratic concern. It may not be logically most central, but it is the tap root of participants' consciousness.

Technocrats also tend to see politics and business as largely synonymous. They are impediments to the "free flow" of industry. Lastly, the Technocrats' positivistic pseudo-science results in a belief that all problems of significance have right and wrong answers, and that the right answers may be determined by the appropriate experts. A favorite Technocratic example is the statement: "You don't ask people to take a vote on how to build a bridge, you ask an engineer". The net result of these ideas is that most Technocrats simply DO NOT RECOGNIZE that any significant problem arises in the choice of ends, or in the relationship of values to decision making. In response to questions on possible limitations of freedom in the Technate, a Technocrat cannot comprehend such a question, as his basic image of the Technate

is one of economic freedom (abundance of access to material goods) and ten times the amount of leisure time currently available. The envisioned organizational apparatus is seen, not as a form of government exercising power, but simply a problem of efficient management. Incomes would be abundant and equal, and the organizational and industrial elite would, in their understanding, have advantages only in the sense of presumably higher prestige. As Elsner noted: "It is an engineering rather than an engineer's ideology".[4] Elsner also conducted a questionnaire survey of a number of ex-Technocrats[5] and summarized their responses as consistently non-authoritarian.[6]

One ex-Technocrat whom I interviewed characterized the movement as right-wing in terms of organizational form but left-wing in terms of content. The stance taken today by the movement on various issues (and the events it defines as issues) would tend to support this. In Current Events classes, for instance, the organization is most usually in agreement with articles in Ramparts, The Nation, and The Progressive, and in opposition to those in U.S. News and World Report, and Business Week. Members tend to think that the CCF and now the NDP were/are "not radical enough", but more acceptable than the Conservatives or Social Credit. In general, the Technate is very similar to Bellamy's socialism in Looking Backward, which, while it was attacked as rigid and mechanistic, was never confused with Fascism. The term "authoritarian of the Left" has become more common recently, and some might tend to apply this label to Technocracy. In terms of the meaning of the movement to members, and their characteristic responses to events (as opposed to the logic of the official ideology), this would be a serious misinterpretation. Members simply do not seem to have as priorities concerns with conventionalism, obedience, respect for authority, preoccupations with strength-weakness, or any of the other classic authoritarian concerns.

But the final question on this specific movement, Technocracy, is yet to be stated, and that is: but what of the movement today, or when does a movement cease to be a movement? The literature on movements contains a large number of contrasting and conflicting definitions of social movements. The manner, then, in which we

answer the question of when a movement ceases to be a movement will differ substantially depending upon the definition of movements with which we are operating. Despite conflicts in the literature over what does or does not constitute a movement, I think that most students of movements would be in agreement that Technocracy Inc. is no longer a social movement, and has become a sect-like organization of primarily a 'caretaking' nature.

Technocracy has clearly been a declining movement for a number of years, with increasingly less ability both to retain and to recruit members. The fact that its current (and in all probability, final) section headquarters in Vancouver is in what used to be a funeral home has an ironic symbolic significance.

The movement may simply fade away gradually as recruitment fails to keep pace with the mortality rate of old members. Alternatively, the loss of Howard Scott (who is now quite an old man) could precipitate a crisis of leadership that might destroy what remains.

It is difficult to estimate just how important Scott is to the movement today. In its dynamic phases he was for participants a classical charismatic figure. Descriptions of him were hyperbolic to say the least, and his abilities and accomplishments, though shrouded in some mystery, were the foundation on which an elaborate structure of myth, anecdote, and legend were erected. These numerous and grandiose legends contributed to making Scott an almost messianic figure for the Technocrats. In 1933 Allen Raymond wrote a book called What Is Technocracy?, which included a collection of some of these myths (a number more have been created since), and he summarizes his observations with what I consider a rather apt comparison. He says: "the Scott legend has grown until in Bohemia the techno-scientist bids fair to be a gorgeous, entertaining myth, travelling down the ages as a man of infinite abilities and gargantuan feats; the type of character Paul Bunyan is in the lore of the logging camps."[7]

Scott's significance to the continuation of the movement today is highly problematic. If he is a factor at all it can only be in a symbolic way, as, while he is nominally still the leader, he no longer communicates directly with members outside of CHQ at

all. He does not travel or give speeches (for a period in the 1950's, tapes of his talks were sent to the western sections and played to the membership) and has not written articles for the journals for a number of years. In fact, this lack of communication has been so complete that his continued existence is increasingly a matter of faith. This withdrawal from active participation may diminish the importance for the movement of his eventual death. Though Milton Ivie has largely supplanted Scott as movement ideologue he does not have any substance or meaning for members as THE leader, and I doubt that he could, in fact, replace Scott in this role. He certainly could not inherit Scott's symbolic significance. If the issue of Scott's successor were to become a major focus of conflict in the movement, I seriously doubt that at this stage it could survive.

In any event, so much of Technocracy's belief system is today so anachronistic ? that it is unlikely that the current debilitating ratio of participant mortality to recruitment will be reversed. Hence the 'death' of Technocracy, so often previously "greatly exaggerated" seems finally to be inevitable in the near future.

