

THE SECT: SCIENTOLOGY

Scientology personnel. Many recruits first attend a free public lecture or nominally priced Personal Efficiency Foundation Course. These courses are devised to interest the public in Scientology and draw them into further commitment.

A P13 Foundation is a programmed drill calculated to introduce people to Scientology and to bring their cases up to a high level of reality both on Scientology and on life...PE Foundation in its attitude goes for broke on the newcomers, builds up their interest with lectures and knocks their cases apart with comm course and upper indoc,...Never let anyone simply walk out. Convince him he's loony if he doesn't gain on it because that's the truth...

Under the broad heading of attachment the factors which led to the emergence of some initial firm commitment on the part of those recruited to the movement will be examined. From the material available, three bases of affiliation can be discerned: cognitive, experiential and affective. By cognitive grounds are meant bases for further commitment of a primarily intellectual kind. For example, a doctor cited earlier attended an introductory Scientology lecture and found it stimulating, the lecturer was talking about practical life and relationships in simplified terms about three concepts involved. I was tired of reading academic books containing r7 theories of learning which had no bearing on the way one actually lives. I was also tired of hospital psychiatry. I'd done psychiatric clinics myself in which one saw people for 30 minutes and prescribed a pill and never really had much contact with them. That at least seemed to be direct and immediate.' Others indicated that they found the talks 'logical', that they were impressed by the explanations given for human behaviour, or that they found it made particular sense.

Many became committed to Scientology on experiential grounds. Some particular experience convinced them that Scientology was the key to something important. One questionnaire respondent indicated that he lost his doubts when his wife was cured of migraine by a 'touch assist'. An interview respondent indicated that he became convinced during his first auditing session when they did an assessment and the charged item was 'a child'. So then they ran me on a process - what have you done to a child, what have you withheld from a child. And the moment they asked those questions, something happened. Suddenly I was looking at the body of a little boy and I was recalling and suddenly I knew it was what I had done to this body when it was a child which had established the patterns for whatever happened later...3 Less dramatically, a number of individuals found that as a result of Scientology drills and techniques they were better able to communicate with others, or experienced other improvements, psychological or interpersonal.

I L. Ron Hubbard, 'The organisation of a PE Foundation', ICO Bulletin, 29 September 1959, cited in Kevin Vietor Andenon, report of the board of inquiry into Scientology (Government Printer, Melbourne, Australia, 1965), p.3.

3 Interview. 3 Interview. I found that [co-auditing with other beginning students] helped me tremendously. and it seemed to help the people I was auditing too.1 When I began having Scientology

auditing I was impressed by the fact that it did work just as the books had said it would.S

The other major theme emerging from the interviews was that in which the motivation for affiliation developed on primarily affective grounds. The individual became emotionally committed to Hubbard, to other Scientologists in particular or to the warm expressive atmosphere displayed in many Scientology organizations. One interview respondent cited earlier became emotionally involved with a committed Scientologist who discussed past lives with her and told her she was one of a group of thetans

who through all the centuries had been influencing people for good...I was... one of this fantastic group...At first I thought he was insane, and then I was slightly flattered of course.t

Others were attracted by Hubbard's 'magnetic personality'. Many were impressed by the immediate acceptance that they found among Scientologists. They were warmly welcomed into the group, greeted, and applauded. Every success was broadcast and congratulated. They were 'validated' in what they did .

Mine was the time of 'Quickie Release Grades' a fairly short period - and people went around saying 'This is fantastic. This is a record'. Flinging their arms around me. 'Never been done before. What a fantastic thetan you must be'. Of course this puffed me up tremendously. With everybody congratulating me so much of course I had to write the most fantastic Success Story. I mean I owed it to these people who congratulated me.

Many found themselves with a group of friends for the first time in years.

People come in and immediately they're enclosed in this atmosphere, which, when it first hits you seems a tremendously good and healthy atmosphere because everybody seems to be friends with everybody else. An awful lot of lonely people go into it I think because they find this tremendous welcome...for the loner coming in...People need company. They want to be accepted and one thing the Scientologists did was accept people. They would tolerate an awful lot, because they had this thing, you must never invalidate anybody. For someone who's been pushed down, suddenly to find people coming up and saying, 'Well, look you're a beautiful person in your own right. There are qualities in you which are likeable and lovable...; it's bound to do them good, to give them a lift, and then they come back and buy the courses.-

Several thousand individuals enter Scientology with a multiplicity of goals of a personal kind which they wish to pursue. Socialization within the movement is oriented to the Interview. 5 Questionnaire respondent. ' Interview. ' Interview. 5 Interview. 17.

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progressive transmutation of such personal goals into Scientology goals, that is to ends permitted or preferred by the movement's leaders. Individuals also enter Scientology on a largely unselected basis. There is of course a differential appeal to certain categories of potential recruit, and no doubt considerable self-selection, but the movement does not require the display of any particular mark of merit nor the negotiation of any test of

merit before an individual may join. [oreover, unlike other movements which proselytize widely, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, no extensive probationary period is required before full acceptance into the movement. Thus recruits are a potential source of disruption and must be socialized as quickly as possible into the movement's norms and values to neutralize this disruptive potential.

A major step is taken in the socialization of recruits once the individual comes to see the current level of training or auditing on which he is working as but the beginning of a journey through the increasing number of such levels that are available up to O.T.8 and Class XIII auditor (or whatever happens to be the number at any particular time). The recruit often appears to experience a considerable increase in self-confidence after the lower levels of training. After several hours of 'confronting' and 'bull-baiting' the individual may feel freer and more confident in interpersonal relations. After auditing in which he may have come to speak of or even think of things which he has repressed and hidden for many years and which he has probably never confided to anyone, he may experience a profound sense of relief. He has been released from some secret experience a profound sense of relief. He has been released from some secret guilt or fear of many years standing, which will, he is assured, never trouble him again. The lectures which he attends provide him with a simple model of human behaviour which in the light of his confusions, uncertainties, and lack of comprehension of life's complexities, may appear as a sudden revelation. In a few simple but scientific-sounding terms he is offered an account of his own actions and those of others which is presented with absolute conviction. These insights and 'wins' provide the motivation to continue to the next course of training and auditing. If so much can be achieved at the lower levels, it is reasoned, what can not be achieved at those beyond?

Current doubts and dissatisfactions can be held in abeyance. Since one is only a beginner one cannot expect everything to be revealed at once. What one does not understand may be explained later. What one does not accept may merely be the consequence of some aspect of one's reactive mind, which will be resolved through future auditing.

The enthusiasm of others on the course, or of Scientology friends, is infectious. Group expectations lead the recruit to search for some gain, to achieve a success, to believe that it has worked.

Everybody believed so firmly that it could work for me, so I couldn't not believe it

because I so much wanted to believe that it would work. everybody wants to

believe that it's working...or the whole thing is meaningless. So there is this

tremendous what they call 'group agreement' that it does work. Instantly I was caught up in this. I wasn't examining the thing, and it did work, or I felt that it worked. Now, I think to myself: I say it did work, but what worked? I can't think of anything that worked, but at the same time, yes, I thought, well, I feel marvellous, this works.

Having experienced that some aspect of the belief system 'works', having come to recognize his 'gains' as a consequence of Scientology, perhaps even having committed himself to this in writing in a 'Success Story', and having been applauded and congratulated and handed a certificate, the member would often willingly sign up for, and even pay a deposit or sign a cheque for, a further course of auditing and training.

Anderson suggests that more intensive 'hard-sell' tactics have sometimes been employed in some Orgs to ensure maximum financial commitment by pre-clears. After convincing and signing up a recruit for an amount of auditing, generally twenty-five hours, the Registrar would take the applicant and his form to the Director of Processing. The latter would talk to the applicant and endorse the form to the effect that he could not accept the applicant, since it was his considered opinion that only after some 250 to 300 hours of auditing could the individual achieve a 'stable result'. He would then return the matter to the Registrar. The applicant, aghast at his plight, would then often readily sign up for the greater number of hours of auditing recommended.² (The Church of Scientology asserts that the Anderson Report contained many inaccuracies, and point out that the legislation which followed it has since [and in my view rightly] been repealed in some states of Australia, or effectively nullified by registration of the national Scientology church as a recognized denomination for purposes of the Federal Marriage Act.)^s

A particularly important means of both enhancing commitment and socializing the individual is that of convincing him to take an active part in Scientology by training as an auditor. When he has achieved some success with Scientology, the member may become convinced that this is something which he should not only benefit from, but the benefits of which he should carry to others. Scientology literature is studded with statements to the effect that nuclear war, communist revolution, and sundry other ills can be prevented only by the spread of Scientology. Thus appeal is made to the altruism of the pre-clear. However, he shortly learns that such altruism has concrete rewards. Taking the path to 'clear' by the Training or Professional Route rather than by the Pre-clear Route, that is taking courses to train as an auditor, while taking auditing to become a 'clear', will save him nearly one-third in total cost. In 1972, the Training Route to clear cost in total \$133 while the Pre-clear Route cost in the region of \$198.⁴ Helping Ron to 'clear the planet' by becoming

¹ Interview. Anderson, op. cit., pp. m4-5. Personal communication Guardian's Office, November 1974.

Auditor, 77 (1972), p. 4 The prices are higher today. trained as a professional auditor also promises a further return since the individual will then be qualified to practise for a fee.

Those who are recruited to the movement without sufficient funds to pay for training and auditing are encouraged to join the Org staff where in return for long hours and low pay the member will receive auditing free, or at a reduced rate. The individual thereby commits himself as an employee as well as a follower.

By these means the recruit comes to identify his own goals with those of the movement.¹ Only within Scientology is he fully recognized and accepted as he is. Only Scientology has any real answer to his particular problem. As he becomes increasingly

committed to the movement, he is increasingly alienated from features of the world beyond. The literature which he reads heaps invective on the medical profession, psychiatrists, politicians, and newspapers. He comes to learn that all of these, as well as a number of Scientology defectors, are involved in a conspiracy to silence Scientology through propaganda and legal attack, out of fear of its innovative message. He comes to learn that inside Scientology individuals are sane and releasing all their abilities, while outside is a world full of people subject to their 'Banks' and liable to engage in irresponsible and destructive behaviour at any time.

In the light of what he learns to see as the hostility of the outside world and the attempts by communists and squirrels to obtain Hubbard's 'data', he comes to recognize the need for strict internal control. The more closely he comes to see his own goals as linked to the avowed aims of the movement, the greater is the legitimacy with which he endows the movement's norms as embodied in the Ethics codes. The rigorous discipline of the movement, and the regimentation to which recruits are subjected in the central organizations, is accepted as necessary to achieving the goals the individual has set, or those which he is beginning to acquire:

there was much that pleased me about the life at Samt Hill. I was being taught to crack down. It was one more burden lifted not to have to be rebellious anymore rather, to be obedient. They were giving me the discipline I had lacked all my life, discipline which was going to be - in the long run - as beneficial as clearing...An almost imperceptible change was occurring in me: I no longer supposed that I was using Scientology for my own purposes. I liked the feeling; it was a clean one. My old ways had been grandiose - impure. Perhaps I was being affected by the lines, the strict regimen...If so, I appreciated the value of what I was getting, and was glad to see myself becoming less a willful intruder and more one of the group at the Hill.'

This process is central to Kanter's concept of commitment: 'Commitment thus refers to the willingness of people to do what will help maintain the group because it provides what they need.' Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1972), p. 66.

Reactive memory banks. 'Non-approved practitioners.' Kaufman, op. cit., p. mor.

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The group itself brings pressure to bear to secure conformity, in part because being associated with someone whose Ethics are suspect may lead to suspicion about their own.

It is a truly illuminating experience to be assigned a Condition of Liability... Colleagues whom you regarded as friends, seem suddenly distant. They won't talk to you. They don't offer you cigarettes or suggest you take a swig out of their Coke bottle. In some really Eager Beaver cases, they even refuse your cigarettes when you offer them !!

The recruit begins applying the Ethics codes to himself rather than waiting to have them applied to him by the Ethics Officer. Henceforth should he suffer any nagging scepticism he will realize that it is not a rational response but simply the consequence of his being in a 'Condition of Doubt'. Having assigned himself to this condition, he can then proceed to apply the Ethics formula and begin to work his way out. The individual begins to conceive of the system of social control as central to the survival of the movement, hence Ethics sanctions are not merely something to submit to and suffer, they are to be welcomed as a source of Enlightenment.

I have just completed three days of fabulous wins with Ethics. I really know what Ethics is all about now. Previously I'd had it confused with punishment, which it's not at all. Clarice has helped me to make my environment safer so that now I can be audited successfully. I really know what it means to be 'battered with Ethics' and it's great !

Gloria Nickel, Clear No 700.'

Gloria Nickel, Clear No. 702.J So this is Ethics ! It's beautiful. It's safe and helpful. I can really see for once how it makes things right so tech can go in.

Janet Wiggins, Clear No. 1986.4 As the member begins to organize his daily life in terms of the Ethics Condition and formulae, he comes to embrace and internalize the norms of the movement. After receiving Integrity Processing and applying ethics to her situation as a writer, Ros Baws sat down and completed the script for her comedy screen play... 'I had been sitting there with thousands of blocks, knowing something was wrong', says Eos. 'After some auditing and looking at the formulas for the Conditions... I just did it. I had statistics on how many pages I had to do each day to be in a Normal Condition. It was amazing. When I set my mind to it I completed the entire script' .5 Progressively, the recruit comes to acquire a vocabulary peculiar to the movement through which he can articulate his thoughts and experiences, and in terms of which he can locate and define the behaviour of others. He is feeling 'banky' that day (under the reshuffled influence of his reactive mind); an acquaintance is '11 on the Tone Scale', or 'covertly hostile'; while another Cyril Vosper, *The Mind Benders* (Neville Spearman, London, 1971), pp. 138-9.

aufman, op. cit., p. 155.

'Clarice's, number and date unknown, p 5.

Clear Notes, number unknown (1969, p. 5. · 'Integrity Processing: a writer's win', *Clarity Magazine*, Major Issue 6 (1972). t78

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shows a high degree of ARC (Amnity, reality and Communication). Locating his own situation and that of others in terms of this vocabulary carTics with it as an almost automatic concomitant the identification of the movement as the means of improving or managing this situation. Only Scientology beliefs and practices prescribe means of coping with problems identified in Scientology language, or achieving a situation or state of mind that only Scientology reveals, and to which it alone offers access. The added

lectures had their effect, however. I'd never paid much attention to the specific meaning of the individual grades, except for IV. After hearing about them repeatedly, I began to feel that I really was a Communication Release, a Problems Release, and the rest. It got so that I revealed this in Gerald's speech. He was recounting my gains; it was not he was describing, a Grade IV Release....It was plain now that my recital had been the result of processing after all. I did owe it to Scientology. I was glad I had taken the course and gone to the added lectures. It wasn't until Gerald had given me a complete list of my gains that they became a reality to me I

As the pre-clear accepts the first steps of the theory and technique he learns to see himself suffering from the restimulation of traumatic events. The model of mental and spiritual functioning on the basis of which he has achieved 'gains' in interpersonal relations or in relief from some hidden guilt, also prescribes the state of 'clear' as the only condition under which he would be fully free from such problems in future. From the relief of some particular pressing concern, the individual's goals are redirected toward achieving the state of clear.

The recruit, in the light of his newfound composure, psychological relief, or enhanced ability, redemmes his past biography as something to which he does not wish to return:

I saw my old life as one big reactive mind. My moods had been affected by everything around me: weather, places, people. A person with a reactive mind was like a piece of lint blown about on a windowsill.'

Hence his current improvements can only be seen in the context of a scientologically-defined biography. His current condition is only the beginning, and can only be stabilized by continuing with training and auditing, at least to the state of clear. Clearing, he learns, is the only permanent means of maintaining his currently improved condition, and advancing beyond it. He acquires a 'vision' of clearing which motivates heightened commitment, and submission to the rigorous discipline of the movement:

This vision represented fulfillment of all hope and escape from all aversions. The gains that I felt I owed to Scientology were based entirely upon a projection into the future. The aversions were mostly unknown to me until Scientology made me aware of them. Kaufman, op. cit., p. 44 Kaufman, op. cit., p. 68. 3 Ibid., p. 67.

By the time that he reaches this state he will have spent anything between six months and two years in the movement undergoing training and/or auditing, and have invested between \$13 and \$2000. Having achieved clear, he learns that to be sure of maintaining his gains, and to achieve the spiritual abilities only a short distance beyond, he must take the OT levels. In the case of a number of those interviewed, on achieving the state of clear, they felt, after the initial exultation had subsided, that very little of any concrete kind had been gained. In the hope that the OT levels would provide more concrete demonstration of the efficacy of the theory and practice on which they had spent so much time and money, and in the pursuit of which they may have suffered indignity and embarrassment as a result of Ethics treatment, they invested sums in the region of \$100 to \$1375 to secure the further knowledge and experience they had come to see as so vital to their personal development.

The novice is rendered more malleable to this process of socialization by the injunction that he approach the material without a 'fixed opinion', that what he is being told is 'stable data' tested on many thousands of cases, and that he should only accept what is 'true for you'. The assumption, however, is that shortly it will all become true for him, since the entire system is an interlocking whole. The student is enjoined not to puzzle over possible sources of disagreement. 'Figure, figure', and 'Q

A' (Question and Answer) are not approved.

Maintaining reservations indicates that one is 'hung up on a maybe'.

A person who's being impartial, conservative, etc. is hung up on a maybe so hard

that it would take tugs to get him off. Maintaining reservations indicates that one is 'hung up on a maybe'.

A person who's being impartial, conservative, etc. is hung up on a maybe so hard that it would take tugs to get him off. ...figure, figure, figure is...very far from certainty.³

This condition is in need of remedy through auditing and 'cramming', before one proceeds further, and therefore slows one's progress to the goals one seeks to achieve (and is, moreover, a source of further expense).

[Scientology] attains [its] aims in precise and definite ways, ways in which there is no room for 'maybes'.^t

As one progresses further up the grades and levels of training it becomes increasingly difficult to admit disagreements or doubts, since to do so would endanger one's earlier achievements. Disagreement might suggest that one had 'falsely attested' to the earlier grades and levels, requiring that one retake them, have a 'review', or become subject to Ethics penalties. Doubts and disagreements, as matters for remedy, have costly consequences, and the incentives are therefore entirely in favour of easy acquiescence.⁴

¹ The cost of the OT levels is detailed in Sir John G. Foster, Enquiry into the Practice and Effects of Scientology (HMSO, London, 1971, p. 102, The higher of the two figures is that given in Advances!, issue 20 (August/September, 1973), p. 5.

² Both quotations are from Professional Auditor's Bulletin, 1 (May 1973), p. 4. ³ Herbert Parkhouse, 'Scientology and religion', Certainty, 2, 9, p. 14.

: One of the characteristics of the 'Suppressive Person', for example, is that he does not 'respond to auditing'. 180

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The further one progresses, the greater the commitment of time, money, and ego-involvement one has made, and the harder it is to admit that one has made a mistake. One's purpose in continuing involvement has become not the achievement of some particular improvement that, however nebulously, one had identified in

oneself, but the achievement of a goal identified by the organization, by means which it alone provides. The client has become transmuted into a follower.

Mobilization Scientology is a movement with some totalitarian features. Its leadership seeks not merely to secure a clientele for its services, but to maximize the commitment of a large unselected membership and mobilize them in the service of the organization. Mobilization is directed to the end of transforming followers into active, deployable agents who see their own salvation intimately linked with the achievement of ends established by the organization leadership. Generally such ends are those of promotion and dissemination of Scientology, but others include staffing of Scientology Orgs, recruitment to the Sea Org, and the enhancement of the individual's commitment and dependency.

The members of the movement are early accustomed to submitting themselves to direction by Org personnel. On entry into an Org facility, the member has to 'go through lines', that is through an established routine of passage from one post to another collecting forms or other documentation, paying fees, awaiting an auditor, etc. While waiting for service he will often be expected to occupy his time on some clerical task for promotional purposes. After a day at the Org he may be asked to distribute leaflets to houses on his route home,⁹ and when taking his training he will be required to secure a pre-clear from among the public, on whom he can demonstrate his competence and, if possible, recruit for Scientology. During later stages of his training he is required to undertake periods of 'internship' during which he audits full-time for the Org. When not taking training or auditing, the follower is mobilized in the field. His increasing alienation from the rest of society, particularly from inter-

I When interviewed after having severed their connection with Scientology, some would refer to this process in which they were transformed into a following of the movement in terms which, if often less elegant than those of Fischer referring to his own commitment to Stalinism, mirrored his conclusions closely, on 'the lengths to which a man can go who, though neither stupid nor vicious, deliberately ceases to see, to listen, to think critically, subordinating his intellect to the "Credo quia absurdum" so as not to doubt the cause he serves and, having thus subordinated his intellect, proceeds to abuse it by clothing the resulting nonsense in threatening syllogisms.' Ernst Fischer, *An Opposite Man* (Allen Lane, London, 1974), cited in a review by George Stelner, *Sunday Times*, 17 March 1974

⁹ Kauman, op. cit., p. 199. personal relations with non-Scientists is exploited to the end of proselytization for the movement:

LONESOME? Have people who don't know Scientology stopped making 'sense' to you? Start a Group. People don't bite. Ask them over to a sociable evening to discuss forming a mental health group. When they get there, don't ask them to join, just elect them as members. Get them to agree on future meetings and the programs.

Assume they want to know more about Scientology. Explain Scientology offhandedly as though it's sort of strange they don't know and get on with group organisation and business I

He is encouraged to commit further resources to Scientology in order to maintain his advances. He receives promotional literature on the following lines:

Targets to Total Freedom These targets have been designed to Decide on arrival date at

ASHOIAOLA

[Etc. To go clear by-

ASHOIAOLA

(date)

[Etc.]'

AOLA is your home for Clear and OT. The popular 'thetaccount' (the 'unbank'

account) was designed for you so you can invest in your future self, Clear and OT,

by sending regular advance payments to the AO. [Etc.]³ He is encouraged throughout his association with Scientology to take not only auditing, but also training, to become an auditor rather than merely a preclear. Becoming an auditor offers the possibility not only of conducting the self-audit levels of processing more competently, but also of recouping some of the costs of auditing and training by auditing others professionally in private practice

Those who have not committed themselves to a professional career as an auditor, or have not yet achieved the necessary qualifications, can be mobilized as part-time Field Staff Members. These individuals act as recruiting agents for the Org, receiving a commission on the amount spent on Org services by the 'selected' individual. In recent years, the leadership have sought to mobilize a larger proportion of the membership as Field Staff Members, and to tie them more closely to official Orgs. Policy published in 1968 expressed an Ability, 50, p. 8.

Promotional leaflet. ASHO is Advanced organisation, Saint Hill; AOLA is Advanced organisation, Los Angeles.

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aspiration 'to reclaim and enrol as staff members everyone we have ever trained' 5

The member is encouraged to attend Congresses and other mass membership events designed to increase promotional and disseminational activities in the field, such as a mass meeting early in 1974, which heralded the 'Battle of Britain' .

The True Battle of Britain is Beginning. L. Ron Hubbard has sent Special Representatives to the United Kingdom. They have a message from him for each and every LJK Scientologist...It is impractical that you attack!!! A Special tape from L. Ron Hubbard,

will be played which you must hear. [Etc.]'

Encouragement is also particularly strong for members to join the Org staff on a contractual basis or more permanently. The incentives for younger members to join are considerable. Without an established career to which they are committed and without adequate resources to finance training and processing, working for the Org often has considerable attraction. In particular, auditing and training are made available (in the evenings) at reduced rates or free.

Staff Status Two, if on contract, is entitled to free processing up to Grade V, and so % discount on training and further processing and uniforms.³

While pay is low and conditions often arduous, the young member without familial obligations may find this no great bar. The staff member is not tied to the Org by the mere formality of a contract. Should he break his contract, for example, by defection, he becomes liable for the full cost of all the training, processing and travel expenses that he has received.⁴ Staff seconded for advanced training and auditing are required to sign promissory notes to the sum of \$5000 on each occasion.

pmccssin and travel expenses that he receives
If a staff member signs such a Note... must be legally binding in that if he breaks his Contract, he is automatically in debt to the Org for 55,000.'

The acme of Scientology involvement is membership of the Sea Org. Members at all levels of the movement are encouraged to join up. Come and work as part of Ron's expanding team of Sea Org members here at Saint Hill now I Contact me immediately !

Love,

G-[signed]

G-E-

Area Secretary C

I L. Ron Hubbard, 'Field auditors become staff', CO Polic Ltr May g AD [After Dianetics] rs, revised and reissued 14 January 1968.

