

THE PAST 500 YEARS: CAPITALISM AS A CARGO - CULT ?

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Approaching the Third Millennium A.D., the year 1992 seems to be particularly appropriate to reflect upon millenarian and millernarist movements in a global context. It is not only the year in which European nations will try to merge into a kind of confederation after they have, during this century, waged among each other some of the most devastating wars of humankind's history. It is also the year in which peoples and nations all over the globe are confronted through worldwide media coverage with festive celebrations in Europe and America of 500 years of their "cultural encounter", an adventure that started in 1492 as a kind of Western cargo-cult. Hopefully the media will also give some attention to the manifestations of the descendents of those who were the first victims of that "encounter": indigenous peoples, blacks and women.

Is it accidental that on the American continent in the course of 1992 the first Earth Summit. United Nations Conference on Environment and Development was held, to discuss the future relationships between humankind and the earth? In the recently republished study by Kenelm Burrige *New Heaven, New Earth, A Study of Millenarian Activities* (1989 : 3) it is stated in "opening the problem"

"To dream a dream and make it come true; to realize the shape of what can be seen only in the mind's eye; to feel compelled to bring about the seemingly impossible - they are the prerogatives of man".

and:

"Whether as fowl, fraud, saint, respectable bourgeois, farmer or tycoon, the pain of the millenium belongs only to man. It is why he is man, why, when the time comes, he has to make a new man."

Of course women are, or should have been, implicitly or explicitly included in this statement, particularly since some of them, such as Vandana Shiva (1988) most forcefully express their concern about ecology and "development", and the extreme discrepancies created by the latter, led by men, particularly bourgeois and tycoons.

As can be seen from *Global 2000*, the voluminous report presented to former president Carter in 1980 with projections about the world's situation at the beginning of the Third Millennium, the 10% of the world's population living in rich Western capitalist countries will consume over 60% of the world's produce, while 80% of mankind living in the so-called Third World will (after Eastern Europe and Japan also have taken their - relatively modest - share) be left with about 20% of all goods and services. Thus in the year 2000 the few (10%) living in West-Europe and USA will - per capita - consume 24 times as much as the great majority of humankind and it is expected that this discrepancy will gradually worsen. Is it not an extremely naively utopian view to suppose that the majority of humankind, increasingly exposed to the Cargo of aggressive Western consumerist propaganda, will continue to take this discrepancy for granted for - say - another few "development" decades without massively engaging in more or less radical protest movements. As one of the first studies on millenarian movements Mühlmann (1961:355) already pointed out, the "cargo complex" of Papuas and other oppressed or exploited peoples is one example of the desire for just redistribution of the goods of the earth that (neo-)colonized and proletarianized people all over the world feel towards the relatively few who have benefitted disproportionately until now.

A question to reflect upon could be: which kind of movement or cargo cult will in the next millenium be the most massive within the context of a global natural environment where growth is already now becoming a zero-sum game? As the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987) and the many documents prepared for the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development show, the resources of the planet to satisfy the need of its inhabitants are so limited that more growth for the have's (the 10% rich) of the world's people will go at the cost of the have-nots, the 80% in the Third World, or vice versa.

The socialist development approach, which placed considerable emphasis, though perhaps less in practice than in theory, on the need for more egalitarianism and sharing, has suffered in Eastern Europe a definitive set-back and is in China painfully struggling to combine the opposites of sharing and competition. In countries under the IMF and World Bank sponsored capitalist development approach, i.e. inequality and austerity in order to be able to compete in the "free" world market, increasing numbers of the most capable people follow the urge to migrate to the Disneylands of the North even against the odds there of a very unfree labour market (for "other people"). Thus, one of the dilemma's discussed in relation with "1992" in Spain is that Latin American descendents of the conquerors are not allowed visas to "discover" 20th century Spain out of fear that they may try to remain there.

Most of the known millenarian movements and cults for a just (re)distribution have occurred in areas where the encounter between indigenous and Western people and cultures has been massive, shocking and disastrous for the indigenous. These were the conquest of South - and Central America by the Spaniards in the 16th century, the "pacification" of indigenous North American people's by the whites in the 18th and 19th century, submission of Bantu peoples in Southern Africa and the Melanesian peoples during the 19th and 20th centuries. It is the reactions of these peoples to Western encroachment which fill (most of) the pages in the comparative studies on millenarian movements by Worsley (1957-68), Lanternari (1963), Mühlmann (1961) and Wilson (1975).

After discussing various assumptions about the origin of Melanesian cargo cults Worsley in the preface to the second edition of his book (1969 : xlii) insists "that the *millenarian movements that have been historically important* (and which include the cults discussed in this book) are movements of the disinherited. Indeed, there is almost an element of tautology in having to say this: the movements are normally important because they mobilize masses". Worsley makes a clear distinction between massive millenarian movements and "millenarism" as the belief system of small-scale sects or coteries as they emerge among the better-off. Brian Wilson (1975a: 9-30) in his comparative study of (mostly Western) sectarianist and millenialist (as he prefers to call them) movements emphasized as their main characteristic the element of "response to the world", particularly those aspects viewed as evil, often leading to a "search for salvation".