NOTES

[1] Such persons may of course be slightly less consistent. I interviewed one ex-Technocrat several times, and when in the course of our first conversation I asked him about the question of Technocracy's means of attaining its goals, his response was hesitant and not congruent with the standard answer. On the occasion of our second conversation, however, he immediately recalled the question and said: "In the days gone by when I was up to date I would have told you right away that Technocracy has no assumption of power theory." The latter part of the sentence is of course the 'correct' answer.

[2] M. Adamson and R.I. Moore, ed., Technocracy: Some Questions Answered (New York: Technocracy Inc., 1934).

[3] Technocracy Inc., Total Conscription, Your Questions Answered (New York: 1942).

[4] Elsner, p. 369.

[5] Ibid., p. 372.

[6] It could be argued quite reasonably that it was this very characteristic (non-authoritarian attitudes) that led Elsner's respondents to become ex-Technocrats. Our claim then, that current participants are generally non-authoritarian would be open to some question. On the other hand, my own observation (admittedly limited in this area) is that ex-Technocrats do not seem to differ significantly from current members in terms of authoritarianism. The prime issue on which the two groups seem to differ appears to have been "activism". That is, ex-Technocrats seem more often to have left the movement because they felt that it was not "doing enough" to achieve its goals than because they considered its ideology or structure to have been excessively authoritarian.

[7] Raymond, p. 105.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The questions about Technocracy that were outlined in Chapter One and examined in subsequent chapters are not the concerns normally given the highest priority in most other studies of social movements. Most studies, for instance, give priority to explaining either the causes of a particular movement or to developing a more general explanation of the social conditions that favour the emergence of movements. Quite often such explanations revolve around categories of people (either sociological or psychological) whom, it is argued, constitute the most probable participants in the movement(s). While such matters are of obvious importance, we have largely disregarded them in connection with Technocracy, and some explanation of this limitation in the study is in order.

In the first place we suffer from a basic lack of data, particularly in terms of the early stages of the movement with regard to the kinds of people who tended to be recruited to Technocracy. Other studies on the movement contain either very limited or no information on the subject, and if the Technocrats have such information, the currently secretive policies of the movement make it unavailable. Consequently, what little data are obtainable preclude making any solid conclusions. The remaining membership (in Vancouver) tends to be made up mainly of people in lower level white collar occupations; however this is of limited significance as we have no reliable information on the kinds of people who dropped out of the movement at various times. Lack of data is not the sole reason that we have not spent a great deal of time attempting to explain either the causes of the movement or the kinds of people who joined. There are also theoretical reasons.

Most explanations of the emergence of social movements that I find convincing utilize (in one way or another) the concept of relative deprivation. There are, however, some inherent limitations in this concept, that, in the case of Technocracy, become particularly evident.

The idea of relative deprivation, while not independent of economic determinants, grows primarily out of appreciation of the limitations of simpler economic arguments. Absolute levels of deprivation, be the criteria power, economics, or freedom, or as is more realistic, a combination of all three, simply do not provide a viable indication of propensities to revolution, movements, and so forth. Revolution is not metric. Theories of relative deprivation build on the idea that movements are a product of people perceiving themselves to be inordinately deprived relative to some other group, and/or their own altered expectations. Lipset says:

> The real question to answer is: which states are most 'displaced' in each country? In some it is the new working class, or the working class which was never integrated in the total society, economically or politically; in others it is the small businessman and other relatively independent entrepreneurs (small farm owners, provincial lawyers) who feel oppressed by the growing power and status of unionized workers and by large scale corporative and governmental bureaucracies. In still others it is the conservative and traditionalist elements who seek to preserve the old society from the values of socialism and liberalism.[1]

A common thesis in this framework is that group X participates in, creates, or has a propensity for movements or revolution because of its members' increased but unmet expectations. One process seen as conducive to this perception is when a group experiences increased vertical mobility opportunities for a period, and then is confronted with either limitations or blockages to the continuation of this mobility. An interrelated argument holds that some structural dysfunction either changes, threatens, or makes ambiguous in various ways a previously valued social position, and that this is where we look for susceptibility to movements. Examples of the first thesis are to be found in various scholarly (and less than scholarly) accounts of current racial confrontations in the U.S.A., as well as in discussions of Quebec Nationalism[2] (also in some works on the "natural history" of revolution[3]). The second kind of explanation is used extensively by students of the American Radical Right, Fascism (American and European), and the Ku Klux Klan.

The extent to which hypothetical group X actually contributes, forms, or is the source of support, for specific movements is not always convincingly demonstrated.[4] This is not to deny the potential value of the idea of relative deprivation in some

circumstances, and even less to backslide into 'absolute' arguments. One of the fundamental problems with the concept is put clearly by David Aberle when he notes that:

> It has a certain excessive flexibility. It is always possible after the fact to find deprivation.[5]

It remains, then, for the theorist to demonstrate why the particular deprivation in question was significant, and further to explain why numerous other situations of deprivation did not have similar effects. To explain in terms of degrees of severity would seem to be backsliding to an absolute deprivation position.