' Promotional Leaflet, emphasis in the original. OEC, Vol. 0, p. 4f.
' Ibid., pp. 48-9.

' Ibid., p. 52 One interview respondent received a bill for \$ 14 000 for services rendered while on course at the Sea Org Flag ship, when expelled shortly after taking the course, and was threatened with civil suit for the collection of his sum.

' Letter to the author. THE SCIENTOLOGICAL CAREER

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Dear Roy, I note you have had some Scientology training. Here at Saint Hill we need people with some training to train further to hold vital Technical and Administrative posts within the Sea Org.

As a Sea Org member you would have no domestic worries as all

accommodation and food is provided. This will free you up to really expand as a being on all the Dynamics. You would be helping to make this Planet a safe and sane place to be thus aiding the survival of all 8 dynamics.

The company and life in the Sea Org is very good, the Sea Org people are a dedicated team who can see that Planet Earth could be better and who are doing something to make it so.

The Clears and OTs leaving St Hill vouch for that.

So if you want to do something to help you are most welcome, I'd like you to call at St Hill to see me.

Love,

J__p_I

Members are encouraged to become auditors, staff members, and Sea Org personnel in order to assist Ron to 'Clear the Planet'. On staff they become subject to remunerative as well as normative control. Their commitment is increased in the sense that more and more resources are invested in the movement. 'Side-bets' are laid on continuing membership,³ as the member increasingly withdraws from external social relationships, career, and financial involvements, centering all his resources and aspirations on the movement. Staff members become totally dependent financially on the Org, unless they possess independent incomes. Outside the Org they are forbidden to audit pre-clears for a fee. Their incomes are precarious, subject to the vicissitudes of Stats and Conditions. Indeed in some Conditions, for example, Doubt, they are not eligible for pay at all. Failure to fulfil the norms established by the movement leadership therefore raises the threat of sanctions of a far-reaching kind. The threat of financial liability at a punitive rate for courses taken while on staff, is a powerful incentive for subordination.

Exulsion and defection

In this section we are concerned with the reasons why people ended their association with the movement. Some, of course, had no choice in the matter. They were expelled, despite some continuing commitment to it. This commitment might be to other Scientologists friends or relatives - or it might be a 'Letter to the author, 28 October 1973. ' Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations (Free Press, Glencoe, 61).

³ Howard Becker, 'Notes on the concept of commitment, American Journal of Sociology, 66 (1960), pp. 32-40.

¹ See Vosper, op. cit. 184

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continuing commitment to some of the beliefs and practices of Scientology. In these latter cases, however, generally a measure of alienation from the organisation had already occurred. A relatively high degree of antipathy toward the movement's mechanisms of social control could co-exist with a continuing and fervent belief in the theory and practice of auditing. Some time after his break with Scientology, one formerly prominent figure in

the movement could still

If Ron said it was all a 'con', I would reply to him:

I feel sorry for you that that is all you have got out of it' I

Individuals interviewed were found to have left the movement at various points in their involvement with it, some after many years association, others after reading their first book on the subject. Moreover, except for those whose association was decisively severed by expulsion, one could disassociate from Scientology in very varying degrees. A number of those interviewed, while out of touch with the movement for some time and conscious of aspects of it of which they strongly disapproved, had made no irrevocable break. Several expressed the feeling that when they had sufficient funds, or when the period of severe authoritarianism was over, they would return.

Reasons for disaffection with the movement fell generally into the following categories.

1. Disaffection emerged as a result of the application of particular practices of social control to oneself or to a close acquaintance or relative. categories.

I just wanted to know more about the auditing. But they made it hard. I was one

minute late one morning on course, for a very good reason...I arrived just as the

roll-call was ending and said sorry...but the Course Supervisor said, 'You must

have overts against the Org'. She said, 'You have to write out what you've done

against the organisation in order to have been late...' There were many occasions

like that...Should I walk out, or should I learn more about this auditing from

whom I had had actual physical benefit. So I stuck it out. But I got less and less

interested. Another interview respondent was asked to disconnect from his wife, who was declared an S.P. and, although he did so at first, he became disturbed by this demand and returned to her. This led to his also being declared an S.P. Others were also expelled for refusing to disconnect from a friend declared to be a Suppressive Person.

2. Others became disaffected, not as a result of any one specific application of

Interview

To be fair to the movement and its following, one should perhaps stress the obvious point that many individuals do not leave even after many years' association. As far as an outside observer can

tell, despite a very considerable turnover of membership, there are still a few individuals in the movement who first joined in the early 1950s. 3 Interview.

I looked back over my history in it and saw that I'd done a lot of good things

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harsh measures of social control, but rather as a result of what they viewed as the developing authoritarian atmosphere of the organization. ...it became a crime to doubt any of Hubbard's statements, and I had always doubted a lot of Hubbard's statements, but when I went in, it wasn't considered a crime, even if one was given looks of incomprehension. I could not belong to any organization which said you must believe this and that. Also there began to be strict codes of rules about Suppressive People...who were declared to be enemies of Scientology and one was not meant to have any contact with them...I was not willing to subscribe to this. It seemed to me to be a paranoid set-up and getting too fanatical, and I didn't want anything to do with this.1

Two former franchise operators in America also became disaffected largely as a result of the general tightening of control and the authoritarian imposition of Org practices, They both found that the official Orgs were increasingly interfering with the operation of the franchises, insisting that they employ Ethics Officers, use only prescribed techniques, and hand on their mailing lists of students and pre-clears to the Org.2 A former senior Org executive found that organizational practices led to a crime de conscience which undermined his faith in Scientology.

[Why did you leave?] Conscience...I just couldn't be a party to what was happening in the Organisation...I no longer had the same belief as when I started...I'd been embarrassed, Conscience .. I just couldn't be a party to what was happening in the Organization...I no longer had the same belief as when I started...I'd been embarrassed, humiliated, confused. It didn't serve any purpose for me to be part of it any longer

. I looked back over my history in it and saw that I'd done a lot of good things ...but I'd been party to things I'd much rather not have been party to.3

Harsh or indifferent treatment of people was the source of much dissatisfaction. Two respondents had received a severe blow to their faith in the movement when sick friends in hospital who had long been committed to Scientology were, despite requests, never visited or helped by Org personnel. Another became alienated, he said, when he saw a young girl being told she was not fit for Scientology because, only just having started work, she lacked adequate funds for training and auditing.

Several of those whose reasons for leaving Scientology fell predominantly into either or both of these first two categories commented on what they had seen as an increasing disparity between the ideology and the organizational structure of the movement, between the belief in 'Total freedom' and the increasing authoritarianism of the organization.

3 . A third important category of reasons for disaffection were what Gabriel Almond, et al. refer to as 'career-related dissatisfactions'. These might occur to a student as well as to a staff member. One of the women who was interviewed had been committed to becoming a professional practitioner, but had failed the interview. Interview.

Gabriel A. Almond, et al., 'The Appeals of Communism (Princeton University Press Princeton, New Jersey, 1954), p 300. professional course, and felt very strongly that she had 'lost face' when another woman who had formerly been her pre-clear [patient passed with flying colours. Another interview respondent failed the course twice and lost much of his enthusiasm for the movement in consequence. Yet another had believed himself capable of professional practice but had been unable to afford the course which would qualify him, and which the Org insisted that he take.

Some staff members, particularly in the leadership echelons of the movement, regarded themselves as virtually indispensable and able to assert their own views in independence of, or even in opposition to, Hubbard. They became disaffected when they were removed from authority, and were reduced to the same status as ordinary staff, and subjected to the same indignities. Others felt that their relationship with Hubbard, or their long-standing in the movement, entitled them to superior status and income, which they did not receive.

4. For some, dissatisfaction with Scientology was the result of their own metaphysical development. They gradually found that their own philosophies were diverging from that of the movement. Others, beginning to have doubts about the theory and techniques of Scientology, came to hear of one of the schismatic developments and pursued it, either dropping their association with the Org, or being expelled in consequence. One questionnaire respondent replied to the question 'Why did you leave?' as follows:

I left because I met something far better, Truth itself I thought, which helped my understanding of anything to increase ' A small proportion of those interviewed simply felt that the more they learned of

understanding of anything to increase

A small proportion of those interviewed simply felt that the more they learned of Scientology, the less it had to offer them, or the more vacuous they found it to be. One woman found moral objections to some of the OT courses. The aim of the OT 7 course, which she described as attempting to implant a thought in another person's mind, she regarded as a form of 'Black Magic'.

5. Dissatisfactions for some were based on more practical considerations. A number of those interviewed claimed that the failure of the results they had expected to materialize was one cause of dissatisfaction. Some, for example, were thoroughly committed to the notion of Clear and were not convinced that some of those declared Clear in fact were so. One interview respondent said:

You meet Clears and OTs who are meant to have tremendous abilities and you find

them making little mistakes you don't expect them to make.

Such considerations were sometimes a cause of growing doubt, which might be compounded when at times the techniques were not found to be successful when used on oneself or on those one was auditing. Some found that their 'gains' from auditing were very short-lived, or were disappointed when they found themselves to possess no significant new abilities after Clearing or the OT levels.

6. A number of those interviewed found the expense of training and auditing a barrier to increased commitment, or a source of alienation. They lacked the

1 Interview. : Interview. resources to involve themselves deeply in Scientology and either gave up, or looked around for less expensive paths to salvation. A few had a stronger objection, regarding the leadership of the movement as largely oriented to the pursuit of profit - a conclusion which disillusioned them.

7. One important cause of defection that was reported in interviews and questionnaires occurred among followers who had had relatively little conviction of their own, but who were attached to other members whose conviction was stronger. A break with the close associate often led them to drop Scientology as well, since usually their involvement had been aimed at pleasing the more committed partner.

8. Finally, of course, there are a range of residual reasons for disaffection. One interview respondent dropped Scientology finally when it adopted the corporate structure of a church, since membership in a church was incompatible with his faith as a Bahai. Others simply drifted away from the movement when they moved home and lost contact with distant acquaintances and the Org. Generally, most of those interviewed offered a range of such reasons in their accounts of why they left the movement.

For those who were expelled, or who walked out over some particular event, the break was sharp. More often defection from the movement was a process which took some weeks or months, or in some cases years, of mounting dissatisfaction and disillusionment. They would often find means of excusing practices they found objectionable, for example, by blaming Hubbard's lieutenants for them and arguing that he must be misinformed about what was going on at the Org's operational level. Or they excused their lack of results, as directed by Hubbard's writing, by blaming the lack of skill of particular auditors, rather than the 'technology' itself.

They might stifle doubts and confusions by concluding that these were a product of their receptive minds, or by following the injunction that they should not 'invalidate' the levels and 'gains' they had received: [Did being clear live up to what you had heard?] Yes and no. I put aside the doubts because I didn't feel that it was right to doubt it. Yet I was wondering why I couldn't do the things that I was supposed to be able to do.

...one thinks, well, maybe all my doubts have been 'bank'...

Others continued in the movement out of a belief that this was the only answer available, or through attachment to others in the movement, or because they were unwilling to admit that they had

been wrong, or because they had lingering suspicions that they might be wrong now.

[...what kept you at it? Well, the feeling that even though there were hold-ups and wrong decisions made, that it was still aiming towards a better thing than anything else that was offered. Also just the inertia or momentum of the whole thing. Once you're in a group like I Interview. Interview. that, it's extraordinarily difficult to get out of it. How can you say to your friend you're a liar, a fraud and a charlatan? How can you say that, unless you are absolutely convinced? It's easier to keep in Scientology and have doubts than to get out of it with doubts.

It's a more positive thing.

Doubts are negative and they're always seen as inferior to any positive drive. So you tend to swallow your doubts. And you say: 'Well, maybe next week...' Sometimes you have incredible successes. I had a top executive who came back from the Congo with a weird disease. Did 170 hours auditing on him and he walked out a changed man. There must be some good in Scientology if it can do this much for one individual, and it wasn't just one individual.

My wife, who is a highly intelligent and sane person and not easily convinced was 3 totally dedicated Scientologists, and still is. I still feel, talking to her, maybe I have made a terrible mistake.³

Control in Scientology appeals to people with very diverse motivations for affiliation. These motivations can be broadly classified in the categories: career-oriented, truth-seeking and problem-solving. We have aimed to describe and analyze the career of the typical recruit who becomes a core member of the movement. Such a recruit typically becomes associated with Scientology as a client, seeking some specific aid, knowledge or problem-solution. He becomes attached to the movement on cognitive, experiential, or affective grounds. He comes to view his biography in terms of a vocabulary and conceptual scheme provided by Scientology theory and practice, and to see his own goals as only attainable through the achievement of broader goals specified by the movement leadership. In the course of socialization he comes to internalize the movement's normative code. His association with the movement leads to the commitment of resources and ego-involvement which make withdrawal expensive and threatening to his own self-esteem. The recruit is transformed from a client to a follower and from a follower to a client.³

A similar process would seem to be characteristic of most more-or-less totalitarian movements which seek to maximize the involvement and commitment of followers. Totalitarian movements seek to secure the total commitment of recruits rather than accepting partial or segmental commitment.

The processes outlined for typical recruits to Scientology are similar in many respects to those described by Gabriel Almond, et al., in their study of Communist defectors. The authors argue that 'at the point of entrance into the movement, the party is all things to all men'.³ A range of 'images' are presented to different sections of the recruitment catchment area. These images are described as the 'public or exoteric images of the Communist movement', fashioned to have a broad appeal and 'to suit the susceptibilities of particular audiences'.³ While Interview. Almond, et al., op. cit., p. 5.

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those who are to become party cadres are gradually inducted into the esoteric, power-seeking, goals of the Communist movement, a large proportion of recruits are not exposed to the esoteric doctrine and practice. Similarly, among recruits to Scientology, probably only a small proportion become employees or functionaries of the Org, and only a small proportion of these will be exposed to inner-movement decision-making, and strategy formulation. The majority of Scientologists, as of Communists, are only exposed to, and remain committed to, one or more of the movement's propaganda representations. Most Scientologists remain in full-time employment outside the movement, utilizing Scientology facilities only occasionally and limiting their involvement to a level compatible with their occupational and domestic responsibilities. In this respect they resemble the rank-and-file party member. As a result of their limited involvement and exposure, they remain unaware of the movement's esoteric, power-seeking orientation. 7. RELATIONS WITH STATE

AND SOCIETY

During the period between the emergence of Scientology and the centralization of operations in Washington DC, the movement made little public impact. It grew very slowly after the loss of the early mass following, although from 1950 it began to grow at an accelerated rate. While the reasons for the growth at this time are obscure, its consequences are more readily apparent.

After the disappearance of Dianetics, the movement only occasionally came to public attention, and this almost always only locally, when in the USA, Scientology practitioners were arrested for 'teaching medicine without a license'. In 1958, however, the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) seized and destroyed a consignment of 2000 tablets of a compound known as Dianazene marketed by an agency associated with the Founding Church of Scientology in Washington, the Distribution Center, claiming that they were falsely labelled as a preventative and treatment for 'radiation sickness'.⁹ The Church of Scientology maintains that the product 'Dianazene [sic] was mis-labelled because the contents did not measure up to the contents quoted on the label (a fault in the manufacturer's process)'. The Church of Scientology also later pointed out that the only labelling which referred to anti-radiation was on the manufacturer's bulk shipment, not on the bottles made up by Distribution Center Inc. However, the relevant federal legislation allows a wide interpretation of 'labelling'. In a book published by the Scientology organization, part two of which is accredited to L. Ron Hubbard, Hubbard gives a formula for Dianazene which approximates...

not an honest

not honest; trillion (not

Therefore-

Figures cited during a later tax case indicate that the income of the Washington Church almost doubled between 1956 and 1957

('Brief for the United States', Founding Church of Scientology v. USA in the US Court of Claims, Washington, DC., r 967

5 A schismatic publication, the ABC report reports that in 1955, two Scientologists were arrested on such a charge in Detroit, and placed on probation. See ABC, 2, (October 1955), p. 13. 5 Personal communication, Food and Drug Administration, 21 January 1972. Personal communication, The Guardian's Office, November 1974.

5 About Radiation, by a Nuclear Physicist and a Medical Doctor (Publication Organisation [East Grinstead] 1957, 1967), pp. 121-4.

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mates to that found in the FDA seized tablets. He asserts that 'Dianazene runs out radiation or what appears to be radiation. It also poisons a person up against radiation in some degree. It also turns on and runs out incipient cancer.'

The Dianazene seizure received little press publicity, but marks the beginning of active interest in the movement by federal agencies. The first serious adverse press reaction to the movement in Britain occurred as a result of the activities of the headmistress of an East Grinstead private preparatory school who was carrying out Scientology exercises on her pupils for a brief period each day. Most of these exercises involved simple, repetitive, and rather innocuous commands such as 'stand up', 'sit down', etc., or communication exercises such as the teacher saying 'hello' and the children replying 'all right' for a few minutes. The exercise that led to the press outburst involved the pupils following the directions: Close your eyes. Concentrate. Now imagine you are dying. Imagine you are dead. Now you have turned to dust and ashes. Now imagine you are putting the ashes back inside yourself. The press reports referred humorously to those periods as 'Death Lessons'.³

After conducting preliminary investigations into the E-meter during 1962, the FDA again raided the premises of the Founding Church of Scientology in Washington early in 1963 to seize examples of the E-meter, and associated literature. On this occasion, unlike that of 1958, the FDA clearly saw an opportunity to exhibit their importance as agents of the public interest, meriting the appropriations of public funds which they received. The raid was accompanied by considerable publicity, the press, it was said, having been forewarned.⁵

...recent hearings before the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure exposed certain activities of the Food and Drug Administration to be disgraceful and completely contrary to the protective guarantees of our Constitution. Perhaps the most shocking of these exposures, involved the raiding of a premises here in the nation's capital. This raid was reminiscent of a bygone era when large numbers of Federal and local law enforcement officials set upon centers of gangland activity. True to form, this recent raid was preceded by intelligence from an FDA spy planted on the premises. In authentic Hollywood style, FDA agents and marshals descended on private property while local police roped off the street and held back the crowds. Press reporters and photographers accompanied the agents while they ran through the premises, banged

on doors, shouted and seized what they viewed as incriminating evidence.S

Ibid., p. t24.

Dally Mail, 29 November 1960.

' Daiiy Mail, 28 November, tg60; Paulette Cooper, rhe Scandal of Scientology, (Tower, New York, 1971), p. 102.

4 George Maiko, Stientology: the Now Religion (Dell, New York, 1970, p. 75.

S Evidence before the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, reprinted in Church of Scientology, rht Findings on the US Food and Dtrg Agsncy (Department of Publicaæions World Wide, Church of Scientolusy, East Grinstead, 1968), p. g2.

' Senator Edward Long, Congtcsssional Record, 8 September 1965. This descnption of The FDA seizures gave Hubbard cause to reamrrn the attitude of his organization to the press:

The reporter who cones to you, all smiles ard withholds [sic, 'wanting a story', has an AMA inshgatrd release in his pocket. He is there to trick you into supporting his preconceived storr. The story he will write has already been outlined by a sub-editor from old clippings and AMA releases.l

In the subsequent suit, the FDA charged that:

...the labelling for the E-meter contains statements which represent, suggest and imply that the E-meter is adequate and effective for diagnosis, prevention, treatment, detection and elimination of the causes of all mental and nervouS disorders and illnesses such as neuroses, psychGses...arthritis, cancer, stomach ulcers, and radiation burns from aton ic bombs, poliomyelitis, the common cold, etc. and that the article is adequate and effecive to improve the intelligence quotient...which statements are false and misleading...'

The seizure action led to the ftrst serious press attention to Scientology in ten years in Arnerica. Much of it was hostile, and supported the FDA action. The Scientologists, however, reacted with considerable indignation, subsequently referring to the FDA with an uncharacterishc sense of irony, as 'an agency behaving as a sort of cult, with an almost fanatical urge - to save the world a

The FDA raid v as rported throughout the English-speaking world, and in the state of Victoria in Australia it added fuel to a dehate which had been taking place in the mass media over Scientology. In Victoria, Scientology had been under observation for some years by the Mental Health Authority, and the Australian Medical Association, which had sought to bring the activities of the movement to the attention of members of the government. agency behaving as a sort of cult, with an almost fanatical urge-to save the world.'J

During the period 1960 to 1965, Scientology received a great deal of unfavourable publicity in Victoria. The Melbourne newspaper, rulh, attacked the movement in a serie of feature articles. In November 1964 the Leader of the Opposibon, the Hon. J. W.

Galbally, in a speech to the Legislative Council of the Parliament of Victoria, referred to the FDA raid in Washington and alleged that Scientology was being used for blackmail and extortion and had seriously affected the mental well-being of undergraduates at Melbourne

L. Ron Hubbard, CO Polity Teer 14 Augwt 196g, cited in Kevin Victor Anderson, Peort of thJ Board of Enqriry into Scientoloey (Government Pnnter, Melbourne, Australia, 196\$), pp. 200-201.

' Cited in MaLko, op. cit., p. 76.

a Church of Scientolo.ly, 7 he Findings..., op. cit., p. 3.

the evenu was congenial to the Scientologists, who reprinted it in Chureh of Seientology, 7he Fmdng en the U.S. Food and Drue Aeency, (Department of Publication World Wide ;ast Grinstead, 1968), p. 27. University.1 On 26 November 1963, Mr Galbally introduced a Scientology Restnction Bill seelting to provide that fees should not be charged for Scientology services. Shortly afterwards the Victoria government agreed to establisL a Board of Inquiry into Scientology.

The Hubbard Association o Scientologists International (HASI) in Australia initially co-operated with the Board of Inquiry but withdrew its representatives in November 1964. The Report published in 1965 presented an unmitigated condemnation of the movement. In the Report, Anderson, its author, formu lated a number of phrases which were subsequently to be quoted throughou the world:

Scientology is evil; its techmques evil; its practice a ;erious threat to the community, medically, morally and socially; and its adherents sadly deluded and ofte] mentally ill 2 The appeal of Scientology is at times deliberately directed towards me wea, th am ious, the disappointed, the inadequate and the lonely...' The principles and practices of Scientology are eontrary to accepted principles and practices of medicine and science, and constitute a grave danger to the health, par ticularly the mental health of the community.

Scientology is a grave threat to family and home life 6 been unable to find any wormwhile redeeming feature in Scientology. rt constitute a serious medical, moral and social threat to individualrs and to the community generaliy,;

He described Scientology processes as having a 'brainwashmng effect'. One disinterested commentator observed of the Report that it

betrays a considerable lack of the objectivity and detachment necessary for proper scientific evaluahon of evidence. The language i5 often highly emotive, and argument proceeds by the use of debating device5 rather than by the scientific method.' The immediate result of this Report was the passage, in December 1965, of the Psychological Practices Act (1965) whmch banned the practice of Scientology; banned the use of the E-meter except by a registered psychologist; and empowered the Attorney General to seize and destroy Scientological documents and recordings.

It was not until 196 5 that mention of Scientology began to appear systematically in the Brihsh Press. The first reports indicated

in the Times Index concern I anstrd (State of Victoria), Vol. 273,
rg November 1963. 5 Anderson, op. cit., p. n 3 Ibid.

' Ibid., p. 2. ' Ibid. ' Ibid,

Terence McMullen, 'Statutory Declaration', manuscript originally
delivered to a Joint Meeting of the Sydney University Psychological
Society and the Libertarian Society in 1968 - copy made available
to me by Dr McMullen, but reprinted in White Paper appended to Adelaide?
A report on the Select Committee on Scientology (Prohibition) Act, no
publisher stated [The Church of Scientology (1973), p 50 the
Australian Inquiry and Hubbard's subsequent threats to sue the
Victoria Government. Shortly afterwards, a number of other British
newspapers discovered Scientology to be newsworthy. All cited the
Victoria Report at length. In January, the News of the World
reported a young Scientologist's disconnection from her mother. In
February, Lord Balniel, MP, then the Chairman of the National
Association for Mental Health, asked whether the Minister of Health
would initiate an inquiry into Scientology in Britain, referring in
his question to findings of the Anderson Inquiry.³ The Minister
replied that he would not, but the question itself roused the
Scientology leadership to a vigorous reaction. In a series of
documents issued in February 1966, Hubbard outlined a policy to be
followed in the face of proposals to investigate Scientology. The
basic principle of this policy was that critics of Scientology
should themselves be investigated and their past crimes' exposed
with 'wide lurid publicity'.⁷ A Public Investigation Section was
established to pursue this end. In March, The People, under the
headline: 'One man Britain can do without', published the story of
a private investigator recruited by the Scientology organization to
advise on setting up [his section. Lord Balniel, it appears, was
to be the first person to be investigated.