"But everywhere there is a problem of evil, and everywhere men are disposed to seek salvation from it. The scale of soteriological promise is clearly related to the scale on which evil is depicted, from the local incidence of illness to the destiny of all mankind. It is thus evident that salvation may range from limited demand for *ad hoc* instant therapy to programme for the reorganization of the world" (Wilson 1975a: 22).

He then distinguished seven types of responses: (1) conversion, (2) destruction and revolution, (3) withdrawal and introversion, (4) manipulation and transformation, (5) thaumaturgical relief e.g. healing, (6) reformism, (7) utopian response. These are sociological distinctions. In historical and political reality response can move from one type to another according to the degree of success or opposition encountered. Most of the cases of millenialist movements Wilson describes are a response to some form of domination, but he pays little attention to the motives behind the "magic" of the invader" (ibid: 309) to which movements responded. Also Trompf (1990: 2) recently pointed out in his comparative study that most millenarian movements and cargo cults have been pictured as a kind of anti-colonial resistance movements. In his discussion of Cargo (with a capital letter:

as essential to cargo-cults) Trompf (1990: 10-11) describes how this concept implies "a totality of material, organizational and spiritual welfare, collectively desired as a replacement for current inadequacy, and projected into the imminent future as a coming 'salvation' ". He further noted that what a "whiteman" or foreigner possesses is to the lowly villagers so extraordinary that it already implies for them some miracle or transcendence.

Taking up this interpretation of Cargo it could be said that the recent studies on the 1492 events seem to indicate that to the "whitemen" of that time the treasures of foreign peoples seemed to have had similarly miraculous attraction. Following up on Trompf's (1990: 9-15) questioning of precise definitions of cargo and cultist movements and his suggestion to apply the terms also to affluent situations, would it be too far-fetched to see also the manner in which colonialism (and its successor neo-colonialist "development" policies) have established themselves, as a kind of cargo-cult, "commodity millenialism" as Wilson called it? A crucial question is: what was it that motivated those charismatic personalities who unleashed "discovery", conquest and pillage upon far away tribal societies as well as upon highly sophisticated civilizations such as Aztek, Inca and Maya? What kind of Cargo were they after when provoking the "great dying" (Wolf 1982) in the Americas? The literature presently produced about the 1492 events shows that the search for El Dorado, the abundance of gold, was the main motivation of Spanish conquerors, though conversion of heathens to christianity was also important for the "most catholic majesties" who sent the conquerors out. Columbus, "that first great entrepreneur" (in the words of the head of the US Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission established by the US Congress during the Reagan years), wrote in his logbook: "Of gold is treasure made, and with it he who has it does as he wills in the world and even sends souls to Paradise" (quoted in Searle 1992: 69-70). This led to what historian John Dyson puts in his celebratory biography of Columbus: "After Jesus Christ, no individual has made a bigger impact upon the Western world than Christopher Columbus" (quoted in Searle 1992: 67).

As Stevenson (1992) pointed out Columbus' aspirations had a powerful millenarian strain, as could be seen from one of the letters he wrote in 1500: "God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth of which he spoke in the Apocalypse of St. John after having spoken of it through the mouth of Isaiah: and he showed me the spot where to find it" (quoted in Stevenson 1992: 27).

This statement, like others one can find in Columbus' logbook, shows a considerable cargo-cult element in the drive for "discovery", conquest and gold of him and his sponsors. He also had certain characteristics strongly resembling those of charismatic leaders of such cults or movements. As Adolf Bastian one of the founders of German anthropology over a century ago remarked in an essay on insanity, shamanism and possession states:

"Columbus was considered a fanatic and crackpot, even insane, because the train of his thought was not in harmony with the ideas of his time. He was not mentally ill, but he could have become so in time. His fanaticism and eccentricity lay in the fact that he had erected a certain idea system through persistent study of ancient geographers, a system of thought in which he thoroughly believed. The traditional knowledge of his time knew the same hypotheses of those geographers, but most people had no personal interest in proving them true or false, merely accepting them side by side with other ideas. Columbus was considered to be a man who made strange jumps in his thinking, and people laughed about the eccentric" (Bastian in Koepping 1983: 193).

It is interesting, however, to observe that in the most important literature on millenarism and cargo cults the name of Columbus is not mentioned in the index among the many charismatic personalities who have initiated or led such enterprises (see e.g. Mühlmann 1961, Worsley 1957/68, Wilson 1975).

In order to compare and interpret millenarian happenings Mühlmann (1961: 251) introduced Rudolf Otto's term "charismatic milieu". To understand the early emergence of christianity as a chiliastic movement Otto, in his classic

Das Heilige, tried to take into account the "atmosphere of charisma" in which it occurred, the expectation of people, the role of specially gifted personalities and their acceptance.

If the same is done with the initial emergence of the capitalist "world system" around 1492 one can also find an appropriate atmosphere in Spain. In that same year (2 January 1492) the Moors had been driven out of Granada, which for 800 years had been the most western centre of Islamic civilization. Thousands of books on mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, were burned by priests of the Holy Inquisition. In that year in addition to three million Moors, 500,000 Jews were expelled from Spain and many more were "converted" to Christianity (Carew 1992). The scientific knowledge of the Moors and the wealth seized from the Jews could be used for the adventure that Columbus intended to accomplish.