In any case, Technocracy started in 1932, in a period in which it would be difficult to find any large group of people who were not rather seriously deprived, relative to their previous condition at least. Now different writers consider various kinds of deprivation to be more or less significant in terms of contributing to the emergence of movements. Nevertheless, during the era of the Great Depression the conditions specified by almost any movement theorist, as either necessary or sufficient for the emergence of movements, were present in abundance. We suffer, then, not from a paucity of possible factors, but from an overabundance of plausible reasons for the materialization of Technocracy (or any other movement) during this period, and given the limitations in our information, no way of distinguishing one or other interpretation as being more or less significant. The "excessive flexibility" intrinsic to the concept of relative deprivation, noted by Aberle, is particularly important then with regard to the case of Technocracy. Therefore, the 'why' of Technocracy occurring when it did, or the question of its social basis of recruitment did not seem to be the most fruitful questions that might be examined.

A QUESTION OF DEFINITION

Throughout this study we have referred to Technocracy as a social movement, although, as we noted in Chapter One, it did not fit satisfactorily into the more common typologies of movements throughout its entire history and, at some points, different branches of the movement developed in contrary directions. There are a considerable

number of contrasting definitions in the literature of just what does or does not constitute a social movement. Despite this diversity of conceptions, Technocracy usually fits most definitions in at least some of the stages of its development. During the early period of high public interest in 1932-1933, for instance, the affair seemed to be adequately described by Blumer's definition of a Generalized Movement (see Chapter Five). Between 1934 and 1940 the Generalized Movement crystalized into a more organized, goal-oriented, ideologically coherent organization, which could be considered a social movement by almost any of the more common definitions. The main difficulty, regardless of the definition utilized, is to decide at just what point, if any, Technocracy ceased to be a social movement. To examine this problem a little further we will focus on one particular definition of a social movement that has been formulated by David Aberle. He says:

> A social movement is an organized effort by a group of human beings to effect change in the face of resistance by other human beings.[6]

Technocracy clearly fell within this framework at some points in its history. It remains to see at what point it ceased, according to this definition, to be a social movement. The two key points in Aberle's definition in this regard seem to be: (a) the continued effort to "effect change", and (b) the "resistance" by others. An important theme throughout this study has been the waxing and waning of the Technocrats' active efforts to effect social change. As we have seen the matter became, on some occasions, a major issue in the movement, resulting in internal schisms. The Total Conscription program seems to have been the last major effort on the part of the movement to actually effect social change, although the program of parades and speaking tours between 1945 and 1948 could also be seen as efforts (admittedly minor) to achieve changed goals. By 1948 it was debatable to what extent the movement was seeking to effect change; in fact this was, in large part, the basic issue of the conflict that occurred at that time. All of the movement's attempts to effect change were met with resistance on the part of non-Technocrats, but after 1948 the movement's public activities became so limited that there was, in effect, nothing to resist. In the light

of the definitions of movements that we have been dealing with (Aberle and Blumer) it would seem that Technocracy started in 1932-1933 as a Generalized Movement, developed into a movement proper (in terms of Aberle's definition) in 1933-1934 and maintained itself as such into the late 1940's or early 1950's, at which point it can no longer be referred to as a movement. There remains, nevertheless, one other difficulty in this matter of when is a movement no longer a movement - that is, from whose perspective is the matter to be judged? The observations above, for instance, are clearly those of an outside observer, applying the specific criteria of particular definitions. We might well arrive at different conclusions if we ask: When did Technocracy cease to be a movement from its members' point of view? I think that most of the current membership in Technocracy would argue that it is still a movement, and that while its role in effecting change is now perhaps less extensive and active than previously, its "educative" work still constitutes an effort to "get the message across". At the same time Technocrats would probably acknowledge that the past 15 years or so have been rather a slack period, but that when the Price System starts to break down, as is inevitable, the movement will experience a great resurgence. This does suggest the question of just what are the conditions that would either inhibit or facilitate the rehabilitation or revival of old movements.

In any event, both the final disposition and the initial causes of this movement are of less importance to this study than are questions regarding the internal changes and conflicts that characterized its history.

In Chapter One we outlined several questions about the history and development of the movement that would concern us and it is perhaps well to reiterate these again at this point. We observed, in the first place, that the movement had experienced two major conflicts and schisms around the issue of the role that it should play in effecting social change, and secondly that the movement had oscillated both between active and passive roles and between reformist and revolutionary perspectives. A central theme was to be: (a) what factors contributed to such fluctuations? and (b) what other attributes of the movement seemed to vary with these changes? (time perspectives, recruitment patterns, organizational structure, nature of control, compliance, and

commitment in relation to members).

Now my observations and conclusions on some of these matters have been dealt with fairly comprehensively in the immediately preceeding chapters (12, 13, 14) and it would therefore seem redundant to re-examine them at this point. On the other hand, some summarization of the above themes as handled in earlier chapters runs less risk of redundancy.