Other newspapers developed these themes. The Daily Mail was one of
the movement's most severe critics, publishing a front page story,
in February, which challenged Hubbard's credentials,⁷ and, in
August, the story of Karen Henslow, a schizophrenic who had been
working at Saint Hill Manor (which had by then

a schizophrenic who had been working at Saint Hill Manor (which had
by then become the headquarters of the movement), and who was
returned to her mother's home one night in a deranged state. This
case became a cause celebre when Peter Hordern, MP for Horsham,
referred to it in the House of Commons in the adjournment debate of
6 March 1967.⁵ Geoffrey Johnson Smith, MP also spoke, referring to
the

...many open-minded people in the town of East Grinstead, whose
judgement on matters of this kind one can trust, [who are
seriously disturbed by the activities and objectives of this
organisation...¹⁷

The Minister of Health, Kenneth Robinson, in his reply referred
to a resolution sent to him by East Grinstead Urban District
Council in December 1966, expressing 'grave concern' about
Scientology and its effects on the town and its

News of the World, 10 October 1965; the Sun 6 October 1965; Daily
Mail, 22 December 1965; the Times, 6 October 1965.

' News of the World, 16 January 1963.

3 Hansard, House of Commons, Vol. 724, 7, February 1966.

9 Sir John G. Foster, Enquiry into the Practice and Effects of Scientology (HMSO, London, 1971), pp. 140-5 Ibid., pp. 40-9; L. Ron Hubbard, HC Policy Letter, 25 February 1966. The Police, 20 March 1966. Daily Mail, 14 February 1966.

Daily Mail, 23 August 1966. Hansard, House of Commons, Vol. 742. Ibid. people. Liberal reference was made to the Anderson Report and Mr Robinson concluded of the Scientologists:

What they do...is to direct themselves deliberately towards the weak, the unbalanced, the immature, the rootless and the mentally or emotionally unstable, to promise them remoulded, mature personalities and to set about fulfilling the promises by means of untrained staff, ignorantly practising quasi-psychological techniques, including hypnosis. It is true that the Scientologists claim not to accept as clients people known to be mentally sick, but the evidence strongly suggests that they do.'

During 1967 reports continued to appear concerning 'disconnections', and the growth of the Sea Org.

Reactions to the Scientologists in the area of their headquarters had not improved and the East Grinstead Urban District Council refused planning permission for extensions to their premises. The ensuing inquiry by a Ministry of Housing Inspector, in July 1960, gave an opportunity for Scientology's neighbours to voice their feelings. The Scientologists were accused of accosting people in the streets; of boycotting East Grinstead shops and services; of visiting local schools in an attempt to give instruction in Scientology to pupils; of bringing foot-and-mouth disease to the district; and of allowing 'a mentally deranged member of your establishment' to range at large over a neighbouring barrister's estate.³ The view adopted by the Minister of Housing was that these accusations had little to do with the subject of the inquiry. He permitted the Scientologists' appeal against the UDC in a decision finally rendered in 1969.⁴ In July 1968, Mr Robinson announced in a statement to the House of Commons that during the previous two years the Government had 'become increasingly concerned at the spread of Scientology in the United Kingdom'.

The Government are satisfied, having reviewed all the available evidence, that Scientology is socially harmful. It alienates members of families from each other and attributes squalid and disgraceful motives to all who oppose it; its authoritarian principles and practices are a potential menace to the personality and well-being of those so deluded as to become its followers; above all its methods can be a serious danger to the health of those who submit to them. There is evidence that children are now being indoctrinated.'

The Government had therefore decided to take action to 'curb the growth' of the movement in Britain. Scientology organizations would no longer be recognized as educational establishments for the purpose of admission of foreign

I Ibid.

S Jews of the World, 19 November 1967.

S C. H. Rolph, *7elteue What You ke* (Andre Deutsch, London, 1973). pp. 66-7; *7he rmes*, IgJuly 1968.

Dady elegra>h, m August 1969.

S Hansard, House of Commons, Vol. 769, z5 July 1968. nationals; Scientologists would therefore no longer be eligible for admission to the UK as students, and no extensions to entry or work permits of foreign Scientologists would be allowed. Thereafter, up to June 1971, some 145 aliens were refused admission to Britain to study or work at Scientology establishments.1

In 1968, Acts were passed banning the practice of Scientology in the states of South Australia and Western Australia.2 (The Act banning Scientology in South Australia was repealed on 21 vIarch 1974, that in Western Australia was repealed in Iay 1973.) A petition was presented to the ew Zealand Parliament asking for an Inquiry into, and Government action against, the movement there.2 In South Africa, Scientology had been criticized in Parliament during 1966, and in rg68 became the defendant in an achon for defamation initiated by Dr E. L. Fisher, the MP most active in Parliamentary criticism of the movement, who had been libelled in a Scientology publication.3 In the USA the FDA won a decision ordering the destruction of the seized E-meters and in the same year, 1967, the tax-exempt status of the Washington Church of Scientology was revoked.

In the face of fierce criticism in the press and various national parliaments, the Church of Scientology, in lovember 1968, promulgated a Code of Refotm, including: Cancellation of disconnectmn as a relief to those su6fering from familial suppression . z. Cancellation of;rcllrityv theckinr as a form of confecion. n Cancellation of disconnection as a relief to those suhfering from familial

suppression. 2. Cancellation of security checking as a form of confesaion. 3. Prohibition of any confessional materials being written down. 4. Cancellation of declaring people Fair Game.s

These reforms the Church of Scientology claimed were a response to public criticism of the practices concerned. This action was too late, however, to prevent the British government establishing an Inquiry into Scientology in January 1969; and the South Afncan government from doing so in April 1969.7 Already by mid-1g68, however, the severe Bntish government action against Scientology had begun to cause some doubts to appear about the justifiability of these actions. Questions were raised as to why Scientology had been singled out for such treatment when various other cults and sects which seemed to Ibid., Vol. 820, 2gJune 1971.

' Seientology Aet, 1968 - Western Australia; ScientoloSy (Prohibition) Act 1968 - South Australia.

; Sir Guy Richardson Powles and E. V. Dumbleton, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Hubbard Scientology Organisation in J'ew Zealand (Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, 1969), p. 8.

G. R Kotze et al, Report of th6 Gmmission of Enquiry into Srientology for rg7z (Government Pnnter, Pretoria, South Afriea

[1973]), p. I tg. S Ibid., P. 153.

oster, op. cin 7 Kotze, et al., op. eit., pp. 2-3.

RELATIO?IS WlTtt STATE AID SOCIETY

197 behave in a similar fashion were not.1 MPs queshoned the logic of banning people

coming to this country to study something which we now admit we know so little

about that we have to set up an inquiry.3

The New Zealand Commission of Inquiry reported in June 1969 in mild tones, recommending no changes in legislation and observing that if Scientology kept to its Code of Reform there should be 'no further occasion for Government or public alarm...'3 Such a finding must have been heartening to the Scientologists who, in October 1970, further modified their practices by dropping the vanous penalties which attached to the assignment of an individual to a 'lower condition' .4

In 1969, the Scientologists also scored a success in the United States, when theyappealedagainstthedeisionofafederaljuryinlg67infavouroftheFDA, which directed that seized E-mcters and literature should be destroyed. The US Court of Appeals reversed this decision in February 1969, on the ground that the Founding Church of Scientology had made out a prima facie case that it was a bona fide religion and that the E-meter was related to its religious dogma, and therefore not subject to the Court's condemnation.5 The FDA retained the items seized pending a decision on appeal. In a final action in which the FDA sought condemnation of the E-meter in 1971, the Federal Judge ruled that the E-meter had been misbranded and its secular use was condemned. However, he further ruled that it might continue to be used in bona fide religious counselling if labe led as ineffective in treating illness.6

The Report of the Bntrsh Inqurry conducted by Sir John Foster was pubshed in December 1971. This Report also contained passages of undoubted comfort for the Scientology organization, Among these, Sir John observed that he disagreed:

profoundly with the legislahon adopted in both Western and South Austrajia, in turn based on part of that adopted in Victoria, [sic] wbereby the teaching and practice of Scientology as sueh i5 banned. Such legislation appears to me to be discnminatory and contrary to all the best traditions of the Anglo-Saxon legal system.7 He advocated the establishment of a Psychotherapy Council to control the practice of psychotherapy, whose ranks Scientologists should be allowed to join provided they could satisfy the Council's requirements. The Report argued that it was wrong for the Home Secretary to exclude foreign Scientologists

1 C. H. Rolph, 'Why pick on Scientology? JView State\$man (z3 August 1968), p. 220; Quintin Hogg, 'Political parley', Pneh (14 August 1968), pp. 230-1.

7 ansard, House of Commors, Vol. 776, 26January 1969.

owles and Dumbleton, op. cit., p. 58.

: Foster, op. cit., p. 128.

fi Malko, op. cit., pp 76-7; srihatrie Jlews, arch 1969. Washington Post, 31 July Igj]; DenterPost, 14 August 1971. Foster, op. cit., p. 181 (empkasis in the oniginal). when there was no law against Scientology being practised by their British colleagues.

The South African Commission of Enquiry reported in June 1972. It recommended the passage of legislation to provide for the registration and control of psychotherapists; to make illegal 'disconnection', 'public investigation', 'security checking' and similar Scientology practices; and to control psychological testing, and the dissemination of 'inaccurate, untruthful and harmful information in regard to psychiatry and the field of mental health in general'.¹ Assuming that these recommendations were implemented, the Commission held that 'no positive purpose will be served by banning the practice of Scientology as such'.²

In Australia, it would appear that an attitude of increased tolerance for Scientology had begun to prevail. The electoral victory of the Labour party resulted in the registlation of the Church of the New Faith, a Scientology organization, as a recognized denomination for the purposes of the Marriage Act, and the authorizaoun of its nominated personnel to undertake the lawful solemnization of marriage. In May 1973 the Western Australia Scientology Act v. as repealed.

Socia inuoluemen

While the movement developed no active programme of involvement with the wider society during its Dianetics phase, the emergence of Scientology produced a progressive transformation of this situation. Increased involvement by such means as the establismment of 'front organizations' and infiltration, can be seen as an attempt to achieve two distinct goals on the part of the movement leadership. First, increased involvement was seen as a propaganda and promotional activity designed to spread the name and basic beliefs of the movement to a wider potential clientele. Hence one prominent goal was that of recruitment. Second, particularly as sections of the public became increasingly hostile toward Scientology, increased involvement by vanous means appears to have been seen as a method of control (creating a 'safe space for Scientology'). The similarity of these apparent goals to those suggested by students of the Communist Party as rationales for aspects of its social involvement, give grounds for some expecta-tion that there might also be similarities in the means employed in the pursuit of these goals.⁴

Shortly after the incorporation of the Church of American Science and the Church of Scientology in New Jersey late in 1953, a Freudian Foundation of America was established in Phoenix, Arizona. While the Churches offered degrees as Doctor of Divinity, the Freudian Foundation offered certification as

I Kotze, et al., op. cit., p. 252 No such legislation has yet materialized.

S Ibid., p. 232

S Gmmonueath Gazetle, 15 February 1973, p. 20.

Philip Seiznick, he Ore:nisahona Veapon (Pree Press, Giencoe, 1960). 'Psychoanalyst', or 'FreudianAnalyst'.⁵ Hubbard proposed that the Foundation be established, but it was run by a prominent Scientologist, Burke Belknap. It appears to have been less successful as a marketing device than the Church, however, and was shortlv abandoned.t

With removal to Washington DC, a number of new organizations were started. The Society of Consulting Ministers provided a useful business-card title for harassed Scientolo Ministers. The American Society for Disaster Relief uas also isted on the Founding Church of Scientology letter paper, although it does not appear to have been activated. Among Hubbard's projects in Washington was the formation of a political party, the Constitutional Administration Party, in which his wife held executive office. Its manifesto, circulated to Scientologists, contained much high-minded rhetoric appealing to the Constitution and the rights of the individual against the unconstitutional behaviour of the Department of Internal Revenue and the

...Supreme Court Justiee who does not recognize the rights o the majority, but who stresses the rights of the minority and who uses psycholot Y tetibooks written by Communists to enforce an unDopular opinion...i

At the same time, Hubbard had plans for establishing a corporation, the Citizens of Washington Inc., with much the same programme e:cept that it emphasized an additional item, namely that members should mount a campaign demanding that citizens of the federas capital should have the same voting rights as other Americans. Hubbard had a rather grandiose view of the role this organization was to play:

The ground in the District of Columbia at this time is npe for subversion and only the Citizens of Washington Inc is capable of exercising a power of restraint upon the citizens. Should a depression strike which is extremely likely in view of the Republican withdrawal of funds we may find ourselves in the role of not only protecting [sic] the citizens of the city from the wrath and carelessness of the Federal Government, but the Federal Government from the wrath and forthright vengefulness of the citizens of this area.g

Hubbard planned to establish a newspaper through the sale of bonds, and later buy radio and television 'facilities'. As in the case of the Constitutional Administration Party, no direct link with Scientology was to be displayed, but their activities were to be monitored by a further corporation, Scientology Consultants Inc. I one of these plans seems to have gone far beyond the drawing board.

See the Ghost of Seientology, t6, April rgs4, p2Interview.

S 'The Campaign of the Constitutional Administration Party of Amenea', eircular (1956), p. 2.

4 L Ron Hubbard, from r dictation tape provided by an informant, dictated some time during 956.

Another project was that of establshing United Survival Action

clubs. This project was promoted on the basis of fear about the possibility of nuclear attack:

...Survival Clubs bill permit a large section of the American public to survive a national disaster...The United States is the only country in the world which is organized to be destroyed by an atomic bombing [sic]...Yet, our leaders act as though they were safe and secure in the possession of 'defences against atomic weapons'. There are no defences against atomic weapons except the defences which will be erected by the Survival Clubs.'

Scientists were therefore encouraged to begin organizing such clubs, although the purpose of promoting Scientology was evidently more important than civil defence:

The real and actual reason we want these people organized in clubs is not to protect them from atomic bombing, although this is a very worthwhile reason, but to raise their individual capabilities.

During the late 1950s, the movement leadership also began more vigorously to attack orthodox medical and psychiatric practice. One agency for this assault was the National Academy of American Psychology founded at a Scientology-

'It is time', Ron said to the Congress, 'that we cleaned up the filthy field of psychotherapy'. He explained that we were impeded by the barbaric conduct of psychotherapy in the United States.

One of the main reasons is government fear of psychological subversion. In that

One of the main dangers is government fear of psychological subversion. In that vested psychotherapy in the United States is Euro-Russian, and in that the government will sooner or later discover this, it is time we took the initiative in reforming the practice of psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis.

The 'National Academy' was established with an executive board of Scientology personnel. It proposed to circulate a loyalty oath 'to all psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, as well as ministers of various denominations who engage in mental practice'.⁴ The loyalty oath contained the following clauses to which such individuals were expected to swear: (o) To refuse to practise 'Brainwashing' upon American citizens. (3) To actively prevent the teaching of only foreign psychology in public schools

and universities. (g) To refuse to contribute money, dues or my services to organisations which

knowingly impede American scientific research programmes or which work to

discredit American psychologists to the public. (18) To accept as fellow psychologists only the psychologists adhering to this code

and to speak no word of criticism in public of them.'

L. Ron Hubbard, 'Survival Clubs', *Certainly*, 5, 3 (1958), p. 7. t Ibid., p. 6. 'National Academy of American Psychology', *Certainly*, 5, 5 (1958), p. 4. Ibid. t Ibid., pp. 4-5 See this: a housewife, already successfully employing Scientology in her own home, trained

to professional level, takes over a woman's club as secretary or some key position. She straightens up the club affairs by applying common practice and making peace, and then, incidental to the club's main function, pushes Scientology into a zone of special interest in the club children, straightening up marriages, whatever comes to hand, and even taking fees for it.... Government could also be infiltrated on the same basis.

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Having circulated the loyalty oath, the NAP then proposed to maintain a register on which all those who signed and returned the oath would be declared 'safe', while

those who ignore it or refuse to sign it before witnesses are listed as 'potential subversive'. Those who rail against it are listed as 'subversive t

Signatories were to be 'offered an opportunity to have the National Academy verify their credentials' for a charge. A Newspaper advertisements were to be run asking the public to patronize only practitioners with an NAAP Certificate, which Scientologists were to be offered for \$25.00 (others having to pay \$80.00 for 'verification of credentials' and certification).³

As well as establishing peripheral organizations, the movements' leaders advocated the infiltration of organizations and political agencies as a means of promoting Scientology and extending control over its social environment. Generically, this was known as the 'Zone Plan'. It could be operationalized in a zone of special interest in the club - children, straightening up marriages, whatever comes to hand, and even taking fees for it....⁴

Government could also be infiltrated⁵ on the same basis.

...a nation or a state runs on the ability of its department heads, its governors, or any other leaders. It is easy to get posts in such areas...Don't bother to get elected. Get a job on the secretarial staff or the bodyguard, use any talent one has to get a place close in, go to work on the environment and make it function better. Occasionally one might lose, but in the large majority, doing a good job and making the environment function will result in promotion, better contacts, a widening zone.

Anderson reported that one Australian Scientologist who had affiliations with the Australian Labour Party proposed to infiltrate and win over the Labour Party leadership for Scientology.⁷

1 Ibid., p. 7. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid., p. 8.

4 L. Ron Hubbard, 'Special Zone Plan', Comm Mag, 2, 6 (June 1960), cited in Anderson, op. cit., p. 154.

6 The Scientologists point out to me that 'advised' would be a more neutral word than 'infiltrated'. 'Advice' provided by such means seems to me to be part of what is involved in infiltration.

6 L. Ron Hubbard, 'Special Zone Plan', op. cit.

7 Ibid-, pp. 154-5. An interview respondent indicated that he had proposed a similar plan. Infiltration tactics have also been employed for recruitment purposes by a new religious movement, The Unified Family. See John Lofland, *Doomsday Cult* (PrenticeHall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966) . I have myself seen this tactic in operation by Unified Family Members at the meetings of other cults. The tactic is also not 202

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Another technique employed from time to time was that of establishing a committee or society, whose leading personnel would always, covertly, be Scientologists, which would concern itself with public morality, mental health, the state of the nation, or some other public issue. An Australian example was the formation of a Citizen's Purity League in Melbourne inaugurated by a Scientologist who heard of the idea on one of Hubbard's tapes. Its executive committee was composed of HASI members, but the links with Scientology were not publicized. A campaign was started to secure public membership and support on morality issues.

The aim of this Citizens' Purity League would be to reach a point of prestige and influence in the community that would enable it to carry out a plan of clearing, first the State Police Force, and then those engaged in the governing of the State of

victoria.D

Such tactics are said to have been employed in more recent years. Informants allege that the Scientology leadership indirectly organized a 'Loyalty Petition to Parliament' in the late 1960s which advocated that psychiatrists, psychologists and psychotherapists declare before a Justice of the Peace that they were neither in the pay of foreign governments nor members of any movement or party which aimed to subvert the Constitution and Parliament of Great Britain. Several thousand signatures of members of the public were secured, but it was found that the Petition was not drawn up in a form proper for parliamentary presentation.D presentation D Thrrrv;

Interview respondents also alleged that they were encouraged to form

Interview respondents have also alleged that they were encouraged to form committees with highminded titles for promotional purposes. The aim of such committees was to create a political lobby to promote the publication of material in the press related to such issues as the 'evils of psychiatry', 'brutality in mental hospitals', 'communism', and other issues on which the Scientology leadership had expressed a position. Whenever possible prominent public figures unconnected with Scientology were approached to join the roster of patrons for such committees and associations. One such body known as the Association for Health Development and Aid among whose patrons, executive and consultant doctors were a number of Scientologists, managed briefly to secure the support of the Bishop of Southwark.

Other committees and associations clearly have a more specific and ad hoc purpose. One explored by the Jeros of the World was entitled the Citizens' Press Association. The group was established after reports concerning Scientology appeared in the press of the

World, and sought to secure the support of other

I Mary Sue Hubbard, HCO oveyskttDr r4 April r 961.

D Ibid.

D Interview.

Rolph, op. eit., pp. 5g-4; Letter to the author from the Bishop of Southwark. uniamiliar from the history of the CommuniDt party. Nathan Leited, Operntiontl Coer of)hDPoiit6zro (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951).

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203 'victims' of this paper for the introduction of legislation to 'cope with these papers and prevent any further wrongs being committed'P No associaton with Scientology was indicated in the letter from the Citizens' Press Association, although a spokesman for Scientology later admitted to :ews of the World reporters, 'that this was one of our ideas...'3

As well as such covert organizations, Scientology openly sponsors or assists a variety of organizations engsged in pressure-gToup or welfare activities.3 A major pressure gTOUp openly supported by the Church of Seientology and predominantly composed of Scientologists is the Citizens' Commission for Human Rights. This organization seeks to bring pressure to bear on administrators of mental hospitals and members of government, by direct means and through press reports, to improve conditions in mental hospitals, protest against involuntary committal, physical and psychopharmacological modes of treatment, psychosurgery, and what are referred to gencrically as 'psychiatric atrocities'.

A prominent welfare organization sponsored by the Church is Narconon, which operates a drug programme employing Scientology techniques. It claims a very high rate of success, and omcial support in America and Scandinavia. Letters from various addiction facilities and prisons, in reply to my requests for information, indicated that arconon was generally admitted to such facilities on the same basis as other community-based, volunteer, self-help groups. Replies were received from eight facilities in the USA listed in a Scientology publication as 'supporting' the Narconon programme. Four indicated that the programme was in operation and received unqualified support, as did most other volunteer self-help groups. Three indicated that the programme had met ith little success and had died of attrition, while the final reply indicated that the programme had been cancelled some time previously by the prison director.4 (this may not, however, be a true refection of the status of Narconon. The City of Los Angeles, for example, recognized Narconon's contnbution in a 'Resolution' which highly commended its efforts in twenty-five programmes, half of which were in penal institutions, and which had 'achieved remarkable success, in that 85 per cent of those in the program released on parole have no further involvement in the criminal justice system...')5

I Letter from Citizens' Press Association cited in JVES of the World, 24 August 1969. t Ibid.

3 Such front groups and organizations are not uncommon among more recent sectanan moements. On the front groups of the Japanese

manipulationist sect Soka Gakkai, see James W. White, *The Soka Gakkai and Mass Society* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1970), p. 13. On those of the Communist Party, see Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weave* (Free Press, New York, 1952), pp. 27, 44. On those of the Nazi Party, see William Ebenstein, *The Nazi State* (Farrar

Rinehart, New York, 1943) p 59

4 Letters to the author.

5 'Resolution' adopted by the Council of the City of Los Angeles, 1 March 1974, copy made available by the Church of Scientology.

A further welfare organization associated with the Church is Applied Scholastics Inc, the aim of which is said to be to provide an educational programme for slow learners or potential educational dropouts. This programme also employs Scientology techniques.¹ The Church of Scientology supplied, in a letter to the author, the names of a number of US educational establishments in which the programme was said to be operating. Not all of these could be traced. Of five such institutions approached, four could not trace any programme in association with Applied Scholastics - although the programme may have been operating on an unofficial basis. The fifth institution located 'an informal program'.⁵

Scientology's most vocal social involvement is in its campaign against orthodox psychiatry and the methods which it currently employs. To promote this campaign, a 'newspaper', *Freedom*, was established in 1963. It concentrated on vilifying psychiatrists; attacking the practices of mental hospitals; and impugning the motives of supporters and leaders of the mental health movement and its organizations, such as the National Association for Mental Health.⁶

The Scientology movement secured a great deal of publicity when its members began demonstrating outside the offices of the National Association for Mental Health with banners reading, 'Psychiatrists maim and kill' and 'Buy your meat from a psychiatrist'⁴ during early 1969, and when later that year it was discovered that between 200 to 300 Scientologists had secured membership in the NAMH.⁶ The enormous increase in applications to the NAMH does not in the NAMH.⁵ The enormous increase in applications to the NAMH does not appear to have merited attention until, shortly before the scheduled Annual General Meeting in November, nominations began arriving for office in the NAMH which included known Scientologists such as David Gaiman, an Assistant Guardian of the Church, who was nominated for the office of Chairman of the NAMH. The Association hastily insisted on the resignation of over 100 recently admitted members, rendering them ineligible for attendance at the Annual General Meeting, and a lengthy period of litigation ensued, in which the Scientologists sought reinstatement. Their actions to this end proved unsuccessful.⁵ Recourse to the law courts has been a frequent occurrence for the Scientolo-

I See the Banc Study Manual, compiled from the works of L. Ron Hubbard (Applied Scholastics Inc, Los Angeles, 1972).