What was the motivation that led a small emerging nation, originating from the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, the "most Catholic majesties", to immediately try to spread its influence through Conquest and Inquisition all over the world? Was it the inferior position of Northern Spain facing the sophisticated and powerful civilization of the Islam in the South that created the "charismatic milieu" for the cargo cult of "discovery" and conquest?

Were the Dutch who soon followed suit to move and spread that "world system" similarly motivated, reacting to many decades of domination and extravaganza by the Spanish? Thus becoming, led by the charismatic William the Silent and his son Maurice, the facilitators of the emergence of the 'spirit of capitalism' (Weber 1978: 235 and 242) and the first to fully develop the "colonial system" as Marx observed in his chapter on the original accumulation of capital? The Dutch cargo-search in the colonies was from the middle of the 17th century onward matched and outdone by the British in a competitive endeavour in which the Puritans and their charismatic leader Cromwell played initially a crucial role. Capitalism and colonialism became then institutionalized in these emerging West-European nations in the following period.

In his treatment of "nationalism" in the comparative context of chiliastic movements Mühlmann (1961: 382-388) deals only with modern forms of nationalism in Africa or the Orient but not with the European nations as they emerged one after the other "in response to the world" - to use Wilson's phrase - during the last five centuries. Neither does he analyse capitalism as the most important movement that tried to transcend nationalist aspirations, after initially nation-based expansion, though he did emphasize (Ibid: 354) the need to carefully study the initial advances of what he called "Raub-Kapitalismus" (robber-capitalism). In their effort to come to grips with the emergence and decline (or repression) of local millenarian movements most authors on this topic have overlooked the expectations, movements and cults of those against whom most social resistance movements have felt the need to move though some case studies have been made by Mamak (1979) for Bougainville, Junc Nash (1979) and Al Gedicks (1979) for USA and Huizer (1976) for Cuba.

Mühlmann (1961) is one of the few anthropologists who have given some attention to the history of dialectical relationships between millenarian movements and preceding but institutionalized former millenarian movements: early christianity reacting to officialized Roman "paganism", heretical movements against institutionalized christendom, protestant currents against the Roman Catholic church, puritans against the Anglican Church of England, but he gave little attention to the secularized expressions of such movements in the form of the "protestant ethic" facilitating the emergence of capitalism in Holland, England and later particularly in the USA. Max Weber (1978) in this classic essay, first published in 1903. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* gives considerable attention to the work of Benjamin Franklin as a culmination of this trend. Later in the USA capitalism first became, after two world wars and the depression in between, a full-blown consumerist society the "American dream", attracting the admiration and influx of millions of immigrants from all corners of the world.

Gary Trompf's (1990:12) discussion of definitions of cargo and millenarian

movements, referred to above, pointed to consumerist capitalism in terms of a cargo-cult, without going into the implications however:

"In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels rightly perceived the immense potential for capitalism to undermine every traditional social order. Perhaps more slowly than they expected, yet by means far more astounding technologically than either of them foresaw, a thousand and one concrete statements of consumerism have come to be made in the furthest reaches of the Earth. Television has become available to virtually every Indian village (since 1975); transistor radios and cassette recorders sit in some of the most out-of-way villages of highlands New Guinea; Eskimos come into the trade stores to purchase cola and Amazonian Indians to buy tinned meat; and so on. There is a new world of more and more remarkable things, and the greatest, if often overlooked revolution of the last hundred years is that now millions upon millions of homes in richer parts of the world have more millions upon millions of gadgets, household appliances, time-saving devices, electrical outlets to go with them etc., while still more millions upon millions of people in other, less privileged parts of the world would like to share in this extraordinary abundance, indeed in the veritable 'miracle' of it all."

Therefore it may be worthwhile to quote what Marx and Engels wrote almost 150 years ago about the "bourgeoisie", the force behind the creation of the world market and the growing of what he called "universal intercourse, of allround interdependence of the nations":

"That which characterizes the bourgeois epoch in contradistinction to all others is a continuous transformation of production, a perpetual disturbance of social conditions, everlasting insecurity and movement. All stable and stereotyped relations with their attendant train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, and the newly formed becomes obsolete before it can petrify. All that has been regarded as solid crumbles into fragments; all that was looked

upon as holy, is profaned; at long last, people are compelled to gaze open-eyed at their position in life and their social relations" (Marx 1962/1848: 48-50).

This is not all there is to say, however, about the dialectical relationship between millenarian and other resistance movements and the force to which these react. Trompf (1990: 3) rightly criticizes Worsley, as a neo-Marxist, for underestimating the religious implications of millenarian movements. Another relevant observation about the Marxist explanation of millenarian movements was made earlier by Burridge (1989: 131).