The first major conflict was that between the Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc. It is extremely difficult to even speculate intelligently on the factors causing this conflict. In the first place very little detailed information was ever recorded on this period of the movement. About the only sources of data that are available are sketchy newspaper accounts and the often failing and obviously biased memories of surviving Technocrats. The movement consisted, at this stage, of a highly disorganized conglomeration of disparate groups. Our knowledge about many of them is restricted to their name and geographic location. Nevertheless, it does seem fairly clear that a factor that contributed to the emergence of the Continental Committee as a competitor to Scott's group was the organizational and ideological vacuum created by Scott's unwillingness or inability to provide any sort of organizational leadership.

The intense public interest had, of course, taken all members of the Energy Survey by surprise, but while Scott demonstrated a unique ability to fan the flames of public interest at this point, he seemed totally unable to give any organizational leadership. His prophecies of doom became increasingly adamant, while his responses on the matter of "what is to be done?" became, if anything, more vague. His academic associates at Columbia found his behaviour increasingly embarrassing and finally he was ousted from the Energy Survey. This break with Columbia and the Survey appears to have been a factor in encouraging the members of the Continental Committee to consider starting their own branch of Technocracy. In any event, if the causes of this split are not altogether clear, we do have more detailed knowledge about both the effects on the two groups and the content of the debate between them.

It was not until the Continental Committee separated from Scott's group that

any real attempt was made to actually develop an organized movement. That is, to develop a coherent ideology, plan tactics, and recruit members. In a sense, then, the actual movement (as distinct from the Generalized Movement) started with two competing branches. The Technocrats (of either group) were faced, not only with the resistence of non-Technocratic critics and opponents, but also with the competition of an alternative Technocratic movement. We argued previously that the consequence of this competition was that both groups took the other as a negative reference group through which (in part at least) their own nature was defined. This meant that both groups were more restricted in terms of alternatives with regard to both ideology and tactics than would otherwise have been the case. As the more reform-oriented Continental Committee drifted toward amalgamation with various other movements and absorption into the New Deal, Technocracy Inc. became increasingly alienated from the Price System, and completely opposed to piecemeal reform programs (in terms of its own activity) and reform movements. From this point forward Technocracy Inc. was to be concerned with a total re-structuring of Price System social structure. If there had been any doubts in Scott's mind regarding compromise with reform perspectives and cooperation with reform-oriented groups, the conflict with the Continental Committee, and the eventual fate of that group, removed them.

Between 1934 and the Second World War, Technocracy Inc. developed into a highly organized movement of relatively extensive proportions. Scott predicted in 1935 that the Price System would collapse by 1937, and when that event failed to materialize, that the end would surely come prior to 1940. As we argued previously, it appears that most of the membership were in a state of "tense expectation" of the imminent collapse of the system and advent of the Technocratic millennium. The movement had, in this period, no program (in the usual sense) for actually effecting social change, as the belief in inevitable and relatively immediate collapse owing to "internal contradictions" precluded the necessity of "making the revolution". There were occasional hints from CHQ that under certain circumstances the leadership might decide to hasten the natural course of events somewhat, but in the main, the

conception was that the role of Technocracy Inc. would be to 'pick up the pieces' when the Price System crumbled.

We have noted at various points throughout the thesis that Technocracy Inc. shared some of the attributes associated with millennial movements. The parallels between such movements and Technocracy are strongest in the earlier years, but are also apparent up until the Second World War. Throughout the decade of the 1930's Technocracy Inc. regarded the millennium as imminent and its members lived "in tense expectation and preparation for it"; the extent and intensity of members' commitment of personal loyalty and resources to the movement in this period was very high. It is not recorded that anyone burned down either homes or crops in anticipation of the millennium, but a good proportion did orient their lives so that their central preoccupation was with building the movement. As we argued in Chapter One, the question of time orientation (that is, when the millennium is to be expected) and the sort of preparations that are regarded as appropriate, are highly interdependent. One other matter should be recalled here. As Talmon says: "The followers of these movements are not the makers of the revolution; they expect it to be brought about miraculously from above." Now so long as the members accept the prophecy of an imminent millennium it seems unlikely that they will feel any need to themselves "make the revolution". If, on the other hand, the prophecy fails, or is in one way or another called into question, some members may begin to wonder if perhaps there is not some more active role for them to play in hastening the arrival of the new day. Between 1934 and 1940 the main preparations of the Technocrats involved spreading the word, recruiting participants, and building a cohesive movement. The role the movement was to play when the system collapsed was not totally clear. It varied between taking complete political power and acting as a sort of caretaking militia to maintain social order and economic production. There was little debate though, that forces intrinsic to the Price System were to be the causes of the collapse and not the Technocrats. There was some dissention on this matter, but dissidents were quickly 'educated' into the correct line.

With the advent of the Second World War the Technocrats developed a program called Total Conscription that clearly implied a far more active role in terms of effecting change. The earlier hints that under certain circumstances the movement might act to hasten the coming of the millennium seemed to be being fulfilled. It is difficult to account for this change in direction as a consequence of internal changes, disillusionment with the failure of the main prophecy, or anything of that sort, as the program seems to have originated in its entirety from CHQ and Howard Scott. Explanation, then, must be in terms of the possible motivations of Howard Scott, a project that, for obvious reasons, I am not enthusiastic about. Nevertheless, I did argue in Chapter Eight that it is at least plausible that the program was a result of Scott's anticipation that the effects of the war on the Price System economy would prevent his prophecy of Price System collapse prior to 1940 from coming true.