Letters to the author.

⁵ Such attacks led to the settlement of a libel action in favour of

Kenneth Robinson as a result of his suit over a Freedom article.

' C. H. Rolph, *Believe What You Like* (Andre Deutsch, London, 1973), pp. 52, 102.

6 Ibid., p. 102.

1 Ibid., passim. The Scientologists' version of these events is the subject of David R. Dalton, *Two Disparate Philosophies* (Regency Press, London, 1979). See also my review of this work 'Convert or Subvert', *The Spectator* (29 December 1979). The Scientologists' arguments are also rehearsed in Omar V Garrison, *The Illudicrous Story of Scientology* (Arlington Books, London, 1974). Often this recourse has been pursued in reaction to criticism of the movement by individuals, newspapers or books. At one time at least thirty-six libel writs were outstanding in Britain against newspapers. Writs have also been issued against East Grinstead Councillors who expressed disapproval of the movement, and recently against a number of senior police officers alleging libel in an Interpol report. Probably the most significant libel action in which the movement was involved was in respect of a television broadcast in July 1968, in which Mr Geoffrey Johnson Smith MP stated, in reply to a question, that the Scientologists

direct themselves towards the weak, the unbalanced, the immature, the rootless and

the mentally or emotionally unstable.⁴ This action was decided against the Scientologists.

Books critical of Scientology have often been the subject of extensive litigation.⁵ At one stage in the litigation connected with Cyril Vosper's *The Mind Benders*, a High Court Judge was reported as saying of applications by the Church of Scientology that its author and a newspaper editor be committed to prison for contempt of court, that these actions were deliberately taken 'to try to stifle any criticism or inquiry into their [the Church of Scientology's] affairs',⁷

Models of Deviance

Scientology is a deviant religious movement. Its deviance lay initially in its rejection of the 'facilities...culturally provided for man's salvation...'¹ In this respect it is not unique. Scientology shares characteristics with other forms of sectarianism Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soka Gakkai, etc., but among the many contemporary deviant forms of religion, Scientology appeared for a while to become something of a *bête noir*, an object of special attention in the mass media, the courts and national legislatures. Scientology was publicly portrayed as 'an evil cult',⁹ and a 'serious threat to the community'. Laws were passed prohibiting its practice in three states of Australia, and aliens were prohibited from entering Great Britain to pursue its study. The pejorative and stigmatizing terms which were often employed to describe it, and the relative severity with which Scientology was treated on occasion, suggest that this

Rolph, op. cit., p. 63. ¹ Ibid., p. 6r. *The Evening Standard* 11 December 1973; *The Times*, 15 December 1973. ⁴ Rolph, op. cit., p. 75

⁶ I discuss five such works in my article *Religious sects and the*

fear of publicity', New Society (7 June 1973), pp. 545-7. ' Cyril Vosper, *The Mind Benders* (Nexille Spearman, London, 1971).

Daily Telegraph, 4 March 1972. ' Bryan R. Wilton, *Magic and the Millennium* (Heinemann, London, 1973), p. 21. ' The People, 19 March 1967

' Anderson, op. cit., p. 6

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movement might fruitfully be examined from the theoretical perspective of the sociology of deviance.

The nature of the debate surrounding Scientology, and some of the rhetoric that appeared during its course, suggest that at times Scientology was viewed in a manner approaching moral panic. Stanley Cohen has defined moral panic as

a condition, episode, person or group of persons which emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media .. I

Drawing on Talcott Smelser's definition of panic, we may add that it can be understood as involving a collective sense of an immediate, powerful, but ambiguous threat to deeply held norms or values, for the preservation of which it is seen as urgent to take some action.²

This section is specifically concerned with the question of the relationship between the development of Scientology and the reaction to it from state agencies and society at large, particularly in the way this was portrayed in the mass media. The relationship between deviance and societal reaction has been an important focus of endeavour in the sociology of deviance, and three simplified models of the nature of this relationship may be extracted from the literature.

The first model which we may call the classic model relates deviance and societal reaction as a simple matter of unidirectional causation:

The first model which we may call the classic model relates deviance and societal reaction as a simple matter of unidirectional causation:

Deviance

Societal reaction

Deviance, on this view, is essentially unproblematic. It lies in the infringement of social norms which are consensually held. Deviance develops as a result of processes internal to the deviant, and in due course provokes reactions of disapproval from conforming groups and individuals, and the mobilization of agents of social control.

This view informed most early speculation and theorizing concerning criminality. Due to differences in physiology, psychology, or early life-experience, criminals were held to have some differentiating

characteristics) which led them to violations of the law. The reaction of agents of social control was seen as a relatively straightforward process of identifying and dealing with norm violators. Hence the accounting procedures and official statistics generated by social control agents could be employed by social scientists with some conviction that they reflected, more or less directly, occurrences of deviance in the 'real world'. This view of the nature of the relationship between deviance and societal reaction has tended to be the 'official' view. It generalizes the account of this

' Stanley Cohen, *Devils and Moral Panics* (MacGibbon & Kee, London, 1972), p 9

2 Nils Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behaviour* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,

62) .

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relationship typically held by agents of social control, moral entrepreneurs and the mass media. The assumptions upon which this model rests, however, have come under considerable criticism during the last fifteen years from proponents of the second model.

We can refer to the second model as the *Itthelling* model. Deviance on this view is seen as essentially problematic. Social norms and values are regarded as having at best sub-cultural rather than general cultural acceptance, and infringements of norms are seen as regular and widespread. Deviance is therefore a characteristic attributed to another, or a label assigned to him, which he is led to accept by public degradation and stigmatization, and coercive control. In Becker's oft-quoted words:

...social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular persons and labelling them as outsiders... The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

reaction as a similarly simple matter of unidirectional causation, but in the reverse direction to the classic model:

Such an extreme formulation is not altogether a 'straw man', Lemert, for example, states that:

...older sociology tended to rest heavily upon the idea that deviance leads to social control. I have come to believe that the reverse idea, i.e. social control leads to deviance, is equally tenable and the potentially richer premise for studying deviance in modern society.' This model is evident in David Cooper's notion of schizophrenia, which he defines as:

...a micro-social crisis situation in which acts and experience of a certain person are invalidated by others for certain intelligible cultural and micro-cultural (usually familial) reasons, to the point where he is elected and identified as being 'mentally ill' in a certain way, and is then confirmed (by a specifiable but highly

arbitrary labelling process) in the identity 'schizophrenic patient' by medical or quasi-medical agents.'

I Since what I am seeking to do here is to erect three models for heuristic purposes, rather than to characterize accurately the way this perspective has generally been employed, I shall draw it in extreme terms, ignoring particularly those sociologists who combine, or draw no distinction between, this model and the following one, and I shall create a distinction where they would not.

r Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (Free Press, New York, 1963), p. 9.

S Edwin M. Lemert, *Social Pathology* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951).

David Cooper, *Psychiatry and Anti-Psychiatry* (Paladin, London, 1970), p. 16 In order to define or dramatize the normative boundaries of society, moral entrepreneurs and social control agents select among a range of available norm-violators those suitable for labelling. On some accounts, the labelling model provides a conspiracy theory of deviance-generation. A 'victim' is selected who is 'scapegoated' by others and forced into a deviant role, more or less coercively, from which he may not be permitted to escape. Appeal is frequently made to this model by those identified as deviant, as an account of their own situation.

The third model can be referred to as the deviance-amplification model. This model, elaborated initially by Leslie Wilkins to account for gang delinquency, has since been employed to explain among other things, the development of 'Mods and Rockers' as a social problem,³ and the nature of the societal reaction to drug-taking.: In its simplest form the deviance-amplification model suggests the possible sequence: . Initial deviation from valued norms

leads to 2. Punitive reaction

which leads to 3. Further alienation of the deviants

which leads to 4. Further deviation

which leads to 5. Increased punitive reaction

which leads to (3)...etc., in an amplifying spiral.

Cohen discusses this process as it affected the identification of the Mods and Rockers as a social problem and the subsequent attempts to control them.

Minor acts of rowdy and irritating behaviour at a seaside resort during Easter Weekend 1964 were exaggerated and distorted enormously by the press, which presented the incidents as episodes of uncontrolled vandalism and violence. The media reports were instrumental in the creation of a stereotype accepted and reinforced by social control agents on subsequent occasions. Future bank holiday weekends were viewed with fearful anticipation by residents, businessmen, and police in seaside communities, leading to a propensity to over-react to the behaviour of the young people. The latter in turn were attracted to the resorts in increased numbers by the possibility of a repetition of the previous incidents,

I Gresham Sykes and David Matza, 'Techniques of neutralisation',
American Journal of Sociology 22 (December 1957), pp. 664-70;
Miriam Siegler, Humphry Osmond and Harriet Mann, 'Laing's models of
madness', British Journal of Psychiatry 105 (1969), pp. 947-58

' Leslie T. Wilkins, Social Deviance (Tavistock, London, 1964) pp.
87-94, reprinted in W. G. Carson and Paul Wiles, eds, Crime and
Delinquency in Britain (Martin Robertson & Co., London, 1971), pp.
219-26.

Cohen, op. cit.

Jock Young, The Drug Trade (Paladin, London, 1971). and identified
themselves with one of the two stereotypical factions portrayed by
the media

The inevitable friction between police and Mods and Rockers was
further dramatized in the mass media, and by the courts, and
sanctioned by heavy fines and some cases of imprisonment,
De-amplification, Cohen suggests, finally set in as a result of the
severity of social control. Potential deviants were

frightened off or deterred by actual or threatened control
measures. After being put off the train by the police before
arriving at one's destination, and then being continually pushed
around and harassed by the police on the streets and beaches,
searched in the clubs, refused service in cafes, one might just
give up in disgust. The game was simply not worth it...the
amplification stops because the social distance from the deviants
is made so great, that new recruits are put off from joining it

The models of the relationship between deviance and social control
outlined above are suggested as competing hypotheses to account for
developments in the relationship between Scientology and society.
While empirically rather than normatively directed, they have clear
implications for the attribution of responsibility for the process,
and those involved therefore tend to have an interest in promoting
one theory rather than another. The Scientologists themselves are
clear that model two best characterizes their brief history: To
understand why the Church of Scientology ever needed stiff internal
discipline in the past to defend a perimeter against overwhelming
odds - it is necessary to look in the past to defend a perimeter
against overwhelming odds - it is necessary to look at the
situation which existed at those times, which forced the Church to
develop policies to handle outside threats. Which came first, the
strict internal ethics policies, or the threat which they were
designed to cater for?'

The implication here, and elsewhere, is that Scientology has been
the victim of a concerted campaign ultimately sponsored by the
World Federation for Mental Health for its 'forthright' stand
against 'psychiatric atrocities':

An analysis of 20 years of attacks shows a very plain pattern.
First, several extremely vicious newspaper and magazine articles
are published. Investigation by Church officials has shown these
often to be commissioned articles. Reprints or copies are then made
of these articles and are sent to every government or private
agency which might be in a position officially or unofficially to
censure or take action against the Church After a period of time in

which several articles have been sent, these agencies then receive a letter basically expressing the following; 'See how public opinion is against this group. Don't you think something should be done?' (

The moral entrepreneurs and social control agents who have opposed Scientology may be assumed to regard the situation in something like the terms

Cohen, op. cit., p. 202.

' Anonymous, 'Attacks on Scientology and "attack" policies - a wider perspective, photocopy of manuscript, n.d., made available to me by the Church of Scientology. (My emphasis.)

'Anonymous, 'Scientology: the Jehovah's Witness: false report correction, mimeo, n.d., made available by the Church of Scientology. proposed in the first of the foregoing models, although I have found no explicit statement which propounds this view of events, and reconstruct their position from the course of official action. In contrast to both these views I shall argue that model three most adequately characterizes the process that developed.

Howard Becker and others have stressed that social problems are in part at least a consequence of moral entrepreneurs. Some individual, or group of individuals, must generate public concern and mobilize public opinion or the opinion of legislators and law enforcers that 'something needs to be done', about the object of concern. This moral enterprise may be exhibited by any number of individuals and agencies, variously motivated. Gusfield has described how the Woman's Christian Temperance Union originally formed part of the general progressive, humanitarian movement for social reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its adherents were members of socially dominant groups whose secure social position permitted them to feel sympathy for the plight of immigrant workers, and led them to organize to seek the conversion of individual drinkers.

After the repeal of prohibition, the WCTU found itself in a changed situation. Abstinence was no longer a norm of the dominant middle class. As drinking became increasingly acceptable, the total abstainer became a figure of ridicule, and the WCTU lost its upper-middle-class members. The movement increasingly adopted an attitude of moral indignation and a policy of coercive reform toward drinking as lower-middle and lower-class members found their values repudiated by the upper and middle classes.

Donald Dickson offers a persuasive account of the role of the Bureau of Narcotics in the passage of Federal legislation against marijuana, suggesting that the primary motivation was to improve the position of the narcotics Bureau as a bureaucratic agency in a period of declining appropriations. Generating anxiety about marijuana use was a means of impressing upon the public and Congress that the Bureau was an important agency which should be maintained, even expanded.

The generation of moral panic may therefore be motivated in some cases by status anxiety or bureaucratic insecurity, or 'empire building'. It may, of course, also arise from sincerely felt conflicts of values. Whatever its sources, the mass media are

usually central to its propagation. As various studies have suggested, the operation of the mass media is to some extent constrained by commercial objectives. Fulfilment of these objectives may lead to exaggeration and distortion in the presentation of news concerning 'social problems'. Howard Becker, op. cit., Chapter 8.

'Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1963); and 'Social structure and moral reform: a study of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union', American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), pp.221-32.

Donald T. Dickson, 'Bureaucracy and morality: an organisational perspective on a moral crusade', Social Problems, 16 (1968), pp 143-56. The mass media operate with certain definitions of what is newsworthy. It is not that instruction manuals exist telling newsmen that certain subjects (drugs, sex, violence) will appeal to the public or that certain groups (youth, immigrants) should be continually exposed to scrutiny. Rather there are built-in factors ranging from the individual news-man's intuitive hunch about what constitutes a 'good story' through precepts such as 'give the public what it wants' to structured ideological biases, which predispose the media to make a certain event into news.

The media typically build upon labels imputed to individuals and groups, elaborating a stereotype which will render the phenomenon intelligible and predictable to the readership in terms of general cultural images

in the moral crusades

Those who have filled the ranks of the anti-Scientology crusade have fallen into a number of discrete categories, with distinct motivations for involvement:

1. State agencies - such as the FDA in America and the Mental Health

Authority in Victoria 2. Doctors and psychiatrists (and to a lesser extent ministers of religion) and

their professional bodies 3. Disgruntled ex-Scientists 4.

Relatives of Scientists 5. Neighbours of Scientology 6. Members of Parliament 7. The Press.

While one would not wish to impugn the motives of any of those involved in demanding action against Scientology, it is clear that however righteous their moral indignation, such a crusade had useful and desirable consequences for each group. Characterizations of Scientology as a 'fraud', 'brainwashing', 'hypnosis', or 'quackery', served to legitimate attitudes adopted by the crusading groups and individuals, and their demands for social control of the movement. The interests of several of these groups directly conflicted with those of Scientology. Doctors and psychiatrists have persistently attacked Dianetics and Scientology, tending to resent the therapeutic claims made by their adherents particularly in respect of fields, such as severe psychological disorder, in which they had themselves experienced little concrete success. They also scorned the brief and unorthodox training of its practitioners in comparison with their own lengthy and arduous process of qualification. State agencies appear sometimes to have seen in Scientology an opportunity to impress legislators and the public

with their zeal for the public protection, and the good use to which they put public funds. Former Scientologists and relatives of members may sometimes have seen in Cohen, op. cit., p. 45. 212

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stigmatization and government action against the movement a means of selfjustification. If Scientology was a form of hypnosis or brainwashing, then this could justify and explain their involvement in, and devotion of considerable resources to, a movement which they now repudiated. Similarly relatives could explain the involvement of spouses or children in the movement as a result of fraud or brainwashing, and thereby excuse what might otherwise have been conceived as a failure on their own part. Some of Scientologys neighbours in East Grinstead appear to have found the presence of the movement in a respectable middle-class townshmp a source of irritation and embarrassment.

The Press and Members of Parliament have an institutionalized interest in taking up a moral crusade of concern to customers or constituents. The two MPs most active in the British criticism of the movement were the MP for East Grinstead, the constituency containing the movements headquarters, and the MP for a neighbouring constituency, Horsham. The Press found sensational copy in Scientology and the allegations made about it, and as Young has pointed out:

The mass media in Western countries are placed in a competitive situation where they must attempt constantly to maintain and extend their circulation. A major component of what is news-worthy is that which arouses public indignation. Thus the media have an institutionalised need to expose social problems, to act as if they were the personified moral censors of their readership Reality conflict

were the personified moral censors of their readership⁹

Reality conflict

Scientology confronts the conventional world with a deviant reality of massive proportions. Unlike a belief-system such as spiritualism, it does not merely add another level to existing reality with only marginal implications for conventional life.⁸ Rather, it offers a total Weltanschauung, a complex meaning system which interprets, explains and directs everyday life by alternative means to conventional, common-sense knowledge. Particularly in the area of the psychological life of man, it offers a radically competing theory to those prevailing in orthodox scientific circles and among those which look to them for the authority for their beliefs. The somewhat precarious status of the sciences of the person, and the therapeutic arts dependent upon them, have led their practitioners to be particularly sensitive to belief systems and practices which challenge their authority. The proponents of orthodox psychological healing practices have managed to secure no more than a tenuous claim to public legitimation as possessors of some unique professional expertise.^a Like many radical belief

I Jock Young, *he Druetahers*, (Paladin, 1971), p. 103.

⁵ On ⁸spiritualism, see Geoffrey . Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969).

3 Harold L Wilensky, 'The professionalization of everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (1964), pp. 137-58, reprinted in Oscar Grusky and George A. Miller, eds, *The Sociology of Organizations* (Free Press, New York, 1970), p 489. systems, and in this respect no more than early Christianity, Scientology also presented a competing claim to the loyalty typically owed to the family. Unlike early Christianity, however, Scientology emerged in an era when the family had become a somewhat fragile institution, and its claim to a higher loyalty under some circumstances was thus peculiarly threatening.

A further important feature of Scientology's challenge to prevailing reality lay in its ambiguous status. Western conceptions of religion, grounded in the Christian experience, identify religious institutions and practices in terms drawn from that tradition and its vicissitudes. Religious institutions are distinguishable from secular institutions. The boundaries between church, business, science, and to a lesser extent psychotherapy, are relatively clearly drawn. Scientology infringed these boundaries and refusing to recognize any necessity of occupying one category rather than another, behaved in ways characteristic of them all. It was thus a source of cognitive anomaly and psychological anxiety. Since it behaved as a business as well as a religion (and that of a singularly alien form), many argued that its religious claim must be purely 'a front', and Scientology 'a confidence trick'.

Scientology's challenge to conventional reality remained unimportant while the movement itself was insignificant. However, there are indications that during the late 1950s and early 1960s Scientology began to grow rapidly. Figures cited during the American tax case indicate that the income of the Washington Church almost doubled between 1956 and 1957. The Victoria Report shows a steady growth at least from 1958 through 1962:

Income of Scientology Organizations in Melbourne

Year ended 30 June ;

8
12 150
959
3 5
60
47 75
61
57 640
62
71 977
63

relations to personality and the social

structure', in T. Parsons and R. F. Bales, *Primary Socialisation and Intergroup Contact* (Free Press, Glencoe, 1956), pp. 3-21. t Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966). a This anxiety seems evident, for example, from the almost audible sigh of relief uttered by the American Psychiatric Association when Scientology was legally declared a religion in a Federal Court, and they could henceforth regard it as beyond their domain. *Psychiatric News*, 4, 3 (March 1969), p. 2. ' *Founding Church of Scientology v. L-USA in US Court of Claims, Washington, D.C.* 1967, 'Brief for the United States'. 6 Anderson, op. cit., p. 38. The Foster Report indicates that in Britain, the movement's income roughly doubled every year between 1965 and 1968.1

Scientology was clearly having a considerable impact, recruiting individuals away from conventional reality. Moreover, the individuals recruited were not by any means marginal in conventional terms. Many were prosperous. Businessmen and professionals were converted as well as the less successful.

For some, particularly Anderson, Scientology's conflict with conventional reality was a moral affront. The Victoria Report reverberates with Anderson's indignation that anyone could believe such a 'weird idea',⁹ such 'nonsense',^a so much that it was entirely contrary to conventional learning and experience', 'irrational and perverted'.^s He appears to have found it perverse and indeed 'incredible that a witness with such high academic qualifications, could voice such nonsense...'⁹ and was forced to conclude that Hubbard's followers were 'deluded',⁹ or in the grip of 'some inescapable compulsion'.⁹ How otherwise could one account for the fact that apparently rational men could come to hold such bizarre and alien beliefs, than that they were 'hypnotized' or 'brain-washed'? Scientology posed a threat not only to the precarious domains of psychological treatment and family life,⁹ but to the fabric of conventional reality itself. Derogation-amplification and Scientology

Since its early days Scientology has been an authoritarian movement with only

Since its early days Scientology has been an authoritarian movement with only one source of authoritative definition of reality, its founder Ron Hubbard. The debacle of Dianetics in the early 1950s convinced Hubbard that two major dangers threatened the survival of his organization - attacks from outside the Scientology community inspired by medical and psychiatric interests, and threats from within, in the form of heresy, 'individualism' and schism. Both these perceived dangers need to be considered to understand the movement's development. While the response of the movement's leadership to the latter was sectarianization, its response to the former appears to have been a complex combination of strategies involving the generation of peripheral organizations, infiltration, and undercover tactics designed to secure some control over the external environment. One important means of securing greater control over

Foster, op. cit., p. 36. 9 Anderson, op. cit., p. 48. 9 Ibid., p. 59

t Ibid., p. 48. 5 Ibid., p. 12. 9 Ibid., p. 52. 7 Ibid., p. Sn
Ibid., p. 52.

9 One of the most penistent complaints against Scientology during this period was that it broke up families. he evidence in support of these elaims, however, does nDt appear very strong. Scientology does not appear to cause familial disruption to a greater extent than other systems ot beliets to which one family member holds with great conviction but the rest rject. Indeed, it is my impression that it causes lest familial disruption than some contemporary communitarian groups, and perhaps les than the early Christian church. the movements environment was through a more aggressive use of ehe techniques of public relations. This could be directed to the dual end of increased mobilization of recruits to the movement, as well as increased control.

Unless you have control of the Public, driving the Public into the Org becomes a difficult task. This is why PR control is so irnportant. Once you have the control, it is easy to bring in the public, in the thousands and millions ! It is also needed to protect org expansion from attaeks by opposition groups. PR is a social technique of control.

How do you do this? Well, you get all the people who oUNT in the area - the VIPs, the community group, news media, under YOUP. control. Then you USE these public control points to get the raw public in. Simple !1

(The Scientologists point out to me in a private communication that 'the authenticity of the quote is doubtful'.)

One response of the movement to a hostile environment appears to have been a process of eDiance-amplihcaton. In the late 1950S and early 19605, the gradual growth of the movement and its quasi-therapeutic claims brought it to the attention of a variety of state and professional agencies. In the pursuit of largely bureaucratic ends, the Food and Drug Administration in America, the Medical Health Authority in Victoria, the American ;ledical Association, the British Medical Association, the American Psychological Association, and similar agencies maintained a certain surveillance over Scientology, and occasionally issued public comment upon it. This led to defensive and offensive action by the Scientology organization in response. Critics were attacked, and internal security tightened. The FDA raid in 1963 inevitably led to further alienation from, and hostility towards, the state, press, and professional bodies, for what was felt by many Scientologists to be, and what was charactenzed by its leadership as, religious persecution.l

It was, however, the developments in Victoria which led to an international moral panic. There, prexs, medical and psychiatric agencies, professional bodies and disgruntled former Scientologists joined forces to promote government action against Scientology. The grounds for such action - alleged blackmail, extortion, and adverse effects on the mental health of local university students, were generally unsubstantiated by the Anderson Enquiry.