"Being itself millenarian, Marxism can, like the early Christian, explain millenarian movement in terms of its own postulates and experience. On the other hand, denying the deity or divine interventions, the 'Marxist' cannot explain the prophet and his inspiration. Positive and materialist, it prefers to regard the prophet as irrelevant, accidental, or at most as occupying a socially determined role, an ambiguous and unnecessary catalyst in a developmental process that might be more rationally achieved and ordered without him. Concentrating on features of conflict in social relations, Marxism seeks to explain the conflict between groups or classes of persons by referring to a continuing process of competition for resources: the materialist historical dialectic."

Burridge sees millenarian activities as religious and explains that all religions are concerned with "different kinds of power, particularly those seen as significantly beneficial or dangerous" (Ibid: 5). He interprets millenarian movements mainly as a redemptive process striving for salvation from inner or outer forms of oppression. Burridge (1989: 32-55) also observed - though tentatively - that the majority of recorded millenarian movements seem to have occurred in Europe and in areas of the world strongly affected by Europeans and their Judaeo-Christian tradition.

While most anthropological studies of millenarian movements and cargo cults have concentrated on the local, often "exotic", peculiarities among specific peoples where they occurred, only few

scholars have given attention to Judaeo Christianity itself as a millenarian movement, not to speak of capitalism and the "bourgeoisie" that created the situations in which, locally, other millenarian movements could emerge. This is not surprising since anthropologists and other social scientists themselves are part of the European Judaeo Christian and Capitalist Colonialist traditions that have provoked millenarian reactions elsewhere, which on then - ethnocentrically - pictured as alien and exotic happenings. Self-knowledge and realization does not appear to be the greatest strength of Western science and religion.

Only of late has critical reflexion become fashionable in certain Christian circles. Thus a recent critical approach to the capitalist world system and the Church came from a representative of one of the most outstanding movements in Latin America at present, the thousands of ecclesial base communities spread over Brazil struggling for land reform and other issues. One of their main spokesmen, Franciscan theologian Leonardo Boff (1990), in the light of recent criticism of marxist theories (as regards Eastern Europe), strongly emphasized the usefulness of Marx' original analysis to come to grips with the influence of "bourgeois society" in Brazil (and most of the Third World). His activities were made practically impossible within the context of the Church, so that he resigned from the clerus in 1992.

Another recent expression of awareness about the dialectical relation of grassroots movements and "bourgeoisie" came from representatives of many social movements of christian origin in a document presented at the World Council of Churches' Assembly in Canberra, Feb. 1991:

"Local elites in almost all communities have been co-opted into the global power system controlled by the owners and administrators of transnational capital. The strategy of 'low intensity warfare' (LIC) has been developed to control and even destroy any social movements, Christian base communities, liberation theology, and also national governments trying to establish a more just order. Military interventions, political pressures, economic destabilization, disinformation campaigns and socio-psychological warfare

are all part of this strategy" (de Santa Ana c.s. 1990: 64)

As the "bourgeoisie" as well as the social and millenarian movements consist of what Evers (1991) calls "strategic groups" in their interaction, some actors in these groups are playing more or less recognized leading roles and others, the majority, follow. Leadership of the "bourgeoisie" and the movements can be bureaucratic, traditional or charismatic, to utilize an old but perhaps useful typology of Max Weber. Leadership can be more, or less, centralized and hierarchical, depending on the situation. While in most studies of social movements at least some attention has been given to the types of leadership, as regards the "bourgeoisie" and its national, compradore or other variants, hardly any study has been made to its leading personalities or "strategic groups". To give a precise definition of the term "bourgeoisie" is even more risky than to do so for millenarian movements. As Van der Pijl's (1983, 1984) dissertation has shown, there exists considerable differentiation or even polarization between "fractions" of the "bourgeoisie(s)". I would like to point out that the charismatic personalities, trendsetters within the "bourgeoisie" are also crucial for understanding the ups and downs in their movement(s).

The way some of charismatic personalities have shaped the "bourgeoisie's" *Wirtschaftsethik* has been amply discussed in a recent overview by Klaus Hansen (1992). Hansen describes the impact of leading figures like Benjamin Franklin, Andrew Carnegie, Henri Ford, Watson, Lee Iacocca, Donald Trump have on the spirit of consecutive forms of merchant, industrial and postindustrial capitalism as they developed in the USA. Franklin's ideological statements were taken as an example already by Max Weber (1978) to describe the "protestant ethic" and the "spirit of capitalism". Franklin's mentality of the "success myth" (through hard work and saving) was overtaken at the end of the 19th century by the rise of "big business" represented by the founder of US Steel Andrew Carnegie, whose approach - in an idealized way - is reflected in his autobiographical "The Gospel of Wealth and other Timely Essays". Carnegie introduced massive organizational adjustments such as cost

accounting and cost based management in which the workers became mere cost factors to be kept as low as possible for the sake of profit and further investment. This "ethic" of what Carnegie called the "magic power of ownership" was supported by the British philosopher (and close friend of Carnegie) Herbert Spencer's interpretation of Darwin's theory that then became known as "survival of the fittest" (Hansen 1992: 80-108).