The anticipated collapse had already been postponed once in 1937, and he may well have expected that a second postponement would be badly received by the movement. If this was, in fact, his line of thought, we must conclude that in initiating the program he either acted in cynical self-interest in order to maintain control, or that he acted in good faith but vastly misread both the strength of the movement and the public mood. In any event, whatever the reasons for the program, the results (except in terms of Scott's control of the movement) were disastrous. The public, far from welcoming the Technocratic saviours, responded with hostility and ridicule, and in Canada the movement was labeled subversive, and banned. The Price System did not collapse, and even though the Technocrats argued (somewhat conversely in terms of the original rationale for the Conscription program) that only the economic effects of the war saved the Price System, the prophecy had clearly failed. It was now not at all clear just when the millennium was to be expected, as no new date had been set. At the same time a new precedent had been established in terms of the sort of role the movement might play in effecting change. The rule of "no political activity" that had become established in the conflict with the Continental Committee, had been broken. The dogma that "Technocracy has no assumption of power theory", had been discarded,

at least on this occasion.

Despite the failure of the Total Conscription program, the ban on the Canadian wing of the movement, and the inevitable dislocation of the members because of the war, the movement managed to survive this period. The scope of its activities and its membership size were decreased, but it was still relatively extensive, as the earlier account (see Chapter Nine) of its activities in the post-war period indicates. By 1947 and 1948, however, we can begin to observe a decline in both the scope and (in terms of the movement's own ideology) quality of movement activities. The Total Conscription Program had been a turning point in its direction, and the conflict of 1948 became another.

We are in a somewhat more favourable position with regard to explaining this aspect of its development than we were in dealing with either the conflict between the Continental Committee and Technocracy Inc., or the initiation of the Total Conscription program. In the first place, we have considerably more information on the movement in 1948 than in 1932-1933, and secondly, the situation in 1948 is more clearly attributable to changes in the movement rather than the result of the motivations and actions of Howard Scott, as seems to have been the case in the Total Conscription program.

In one sense the conflict of 1948 was a consequence of a failure of prophecy that had occurred eight years earlier. The fact that the Price System had not collapsed as anticipated had, of course, been rationalized or, 'explained away' by movement leaders. Such explanations seem to have been generally accepted by the membership, at least to the extent that a good number maintained their participation in the movement, and there was no outright challenge to the leadership. Nevertheless, with the failure of the Total Conscription program, and in the absence of a specific reformulated prophecy about when the end of the Price System was to be expected, members' time perspectives on the 'inevitable' millennium became increasingly vague and long range. We argued earlier that participants' attitude of "tense expectation" militated against the emergence of conflict about the most appropriate role for members to play in terms

of effecting change. One other observation is relevant in this context. The idea of the inevitable collapse of a social structure, owing to its own intrinsic contradictions, is admirably suited to a small, largely powerless social movement with revolutionary goals, such as Technocracy, in that the scope of the changes seen as required would otherwise be far beyond the resources of the movement itself. In other words, the movement couldn't "make the revolution", so it is just as well that it doesn't have to. Nevertheless, neither the idea of "inevitability" or of "imminence" of major change, totally precludes the possibility of some participation on the part of the movement in bringing about change, as we have seen in the instance of the Total Conscription program. This program failed however, the Price System did not collapse, no new date for its demise was announced, and the way was clear for some Technocrats to begin to question their previous conceptions about program and tactics.

For several years after the war the program of extensive speaking tours and active recruitment, and the "Symbolization" program, seemed sufficient to convince most participants that the movement was still a "functioning organization". By 1947, however, there was a noticeable decline in both the scope and quality of Technocratic activities in contrast with both pre- and post-war levels. There was also a significant decrease in the leadership provided by CHQ, to the extent that members began asking just what was the matter with Scott, and to wonder just who, in fact, constituted the Board of Governors. A more structural factor that contributed to the eventual confrontation was the "Operation Columbia" and "Operation Golden Gate" programs, whcih brought together a large number of Technocrats who normally were relatively isolated from each other. These meetings allowed potential dissidents to discover wider support for their ideas than was perhaps available in their local sections. Finally, a number of members met Scott at these affairs, either for the first time or for the first time in many years, and in some cases the experience was disillusioning.

The original intent of the dissident group was to reform Technocracy Inc. Scott's response made this impossible, with the result that a new Technocracy group, the Technodemocrats, emerged. This group followed the same pattern as the earlier

Continental Committee. They were more reformist in their goals than Technocracy Inc. and envisioned a more active role for participants in effecting social change. Like the Continental Committee, they had a tendency to make alliances with other movements, a practice that resulted in a very short life span. As a social movement the Technodemocrats never really 'got off the ground'. It is doubtful, for instance, if they were ever able to recruit any members who had not previously been Technocrats. Nevertheless the effect of the schism on Technocracy Inc. was significant. In the first place the membership of Technocracy was reduced substantially. In addition, the movement (to use its own term) "closed ranks". It became increasingly closed and sectarian, and more and more isolated from the larger society. As we have seen, this produced some interesting problems for the membership inasmuch as members also had lives to live in the Price System. Internally the movement became more centralized and authoritarian. Members were required to sign oaths of loyalty to Howard Scott and an unnamed Board of Governors. Local sections could not even mail a letter without having the content approved by CHQ. Any debate on goals or tactics became interpreted as a lack of faith in, or lack of loyalty to, Howard Scott. The overall effect was a small cohesive sect, patiently and loyally awaiting a millennium in some distant future.