However, Anderson's Report presented, often in emotive terms, a highly negative stereotype of the movement. It instituted a moral passage in public designations of Scientology, leading to a transformation of the prevailing stereotype. The former

conception of the movement as a relatively harmless, if 'cranky', health and self-improvement cult, was transformed into one which portrayed it as 'evil', 'dangerous', a form of 'hypnosis' (with all the overtones

I Diana Hubbard, April 1971, cited in St Louis Post-Dispatch, 6 March 1974, original source not indicated.

This is the tenor of Church of Scientology, the findings..., op. cit., for example. of Svengali in the layman's mind), and 'brainwashing'. The symbolization of the movement rested largely on the putative features of its deviation, that is:

that portion of the societal definition of the deviant which has no foundation in his objective behaviour. Frequently these fallacious imputations are incorporated into myth and stereotype and mediate much of the formal treatment of the deviant.'

Much play was made of Scientology practices which were likely to cause harm; the 'potentiality for the misuse of confidences'; and activities that were 'potentially very dangerous to the mental health of the community'. Exaggeration and distortion appear throughout the Report, probably the most notorious example of which occurs where Anderson asserts that he realized he had observed a woman being 'processed into insanity' when nine days after a demonstration auditing session in which she participated, she was admitted to a mental hospital.⁵

The Anderson Report provoked not only a legal ban on Scientology in Victoria, but a reaction in many other English-speaking countries. In 1966 Scientology became the subject of a question in the House of Commons, as well as of numerous unfavourable press reports, many of which drew directly upon Anderson's rhetoric and stereotyping. Hubbard was also requested to leave Rhodesia where it appears he may have hoped to settle. In 1967 Scientology came under the scrutiny of the Ontario Committee on the Healing Arts.⁶ The process described by amplification theorists began accelerating: came under the scrutiny of the Ontario Committee on the Healing Arts.⁷ The process described by amplification theorists began accelerating:

...when society defines a group of people as deviant it tends to react against them so as to isolate and alienate them from the company of 'normal' people. In this situation of isolation and alienation, the group...tends to develop its own norms and values which society perceives as even more deviant than before.⁸

What Scientologists regarded as their 'persecution', experienced at a personal and not merely at an organizational level, resulted in the rapid development of a severe sense of alienation from the surrounding society, and the development among core members of new norms conceived to be essential for the movement's survival, although regarded by the conventional society as further evidence of Scientology's deviance. This alienation is evident in passages such as the following:

I Edwin M. Lerner, *Social Pathology*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951, pp. 55-6. 2 Anderson, op. cit., p. 4. Ibid., p. 1. (My emphasis.

' Ibid., p. 108. (My emphasis.) ' Ibid., p. 135.

: This is suggested in Christopher Evans, *Cults of Unreason*

(Harrap, London, 1973), p. 85; Daily Mail, 14 July 1966.

7 John A. Lee, *Sectarian Healers and Hypnotism: a Study for the Committee on the Performing Arts* (Queen's Printer, Toronto, Ontario, 1970).

Jock Young, 'The role of the police as amplifiers of deviance, negotiators of reality and translators of fantasy, [etc]', in Stanley Cohen, ed., *Images of Deviance* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1971).

Scientology regards ordinary society as something akin to, a dense jungle of intrigue, lies, confusion, illness, violence and sudden death covered with a thin social veneer of mildness.¹

This sense of alienation and imminent threat led to more severe policies of internal control, and led the leadership to draw further away from contact with the Society, geographically as well as symbolically, with the creation of the Sea Org. The trend towards sectarianism was heightened, and sectarian practices such as disconnection led to further hostile commentary. In response to this hostile and threatening environment, Scientologists began to take what they construed as defensive action by more vigorous attacks on critics through legal actions, and investigation for past 'crimes'.²

Some of the individuals and organizations which have been critical of Scientology, or have commented on it in a fashion which the Scientologists disapprove, have found themselves the victims of various, often unexplained misfortunes. The South African Report describes the case of Dr E. L. Fisher, MP, who on several occasions requested the appointment of an inquiry into Scientology in the South African parliament.³ Fisher in due course became the object of attack in a Scientology broadsheet 'teeming with baseless defamatory innuendoes of and concerning Dr Fisher'.⁴ As a result of a subsequent action for defamation Dr Fisher received 'substantial damages', and an apology.⁵ The Commission of Enquiry also indicate that in 1967, Dr Fisher became the object of a stratagem designed to induce him to procure an illegal abortion. The Scientology leadership argued that the responsibility for this subterfuge lay with the proprietor of an investigation agency whose services they had employed to uncover Fisher's 'past crimes'.

The Dutch Mental Health Centre (Nationaal Centrum Voor Geestelijke Volksgezondheid) in Utrecht suffered a theft of its files relating to Scientology. The two young men who committed the theft were caught by accident in a police check on driving licences. Because of their frightened behaviour, the car

1 Anonymous, 'Scientology ethics policies and handling of attacks on Scientology', photocopy of manuscript, n.d., p. 16, made available by the Church of Scientology.

2 Roy Wallis 'Religious sects and the fear of publicity', *Net Society*, 34, 557 (7 June 1973). Such behaviour might be characterized as 'secondary deviation'. Lemert defines secondary deviation as: 'deviant behaviour, or social roles based upon it, which becomes [a means of defense, attack, or adaptation to the overt and covert problems created by the societal reaction to primary deviation. In effect, the original "causes" of the deviation recede and give way to the central importance of the disapproving, degradational and isolating reactions of society'. Edwin S. Lemert *Human Deviance*,

Social Problems and Social Control (Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1967), p. 17.

otze, et al. p. m 7. ' Ibid., p. 119 5 Ibid.

Kenneth Robinson, a former Minister of Health, who had criticized Scientology in Parliament, found himself the object of defamatory attacks in the Scientology newspaper, reedtm. In November 1972 a forged letter bearing his name was published by Management in Action suggesting that the cause of strikes was 'a severe mental illness' and advocating psychiatric screening of workers.³

The National Association for Mental Health and its leadership were the object of what they took to be a concerted campaign of harassment. Circulars alleging misuse of NAMH funds and scandalous behaviour at NAMH hostels, purportedly written by a staff member who had resigned, were circulated to members of the Association. Documents were alleged to have continually disappeared from NAMH files.⁴ Patrons of the NAMH and other prominent public figures (including members of the Royal family) received offensive forged letters which appeared to have been written by officers of the Association.s

was searched, and the files found. A letter which was later received by the NCgy from Scientology headquarters in Holland, admitted that the two young men had been Scientologists, but suggested that the theft was undertaken on their own initiative and 'with the highest motivation'.

A psychiatrist, Dr Russell Barton, found a private investigation agency to be conducting an investigation into his career, after he had criticized Scientology in a radio broadcast in 1970. The head of this agency was known to have had a close association with the Church of Scientology in California. Dr Barton became the object of a campaign which employed, out of context, a state-

Forged letters and documents have proved a source of embarrassment to others who have criticized or commented on Scientology. Paulette Cooper, author of a work hostile to Scientology, was the subject of a thoroughly defamatory circular, allegedly written by 'a concerned neighbor', which sought to mobilize the tenants of her apartment block to secure her 'removal from our residence, and if possible, have her put under appropriate psychiatric care'. (Representations by the Church of Scientology make it incumbent upon me to indicate that Paulette Cooper's writings on Scientology have been the subject of

1 Letters dealing with these circumstances from NCgy officials to the author.

2 Letter and documents sent to the author by Dr Barton.

Management in Action November 1972). For Mr Robinson's repudiation of this letter see Management in Action (December 1972).

4 Among such documents were letters of a private nature between Dr David Clark, Vice-Chairman of the NAMH, and its General Secretary Miss Mary Appleby. Dr Clark's letters and the carbons of Miss Appleby's replies are said to have disappeared from the Association files. Sections from these letters appear in a book highly favourable to Scientology, Omar V. Garrison, op. cit., pp. 210-13.

Interviews with officers of the NAMH; see also The Observer, 29 July 1973.

S Cooper, op. cit.

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much litigation. Sums in settlement and apologies from the publishers concerned, have been received by the Church of Scientology in respect of an article in Queen magazine, and the book The Scandal of Scientology.)

Olympia Press, the publishers of Robert Kaufman's, Inside Scientology, were also attacked by means of forged documents. These documents, circulated to newsagents and booksellers, were written on headed Olympia notepaper. They suggested that in the light of litigation in which Olympia was involved, all stocks of the firm's books should be returned for cash refunds. A further forged letter purportedly emanating from Olympia's accountants, claimed that Olympia was going into liquidation. The officers of Olympia have also alleged that illegal entry was made to their premises, that galley proofs of Kaufman's book were stolen from the printers, and that their files were tampered with.' (Representations by the Church of Scientology again lead me to note that Laurence Girodias, the principal figure in Olympia Press, is a flamboyant and controversial individual, whose methods of book promotion are not always entirely orthodox. Whether this has any bearing on Olympia's misfortunes is a matter for conjecture.)

Following the distribution of an article by the present writer, commenting on Scientology, a young man, later discovered to have been a Scientology staff member, visited the author at the university at which he was employed. He used a false name and sought to win the author's confidence. He was later found to have made personal inquiries of students and others concerning the author. Shortly following this visit, forged letters bearing official letter headings were received by various individuals, designed to be a source of inconvenience and embarrassment to the author.³ The young man who visited the university later appeared in Scientology publications as a graduate of a Saint Hill course.

Miss Cooper and Robert Kaufman both allege that they have been systematically spied on.⁴ The author of another work on Scientology, Cyril Vosper, alleges that a copy of his manuscript disappeared from his lodgings and, while on holiday in Spain, he was questioned by the police when they opened a parcel addressed to the place in which he was staying, containing obscene caricatures of General Franco. Kaufman, who is also a musician, found that his booking for a concert hall was cancelled mysteriously prior to a performance.⁵ While he was appearing on a 'phone-in' radio programme, a man telephoned, alleging that he had been a male nurse in a psychiatric hospital in which Kaufman had been a patient. He claimed to have seen Kaufman's psychiatric records and alleged

See particularly the Observer, 29 July 1973.

Roy Wallis, 'The sectarianism of Scientology', in Michael Hill, ed., A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain (SCM Press, London,

1973).

5 This and similar crses are discursed in Roy Wallis, 'Religious sects and the fear of publicity', Ne 2 Society (7 June 1973), pp 545 7

' Inter-iews; 'Statement of Complaim', Paulette Cooper v. Church of Scientology of New York, Inc.; ek., 21 June 1972.

6 Interviews. 220

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that Kaufman had been diagnosed as a 'paranoid schizophrenic with castratio: fears and homosexual tendencies.'

A further case concerns a Canadian family, the Mcleans, who became di affected wltH the movement. The mysterious and unpleasant events from whic they suffered began to occur after the Mcleans publicized some of the reasons fc. their dissatisfaction with Scientology in the local news media.

Mr Mclean claims that he shortly afterwards suffered from telephone calls to the school where he worked, of a kind which seemed designed to cause embarTassment. The family also assert that compromising Chrismas cards and telephone calls were received at their home, and neighbours received telephone calls inquiring into the Mcleans' credit-worthiness and suggesting domestic problems in the family. The local Board of Education, Mr Mclean's employers, are said to have received anonymous telephone calls implying that he was misusing Board property and student labour for his own profit. They believe that their hDuse was kept under surveillance by men in cars using binoculars The Scientology Org's Assistant Guardian was instrumental in secunng th prosecution of Mr Mclean for allegedly harassing him by repeated telephone calls. (The case was dismissed.) When Canadian Television (CTV) planned to make a film on Scientology, including the Mcleans, the television company was threatened ·with an 'inevitable suit which must follow should the show be aired'.³ In the ensuing action the Mcleans were named among the co-defendants. Members of the Scientology organisation in Toronto held a 'mock funeral' for 'lost souls' in the Ivrcleans' home town, carrying a coffin and handing out leaflets chargmg 'that the Mclean family had "betrayed all God-fearing Canadians" and was "succumbing to the mystenes of evil".' When Mr Mclean became an omcial of the Ontario high school teachers' federation, Scientologists are said to have picketed a federation meeting at which he was to speak on professional matters.

(The Scientologists assert that the Mclean's major source of disaffection concerned the refund of fees or donations paid to the organization. These were repaid to the family. The Scientologists also argue that undertakings in respect of the terms on which these payments were made, were broken by the Mcleans. Various legal actions are still in process.)

The Royal College of Psychiatry and the World Federation for Mental Health have also suflered from circumstances which appear similar in some respects to those which involved the Dutch Mental Health Centre.

During the Whitsun Bank Holiday in rg73 the offices of the Royal

College of

I Robert Kaufman, letter to the author 2 April 1973.

J I am grateful to the Mclean family for making available to me ample documentation on which the following account is based.

J Letter from S-S-of the Church of Scientology to the President of CTV, 22 April 1973.

Meleans .laeazae (June 1974), p. 27. Psychiatry were burgled. While nothing of value was touched, a file concerning Scientology, and associated correspondence, were removed. Some time earlier, in 1969, the headquarters of the World Federation for Mental Health, then situated at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital, were also burgled. Documents and headed note-paper were removed. Participants in a world mental health conference, to be held shortly after this event, were mailed a letter telling them that the venue for the conference had been changed from Washington to Havana.1

The cases briefly described above display a striking pattern in the nature of the events which transpired in these varied and dispersed settings (spying; theft of documents; forgery; anonymous or pseudonymous defamatory allegations), and in the character of the victim. In every case, those who suffered from these untoward circumstances, were individuals or organizations believed by Scientologists to be actively hostile to the movement..

Reports during late 1974 and early 1975 suggested that the Scientologists believed they could prove that they had become the object of a campaign to discredit them, sponsored by the Nixon administration, the FBI and the CIA.a

De-amplification

By 1968 external threat had reached such proportions as to render multinational ban an imminent possibility. It appears that the combination of vocal public criticism and severe internal control measures increasingly employed by the movement may have caused a loss of committed membership. The only figures available are those for successful completion of the 'clearing course'. This was not developed in its current form until 1966, at which point it was the most advanced course available. This course was in effect demoted later, when even more advanced courses were introduced. (This should, if anything, have increased the number of students taking the course.)

From 1966 to 1970

at which point it was the

Period March-December 1966 January-December 1967 January-December 1968 January-December 1969 January-December 1970 January-December 1971 January-December 1972 January-December 1973 Number declared 'cleared'

131

475 901 774 441 385 359 383

With the announcement of clearing in 1966, recruitment to the

clearing course expanded rapidly. The publicity that Scientology received during the early and middle 1960s, 29 July 1973.

8 The Guardian, 7 January 1973; Washington Star-News, 21 December 1974; Evening Standard, 6 January 1974.

9 These figures were calculated from lists of clears published in the auditor. middle 1960s drew new adherents to the movement, particularly among late adolescents and young adults, attracted by the anti-establishment image which it was gaining. Recruitment to, and completion of, the clearing course increased through 1968, but then declined, although this decline may have ceased since 1971, and a rise may have occurred since then. Clearing is a relatively advanced stage of achievement in the movement's structure and indicates a level of considerable commitment. It is not possible to say how lower-level training and auditing have been affected. Indeed the only figures published by the movement suggest that in the United Kingdom, membership in Scientology has continued to increase rapidly.¹ Since it is quite unclear how these membership figures are calculated, it is difficult to be certain of their validity. Six-months free 'membership' is given to any inquirer who wishes to join.² Thus membership itself does not imply any high degree of commitment. But at the advanced levels, the rate of growth apparently declined for several years after 1968.

These figures suggest the first stages in a process of 'de-amplification'. Publicity had become so unfavourable by 1968, and the internal regime so repressive ('puritanical' is the term preferred by the Scientologists themselves to describe this period), that new members were either not being recruited at the same rate as during the early and middle 1960s or were becoming alienated from the organization earlier - or both. The gap between society and extensive Scientological commitment may have become too wide for many to cross. 'field staff auditor' and former 'franchise operator' (that is, a self-autonomous practitioner of Scientology) confirmed that a considerable drop in recruitment had been experienced at least at the local level, following the government statement in the House of Commons in 1968,³ and a former Org Exec Sec claimed that by 1968 'stats were dropping all over the planet'.⁴ In an effort to correct this situation, the Scientology leadership attempted a major modification in policy. Between 1968 and 1970, the most severe social control measures were publicly dropped as part of a campaign to change the movement's image. hrl h

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rh A Policy Letter issued in March 1969, for example, states:

We are going in the direction of mild ethics and involvement with the Society. After 19 years of attack by minions of vested interest, psychiatric front groups, we developed a tightly disciplined organisational structure. ...We didn't know it at the time, but our difficulties and failures were the result of false reports put out by the small, but rich and powerful group of individuals who would deny man freedom. Now that we know...we will

never need a harsh spartan discipline for ourselves.

Freedo=, 37 (March 1972), p. 2. S This offer is made in most Seientology publiations. f In an interview. I nterview. ICO Policy etter, 7 March 1969, as cited in 'Scientology ethics policies .. ', o cit., p. 25.

Early in their history Scientologists had realized the advantages of being recognized as a religion. They now saw the advantages of being regarded as a denominational rather than as a sectarian form of religion. The stabilization and possible increase of recruitment to advanced courses suggest that this policy may have been successful.

De-amplification appears to have occurred on the part of agents of control as well. In Britain and Australia particularly, commitment to 'freedom of thought' and 'freedom of religion' led to uneasiness concerning the severity of state action against Scientology, and a willingness to reconsider earlier, possibly precipitate, decisions. (For example, the accreditation of Scientology in Australia by the federal government as a recognized denomination for purposes of the [arnage Act, which effectively nullified the discriminatory state government legislation.)

In the period after 1968, the organization opened its premises at East Grinstead on Sundays, invited doctors and ministers of all denominations to take courses, and developed its social reform programmes. It particularly publicized its stand as a radical opponent to institutional psychiatry, and emphasized the drug rehabilitation scheme Narconon, which the Church sponsors, The Clhurch of Scientology had therefore a strategy of de-amplification open to it which is generally unavailable to the illicit drug-user or the delinquent. That is, it had the means to promote a change of the stereotype of Scientology which had grown up. (The delinquent or drug-user can, of course, change his own appearance and behaviour, but there is relatively little he can normally do to change the stereotype regarding delinquents and drug-users as a whole.) Whether or not this strategy will be successful remains to be seen. During the penod 1970 to 1973, Scientology has been the subject of a number of books and articles by former Scientologists and others which have continued to publicize its more deviant features. In the reachon to crihcs, both in the courts and beyond them, there is evidence to suggest that the attempt by its leaders to present Scientology as a denomination, and as having accommodated to conventional reality, is still only an attempt to manipulate public relations.

The deviance-amplification model appears to be supported by the development of Scientology and the reaction to it within the wider society. Initial deviation by this movement led to hostile societal reaction which in turn led the movement to adopt strategies of defence towards, and attack upon, irs detractors, construed in turn by the press and by agents of social control as confirmation for their initial diagnosis. A set of generalized beliefs and a stereotypic characterization of the movement v ere formulated and disseminaed by the mass media and moral crusaders, leading to a pamc reaction issuing in changes in the law.

It should bc stressed, however, that amplification is not a deterministic process. 224

THE SECT: SCIENTOLOGY

The Scientology movement chose to adopt an increasingly hostile stance towards critics and the wider society. Deviance-amplification and de-amplification were the results of strategies adopted and implemented by the movement's leaders, as a means of coping with a hostile environment.

Some drop in the overt hostility of the movement's attacks on outsiders appears to have occurred as a result of the severity of governmental action, and a decline in the growth rate of committed membership. However, this 'de-escalation' may be primarily a public-relations exercise, since despite a considerable drop in moral panic and in the severity of societal reaction, the movement continues to react to criticism and commentary in a manner that suggests some persisting

A DEVIANT BELIEF SYSTEM

The manner in which members of social groups sustain 'definitions of the situation', and a sense of meaningful social order has been a prominent focus in recent sociological theory. A central thrust of this work has been to demonstrate that the conceptions of reality which prevail in human groups are socially constructed.

The objective character and moral validity of the taken-for-granted status of the prevailing institutional and cultural order and the conception of reality incorporated within it, are seen by such theorists as an accomplishment of social actors.¹

Definitions of the situation and the sense of social order are seen as precarious constructs vulnerable to disruption. Their status as unproblematic, commonsense knowledge is sustained through reaffirmation in the course of conversation and social interaction. Despite their subjective origins, however, the symbolic constructs which order the social environment come, through socialization, reification, and habituation, to be seen as objective facts limiting and constraining the behaviour of social actors. Social groups evolve mechanisms for managing, eliminating, or accommodating challenges to widely-accepted definitions of the situation. Nevertheless, they remain susceptible to such challenges.

¹ This theme has been developed from various theoretical points of view. Perhaps the most prominent work in this area has been that of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Allen Lane, London, 1967). The work of Erving Goffman is also relevant: *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Doubleday Anchor, New York, 1959); *Behavior in Public Places* (Free Press, New York, 1963); *Relations in Public* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972). Ethnomethodological writers have also contributed to this area: Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967); Aaron V. Cicourel, *The Social Organisation of Juvenile Justice* (Wiley, New York, 1967); Peter McHugh, *Defining the Situation: the Organisation of Meaning in Social Interaction* (Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1968). Also relevant are Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, 'Marriage and the construction of reality', Joan Emerson, 'Behavior in private places: sustaining definitions of reality in gynaecological examinations', and Arlene K. Daniels, 'The social construction of

military psychiatric diagnoses' - all in Hans Peter Dreitzel, ed., *Patterns of Communicative Behavior* (Collier-Macmillan, London, 1970). emanating from alien cultures, or from deviant individuals and groups within the society.¹

Such deviant groups not only challenge the social world in which they exist; they are, in turn, challenged by it. The very existence of a 'conventional' world inhabited by a majority which does not share their beliefs and practices is itself a major challenge to the legitimacy or validity of their definition of reality. The world of the deviant suffers from a discontinuity less characteristic of the world of the conventional. The deviant finds no taken-for-granted articulation between the various spheres of his life while he continues to inhabit the conventional world. His job, his bank, the bus company, etc., are not organized on principles derived from his belief system. They present a potential challenge to these beliefs rather than a reinforcement of them. The major legitimating agencies of the conventional world: the mass media, the educational institutions, the political parties, and the churches are oriented to the dissemination and support of a set of beliefs and assumptions at variance with - and perhaps sometimes in direct conflict with - those of the deviant minority group. The power institutions of the society which can be mobilized to enforce a particular definition of reality - the police, the courts, the military, and the state bureaucracy - are directed by those who are usually firmly committed to the prevailing hegemony.⁵

One strategy for coping with this problem is that of insulation or isolation from the surrounding society. Some deviant groups are able to accomplish this with greater ease than others. Communitarian groups such as the Hutterites and some Doukhobors maintained a distinctive style of life and a system of beliefs and practices radically at variance with those prevalent in the host society over several generations.³ They were particularly successful in this respect, in part because neither of these groups sought to recruit converts from outside the community. They also preserved an agrarian way of life which permitted their members to fulfil their work roles largely within the confines of the collectivity. Contact between believer and conventional society was minimized further by geographical isolation, an alien language, and by bans on marrying non-believers⁵ or participating in voluntary associations or forms of entertainment beyond the confines of the collectivity.

These methods of insulation are less readily available to Scientologists. Scientology is the product of a highly industrialized and technological culture.

1 Robert A. Scott, 'A proposed framework for analysing deviance as a property of social order', in Robert A. Scott and Jack D. Douglas, eds., *7 heortical Perspectives on Deviance* (Basic Books, New York, 1972), pp. 9-35; H. Taylor Guckner, *Deviance Pe :lity and Changt* (Random House, New York, 197

) .

2 Ralph iliband, *rhe Sae in Capialist Saciey* (Weidenfeld & Nieolson, London, ,969).

(On the Hutterites, see Victor Peters, *11 rhings Camman* (Harper, New York, .965) ;John W Bennett, *1luenan Prehren* (Stanford

University Press, Stanford, 1967. On the Doukhobors, see George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Baber, London, 1968). It finds its major support in the urban centres of advanced industrial societies. It is highly dependent upon recruitment from the general population. The high cost of its services has the consequence that the largest part of its membership must hold occupations outside the movement which secure a substantial income. Scientology also has no developed communal orientation. Members are relatively atomized and isolated from each other. Hence the movement is highly involved in conventional society, and the validity of the conception of reality which it purveys is therefore open to constant challenge.