At the beginning of the 20th century Henri Ford invented his model T automobile to be produced on the assembly-line and promoted a strategy and "ethic" that revolutionized capitalist production. Ford's prophetic role, as Hansen (1992: 112) points out, can be seen in transforming the automobile from a luxury product into an item for mass-consumption in a time that there was an unlimited market. When this market became satisfied a few decades later the "visionary" Henry Ford, then an entrepreneurial "dictator" ruling a vast empire, missed the flexibility to adjust to the emerging need for competitiveness, "public relations", "appeal" (rather than simplicity) until he was practically forced to change after the death of his frustrated son Edsel causing the women in the family to rebel against his authority (Hansen 1992: 109-134). It is probably not unrelated to his authoritarianism that Ford supported the emergence of Hitler in Germany (Pool and Pool 1978).

Some outstanding business leaders whose efforts and ideas contributed to what Hansen (1992: 135-200) called the "post-industrial phase" are Thomas Watson, founder of International Business Machines and later Lee Iacocca and Donald Trump. They introduced new styles of leadership in line with the overabundance of consumerist society that emerged before and particularly after the Second World War in the USA. In this period salesmanship became more important than productivity and Watson was a "genius" in that field and developed "salesforce" and "public relations" of which "corporate identity" became an important aspect. From producing for the fulfilment of needs, which was part of Ford's strength, emphasis shifted to the creation of new needs. The importance of "marketing" and "styling" and in those efforts relying more and more on such

vague capacities as "creativity" and "intuition" were emphasized by Iacocca (who made the fancy *Mustang* a success automobile) and the real estate speculator Donald Trump (who wrote "The Art of the Deal") whose excessive showmanship and risky deals brought him from glamour to bankruptcy.

According to some futurologists such as Alvin Toffler (1981: ch. 23) the most sophisticated developments in science and technology will facilitate a "super-struggle" still ahead so that a new "third wave" trend can gain impact (Toffler 1981: 346) out of the chaos created by post-industrialism.

This "super-struggle" seems to be gaining influence at present. The "bourgeoisie" and its "large corporate actors" have become powerful determinants of individuals' lives but are not (yet) accountable for the risks they take (e.g. regarding the environment). Also scientific knowledge is increasingly entangled in the games of corporate actors, as was expressed by the post-modernist Lyotard (1984: 5-6) when he observed that science is now becoming a merchandise, a commodity no longer controlled by its producers:

"Already in the last few decades, economic powers have reached the point of imperiling the stability of the State through new forms of the circulation of capital that go by the generic name of multinational corporations. These new forms of circulation imply that investment decisions have, at least in part, passed beyond the control of the nation-states. The question threatens to become even more thorny with the development of computer-technology and telematics. Suppose, for example, that a firm such as IBM is authorized to occupy a belt in the earth's orbital field and launch communication satellites or satellites housing data banks. Who will have access to them? Who will determine which channels or data are forbidden? The State? Or will the State simply be one user among others? New legal issues will be raised, and with them the question: "Who will know?"

Herbert Schiller (1991) and Cees Hame link (1982, 1984a) analysed the growing influences of banks and other finance-capital interests behind the information-

industry, and emphasized that the "battle for minds" has become a new arena for international conflicts, since large-scale military confrontations now have outlived their usefulness (Hamelink 1984b). The process that implies that "all that was looked upon as holy, is profaned" (as was observed by Marx and Engels in 1848) is apparently continuing unabated. Or is it beginning to reach its own ecological and other limitations, as suggested even by the Club of Rome's 1972 Report and many following statements emerging from the power elite circles themselves. When the "bourgeoisie's" expansionist cargo-cult stunts becoming a zero-sum game the scenario of the dinosaurs no longer fitting their environment and destined to die out may come on the agenda (Hamelink 1984a: 128). Some representatives from the corporate circles have predicted that the 1992 European unity market will result in the fast disappearance of about half the present large-scale corporations, as they will be swallowed up by the other half (Fin. Times Nov. 23, 1988). Is this part of the "super-struggle" that Alvin Toffler predicted? In a more recent statement based on his frequent contacts with top-managerial people, Toffler (1985: 128) pointed out:

"Our managerial elites are staggering under an impossible decision load. That will force the elites to allow more people to participate to help carry the decision load. That's why we hear more and more about participatory management.....".

Later he adds that he does not mean "to suggest that all this happens without conflict. In fact, I anticipate tremendous conflict about the right to participate" (Toffler 1985: 129). Does this imply that the cargo cult unleashed by the "bourgeoisie" particularly in the USA is becoming aware of its limits and muddling through? Kolko (1988) shows, with a wealth of official sources, that important but sometimes contradictory U.S. economic and political interests are often behind many complex and controversial events particularly since the early seventies (see also Huizer 1980: 184-210). These interests have put their faith in the cargo of export-oriented development in Third World countries which has been characterized as "dependent capitalism" and is monitored on a world scale by the World

Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Kolko 1988). As both Kolko (1988) and Hancock (1989) show particularly the US government, and corporate interests which it more or less openly represents, are using these international bodies to monitor the economies of Third World countries rather than doing this directly. The networks of various Western states (such as the G7) seem to follow the same line. To what extent are the "free-market" policies dogmatic and self-defeating if seen in a long-term perspective? Ironically, as Kolko (1988: 249-264) shows, it is this kind of dependent development and "free-market" policies imposed or promoted by IMF and World Bank on countries like the Philippines which create conditions favourable to the emergence of radical social protest movements, even "creating a revolution".