Between 1948 and the present there have been no important conflicts and no important ideological changes with regard to tactics. No factions have emerged to challenge either goals or tactics, and, as we have seen, such matters are less and less the subject of even casual discussion. The reason for this placid state of affairs is in itself an interesting question. Unfortunately I have little to offer in the nature of an explanation. Nevertheless, by way of speculation, there are I think several important factors. In the first place, the nature of the 1948 conflict was such as to eliminate participants who were not prepared to swear unquestioning obedience to Howard Scott and blind obedience and loyalty to the unnamed Board of Governors. In the second place, recruitment since 1948 has been so limited that the essentially loyalist nature of the membership has not been altered by recruitment. Moreover, what members

have been recruited have immediately been indoctrinated into the "This is a research and education organization" line. Perhaps the most important factor in explaining this conspicuous lack of internal conflict is the comprehensive social control mechanisms that have been developed in the movement since the 1948 schism. As we demonstrated in some detail in Chapters Twelve, Thirteen and Fourteen, this control is exercised down to the smallest detail of Technocracy Inc. business.

There is one further, more general, observation that I think is relevant in terms of this question of the lack of internal conflict in the later stages of this movement. It has been implicit, but I think nevertheless obvious, throughout this thesis, that I interpret social movements as rather more consciously goal-oriented than many other social groupings. That is to say, that movement members tend to be more conscious of the extent to which the movement is, or is not, attaining its goals, than are participants in other social groups. A movement is predicated on the basis of solving what members feel to be an immediate and important social problem, a problem moreover, that they regard as beyond the means (or purposes) of the normal institutional framework. The result is that the internal pressures (or external ones) that lead to the emergence of conflict, factions, and schisms in movements, are very often directly related to the extent to which members perceive the movement as attaining or failing to attain its change-oriented goals. As we noted earlier in this chapter, although it is difficult to specify an exact point at which Technocracy ceased to be a movement, it does seem clear that by the early 1950's any question of the members of Technocracy effecting social change was completely eliminated. At that time the organization's goals started to change. Technocracy increasingly came to be concerned almost solely with the "educational" and other social needs of its own members. It remains part of the official ideology that when, in some distant future, the Price System collapses, the Technocrats will have some role to play. Nevertheless, the main demand of the membership now seems to be that the organization continue to provide a sort of current affairs program that gives members an "inside track" on what is "really happening" in the world. In addition, for the remaining

Technocrats who participate in the organization on a regular basis, Technocracy activities form an important part of their social life. The result is that the organization in its present form successfully meets the goals of the current membership, the change-oriented goals having been gradually abandoned.

There remains one further observation that I wish to make. This study has directed its attention toward an area of the study of movements that is inadequately represented in the literature on movements; that is to say, the study of the dynamics of internal change in a social movement. In one sense Technocracy was ideal as a subject. It had a long history marked by internal conflict and change. At the same time, this movement was a far from ideal subject in that much of the kind of detailed information that would be necessary to an adequate study of the earlier period of the movement is simply no longer in existence. In addition, other areas of data were not available because of the organization's currently closed and secretive nature. On the more recent history of the movement, far more data were at hand, but this period was, of course, that time when the 'movement', was characterized by neither change nor conflict, the subjects of our interest. We have been plagued, then, throughout with the paradox of abundant data only on the subjects in which we were least interested.

NOTES

1 S.M. Lipset, Political Man; The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Co., 1960), p. 139.

2 This sort of argument is developed by Hubert Guindon, "Social Unrest, Social Class and Quebec's Bureaucratic Revolution," Queens Quarterly, LXXI, No. 2, (Summer Issue, 1964). The core of his thesis is that unrest has been caused by the emergence of a new French Canadian middle class.

3 See, for instance, L.P. Edwards, The Natural History Of Revolution (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 36.

4 David F. Aberle, "A Note On Relative Deprivation Theory As Applied To Millenarian And Other Cult Movements," Millennial Dreams In Action, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962), p. 213.

5 See, for instance, S.M. Lipset, "The Sources of the "Radical Right" (1955)," and "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers (1962)," The Radical Right, ed. Daniel Bell ("Anchor Books"; New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 307-446. The earlier article of 1955 contains almost no empirical evidence to support his contentions, while the 1962 presentation contains more in the way of actual data. A number of apparently contradictory findings are reported that lead Lipset to conclude that, "Efforts to account for adherence to extremist political ideologies, and to McCarthyism in particular, have suggested that such groups cannot be explained solely or even primarily by an analysis of the values and interests of their supporters" (p. 411).