For members this may pose a persistent problem of being required to justify the movement's world-view to others and, in consequence, to themselves. One mode of coping with this problem is to limit one's contact with non-believers by gradually dropping their acquaintance and replacing unbelieving friends and marital partners by Scientologists. A more general means of coping with the problem is one encouraged by the degree of differentiation of advanced industrial societies. Such societies display marked differentiation between the realms of work, home and other leisure activities. A high level of mobility results in the dispersal of friends and acquaintances across the ecology of the urban environment. Thus the various spheres of the individual's life may be located in distinct ecological areas with only relatively low visibility between them. The member may therefore minimize any challenge to the validity of his unconventional beliefs by simply not exposing them in conventional domains. He compartmentalizes and segregates his beliefs and behaviour.

Experience has taught me never to tell one set of friends what I'm doing in another

Experience has taught me never to tell one set of friends what I'm doing in another direction with another set of friends. I use one of the local pubs and you couldn't speak about anything to do with the occult there....You've got to have separate compartments...I had a lot of friends who hardly knew I was a Scientologist. I didn't discuss Scientology much outside.'

The movement leaders have also established a variety of mechanisms to cope with this problem, The rigorous practice of socialization incorporated in the practice of auditing and the training programmes, and the stringent social controls embodied in the Ethics system serve to render new recruits less disruptive of the status of the movement's demolition of reality. These features of Scientology produce a set of structural and motivational constraints on the articulation of criticism of its practices and presuppositions. (A number of the factors which we shall consider here have been alluded to briefly in earlier chapters.) Structural and motivational constraints on criticism

Notable in this respect is the atomization of members. The bulk of the members have formal contacts with each other only in situations structured by the

interview. : Interview. leadership: on course, at Sunday services, or at Congresses. Such meetings are arranged almost entirely to facilitate the downward flow of communication, rather than to foster general discussion or debate. They are opportunities for the

mobilization of members rather than opportunities for democratic decisionmaking. Hubbard has expressed his disenchantment with democratic forms of organization.

A totally democratic organization has a bad name in Dianetics and Scientology.... It has been found by actual experiment (L A. g50) that groups of people called on to select a leader from among them by nomination and vote routinely select only those who would kill them.'

...a democracy is a collective-think of reactive banks. Popular opinion is bank opinion. (The more committed core members do have more frequent opportunity for formal and informal contact in the context of the various social reform activities of the movement, and on such occasions as concerts by Scientology entertainers. These events are either largely expressive, or are again opportunities for the mobilization of members, rather than for debate or democratic formulation of policy.)

Collective discussion and criticism is also inhibited by the Ethics code which specifies as a 'general crime', 'Organising or allowing a gathering or meeting of staff members or field auditors or the public to protest the orders of senior'. There is also an absence of established channels for the public expression of criticism. The movement's periodical publications ceased to publish critical letters and articles from members in the early 1950s. The movement's periodical publication of criticism

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(The Church of Scientology points out to me that the following channels exist for the expression of criticism: 1. the Examiner; 2. the Chaplain; 3. the auditing session; 4. the petition line; 5. the Committee of Evidence line; 6. the Review Committee of Evidence line. Three points occur to me about these channels. They are individual rather than collective occasions for criticism; they are private rather than public; they exist to remedy deviations from policy and doctrine, not to provide means of challenging or critically debating points of policy or doctrine.)

Hubbard is accepted as possessing privileged access to the truth with regard to matters of doctrine and organization. His revelations are final and complete. Hence there can be no ground upon which they could be challenged or

I OEC, Vol. 0, p. 32. Originally a Politi Letter published in 1962

5 OEC, Vol. 0, p. 29. Originally a Political Letter published in 1965.

3 L Ron Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology Ethics (2nd edition) Scientology Publications Organization, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1970, p. 46.

The journals of Scientology ceased publication of criticism after the removal of Alpha art as a criterion in 1953. No subsequent official publication has published commentary by members critical of the movement, to my knowledge. The 'Independent' newspaper, formerly, occasionally publishes critical letters. When a new technique or belief is propounded, those which it supercedes are simply dropped from use, with only rare admission that they may

ever have been less than perfect. Doubt or criticism would therefore involve 'invalidating Scientology'; 'public disavowal of Scientology or Scientologists in good standing with Scientology Organisations'; 'inciting to insubordination'; or one of the many other Ethics offences which can be mobilized against internal critics. The member is also isolated by the Ethics codes from other institutional sources of criticism. Among the 'High Crimes' of the movement are:

Dependency on other mental or philosophical procedures than Scientology (except medical or surgical) after certification, classification, or award.'

Continued membership in a divergent group.'

(The Scientologists point out to me that a 'divergent group is a group which uses Scientology technology in a messed up fashion, not repeat not a group different from Scientology'.)a

The 'hierarchy of sanctification' that has been erected within the movement is a further institutional barrier to criticism. The member is made to realize that there is a graded progression of enlightenment and insight into the gnosis. Those on the lower rungs of this hierarchy therefore shortly recognize that much information is not yet available to them and come to believe that as more is revealed in the progression upwards, so any lingering queries, doubts and criticisms will be dealt with. The belief system also has an interesting open-ended quality. Since it is believed that everything has been revealed, at least to criticisms will be dealt with. The belief system also has an uninteresting open-ended quality. Since it is believed that everything has been revealed, at least to Hubbard, the belief system is not open-ended in the sense that new knowledge may be discovered and contributed by others. It remains open-ended, however, in the degree to which it rests on mystification. Hubbard's literary output contains large portions which it is evident that even committed and long-serving adherents find thoroughly mysterious. One witness before the Victoria Enquiry, although a Scientologist of many years' standing, admitted that he still did not understand some of Hubbard's writings, such as the 'azooms',⁴ of which the following is an example:

the static, having postulated as-is-ness, then practises alter-is-ness, and so achieves

the appearance of is-ness and so obtains reality.

Other Scientologists of long-standing whom I have approached for explanation of passages such as the following, also admitted that their comprehension of Scientology was not yet sufficiently developed for them to understand everything that Hubbard has written. ' L. Ron Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology Ethics, op. cit., p. 51. ' Ibid. S Personal Communication, November 1974.

Kevin Victor Anderson Report of the Board of Enquiry into Scientology (Government Printer, Melbourne, Australia, 1965, p. 68. 5 L Ron Hubbard, hc Creahon of Human Ability (Scientology Publications, London,

, p. 15 Self-determinism is entirely and solely the imposition of time and space upon energy flows By imposing time and space upon objects, people, self, events, and individual is Causation. [sic]

The total components of his self-determinism is the ability impose time and space. His energy is derived from the discharge of high and low different, potentials to which he has assigned time and space. Dwindling sanity is dwindling ability to assign time and space. Psychosis is a complete inability to assign.. time and space. This is, as well, will power. I

Such passages convince the member that he has a great deal more to discover before he will be in a position to criticize the beliefs and practices of the movement. They also provide an area of 'mystery' upon which Hubbard can draw in the articulation and legitimation of modifications to the currently accepted corpus of Scientological knowledge.

The authoritarian nature of the movement's epistemology entails that modification or elaboration of doctrine or practice is not something in which the individual member can participate. It is his place to receive the doctrine, not to question it. Hence, the movement's literature warns against doubt, questioning criticism, and open-mindedness. 'Persons who "have an open mind"' are regarded as 'threatening sources' and 'the policy in general is to cut communication' with them. Criticism is regarded as impeding the movement's progress:

If you find something wrong with the organisation of the HASI, its personnel or people, and if you criticise this weakly or strongly, remember you are criticising your own organisation...and if you criticise constantly and continually about the various ills to which any human organisation is subject, allowing of course that the HASI is a human organisation - you're making it just that much tougher to get this job done.'

Scientology is the 'science of certainty', therefore doubt can only be a product of the reactive mind, and a lower Ethics condition. Each of these offences may result in penalization. They will be seen as indicating that the individual is making poor progress; and that he needs further auditing before continuing with his training. Should he persist, he is likely to be seen as 'suppressive' and to be expelled. Even private criticism to friends in the movement is dangerous, since in the course of Ethics inquiry they may confess that someone has 'invalidated' Scientology, or their 'gains', and hence is 'PTS' (Potential Trouble Source), and this may lead to the exercise of sanctions.

Criticism, however, is inhibited not only among members. The movement's leaders have attempted to constrain criticism by non-members. Those who

L. Ron Hubbard, Scientology eoa (the Distribution Center Inc., Silver Springs, Maryland, 1952), p. 44.

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'Policies on physical healing, insanity and troublesome sources, SCO Policy 1, ctkr, 27 October 1964.

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'Ownership: special PAB', Professional Auditor's Bulletin, 53 (27 May 1955), p. 2-

REALITY MAINTENANCE 1. '1 A DEVIANT BELIEF SYSTEM

publicly voice their disapproval of the movement are liable to defamation; to legal action; and to threatened investigation of their private lives.³

Language is the basic building material for the construction and repair of social reality. Language 'marks the co-ordinates of my life in society and fills that life with meaningful objects'.⁴ Scientology displays an acute preoccupation with language. Hubbard has invented several hundred neologisms, for example: 'Randomity', 'itsa', 'opterm', 'midruds', 'expanded gita', 'dienturbulate', and 'as-isness'. In his writings and those of his followers, verbs and adjectives are often employed as nouns ('a withhold', 'a static') and nouns are transformed into verbs ('squirrelling', 'short sessioning'). Prepositions are used in unfamiliar ways ('at cause'), and numerous contractions and acronyms are employed ('h, IEST', 'D of P', 'Exec Sec', 'Qual', 'Org'). The net effect of this extensive reorganization of the English language is to render Scientological conversation and internal documentation all but unintelligible to the uninitiated.

The language of Scientology also serves to support the validity of its beliefs and practices. The existence of an extensive technical vocabulary impresses newcomers who see it as a proof of the scientific character of the enterprise. It serves to maintain the faith of those who may be inclined to doubt. Since, it is believed the words must mean something, failure to understand or unwillingness to accept some statement in the movement's literature can be attributed to the student having 'misunderstood' some word used in the text. Any disagreement with, or disinclination to pursue the study of, Hubbard's work is a consequence of failure fully to understand the meaning of some term that one has passed over, that, is of a 'misunderstood'. Most books currently issued by the Org now contain an 'Important Note'.

The only reason a person gives up a study or becomes confused or unable to learn is that he or she has gone past a word or phrase that was not understood.

One is enjoined to go back, locate this word, ensure that one understands it and can apply it, and then continue. If one finds there is still some point of disagreement, doubt, or incomprehension, the cause of the problem is that one has either

I For example Kenneth Robinson and Dr E. L. Fisher, discussed in Chapter 7.

4 After publicly commenting on Scientology, numerous individuals and newspapers have had writ for libel served on them by the movement's solicitors. The movement is so litigious that many editors are extremely wary of publishing articles on Scientology. See Omar V. Garrison, *The Hidden Story of Scientology* (Arlington Books, London, 1974), p. 80. Hubbard has stated that '...we should be very alert to sue for slander at the slightest chance so as to discourage the public presses from mentioning Scientology'. L. Ron Hubbard, 'Dissemination of material', *Ability*, Major I (1955), p 5.

S For example Lord Balniel, see above, p. 194.

: Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p 36. 232

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missed some other word in the text; or one has failed to understand the meaning of a word in the dictionary definition of the word one originally sought to understand; or misunderstood some word in earlier study (academic or Scientology) .

A dictionary of Scientology has been compiled, and students are obliged to check non-Scientology words in standard English (or American) dictionaries until they are able to understand the sense of any statement. Making sense seems to be accomplished by searching for a dictionary definition which conveys some meaning in the context of the statement. Thus, for example, in the case of the phrase: 'One can only do things with which he can exchange communication', the student might have to scour several dictionaries to locate some definition of 'communication' which will permit him to gloss this phrase as: you can only do things if you can make contact with someone. This process is necessary to be involved in a sane adjunct to doing them. If some

an acceptable (albeit trivial) gloss is not achieved, the student may have to look for definitions of further words either in the definitions of 'communication' or in words he has earlier misunderstood. He may be required to read the passage which is being checked on the E-meter to see if some reaction occurs on another level. He may be required to demonstrate the word or even his misunderstanding of it, by using various bric-a-brac to provide a visual model. Finally all appeal may be made to the student not as a human being but as a thetan. He may not be able to exchange with anyone.

He may not be able to provide a visual model. Finally all appeal may be made to the student not as a human being but as a thetan. He may not be able to exchange communication with anyone, whatever, as a human being, but he could as a thetan.

The logic of this process is that it disagrees with, doubts, or fails to comprehend Hubbard, not because he is talking nonsense, but because of misunderstandings. The individual leans to doubt his own judgement; to locate some meaning in the undoubtedly mystical content of much of Hubbard's writing or to acquiesce to some half-comprehensible and yet half-incomprehensible statement in the hope that all will be made clear to him at some later point. There is now an elaborate 'Study Technology' employed to assist those who are slow in grasping the principles of the movement.

'Word-clearing' currently forms an important part of the lower level courses. Unless the student quickly finds an acceptable gloss for misunderstandings, the process is extremely tedious. For him to make sense of the material leads to delays before the student is allowed to begin the courses on general Scientology theory and practice for which the fees come to the Org. If, as is often the case, students are renting accommodation near the Org, such delays are also a source of further expense. Hence there is considerable motivation to repress doubts and difficulties. The student learns to observe in the text or to elicit from the

'Course Pack' for the Communication Course

This was the sequence of events which transpired when the author failed to make sense of this phrase while engaged on the

instructor, cues as to what will constitute an acceptable interpretation. The process of 'word clearing' therefore leads to a further suspension of the individual's critical faculty, or to its inhibition, and to the ready acceptance of Hubbard's formulations as intrinsically meaningful.

Interpretation

Under the label of interpretation we shall explore the processes by which Scientology deals with challenges to its validity by referring them to its ideology and identifying them as predictable deviations. Berger and Luckmann discuss two aspects of this process, therapy, and nihilism.

Therapy entails the application of conceptual machinery to ensure that actual or potential deviants stay within the institutionalized definitions of reality, or, in other words, to prevent the 'inhabitants' of a given universe from 'emigrating'. It does this by applying the legitimating apparatus to individual 'cases'.¹ Since therapy must concern itself with deviations from 'official' definitions of reality, it must develop a conceptual machinery to account for such deviations and to maintain the reality thus challenged. This requires a body of knowledge that includes a theory of deviance, a diagnostic apparatus, and a conceptual system for the cure of souls . '

Like psychoanalysis, Scientology contains conceptual machinery for the interpretation of failure and opposition. The application of the belief system in terms of therapy³ has been touched on earlier. Doubt, disbelief, and deviance are attributable to 'Bank', to the Reactive Mind. They are believed to manifest themselves through 'down-statistics' and through 'failure to make case gains'. People who are in contact with suppressives, for example, are said to 'roll coaster'. That is, their 'case' may improve for a while and then deteriorate. The remedy in such a situation may involve Ethics action and further auditing. Dissatisfaction with the results of auditing is also attributable to 'withholds', or to a faulty auditor. Since the practice is held to be uniformly effective if properly applied, it follows that failure to achieve some 'gain' from auditing might be a consequence of 'withholds' on the part of the individual being audited (that is, failure to disclose some thought or deed which should have been reported); or a consequence of the auditor employing 'out-Tech' (that is, some practice not approved, or in a manner not approved, by Hubbard). The responsibility for lack of success from auditing lies always with either the preclear or the auditor, never with the theory and technique.⁴ Remedies are again available through Ethics action or further auditing.

¹ Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., p. 130. ³ Ibid., pp. 130 ff.

⁴ In Berger and Luckmann's rather than the medical sense.

i here are no auditing failures There are only errors in auditing.'
Professional Auditor's Bulletin, some time in 1968.

JVihilaion is the application of conceptual machinery to the management of challenges emanating from outside the collectivity. It involves endowing the sources of any such challenge with a negative cognitive status,¹ and accounting for it in terms of concepts drawn from the accepted ideology. Nihilation in Scientology rests mainly on the application of a general conspiracy theory to any criticism of, or hostility toward it.

Psychiatrists and supporters of the mental health movement are the leading figures in the conspiracy against Scientology. Psychiatrists are inhuman beings who seek to rule the world. Politicians, state and international agencies are pawns in their strategy to subvert the free world, a strategy that only the Scientology movement is capable of resisting.

These psychiatric front groups have a very thorough programme of Western de 1. Destruction of the Constitution. 2 . Eradication of boundaries. 3. Easy seizure of anyone. 4. The 'right' to torture or kill. 5. Eradication of all churches. 6. Destruction i f sexual morality.

7 Deprivation of future leaders by the creation of dope addiction in schools. All those things and more are to be found throughout their campaign literature, their advices to members and their little puppet political supporters;'

We're playing for blood. The stake is Earth. If we don't make it nobody will. We're the sole agency in existence today that can forestall the erasure of all civilization or bring a new better one.'

The leaders of the psychiatric profession and mental health movement are claimed to have had close links with the emergence of Nazism.

We have traced their origins to two years before Hitler and have traced the Nazi death camps and Nazi philosophy to this group.⁵

Psychiatrists have infiltrated positions of political power and influence. They seek to promote the rise of fascism in order to encourage a communist reaction which will, in the resulting disorder, take over the free world.

The psychiatrist has masters. His principle organisation, World Federation of Mental

Health [sic] and its members, the National Associations of Mental Health, the 'American' Psychiatric Association and the 'American' Psychological Association are directly connected to Russia. Even the British Broadcasting Company has stated that psychiatry and the KGB (Russian Secret Police) operate in direct collusion. A member of the WHMF, [sic] sits on every 'Advisory Council' of the US Government, to name one government.

Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., p. 132

' Ibid., p ' 33

' ;rcedom 5 (1969). : Ot, Vol. O, p 72.

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'Enemy f nances ag Ordes of the Day, 4 April tg7n Ministers of Health or Health Authorities are members of the National Association of the WFH. The psychiatrist has masterS t Since 1938 the psychiatrists and psychologists have advanced a long way toward their goal of power seizure. They employ terrorism, corruption and blackmail to cow political henchmen. They have taken over education not only in Universities but even in the lesser schools, and are producing a submissive degraded generation over which to ruled

Only Scientology is Svorking for the salvage of western civilisation, working effectively...'.5 Hence it is the only barrier to the psychiatric-communist take-over, and therefore subject to attack.

Every single lie, false charge and attack on Scientology has been traced directly to this groups members. They have sought at great expense for 19 years to crush and eradicate any new development in the field of the mind. Of twenty one persons found attacking Dianetics and Scientology with rumours and entheta, eighteen of them under investigation were found to be members of the Communist Party or criminals, usually both.5

Attacks on Scientology can be explained by Scientology theory through the concepts of 'overt' and 'withhold'.S Critics of Scientology have comrnitted crimes which they have not admitted (that is, which they have withheld). Such individuals fear the ability of Scientologists to discover the truth.

Unfortunately the person who does not want you to study Scilentogy Is your enemy as well as ours. When he harangues against us to you as a 'cult', as a 'hoax', as a very bad thing done by very bad people, he or she is saying 'Please, please, please, don't try to find me out'. Thousands of such protesting people carefully invesbgated by us have been found to have unsavoury pasts and sordid motives they did not dare (they felt) permit to come to light. The wife or mother who rails against a family member who takes up Seientology is, we regret to have to say, guided by very impure motives, generated in the morass of dread secrets long withheld. The father, husband, or friend who frowns upon one knowing more about the mind is mding something that he feels would damage him.' Thus, all cribcism of Scientology can be discounted as a product of fear and g tilt which is being displaced on to the movement.

I L. Ron Hubbard, 'The psyehiatrist at work', CO ulretin, 18July 1970, reprinted in Certainty, 18, ! I (1972). It is not always clear from such polemic whether it is the psychiatrists or the communists who are the 'real' masters.

r Freedom, 5 (1969)-

S L. Ron Hubbard, 'The future of Scientology and Western Civilization', Lecture 6 of the Tedures on Claaring, London Congress, 1958 (Hubbard Communications Omce, London, 958).

: Ibid.

S L. Ron Hubbard, Uannual of ustiee [probably HCO, no location, c.

Iggj]. See also Appendix 3. See above, p. 108. L. Ron Hubbard, Why Some Fight Scientology (HCO, Washington DC, 1960), p. j.

There is, however, a further reason to discount the criticisms of Scientology by doctors and psychiatrists. Nihilism may also take the form of a claim that the practice and research of such men themselves belatedly supports the revealed truths of Scientology (or of Dianetics, which is now conceived as a kind of preliminary to Scientology).

The following cutting from a recent 'Time' Magazine was sent to Ron by an auditor in the U.S.A. 'Surgeons and Nurses must be careful of what they say even when a patient is anaesthetized, said San Francisco's Dr D-. Even when the patient seems completely "out", he can still hear, and may remember disturbing or embarrassing indiscretions'. The auditor adds a comment: 'Thought you might be amused by someone's ten year communication lag'. Just as 'medical science' has accepted PRENATAL EXPERIENCE according to their best heralds, the popular magazines such as CORONET and READER'S DIGEST [sic], prenatsals fade into the obscurity of curiosities in Dianetics.

Nor is this always entirely accidental. It is further argued that doctors and psychiatrists are in fact acting entirely in bad faith in criticizing Dianetics and Scientology, since they know that they work; secretly employ their methods; or have them employed on family members.

This unreasoning attack on the part of a few has resulted in bad publicity for dianetics. There is some reason to believe that the principles and techniques of dianetics are being used, in some part, by people who have been writing publicly against it.

It is out of 21 psychiatrists in Washington DC, none of whom would use dianetics in their practice, 18 gave me quiet places to audit their wives who through various practices had become intensely neurotic and could not be rescued by psychiatric techniques. This tells us why dianetics gets nowhere in the psychiatric world, but as the fact may be. On a recent graduate course at Saint Hill on the practice of Dianetics, there were six medical doctors...in London, 17 psychiatrists visited our bookshop and bought copies of the standard work on Dianetics.

The technique of nihilism then can serve not only to counter criticism and undermine its cognitive status, it can be used to display that such criticism actually supports and demonstrates the truth of Scientology. As Berger and Luckmann suggest in another context, 'the devil unwittingly glorifies God... even...the atheist is really a believer'.

L. Ron Hubbard, 'Quick on the uptake', Professional Auditor's Bulletin (June: 1960),

L. Ron Hubbard, A History of Man (HASI, London, n.d.), p. 1. B 'Editorial', Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin, I, 9 (1951). Letter from L. Ron Hubbard, the Ghost of Scientology, to (April-May 1953), p. 4. i Jireedom 8 (1969). r Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., p. 133. Legitimation

The term 'legitimation' will here be employed to label the means by which the prevailing social order and institutional practices of the movement are symbolically represented as historically necessary

and morally right.¹ Legitimation involves the elaboration of an exoteric ideology which employs a rhetoric acceptable to the bulk of the members to explain and justify tactics of the leadership. Such an ideology should also provide a means of mobilizing sympathy and support from non-members as part of a strategy of 'creating a safe space for Scientology'.

The conspiracy theory outlined above is clearly central to the process of legitimating the organizational behaviour of Scientology. In the face of a world conspiracy to crush the movement, rigorous internal control and 'harsh Ethics' were a necessary defence to prevent infiltration and maintain the organization. 'Attacking the attackers' could also be legitimated by the seriousness of the threat. 'In that, self-defence is an apposite defence. One is not obliged to wait for the first blow to be struck.'³

The rhetoric of the wider society can also be deployed for the defence of the movement's beliefs and practices. Scientology could be defined as a 'science'³ and also as a 'religion'.⁴ Whatever the objective merits of these seemingly incompatible claims, they had the useful consequence of providing two alternative sets of imagery for display through the movement's propaganda. Until the early 1960s the rhetoric of Scientology as a 'science' was the more prominent throughout its literature. After the FDA raid in 1963 the public relations apparatus of the movement increasingly stressed the nature of Scientology as a religion.⁵ Hence, the FDA seizures and subsequent government actions throughout the world could be characterized as 'religious persecution'.
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Since 1968, the movement has also shown a greater concern for social welfare and reform. In that year, the newspaper, Freedom was founded which polemicized against psychiatry and the mental health movement claiming to be

For the related use of this term by Berger and Luekmann, see *ibid.*, pp. 10-22.

^t Anonymous, 'Attacks on Scientology and "attack" policies - a wider perspective, photocopy of manuscript, n.d., made available to me by the Church of Scientology, p.40.

[~] Scientology is an organised body of scientific research knowledge concerning life, life sources and the mind and include³ practices that improve the intelligence state and conduct of person³.' L. Ron Hubbard, 'Definition of Scientology - written by LRH for legal [department] when setting up HASI Ltd', HCO Bulletin (9 July

ⁱ Anonymous, *Scientology: Twentieth Century Religion* (Church of Scientology World Wide [East Grinstead, 1972].