Expressing views representative for many local movements, the World Council of Churches' publication "The Political Economy of the Holy Spirit" describes certain aspects of this cult:

"Nobody can deny the fascination that the market exercises upon people. Consumption patterns bewitch the masses. People want to participate in the market, but they are actually excluded from it. The plight of the poor is closely linked to the affluence of the rich" (de Santa Ana 1990: 13).

As the authors of this document point out, the modern market is the highest expression of the application of instrumental reason, one of the main fruits of 17th and 18th century Enlightenment. Its functioning has been described and propagandized by Enlightenment philosophers like John Locke (who had a big stake in the slave trade) and John Adam Smith who noted in *The Wealth of Nations* that when two tradesmen speak together they are already conspiring against the public. John Adam Smith himself was aware that the market could easily be perverted (Ibid: 46). How can a different approach be initiated for the next millennium?

While historians have at times over-emphasized the role of "personalities" in history-making, social scientists have probably under-emphasized their influence within the social forces and structures under consideration. In this context

Weber's term *charisma* has been used at times. Tentatively it can be observed that most renovating movements are led by charismatic personalities who can either be empowering their followers towards taking their fate into their own hands or can become authoritarian power-holders (not much different from their original enemies). Combinations or intermediate positions of these two "ideal types" are the most frequent in peasant or millenarian movements.

In his study of "cargo-cults" in Melanesia Peter Worsley (1968) deals extensively with the relative importance of charismatic leaders in the emergence of social movements. He points out (Ibid: xii) that a charismatic personality can only be called charismatic if he is recognized as such by followers:

"Charism, therefore, sociologically viewed, is a social relationship, not an attribute of individual personality or a mystical quality. That people believe in it is a datum, not a confirmation of the ultimate validity of the belief. Charisma thus provides, for those who believe in it, more than an abstract ideological rationale or a special kind of legitimation. It is a legitimation grounded in a relationship of loyalty and identification, in which the leader is followed because he embodies values in which the followers have an "interest"."

Worsley's observations regarding leadership in millenarian movements correspond with those on the role of charismatic leaders in the emergence of peasant organizations (Huizer 1972: ch. 7). The leaders are not only dependent on inner strength but on a capacity to voice and represent the interests of those, who follow their guidance. This capacity as such, however, can be seen as a gift: few people have it, and many don't.

Marglin, in a provocative study on knowledge and power, has indicated that also in Western society the power of making people follow and believe is a crucial element in determining behaviour, even in modern economic behaviour:

"It would be a mistake to think that the power of belief is a characteristic of traditional society from which we are liberated by modernization. One

cannot, I have argued, understand the workings of modern capitalist society without understanding the power of belief. Indeed, the most enduring contribution of John Maynard Keynes to twentieth-century economics may turn out to be his insight into the social construction of reality, particularly as to the way in which belief mediates between profit and investment. In the Keynesian view, the key to prosperity is the 'animal spirits' (his phrase) of the capitalist class. If businessmen are optimistic and believe profits will be high, they will invest in new plant and equipment to take advantage of the high level of profits. In this case, production and employment will be high, and growth will be rapid. In a word: prosperity" (Marglin 1990: 14).

Charisma is one of the concepts, used in Western sociology as well as in theology, that appears hard to define as "animal spirits". Max Weber (1968: 48) gave a classical description of *charisma* when he tried to make a typology of different kinds of authority:

"The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These as such are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. In primitive circumstances this peculiar kind of deference is paid to prophets, to people with a reputation for therapeutic or legal wisdom, to leaders in the hunt, and heroes in war. It is very often thought of as resting on magical powers."

Fabian (1971: 4-5) pointed out that Max Weber did not invent the term as Talcott Parsons once thought, but took it from theological thinking and seems to have accepted elements of this theological, if not magical, thinking.

"This aspect of the special, supernatural gifts of the charismatic leader remained a problem that neither Weber nor his followers were able to solve or to

reformulate in such a way that it could be tested empirically" (Fabian 1971: 5).

Weber has often been criticized for not being very precise in dealing with the topic of charisma (Worsley 1968: introduction). Also Downton (1973: 209) pointed out regarding charisma (as a term to deal with forms of leadership); "Yet a concept that applied so indiscriminately loses its usefulness for analytical purposes, except as a residual category for describing what we cannot fully understand or explain." Of course Max Weber (1956) himself, who characterized the book in which he introduced this concept as "verstehende" (= understanding, emphatic) sociology, is not to blame for the fact that not all of his concepts also serve "analytical purposes", neither is he to blame for the fact that certain things cannot be fully understood or explained within the paradigms of Western social science. Probably the main founder of sociology as a Western science was more aware of its limitations and willing to transcend these than most sociologists following him. The limitations are well expressed by Downton, leaving one puzzled, though, by the question if Weber's thinking was confused or that of most following social scientists, including Downton (1973: 209-239) himself in his chapter on "charisma as a psychological exchange", where he noted:

"A major source of confusion that has developed from the discussion of charisma arises from the integration of two distinct analytic orientations. Most writes tend to combine haphazardly both the social and psychological aspects of leader-follower relations a tendency begun by Weber himself. In fact, the social and psychological dimensions of Weber's analysis of charisma are neither clearly distinguished nor fully discussed, a situation that has produced a dispute concerning his real intention. From the social perspective, Weber recognizes that charisma is associated with certain conditions of structural strain that are especially pronounced during periods of accelerated social change. Also, he alludes to the fact that charismatic leaders must produce concrete returns for their followers or they will lose their right to lead. From the psycholo-

gical perspective, on the other hand, charisma is described as an affective sentiment that springs from the follower's belief in the extraordinary of superhuman powers of the leader. Which of these two approaches it most likely to enlighten our thinking about the nature of the charismatic commitment?" (Downton 1973: 210-211).

Bryan Wilson (1975: ch. 1) rightly warns in his essay on charisma for the too simplistic view that all kinds of social situations are caused by specific personalities rather than impersonal forces. On the other hand he noted that charisma can be a cause of social change or a reaction to social distress or crisis. Weber (1968: 19) clearly emphasized that he used the concept of charisma in a "value-neutral" sense in order to distinguish this form of authority or leadership from normal patriarchal or bureaucratic leadership of everyday routine situations. When dealing with power and authority Weber (1968: 48 ff.) made a distinction between charismatic leadership that becomes "routinized" and the "transformation of charisma in an anti-authoritarian direction". In the latter case charismatic authority rests on the recognition by those object to it.

One of the problems in discussing charismatic and bureaucratic authority is that these phenomena are not always clearly distinguished or contradictory. Working in practical and concrete situations with these phenomena, e.g. in peasant movements, one finds, as Max Weber already suggested with his concept of "routinization of charisma", that there often occurs a process in which one type of authority gradually evolves into the other. This implies that there are stages between charisma and bureaucracy (see Huizer 1972: ch. 7). An interesting study, specially focussing on the routinization of charisma in Sarvodaya Shramadana, a social movement in Sri Lanka, initiated and later directed by a charismatic leader Ariyaratne, appears in Wismeyer's (1986) dissertation, showing the difficulty of applying typologies. In reality most social movements are showing elements of both charisma and bureaucracy in the leadership's approaches. It is not rare that in cases of a bureaucratization which stiffens

the flexibility of a movement, or concentrates disproportionate power in a leader or group of leaders, from the ranks new charismatic personalities emerge who, if duly supported, can revive the old impetus including (or not) the leadership.

It has been indicated by Mayer (1979: 20, 119) that the example of charismatic leadership that was a main inspiration for Weber to develop its conceptualization in his time were not leaders of the down-trodden but rather the more influential social actors, e.g. Bismarck, and in the economic sphere the bourgeois capitalist entrepreneurs. Weber was aware of the risks involved with such leadership, particularly if economics and politics were combined:

"The proclamation of the charismatic principle within the realm of the economic system must ultimately destroy democracy, once it concludes an alliance with the charismatic leader in the realm of politics" (Mayer 1979: 96).

The "bourgeoisie" has its charismatic personalities and these appear generally to be of the authoritarian hierarchical type, and in some cases even prepared to use terror to achieve their goals (see e.g. Kolko 1988, Chomsky 1985). Beyond the field of business administration little research has been done regarding the mentality of such personalities. A recent study by Dean and Mihalasky (1978) shows that of a sample of the most successful corporate top-managers about 75% has special "psychic" qualities (e.g. precognition).

To my experience, as yet not systematized, many charismatic mass - or grassroots leaders often also have these qualities. A puzzling question behind such facts remains: what is it that motivates those who move or guide the people's social movements and on the other hand those who lead "the bourgeoisie (which) cannot exist without incessantly revolutionizing the instruments of production" (Marx 1962/1848: 49)? Another relevant question is: what are the differences between corporate elites of Western Europe, Japan and the U.S.A. as regards long-term or short-term strategies? Significant differences have been noted by Roos (1991). An outstanding example of the US managers approach, the I.T.T. General

Manager Harold Geneen (who offered US \$ 1,000,000 to the C.I.A. to overthrow the Allende regime) stated about his management approach:

"I wanted to create that kind of an invigorating, challenging, creative atmosphere at ITT. I wanted to get the people there to reach for goals that they might think were beyond them. I wanted them to accomplish more than they thought was possible. And I wanted them to do it not only for the company and their careers but also for the fun of it" (Geneen 1984: 129).

The main objective of this management effort was "a steady stable growth of 10 to 15 percent increase in earnings per share for each and every year. Together we set out the double our earnings in five years" (Geneen 1984: 131). This motivation (increasingly absurd in the context of a zero-sum ecology) was apparently enough to overcome moral qualms about killing thousands of Chileans and overthrowing a democratically elected government. To what extent is this "belief" as Marglin (1990) called it, part of the "abstract heartless philosophy" that according to two experts in management studies Peters and Waterman (1982: 45) predominates among the top-managers who reach "excellence" in their field. It was also observed by these experts:

"Professionalism in management is regularly equated with hardheaded rationality. We saw it surface at ITT in Harold Geneen's search for the 'unshakable facts'. It flourished in Vietnam where success was counted by body counts. Its wizards were Ford Motor Company's whiz kids and its grand pajandrum was Robert McNamara. The numerative, rationalist approach to management dominates the business schools" (Ibid: 29).