6 David F. Aberle, The Peyote Religion Among The Navaho (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), p. 315.

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APPENDIX 1

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

This study of the Technocracy movement started out, as I imagine have many others, with quite different concerns from those that eventually came to dominate it. Originally I had focussed a general interest in social movements on a specific concern with those usually described as utopian. My previous study of movements had been limited to readings on the subject, and a desire to expand my then extremely limited participant observation experience, and hence to avoid the prospect of a thesis based solely on library research, dictated that an existent and available movement be selected. Technocracy was geographically practical and also boasted a highly utopian vision of the desired future state of society. As the study developed, however, this utopian element became less and less my primary interest, as matters of history, processes, conflicts, and internal factions began to seem more significant.

While the first-hand observation had obvious methodological advantages and saved me from spending all of my time in the library, it was necessary also to utilize extensively a large body of secondary sources dealing with the history of the movement. The participant observation, however, allowed me to understand this secondary data more adequately than would otherwise have been the case. As a result, while the actual data accumulated in the observation occupy a smaller proportion of the final paper, it was this experience that was most important in determining interpretations.

The references and footnotes throughout the text make it quite clear that the manner of accumulating data on Technocracy was eclectic, and while the problems of interpretation of secondary sources are themselves worth discussion, I will primarily be concerned here with aspects of participant observation. The reason for this is twofold. In the first place, the account of the experience of attempting to act as a participant observer in Technocracy is in itself often instructive as to the nature of the movement, and in the second place, while there is a relatively extensive literature on

participant observation,[1] there is little that is directed specifically toward the study of movements. In part, this is a reflection of the fact that a large proportion of the writing on movements has relied more on secondary sources than on direct observation.[2] In any event, although the following discussion is concerned primarily with this specific movement, it is conceivable that some of the situations have a more general relevance and hence will be of some value to others attempting such a project.

An initial decision that had to be made prior to contacting the organization was whether I was to approach it as a potential recruit or as a researcher; in other words, whether or not to be open about my objectives. There are both ethical and methodological problems involved in this dilemma, and in some circumstances the two overlap. It is clear that if one's identity as a researcher is known, relationships will be affected and perhaps inhibited, certain areas of information will be denied, and in some circumstances, no access to the group will be possible. On the other hand, to participate as a novice member of Technocracy is to limit oneself to the movement's definition of the appropriate range of behaviour for novices. An extensive study of the history of the movement, through examination of movement literature and documents, would be unique for a novice member but perhaps acceptable. Sustained inquisitiveness about other members would, however, seem quite unusual and probably unacceptable. In more general terms, the 'secret' observer must act within the limits of his assumed role, which in Technocracy would be a relatively limited range. In part, this is a consequence of the secrecy (both internal and external) and alienation of the movement ("We regard ourselves as within the enemy territory of the Price System"[3]). Perhaps as important is the fact that Technocracy is a small group of primarily long-term members, wherein new recruits are a rarity and hence subject to more comment and scrutiny than might be the case in a larger and growing movement. It was not primarily these methodological considerations that prompted the decision to define myself openly as a student of the movement, as in fact I could only really be aware of some of them after the fact. A combination of methodological and ethical considerations was the decisive factor. The ethics of studying people with

neither their knowledge nor their consent are, at least, ambiguous; I do not intend to develop a definitive argument on the subject here. Sufficient to say that I have considerable reservations about such 'secret' observation. Given such doubts, I anticipated, and subsequently became further convinced, that unless I were fully confident of the legitimacy of my behaviour, my participation and ability to relate with any degree of warmth and openness would be continually inhibited, in all probability to the point of becoming immobilized. Consequently, when I attended my first public lecture in October of 1967, I identified myself initially as a graduate student considering writing a thesis on the movement; the response to this was generally more restrained than exuberant. My position for the first two months was precarious. Since public lectures are only monthly events, it was necessary both to find out about other activities and to obtain invitations to participate in them. This was complicated by the fact that, while Technocrats are understandably not particularly interested in being studied,[4] they are also not overly concerned with recruiting new members. As a result, members did not go out of their way to maintain my continued participation, or even to inform me of upcoming activities. Early in the third month, however, a weekly study course was started, and I was accepted as a participant in this. I am inclined to think that whatever level of acceptance I eventually managed to obtain was in large part due to my regular and continued participation in this course. On the one hand it allowed me to be around on a regular basis and so to build more extensive relationships; and on the other, it was treated by the members as a kind of test of interest. I was continually informed that the only way really to understand Technocracy was diligent attention to the study course, and several members, I found out subsequently, checked the course attendance sheets to see if I was attending.

In these early stages of my observations, a situation developed that may well have wider relevance than this particular study. One of the Technocrats who was a frequent participant in activities, though not a member of any of the boards or committees, made himself particularly helpful and informative to me. As my position was still extremely tentative and problematic and my relationships with other

participants still rather restrained, I found myself increasingly tending to use this member as an informant and mentor. I failed to anticipate the subsequent limitations of this situation. As it developed, I became defined by my mentor as his 'property', this taking the form of his continually manipulating situations so that he was my sole pipeline to information, and an ever present, although frequently unwanted, 'interpreter' in my conversations with other Technocrats. The interpretation was not wholly advantageous, as he consistently and usually incorrectly 'interpreted' to other Technocrats what it was that I wanted to know. Since quite often I was simply trying to build relationships and to open broad areas of discussions, these interpretations often excessively limited the subject matter, as well as continually defining me as a researcher rather than as a participant. In addition, both he and other Technocrats (in part, because of his interpretations) continued to see my research as solely a matter of understanding the scope and nature of the Technocratic belief system; consequently my asking similar questions of different people was to them, puzzling, and perhaps in some circumstances a challenge to the veracity of those who had previously answered a particular question.