The movement's Washington publication, *Ability* began printing lists of Sunday services after the FDA raid. See *Ability*, 149 (11 March 1963). z38

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concerned about the plight of mental patients, and employing the rhetoric of 'Human Rights for Mental Patients'. Freedom's scope broadened progressively in later years. The American Internal Revenue service became the subject of Freedom exposes following the revocation of the tax-exempt status of the Church of Scientology in Washington ; and Interpol and the police became the subject of a campaign after the Church of Scientology had instituted proceedings for libel against a number of senior police officers. These campaigns were presented -as motivated by a general reformist concern for human rights rather than as a response to particular events involving Scientology and the agencies concerned.

The social reality of Scientology can also be legitimated by reference to its power, its size, its ability to achieve results, and its success as a movement in terms of its wealth. The movement's propaganda generally numbers Scientologists in the millions, and its income and property is a source of considerable pride.

We own quite a bit of property over the world. We will be acquiring more, as well as some countries.'

Comparing Scientology to psychiatrists and supporters of the Mental Health movement, Hubbard stresses these legitimating features:

There were not 200,000 at their peak So over the world we outnumber even their movement, Hubbard stresses these legitimating features:

There were not 200,000 at their peak. So over the world we outnumber even their rank and file as to I at a very low estimate. We could buy all they own out of a week's income and never miss it. Although a few skirmishes or even battles are still ahead of us, there is no slightest question as to who is winning this war. The Nazi psychiatrists and Nazi psychotherapists will most surely go the way of the dinosaur [sic] . No, there is no question as to who will win this war. We will.'

An aspect of the same public relations exercise is the practice of publicizing the names of any individuals who enter the movement who may have any claim to status or prestige In the early 1950s an Archbishop of the American Catholic Church, Archbishop Odo Barry was often mentioned as a supporter of Scientology In recent years a titled former Colonial Governor and his wife, and a titled doctor and his wife (also a doctor) have often been referred to in Scientology publications Academics, entertainers and artists also frequently appear in the movement's magazines 5 Such figures can be utilized to provide the basis for a claim that Scientology is successful since even the most prominent people are taking it up.

I See Freedom Reports: The Internal Revenue Service (Freedom Editorial Office, Los Angeles, California, 1973).

8 Freedom, early issues in 1974. ' L. Ron Hubbard, Flag Order of the Day, 20 February, 1974 ' L. Ron Hubbard, Enemy finances', op. cit.

5 Disproportionately often for their numerical representation in the movement membership as a whole, as far as one can tell. Celebrities are taking up Scientology. That's the sign. Remember 20 years ago when artists were taking up psychoanalysis? It is always the beginning of the I win when celebrities - song writers, actors,

artists, writers, begin to take somethi Up .1

Conclusit7ns

Scientology maintains an extensive public-relations apparatus, the purpose o. which is to publicize an image of the movement which will attract new followers stimulate sympathy and support from non-members for Scientology policie and practices, and rouse antagonism towards Scientology's opponents. Thi public-relations apparatus aims to legitimate the tactics and hostilities of th movement's leaders by elaborahng an exotenc ideology which draws o contemporarily acceptable rhetorics of justification. For example, the esoteri ideology states that:

We should attack with the end in view of taking over the whole field of Menta Healing.t

The exoteric formulation of the movement's motivation is rather differentl represented.

The Scientologists claim that they are in the 'traditional mainstream' of religio reform movements: they state categorically that reforms are needed urgently in the field of mental health, and they make it quite clear that they are not wanting to provide their own technology as a substitute to current psychiatric therapy, but rather, that the psychiatri.t should reform hs own howe...

That the published humamitarian aims of the movement's leaders in connection with these wider social issues, are post hoc rationalizations of a power.seeking strategy is suggested by two facts, First, the movement's social reform campaigns have generallyfollowed what its leaders regarded as hostile acts or statements by the individuals or agencies concerned. The movement declared itself to be concerned with the rights of mental patients only after psychmatnsts and mental health agencies became prominent in the public controversy surrounding Scientology in the early and mid-1g60s.4 It displayed a concern about the rights of those cribcized in the press only after it had itself been the victim of such criticism. The Internal Revenue Service of the US government was not attacked until after the revocahon of the Church of Scientology's

rhe Auditor, 44 (1969), p. 4. OE, Vol. O, p. 379. ' David R. Dalton, rwo Disparak Philosophics (Regency Pres, London, 1973), p. 86. Although Hubbard has displayed an antipathy towards psychiatnsts since the early days of Dianetics, he and Dr Joseph Winter did initially seek the acceptance of the medical and psychiatric professions for Dianetics. It is at least a plausible hypothesis that Hubbard's hostility towards psychiatrists stems from their reJection of his 'science of the mind'. tax-exempt status Nor did the movement mount a campaign against 'police abuse' by means of 'falsified records', police corruption, and infringements of the rights of the citizen, until after it had issued writs for libel against a number of senior policemen in connection with Interpol files

Second, the movements social reform and social welfare campaigns are usually very short-lived Allied Scientists of the World, United Survival Clubs, the National Academy of American Psychology, Ciuziens of Washington Inc, the Constitutional Administration Party, and the Citizen's Press Associahon, did not prove effective

in the pursuit of the goals of the movement leadership, and were dropped very quickly 1 (It is worth noting that the Citizen's Commission on Human Rights [founded in 1968], and Narconon [founded in 1966] persist and seem to indicate a trend toward more durable social reform activity) However, while the motivation of the movement's leaders for such propaganda activities may be that of 'securing a safe space for Scientology' and extending its control over its social environment, there can be no doubt that many, perhaps all, of the ordinary members who involve themselves in these propaganda exercises do so out of genuine conviction As in the case of the Communist movement, the specific reformist programmes of Scientology may be a source of appeal to lower-echelon members who are not privy to the esoteric, power-seeking strategy of the leadership 2

The propaganda and public-relations activities of the movement are important reality maintaining devices, the objects of which are to increase the respectability of the movement and its public acceptance as a new religious denomination unjustly persecuted by an insidious and sinister conspiracy They form part of a battery of techniques that defends the movement against inter challenges and supports the validity of the view of social reality which embodies

(The increased social reform activity of the movement has been represented to me rather differently by an executive of Scientology He argued that the movement leadership became increasingly aware after 1968 that the problem which the movement had faced up to that time were in large part a result of their prior failure to take sufficient responsibility for social reform This conflict with my own interpretation that such activity was strategically motivated should stress, however, that while I see no necessary implications for social reform in the individualistic theory and practice of Scientology, reformist concerns appear to have been a persistent feature of Hubbard's thought since then-

I One of his early associates recalled that Hubbard was prolific in the generation of organizational ideas which he would institute on a trial basis His attitude to these tactics was expressed by the phrase 'Run it up the flagpole, and see who salutes it' An informant recalls (Interview)

See Gabriel A Almond et al, 'The Roots of Communism' (Princeton University Press Princeton, New Jersey, 1954), Philip Selznick, 'The Organizational Man' (Prentice-Hall Englewood Cliffs, 1960) CONCLUSIONS

Scientology is a manipulationist movement. It offers a set of theories and techniques which explain the situation of the individual in this life, and provide means of improving that situation. While these techniques may be directed ultimately to the liberation of man's spiritual nature, this ultimate end is not a well-elaborated condition, the virtues of which are clearly explicated in doctrinal literature. This literature concentrates upon more proximal goals. Salvation is envisaged in terms of the alleviation of psychosomatic ills, relief from psychological disabilities, remedies for lack of success or loneliness, or means of improving one's efficiency and competence in the world as we know it. No radical challenge is offered to prevailing values. Rather means, held to surpass any other means available, are provided for achieving these culturally valued ends. Salvation is this-worldly in character, and achieved by the individual through a client relationship with the dispensing organization rather than as

a collective or communal achievement. Communication within the movement is relatively impersonal; relationships are role-articulated; and the organization is bureaucratic,

Scientology and the contemporary religious climate

While Scientology may, at first glance, appear to mark a radical discontinuity with the Western religious tradition, the characteristics summarized above and described in detail in earlier chapters, identify it, in fact, as a logical outcome and extension of certain central features of that tradition,

The roots of the progressive secularization of western societies, particularly Protestant western societies, have been traced back to Old Testament Judaism. The God of Ancient Israel, unlike those of neighbouring societies, was a radically transcendent God who made severe ethical demands upon his followers and was immune to magical manipulation. Hence, there was a polarization between Man and God, with a thoroughly demythologized cosmos between them.¹

This conception of God and the universe was carried over into Christianity, although Catholicism implemented a progressive remythologization of the

In Peter L. Berger, *The Social Roots of Religion* (Faber, London, 1969), Chapter 5. cosmos in important respects. Angels and saints as semi-divine beings peopled the universe. Mary was elevated as a mediator and co-redeemer with Christ. The divine could be manipulated through ritual, confession and penance, undermining the trend toward ethical rationalization. Hence, the Reformation marked the re-emergence of the rationalizing potential of Judeo-Christianity.

On Weber's account of the relationship between religious and social change in this period, the predestinarianism and ethical rigorism of Calvinist Protestantism led to a fundamental rationalization of the believer's way of life and thought.¹ Without objective indicators of salvational status, the believer sought a subjective conviction of salvation through the practice of asceticism and methodical planning in his vocation, and in his life beyond. Rational calculation became a central component of the methodology of securing this conviction, leading to increased productive efficiency and industrial acceleration.

The consequence of this process, however, was the subversion of the religious aims and motivations which caused its emergence. Industrial and economic rationalization led to industrialization and urbanization, social mobility, and social differentiation. The rationalization of man's relationship with the universe between him and God led to the development of science. These trends in turn led to further secularization.

The efficacy of science and technology in producing viable explanations of, and improvements in, the world pushed back the domain into which religion could authoritatively offer insight. The state and other political institutions faced with the integration of a differentiated mass citizenry increasingly became organized on bureaucratic lines. As in the economic sphere, so in the political sphere, the need to organize and control a massive administrative machine and enormous investments, and to satisfy the diverse interests of a mass clientele, led to increasing reliance on

empirical, pragmatic, and scientific rather than religious bases for state action and political decision.

Social differentiation led to the emergence of distinctive social groups and strata whose world-views might overlap with those of neighbouring groups only marginally. New religious movements emerged to provide religious rationales and direction more immediately suited to the needs of the members of such groups. Thus in advanced industrial societies a situation of religious pluralism prevails, in which religious institutions and collectivities are in competition for a clientele.

As Peter Berger has argued, pluralism tends to lead to a religious market, in

Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Unwin, London, 1930).

On Merton's account: Robert K. Merton, *Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England* (Harper, London, 1970); although the matter is much debated. See the papers on this issue in George Basalla, ed., *The Rise of Modern Science: Internal or External Factors?* (D C. Heath & Co., Lexington, Mass, 1968).

Peter L Berger, 'Secularisation and pluralism', *International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion*, 2 (1966), pp. 73-84. which supplying organizations may become subject to the same mechanisms constraining survival as organizations in any other consumer commodity market. Maintaining the viability of the organization requires the generation of consumers. The desire by organizational leaders to expand the market can lead to the tailoring of products to fit consumer demand. Public-relations and salesmanship may come to take on a central importance in maintaining the prominence and acceptability of the religious brand-name. Religious organizations may experience pressures to rationalize budgeting and 'production' in order to compete in the market, and hence, may tend to become increasingly bureaucratized in order to increase operating efficiency. In order to attract consumers in a mass market, competing 'products' may tend to become only marginally differentiated, with more or less the same characteristics but different labels, to maintain brand loyalty. To minimize the costs of free competition, deals may be entered into with competitors, sometimes leading to a restriction of territory by each supplier or, more recently, to the familiar market process of merger, or ecumenicalism.

In these circumstances, shifts in market demand will tend to be reflected in the character of the products supplied, to meet consumer preference. Thus the average consumer today may be less in need of a cosmology than of a solution to anxiety and other sources of psychological concern. Some religious institutions have increasingly seen their role as the provision of these goods, shifting their attention from the provision of heavenly salvation to that of psychological reassurance.

The situation of religious pluralism may be seen as a severe blow to claims of absolute validity for any given church's doctrine, particularly as it is obliged to modify it in the face of changing consumer demand. The view of its beliefs as timeless and irrefutable truths may become increasingly hard to sustain. Religious belief may tend to lose any self-evident objective

plausibility that could be maintained in a situation of religious monopoly. Religion in this situation may increasingly move away from being an objective reality to become a purely personal and primarily individual reality, and a solely interior experience.³

In this light, it is evident that Scientology emerged as a religious commodity eminently suited to the contemporary market. It provided assurance of fundamental ability and competence within every consumer, and offered to resolve all the major psychological problems of modern man. It was packaged in a rhetoric of science which had a widespread popular appeal. Its organization, and the production of the commodity it purveys were thoroughly rationalized. It bid.

This seems to be the implication of Louis Schnrider and Sanford M. Dornbusch, 'Inspirational religious literature: from latent to manifest functions of religion', *AJS*, 62 (1957), pp. 476-81; and idem, *Popular Religion: Inspirational Booms in America* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958).

Peter L. Berser, 'Secularization and pluralism', *op. cit.* 4

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developed to a level far in advance of most other contemporary religious movements and institutions the techniques of salesmanship and public relations.

Rather than the traditional church, Scientology has drawn its organizational model from institutions more appropriate to its market situation. The mass political party and the mass educational institution have clearly been important influences on the organization's development. More important than these, however, is the institution which has proved most successful in the contemporary market economy. Scientology is organized on lines similar to those of multi-national enterprises such as the Ford Motor Company, Coca Cola, or International Telephone and Telegraph.¹

Scientology represents a logical outcome of the incorporation of the Protestant Ethic into Western culture. Rationalization of life in the world has led to the rationalization of the institution through which salvation is secured. Rational calculation has led to the provision of salvation as a standardized and differentiated commodity available at a set rate per unit (with discounts for cash in advance, plus Value Added Tax).

L. Ron Hubbard: the generation and institutionalization of charisma

Ron Hubbard, after a varied career in the course of which he came to puzzle over the operation of the mind and the explanation of mental phenomena, established himself as a thaumaturge. On the basis of a set of techniques with which he was the operation of the mind and the explanation of mental phenomena, established himself as a thaumaturge. On the basis of a set of techniques with which he was experimenting, and a half-formulated rationale, he practised as a magical healer. In Hollywood and Bay Head, New Jersey, he gathered a small clientele. After a period of probably no more than a few months, Hubbard desired to broadcast his practices to the world, and steps were taken through the establishment of the New Jersey Foundation to institutionalize the practice and organize his

cGentele.

Acquaintances of Hubbard recall him, even before Dianetics, as a man of powerful personality, His early followers commented that 'he was able to make you feel things that you had never felt before'. Hubbard was always completely convinced of the validity of what he was doing. He possessed a sense of absolute certainty of his own ability and the truth of what he said, or at least he was able to convey such a conviction to others. I have been able to trace no occasion on which Hubbard ever admitted to making a mistake, or apologized in any way. He seemed to lack the capacity to doubt, and in his personality and self-assurance others were able to see the strengths that they lacked, and thereby found him easier to believe.

Joseph Nyomarkay notes that

I Charles J. McMillan, 'Corporations without citizenship: the emergence of multinational enterprise in Graeme Salaman and Kenneth Thompson, eds, *Corporations and Organisations* (Longman, London, 1973), pp. 25-44.

Further on.

, .. no matter how extraordinary he may be, a person will not become a charismatic

leader unless his extraordinariness is recognised by others. The transformation of

extraordinariness into charisma depends on the political skills and magnetism of the

potential charismatic leader and on his conviction of his historical role

The Dianetics following accorded Hubbard a superior status as the founder of the science, but for many he remained only *primus inter pares*. While he was generally acknowledged to be the leader of the movement, this gave him no permanent claim to authority. Others believed themselves equally competent to develop the movement's theory and practice and to challenge Hubbard's decisions and behaviour.

His situation was highly insecure. The revelation which he had made public was open to subversion by innovators. The movement's following was fluid and fickle, with only limited commitment to a healing and self-improvement cult, and even less to its leader. His status as leader was open to frequent, albeit somewhat tentative, challenge from local leaders in the field; and his income seemed likely to decline drastically with the slump in Dianetics by the beginning of 1951.

In response to this situation, Hubbard developed as a separate enterprise Scientology, a new gnosis, which provided a transcendental legitimation for his authority. He had penetrated the realm of the supernatural and there secured knowledge which would restore to men their long lost spiritual abilities. On the basis of this new doctrine, Hubbard began to organize his following as a congregation which would restore to men their long lost spiritual abilities. On the basis of this new doctrine, Hubbard

began to organize his following as a congregation responsive to his charismatic authority. He had transformed himself from a magician, to a mystagogue.²

His extraordinary character was transformed into charismatic authority by a process of subordinating other potential leaders, and expelling those who refused to accept his sole authority. Through control of the movement's publications he determined what was to be represented as correct doctrine and practice, and hence secured a virtual monopoly of the means of revelation. In these publications he skillfully promoted an image of himself as a superior human being.³ Hubbard's was the only name to figure prominently in movement publications. Even when he later withdrew from active personal involvement in the daily operation of the Orgs, his photograph and other symbols of his presence continued to be widely displayed in Scientology buildings. Members were enjoined

I Joseph Nyomarkay, *Charisma and Factionalism in the Nazi Party* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1967), p. 11.

Max Weber, *Sociology of Religion* (Methuen, London, 1965, pp. 47, 54, 55, 6n

³ One of the means by which he achieved this end was through writing eulogistic articles about himself under the name of Tom Esterbrook. See Helen O'Brien, *Diandics in Limbo* (Whitmore Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1966), p. 69. (The Scientologists point out to me that 'Tom Esterbrook' was a 'house name in the magazine. Anyone in the understaffed organization with writing ability would write an article under the house name. Personal Communication, November 1974. U

CONCLUSION

to write to 'Ron' personally with problems they might have, and students were encouraged to study hard lest one day they meet Ron and he query them on some aspect of theory or practice

The attitude of Hubbard's following towards their leader justifies the description of him as charismatic. Scientologists see Hubbard as having privileged access to supernatural knowledge of a kind never before revealed, which rendered established disciplines such as psychology and philosophy obsolete. Hubbard had located a means of transcending human limitation and the downward spiral of man's spiritual nature. Like Buddha, he had made available a route to Total Freedom.

Indeed recently Hubbard has been presented, in publications for advanced students, as the Maitreya Buddha supposedly prophesied to appear by Gautama Buddha.³ The Maitreya would, it is believed by some Buddhists, appear when corruption and spiritual degeneration had proceeded apace, at some point in the 5000 years after Gautama Buddha's translation to Nirvana. The Maitreya would herald a new spiritual and world order, and is the object of millennialist aspiration among some sectors of Buddhists.³ Hubbard's identification as the Maitreya may mark his transformation from mystagogue to exemplary prophet:

an exemplary man who, by his personal example, demonstrates to others the way to

religious salvation, as in the case of the Buddha. The preaching of this type of

prophet says nothing about the divine mission or an ethical duty of obedience, but religious salvation, as in the case of the Buddha. The preaching of this type of prophet says nothing about the divine mission or an ethical duty of obedience, but rather directs itself to the self-interest of those who crave salvation, recommending to them the same path as he himself traversed.'

Weber's distinction between the mystagogue and the exemplary prophet is largely a matter of degree. The mystagogue does not proclaim an ethical doctrine, distributes primarily magical salvation, and normally makes a living from his practice. Over the past decade or so, Hubbard has insisted that he derives little or no income from Scientology. The movement has adopted a much more self-consciously religious character, and laid increasing stress upon its ethical content, marking itself off from the degeneration and corruption of the surrounding world. Moreover, it has correspondingly stressed the character of Scientology as a philosophy of life rather than merely a set of techniques for therapeutic or self-improvement purposes. In this context, Hubbard may now appropriately be seen as an exemplary prophet.

' Notices to this effect were displayed in the Org classrooms.

Advance! issue 26 ('Sovember tg74); issue a7 (December tg74). I am grateful to Mr Beau Kitselman for bringing these to my attention.

S Winston L. King, A Thousand Lives Away (Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, tg64); Melford E. Spiro, Buddhism and Society: Great Tradition and its Burmese Vicissitudes (Allen & Unwin, 1971). ' Max Weber, 'The Prophet', in his The Sociology of Religion (Methuen, London, 1966), p. 55. See also

The Dianetics movement contained within it the possibility of development in a number of directions. There were those among its following who sought to develop the theory and practice as a science. They wished to subject it to rigorous empirical test under controlled conditions, and to refine its theory and practice on the basis of such public procedures. There were those among its following who saw Dianetics as an 'added blessing', one further methodology and set of techniques by which salvation could be secured. They wished to select from its beliefs and practice those which they regarded as suitable to combine with the corpus of 'truth' already possessed; or to advance new theories and techniques, developing the foundations Hubbard had laid. There were, finally, those who saw salvation as available only through Hubbard's revelation, which constituted an exclusive path. They wished to preserve the beliefs and practices from dilution and contamination, permitting only those additions and modifications which Hubbard sponsored or invented.

Dianetics could conceivably have developed into a science, or at least a 'respectable' therapeutic practice, as have psychoanalysis or gestalt psychology. It could have persisted as a diffuse cultic movement - with many organizations, leaders, and variations on a central core of shared belief and practice, as has New Thought. Ron Hubbard its founder, however, was among those who viewed the movement in sectarian terms. To secure his own position as a

mystagogue, Hubbard broke with the leaders who defined the movement in more 'cultic' or 'scientific' terms.

On the basis of his new gnosis he centralized authority within the movement distinguished its doctrine and practice from competing belief systems, and sought through the erection of an increasingly elaborate hierarchy of sanctification, to mobilize greater commitment and involvement on the part of his following. The earlier individualism of the movement now became something to denigrate:

Obsessive individualism and a failure to organise were responsible for our getting into the state we got into I

The radical shift towards a more sectarian stance did not occur, however, until the movement was threatened internally by schism and defection, and externally by hostility from press and state. Defections by senior executives and the potential for schism led Hubbard to institute tighter social control measures. The boundary between the movement and the world became less fluid. Less tolerance was shown toward nonconformity by members. Greater bureaucratization was implemented to increase control over operations. As criticism was voiced and sanctions introduced against the movement by outside agencies, the movement became increasingly hostile to the surrounding society, its organization became tighter, and expulsions became more frequent.

L. Ron Hubbard, CO Polry Lttrr, 17 January 1967. Be(lef)snlpractices

The belief-system of the movement developed from a lay psychotherapeutic system to a religious doctrine. Although this transformation may also have secured other ends such as legitimating Hubbard's authority, it can be seen as primarily an attempt to rationalize the movement's beliefs.

Dianetics provided a secular solution to the problem of theodicy. Suffering, guilt, inadequacy, disability, lack of success, the apparent arbitrariness of the distribution of favour and fortune, were accounted for in terms of the tone-scale and the theory of engrams. Whatever its practical success in alleviating these conditions, it failed in this more ultimate enterprise. Learning that the individual's abilities were the consequence of engramic trauma failed to resolve the issue of why a particular individual suffered the trauma and hence the disabilities. Scientology offered a solution to this problem through a metaphysics of the thetan and transmigration. The thetan had become bored with his omniscience, permitted limitations upon his abilities, and allowed himself to become increasingly the effect rather than the cause of the environment which he had created. Thus ultimately the thetan was responsible for everything that happened subsequently. More directly, the disabilities suffered in this life were a consequence of things he had done in previous lives. Hence the problem of theodicy was resolved by a quasi-karmic theory of sin and retribution.

The belief-system and practices of the movement developed in part as a result of empirical phenomena: the 'past life' material produced by pre-clears in

The belief-system and practices of the movement developed in part as

a result of empirical phenomena: the 'past life' material produced by pre-clears in Dianetic sessions, and the failure of the techniques (directed to engrams sustained in this life) to clear all the cases attempted. However, these only further heightened the problem of meaning which rationalization aimed to resolve. The explanation of such phenomena was sought in more ultimate realms. The problem of theodicy was shifted back, even if no final or complete solution to it could be provided.

The practice of Scientology was also rationalized. The E-meter represented a substantial development away from subjective and intuitive methods of auditing. A calculated and measurable score indicated in an objective way marked the progress and success of auditing. From a skilled technique requiring diffuse professional abilities, auditing became a semi-skilled occupation, which effectively anyone could learn. Training was rationalized on the basis of an established, standardized body of knowledge available entirely on an impersonal basis through Hubbard's writings.

The organization of Scientology

As we argue; earlier, Scientology has more in common organizationally with mass political parties, institutions of mass education, or multinational corporations, than with traditional churches. Its followers are drawn into no collective communion but rather into an atomized mass, differentiated only by their level of attainment in the theory and practice of the gnosis. With few institutionalized links among the members, communication and authority flow downwards from the leaders to the member who faces the authority-structure of the movement as an isolated individual. The only collective means of influencing the decision-making process is that in which the members 'vote with their feet' through defection or apathy.

The movement's earlier patrimonial administration exercised by a band of functionary-disciples has gradually been supplanted by an imposing bureaucratic machine. Autonomous and independent sources of authority or organization outside the bureaucracy have been progressively eliminated, or brought under its direct administration. Professional practitioners have been reduced to organizational functionaries. Members are increasingly brought under organizational control as leaders seek to mobilize their resources for organizational ends.

Beyond the jurisdiction of the bureaucracy and possessing superior authority, exists an elite corps, the Sea Org, which acts as the direct executive arm of the charismatic leader of the movement. The Sea Org provides an international executive force insulated from local commitments, and mobilizable to secure conformity from the bureaucratic administration and to prevent it acquiring any independent authority to challenge Hubbard's own. Scientology and society

Scientology and society

Emerging in America as a therapeutic movement, Dianetics was the object of hostility from the established healing professions. The movement and its leader were criticized and ridiculed in the press and subjected to legal action instigated by medical agencies. In the light of his developing theory these attacks upon Hubbard and his science could only be interpreted as a consequence of the fact

that the critics had 'something to hide'.

With the submergence of Dianetics and the disappearance of the mass following, Hubbard and his movement rarely came to the attention of state and medical agencies. The gradual growth of Scientology during the late 1950s and early 1960s brought it once again under surveillance. The severe actions taken by these agencies in the form of the FDA raid, the virulence of the Anderson Report, and the British Home Office ban on foreign students, convinced Hubbard that Scientology had become the victim of an immense conspiracy aimed at its extermination. Behind every hostile act seemed to lurk the figure of a psychiatrist or a Mental Health Association, all connected in more or less mysterious ways with the World Federation for Mental Health. This conspiracy became linked in Hubbard's mind with that of many another populist American, the international Communist conspiracy

Determined to fight what had become systematized in his mind as a concerted

CONCLUSIONS campaign to crush Scientology, Hubbard and other leaders of the movement sought to defend it against the onslaught, and even to counterattack. In the belief that the tactics of their opponents were immoral and that the end was so vital as to justify the means employed, Scientologists may at times have felt called upon to defend the movement by tactics that may have seemed extreme to outsiders.

The deviance amplification model suggests that when relatively unsystematic and transient deviant behaviour becomes the object of moral crusading and severe stigmatization, one possible outcome is that those so stigmatized experience a sense of outrage and injustice which alienates them from conventional norms and from the agents of the conventional order, and leads to the elaboration of new norms in defence against attack. The new norms and the behaviour to which they give rise are seen by the moral crusaders as further evidence of deviance and justification of their initial diagnosis. Such a process appears to characterize the development of Scientology in its relations with the wider society in the 1960s.

Particularly since the mid-1960s, however, the movement has begun to present itself in a different light. It has officially dropped a number of its practices which were subject to public criticism. It has become more actively involved in programmes and campaigns for social reform. These reform campaigns have been initiated in such areas as drug rehabilitation, the human rights of mental patients, educational programmes for school and college dropouts and, latterly, campaigns against abuses of their powers by the police and other state agencies.

At the same time, there are beginning to appear signs that Scientology is coming to be recognized as a legitimate and valid religious collectivity. It has been accorded a measure of recognition in Australia through legal authorization as a body permitted to solemnize marriages. Those states which have passed discriminatory legislation against the practice of Scientology have revised, or are in the process of revising this legislation, and various legal decisions have accepted the movement's claim to religious status. Hostile press reports on Scientology are now rare.

In terms of the typology outlined in Chapter 1, this may signify a transition of Scientology from a collectivity regarded by members of society at large as 'deviant' to one regarded as 'respectable'. Christian Science perhaps acquired its respectable status as a consequence of its church structure and religious practice, rather than as a result of any acceptance of its therapeutic system. Scientology has, similarly, increasingly stressed its religious character and subdued its claims to therapeutic efficacy. It may therefore come, in time, to be accorded the same sort of status as is accorded Christian Science today.

There are also signs that Scientology is adopting a more tolerant attitude toward other belief-systems. The movement's criticisms of psychiatry have lost

I I am indebted to Dr Bryan Wilson for this point. Some of their earlier virulence in their more recent publications. The compatibility of belief in Scientology and continued membership in other religious denominations has been much publicized in movement literature. From some future perspective it may appear that Scientology is undergoing a clear process of denominationalization. From the perspective of the present time, however, it is impossible to be certain if what we are viewing is a genuine process of accommodation with the surrounding society and competing systems of belief, or whether it is merely a public-relations facade, an exercise in impression-management designed to convey that image, while masking persistent sectarian aims. The question that remains, perhaps to be determined by research at some future time, is whether Scientology is in fact undergoing a process of denominationalization or whether it is undergoing a process of 'pseudo-denominationalization', in which it is merely presented as denominational in character in order to defend the movement against further attack, to mobilize support, and to retain an appeal to a mass clientele which might otherwise seek salvation from less controversial sources.

I Similarly, whether Scientology is undergoing institutionalization in the sense employed by Hans Toch, is also an interesting question to which only time can provide the answer, that is: 'a process...characterized by the tendency to relegate ideology more and more to a position of a means to ends. Whenever a belief becomes an impediment to public acceptance, it is modified or abandoned. Changes in belief may even represent anticipations of future inconvenience for the adapting movement.' Hans Toch, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements* (Methuen, 1971), p. 215.

RON HOWESI

The following is addressed to all optimum and pre-optimum humans: the primary step in the production of an optimum race is the invention of a higher tone reality. To be optimum this reality must have self-corrective mechanisms determined by firm dynamic goals. The inventor of a suitable reality is followed by the race-cause and assisted by race-intelligence to communicate the invention. The second step toward optimum-race-production is the acceptance of his invention by units of the race within a given race each unit possesses basic endowments. From unit to unit these endowments remain similar. Each unit acceptance of the invention implies nearly complete capabilities necessary to full use of the invention. The third step for optimum-race-production is the formation of true groups.

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The third step for optimum-race-production is the formation of true groups. A true group is an assemblage of units whose efforts are coordinated aligned for the basic goals of the invention. A true group is formed by units of the race. The fourth step is establishment of true communication among all groups and units of the race.

Race dynamics insure the integrated results of all steps. To aid in the progress necessary for application of the above principles certain mechanical features may be brought into use. Since the second month, tenth day, of this year, there has been in existence a field of psycho-mechanical structure. This field is directional and can be beamed through an area three thousand miles in radius. The source of this field will stand unilovely. The field produces the following: 1. Amplifications of causative factors in the race. . . . Temporary enrichment of mind-reality applied to desire and need.

3. Communication enhancement among units of the race. The above has been written in basic American. As of the fourth month, first day, this field will extend to maximum radius and confirm through the third day.

1 Gordon Bockstead, ed., Prologue to SurDiunl. Part I (Psychological Field)

Following this test signal, the writer will be appreciative if persons interested communicate subjective and objective data to the address given. In so far as possible, use the principle of minimum effort in reports. Some data has been gathered concerning items of extreme interest to optimum persons. If the optimum person wishes, this data will be communicated. The optimum person can request the data. The method of request is available to these persons.

Editor's Note: Postmark date of the above, March 5. A field test occurred March first through third. Data are requested for observations (positive, null, or negative) during this period. Ron assured me by telephone that the machine producing the field, though crude at this time, exists. A large number of reports for both March and April should enable him to make allowances for the influence of suggestion. Send reports to Ron Howes, 3020 Rawleigh Ave., Apt. 102, St. Louis Park, Minneapolis 6, Minn. A. He failed to handle or disconnect from his wife as ordered by Natalie Fisher on May 5, 1965. By his own testimony, 'The more I gain, the more she natters,' his wife is suppressive to him; three weeks elapsed from the time of the order from Natalie until his next interview with Ethies, which might have been construed as rescinding Natalie's order. B. He has repeatedly done the Crime of heckling Scientology instructor or lecturer. For example: 1. Donna Fisk, Night Theory Instructor, was discussing questions on the cancellation of Student Rules and Regulations with the class; in

particular, a question concerning the use of alcoholic beverages. Ralph introduced the question as to whether tobacco was more harmful than other drugs and alcohol; Donna replied she had never seen deleterious technical effects of it, but had seen these on alcohol; Ralph pressed the question, she replied she did not know: he pressed it further, and required finally a statement that that was all on that point before he would stop. 2. Pem Wall was explaining to class the no-eheekout system in Theory. Ralph questioned the reason for this. Pem said he could not give Ron's reasons, any he could give would be his own. Ralph pressed for these, Pem said one would be to make the student take responsibility for learning the material, himself, rather than leaving it to an instructor to determine. Ralph remarked that, then the next logical step would be for students to not come in at all. as a khldness o a Suppressive Person to declale him as such Ralph-remarked, sarcastically, that there was sucll a thing as killing a pcrsor witll kindncss Wayne Rol]rcr was introclucing the policy of the rrcs Scientology Center to the class Ralph objccted to this, causillg student Marie Page to cringc, and Bill Gibbons to attempt to counter the objcctions Ralph stated that he could not attend the l;SC, Wayne acknowledged, Ralph said he nceded more than an acknowledgement, Wanc said, then hc would send Ralph to Ethics 5 Wayne Rohrer was discussing policv on Suppressive Persons wih thu class, Rdlplll prcsnted a series of far-fctched circun stances such dS, wha[it the phone company werc declared supprcssive, which Wayne explained; finally, Wayne said that Ralph could keep mocking these up and he, Vayne, handling them, but it was no going to get them anywhcre, Ralph pcrsistrd still further, Waylle finall tdismissed hilrl witll an 'example' of, uhat if one werc trapped in an elevator witll a Suppressive Pcrson (the above are given as specific examples, not to hc construed as the totality of repehtions of this Crime; many more exist)

ll 'I'h.lt, I]ctore the lblcl 'Suppressive Person' is removed, Rall)h must also disconthlue his project of correspondence witll and concerning the rDA, th AIA; since these groups are Suppressive and his continued communicatio with them ould mac him immediatcly a Potcmal Troublc Source aml hcn contimled, agaill a Sapprcssic Person 1

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r APPENDIX III. EXECUTIVE

DIRECTIVE ROM L. RON

HUBBARD

LRH LD 5 i li-'1'

Date 9 1'ovember 1968

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You may not realize it staff member but there is only one small group that has hammered Dianetics and Scientology for 18 years.

Y

YOU have received for all your time in Scientology were generated by this one group.

For eighteen years it has poured lies and slander into the press and government agencies,

Last year we isolated a dozen men at the top. This year we found the organisation these used and all its connections over the world.

They are as red as paint. Their former president was a car:1-carrhlg Communist and they have four on their Board of Directors, yet they reach into International Finance, Health Ministries, Schools, the press. They even control immigration in many lands.

Psychiatry and 'Mental Health' was chosen as a vehicle to undermine and destroy the West ! And we stood in their way.

They knew we had the answers. We were over \$2,000,000 dangerous to them. That's about what they've spent to try to get rid of us.

Well, today, the World Federation of Mental Health (which pretends to be part of the United Nations and isn't) and their 'ational' ivilental Health organisations (which pretend to be part of each national government and aren't) in every western nation have been spotted by us and proven to be the ones responsible.

If a platoon of Russian soldiers landed in your country and started shooting down people, the military or the citizens would wipe them out.

But if several regiments landed in small groups, with phoney passports, dressed in dark business suits, each one vouched for as a professional doctor by the 'best people', they could (and do) select out everyone they wish to kill, get him behind closed doors in an institution and de-personalise or kill him.

They have infiltrated boards of education, the all med services, even the churches .

They hold the wives or daughters of a great many politicians and keep them 'under treatment'.

They appoint Ministers of Health by pretending they are already part of the government .

They collect millions.

Their 'technology' is the same as that used by Intelligence Services. Electric shock. Brain operations. These were used in Lubenka Prison in Russia but are not allowed on Russians !

Any way, this was the live wire we got across by being able to undo their cJccl on e Wesl.

None of this is fiction. There are too many dead men around for that

We have the goods on them and right this minute more art is being rolled up by us from more quarters than they could predict.

We've made a beach head. We are slamming in closer.

You aren't standing alone. There is more ammunition being fung at them right this minute than they could ever duck.

They made a few gains. They could even make one or two more.

But they made a bad misake. They attacked us. And we v-eren't even in th same line of country.

For eighteen years we have had constant sniping at us over the world. They did it.

We've got to fight tais one on through and we will.

Think of what it would be like to have no such opposition! ! ! ly, how we would expand. And will.

You just carry on your job v ell, do it very well. Keep the show on the road. Get the stats up.

A lot of good guys .mongst us are taking care of them. We are using only Icgal means over the world. We don't stoop to murder and rough house. But man, the effectiveness of our means will become history.

It is a tough war. All wars arc tough. It isn't over

But if the enemy knew all that was heading in his direction this minute from how many quarters he'd faint.

Let him lah-de-dah with the socialites and 'best people' a little longcr. Let him pose as part of the government yet a litt!c while. And then he's had it.

Our error was in f iling to take over total control of all mental healing in the West. Well, we'll do that too.

You necr did undcrstand his reatments? Well so the psychiatrist aets like c Russian storm trooper alter all.

L. RON HUBBrRD APPENDIX IV. ON ROY WALLIS' STUDY

J. L. Simmons Ph.DP

Roy Wallis has written some interesting passages and he has expounded some knarly conceptual schemes. Unfortunately, his study has little to do with Dianetics and Scientology, his subject matter.

Wallis might have done a lot of things. An objective study of Scientology as a social movement in our time v ould have been interesting. A no-nonsense statistical analysis of psychological and intelligence test scores before and artcr Scientology experiences, ·with a carefully matched control group who had no

contact with Scientology would have been quite informative. An analysis of the growth of Scientology as a world-wide organization would have yielded invaluable 'challenge and response' data to the social scientist. A 'Sociology of Religion' study of Scientology might have proved enlightening to both author and reader. An anthropological field study of how people get into Scientology and how it then affects their lives and their environment might have had all the excitement of a Margaret Mead book on exotic civilizations. Wallis has regrettably done none of these things.

Another excitement of a Margaret Mead book on exotic civilizations. Wallis has regrettably done none of these things.

What has he done? He has produced a piece of work that would probably fetch him a critical mark in any traditional university Research Methods class. When I taught Research Methods and Statistics classes at the University of Illinois I demanded - and got - better, less biased work from my undergraduate students.

Since Wallis has credentials I can only assume that his violations of the scientific method are indicative of either a decline in scholastic method or are deliberate and malicious.

I will document specific violations and biases a bit later but first I would like to speculate on why they might have occurred. The answer might lie in the sociological concept of 'culture lag', which is the almost inevitable time lag between the development of an invention, a new idea, a new viewpoint, and its general acceptance by the surrounding society. This period is almost always accompanied by resistance, harassment, and debunking of the new by Authorities. Often as not, violence is perpetrated upon the heads of the originators and their early followers. Virtually every new development in the history of the

' Formerly, Department of Sociology faculty, University Of Illinois and University of California, Santa Barbara. world has had to survive (if it did indeed survive) in the teeth of such a culture lag.

Dianetics and Scientology technology contain more than enough discoveries to have set the culture-lag mechanism in motion. As one small example, the press widely ridiculed L. Ron Hubbard's breakthrough plant researches where he demonstrated with full scientific rigor that plants are directly affected by the emotional outflows of the people in their vicinity. A dozen years later the same press excitedly told the world about the new discoveries that plants are affected by the emotions of the people around them, with no mention of Hubbard's earlier work.

Now social scientists themselves sometimes fall prey to culture-lag mechanisms so that they end up dramatizing this phenomenon rather than studying it. It is only my speculation, but I suspect this to be the case with Wallis. It is my impression from his description that he found the Scientology Communications Course he had enrolled in, filled with ideas and concepts that were new and different enough to jar his preconceived worldview. And so a 'culture lag' was created on the spot. My supposition could explain why Wallis sought so diligently for ulterior motives in the movement and why he listened so eagerly (and almost exclusively) to Scientology dropouts. Some such mechanism must have occurred - I cannot

believe that Roy Wallis is simply dishonest.

Wallis has every right to reject Scientology personally, and indeed Scientologists themselves would defend his right to do so. But does he have the right to disguise his opinions and feelings as an honest sociological inquiry? Let's go specifics.

Wallis' failings are both theoretical and empirical. At the level of theory. Wallis simply plays games with words and their meanings. As one major example his use of the concept 'totalitarian' bends and twists through the pages of his manuscript to the point where virtually any leadership and any movement that is not utterly anarchistic would fit his conceptualization of totalitarianism. As read the theory sections, 'totalitarianism' and 'organization' become, for Wallis tautological (circular) and synonymous. The word fails to differentiate categories and so becomes meaningless. In personal correspondence with Church of Scientology officials (11 November 1974), Wallis writes 'Totalitarianism can mean whatever I choose to make it mean...' And pi, means pot and sixpence is a crown.

At the level of Wallis' actual empirical research, we find sampling errors so blatant that the entire book is suspect from then on in the conclusions. To put oversimply, 'sampling' is the precise technology of selecting and examining representative small number items from a large 'population' of items in order to estimate the character of the large population. A biased sample gives one a false picture for example, a study of US Presidents based only on records of those who were impeached. All of Wallis' samples all grossly biased.

In his sampling of respondents, Wallis focuses throughout his study almost exclusively on people who had left the movement for one reason or another. As a specific example, Wallis deals extensively with six dissident Clears but does not take up an offer to interview a sampling of over four thousand Clears who have not become dissident. Convenient for his theories perhaps but not intellectually honest. It is an endeavour very like studying the modern University by

speaking only to school dropouts.

Another instance which reveals sampling bias on Wallis' part. From twentyfive years of written books, policy, and technical bulletins, Wallis has chosen a 'sample' of only a few statements, out of context, to support his theories. Again this would fetch a failing mark in any elementary statistics course. Content analysis of a random sampling of, say, a thousand statements written by Hubbard would have been legitimate and would have yielded a quite different picture.

And in the area of documents Wallis' sampling errors become grave. Wallis' account is conspicuous for all the data left out. There are on file thousands upon thousands of statements of people who have improved their lives through Scientology, test scores of raised I.Q. and personality improvement, X-ray verified medical recoveries, validations of the effectiveness of Scientology technology by prison wardens, educators, and government officials, sworn statements of remorse and retraction by hostile witnesses, Hubbard's Honors from the Explorers Club, the Key to the City of Long Beach, etc., etc. Where are the lengthy quotes from these documents? The

fact that Narconon has a the lengthy quotes from these documents ? The fact that Narconon has a phenomenal success rate with hard-core drug-users (verified in Arizona State Prison), should be splashed on the front dust jacket of the book, not buried in a footnote .

The above are heavy methodological points against Wallis. But the most telling criticism of his work is to what extent does it have any real correspondence with Scientology as it is actually practised and as it actually developed?

Wallis paints a bleak picture indeed of the Scientology organizational network and of daily life within it. So bleak is this picture that if it were actually the situation only a devout masochist could endure it. If this were the situation I certainly would not be involved, nor would many of my friends.

The further one goes into the manuscript the more sweeping become the inaccuracies and distortions of fact of the development, practice and training of Dianetics and Scientology in order to conform with Wallis' preconceived model. For example, I have spoken at length with many early Dianeticists, including some that are not active in Scientology and some that have actively broken with Hubbard. their stories are quite different from the Wallis account. Even the most outspoken apostates have not described Hubbard (whom they knew personally) as a manipulator or a dark-motivated man. The common portrait which emerges, then and now, is of a man who has been trying for twenty-five years to give away any control he has so that he can devote himself to further research and writing. And one of the commonest complaints among the Scientology dissidents is that Hubbard left the running of affairs in the hands of others.

Another instance. We are told (page 12) 'Aspects of the theory and practice most closely linking the belief system to the cultic milieu were abandoned. Dianetic "reverie" with its clear links to hypnosis and the concern with the trauma of early childhood and birth, with clear links to psychoanalysis and its developments, were abandoned ' A sound backing to the Wallis theory if true But what if not true? Wallis points out earlier that Dianetics itself Science of Mental Health embodied these ideas and was the basis for the 'cultic movement'. Has it been abandoned The United States sales figures for the month of November 1974, according to Publications Organization shipping invoices for Scientology books, run as follows. First, Dianetics vofdt7n Science of Mental Health, eight thousand eight hundred and thirteen copies. Next best seller, Evolution of a Science, eight hundred and ninety copies DfSlfHis still far and away the best selling Scientology book and is a required basic text for all professional auditors. And it is the book most often sold to new people.

To speak to each of Wallis' contentions and misdirections would require a book the length of his own. In his portrayal of field auditors, professional training the Sea Org, the aims of Scientology, the credentials and personal life of L. Ron Hubbard, the social reform activities of the Church, its legal history, and the reasons people are in Scientology instead of real estate (or sociology), Wallis is simply wrong. I am reminded of Bob Dylan's 'Ballad of a Thin Man', about a man who knows something is happening here, but he does not know what it is. (For a quite different account, also written by a non-Scientologist, see Omar V. Garrison's Hidden Story of Scientology, Arlington Books, London, 1974.)

Wallis' fundamental weakness is that he converts his theories into fact by seeking only data which support them. This is true in his interpretation of the socialization process of Scientology's membership, in his conception of the Sea Org as a para-military organization, in imputing Machiavellian motives to L. Ron Hubbard and other Scientology leaders. Again and again and again he selectively ignores the genuine results of Scientology, admitted even by a great many of the dissidents he quotes. The Australian and South African inquiry reports and transcripts, for instance, are filled with statements of witnesses who had received great personal benefit from Scientology. But, again, where are these statements in Wallis' book?

Wallis does not believe that there is such a thing as a genuine result. It is all 'coaching' and 'indoctrination'. Perhaps Wallis believes an engineer produces a bridge by 'indoctrinating' the motorists that it is there.

Wallis does not grant any moral sensibility to the Scientology leadership whatsoever. Nor does he believe that they believe they can and do produce genuine results. He ignores the Guarantee of Refund if not fully satisfied (displayed in every Scientology organization). This guarantee of refund is more than any other profession offers either in the therapeutic or religious fields. A doc-or ON ROY WALLIS

STUDY

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does not return his fees when he fails to cure a patient, a lawyer does not return his fees when he loses a case, a psychiatrist does not return his fees when he has made a nervous individual into a drug addict. And a sociologist does not return his grant when he fails to produce a work dealing with social facts.

I am sorry, I cannot take Wallis' work seriously. I have had seven years of intensive experiences in Scientology. And I came into Scientology as a practicing, and widely published, sociologist. What I have found within the movement is a wealth of valid data, a battery of technology which works, hundreds of new friends, a return of a bovine lightheartedness that I had feared lost forever, and almost more adventure than I can handle.

It has not always been a pinnacled path. Scientology is not perfect and has never claimed to be. I personally made a baker's dozen mistakes last week that I already know of. But I have personally seen hundreds upon hundreds of beings move from death toward life. L. Ron Hubbard is not infallible nor has he ever claimed to be. In the 4th of Scientology he writes 'We may err, for we build a world with broken straws'.

But we do build. There is a Bridge to Freedom. I know because I have walked it. One can stand on the underside and complain about the paint job or the fact that there is no hot-dog stand yet, as Wallis does. Or one can walk over to the other side and try the view.

It would be true to say that there are areas of social problems wherein Scientology is, or has the potential of being, indispensable as a solution.

At this point the reader is probably in doubt about both Wallis and Scientology. I would invite you to do your own investigation. Get a copy of Dianetics Modern Science of Mental Health and read it along with this book. See for yourself which is more alive and hopeful and scientifically objective. And decide on the basis of your own comparison whether you wish to favor the Wallises of the world or the Scientologists, or to remain in doubt for now and wait for the historical dust to settle.

And as a final note, Wallis' thesis and my rebuttal are both a bit irrelevant. History will decide for both of us and indeed, I suspect, already is. The behavioural sciences and universities in general are being more and more abandoned by a whole generation, while Scientology, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook, is 'the largest of the new religions'.

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