This image of my purpose as primarily an examination and evaluation of Technocratic ideology brings us to another area that may have relevance to other studies of movements. In order to escape the limitations of this definition of my objectives I began to stress my concern with the history of the movement, thinking that this might provide a more familar reference point for members than "sociology" seemed to do. This did not take into account a more important consideration, however, as I was now even more frequently confronted about my evaluation of Technocratic beliefs. I see this now as primarily a result of the movement's relatively unambiguous definitions of insiders and outsiders. The movement provides a number of explanations of outside critics and those simply not interested in the movement. They are regarded either as conditioned to apathy, or as simply not part of the elite who are competent to understand the analysis, or both. I, however, was clearly neither uninterested nor incompetent, but neither was I a "believer", and there was no way in which my continu-

ally marginal role could be accommodated.

It seems to me now that the nature of social movements inevitably produces limitations of this kind for the researcher, unless he can, with integrity, accept full membership, and the movement can see his continued research as a potentially positive contribution. Neither of these conditions prevailed in my relationship to Technocracy, and hence my status remained marginal.

An interesting example in this regard occurred in the later stages of the study and demonstrates, I think, the continuing contrast between my own and the members' perspectives. In a discussion about the state of my research on the movement, a member asked me if I ever discussed Technocracy with my students at the university. I interpreted this as a concern with privacy of communication and replied (truthfully) that I did not. I then elaborated in a, perhaps, excessively moralistic way the virtues of scientific integrity, which seemed to be of little interest to anyone but myself. From the conversation that followed it became clear that the question had really been: Had I praised, or conversely, criticized the movement to my students?

Another factor is important in relation to the question of the Technocrats' definition of my study as concerned with ideological 'correctness'. In growing and/or more active movements a large proportion of discussion revolves around debates on appropriate tactics and goals, structure and procedures. Such debates are almost totally non-existent in Technocracy today, with the very occasional exception of short-lived attempts to suggest more active stances on particular issues. The only remaining question of importance, then, becomes: Is Technocracy correct in its long-term analysis and predictions? Despite the lack of open debate on the question among members, they are, I think, persistently conscious of it. This becomes evident in part in the kinds of statements made by the leadership in public lectures and Current Events classes. The theme of one recent lecture for instance, Not Whether, But When, is relatively constant, and informal conversations frequently touch on the question, commonly phrased, "Do you really think that the Technate will come in our lifetime?". The question is, however, pursued tentatively and cautiously, then hastily dropped

with an affirmative answer.

It seems, therefore, that their definition of my objectives was, at least in part, a projection of members' basic concerns.

It should be clear by now that in terms of the usual goals of participant observation, this aspect of the research was not completely satisfactory. From the Technocrats' point of view I remained an outsider, and while rapport was obviously better in the later stages, it never approached the desired level. This is a reflection clearly both on personal field work skills and on the nature of the movement. Even this unsatisfactory observation period, however, raised questions and suggested areas of significance that could not have arisen had the research been limited to various secondary sources. Other methods (for instance, content analysis, questionnaires, and interviews) may be useful to test specific hypotheses, or to trace the history and development of variants of ideology. If the goal is to study a movement in a holistic manner, and to avoid mechanistic and one-dimensional interpretations, however, some form of direct observation seems essential.

NOTES

[1] The most complete text available, solely on the subject of Participant Observation is: Severyn T. Bruyn, The Human Perspective In Sociology (Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966).

[2] We would argue that this reliance on such sources is in part responsible for the sometimes excessive focus on official ideology and formal structure, to the detriment of a sensitivity to the informal structure and the movement's meaning to members. In addition, this confidence in data not supplemented by various forms of direct observation accounts in part for the consistently one-dimensional image of participants, not uncommon to the literature.

[3] This quotation is from a long-time Technocracy leader.

[4] Other studies that have been done on the movement have not always been overly complimentary and have been perceived by the members as attacks on the movement.

APPENDIX 2

TECHNOCRACY INC. SUGGESTION FORM

12349 - 1
SUGGESTION BLANK

DON'T WASTE YOUR TIME - AND SOMEONE ELSE'S TIME - SAYING IT. PUT IT IN WRITING!

FACTS OBSERVED:

ANALYSIS: (The problem stated)

SYNTHESIS: (Your suggestion)

Signed:_____

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OBSERVATIONS:

#_____

Date_____

DIRECTED BY EXECUTIVE TO:

_____

WRITTEN REPLY MUST BE MADE TO EVERY SUGGESTION WITHIN ONE MONTH BY THE PERSON OR COMMITTEE TO WHOM A SUGGESTION IS DIRECTED.