When facing the exaltation in the confrontation with social movements such as the peasant rebellion in Vietnam this "hardheaded" management approach, an "affliction" as it was called (Ibid: 29) can lead to catastrophe, as noted:

"Our obsession with body counts in Vietnam and our failure to understand the persistence and long-time horizon of the Eastern mind culminated in one of America's most catastrophic mis-

allocations of resources - human, moral and material" (Ibid: 45).

A careful study of the leading circles in the (main fractions of) Western power elite(s) and their motivation, strategies and mutual relationships appears highly relevant particularly since the last few years the operations and activities of the "bourgeoisie(s)", appear more and more to resemble millinarian movements reacting to crises with a cargo belief in an increasingly aggressive manner.

Of course in the post-industrial phase as it first developed in the USA and later spread to Western Europe the growing influence of "mind managers" to spread and consolidate this cargo-cult has been crucial as was observed by Herbert Schiller (1973: 4).

"Where manipulation is the principal means of social control, as it is in the United States, the articulation and refinement of manipulative techniques take precedence over other intellectual activities. In accordance with market principles, therefore, manipulative work attracts the keenest talent because it offers the system's richest incentives. Talented Ph.D.'s in English literature wind up as advertising copy-writers. Madison Avenue pays a lot more than do college English departments."

Schiller (1973: 8-24) describes and analyzes some of the "myths" that form part of this manipulation of consciousness, among which are the myth of individualism and personal choice, the myth of the "end of ideology" and the myth of unchanging human nature and a pessimistic appraisal of human potential. Among the techniques to mould consciousness are the fragmentation and immediacy of information and entertainment. Schiller (1973: 94-102) pictures Walt Disney Productions Inc. as one of the strongest and extremely lucrative creations to entertain people into conformity and Walt Disney is therefore seen as "one of the ten greatest men of business in American history", along with Carnegie, Ford and John D. Rockefeller.

Although not specially studied by Hansen (1992) it is clear that the "charismatic milieu" in which the business leaders operated is at least as important as the

charisma of these personalities. And this "charismatic milieu" had to do with the crises and trends of an increasingly complicated and unpredictable global economy. It seems that these crises and complications are not faced with scientific rationality and the development of a total view on how and where the world economy (not to speak of ecology) is going, but rather with cargo-cultist beliefs (or IMFundamentalist dogma's). The Wirtschaftsethik prevailing particularly in the Reagan and post-Reagan charismatic epoch now seems to have come close to a most serious crisis.

Tom Peters (1988), in his latest work on excellence in management, speaks of "facing up to the need for revolution" and "thriving on chaos":

"Mergers and de-mergers are just one part of the madness. Strategies change daily, and the names of firms, a clear indicator of strategic intent, change with them" (Ibid: 8).

Such recent management literature is full of movement language on creative and "revolutionary" leadership. The "super struggle" predicted by Toffler (1981) that now appears to emerge in and among the "bourgeoisie" opens new perspectives for millenarian movements such as the New Age movement. In his recent comparative study of Cargo and millenarian movements Trompf (1990: 58-64) includes New Age and Aquarium themes from Western America and Eastern Australia.

A main spokes-woman for the New Age movement, Marilyn Ferguson has at several occasions stated how the activities of the "acquarian conspiracy", as she calls this movement, are supported or organized by companies like Lockheed, Royal Dutch Shell, IBM, General Motors, and Rockefeller and Ford Foundations (e.g. Ferguson 1976: 260; also in her interview Volkskrant, 15 September 1984). Some of the topmanagers of the corporations or institutions against which grassroots social movements direct their activities, do participate in the New Age movement. Herbert Schiller (1991: 9) quotes a relevant observation from a *Wallstreet Journal* report on the usefulness of "New Age speak" to cope with the challenges posed to business circles and national politics "approaching the twenty-first century":

"Abuzz with buzzwords, corporate America has started one of the most concerted efforts ever to change the attitudes and values of workers. Dozens of major U.S. companies—including Ford Motor Co., Proctor and Gamble, TRW, Inc., Polaroid Corp., and Pacific Telesis Group, Inc.- are spending millions of dollars on so-called New Age workshops. The training is designed to foster such feelings as team work, company loyalty, and self-esteem.. Most of the programs share a common, simple goal: to increase productivity by converting worker apathy into corporate allegiance."

Interestingly enough a great deal of the inspiration of the New Age movement is derived from the Third World, particularly currents of the great religions such as Soefi-Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism (see e.g. Capra 1976, 1983). Among the "Eastern" influences that are highlighted in currents of the New Age movement Gandhi is an important example. When Ferguson (1980:189-240) deals with issues of politics and "right power" she frequently takes elements from the Gandhi-led social movement for the independence of India, such as *satyagraha* or "soul force":

"Satyagraha is the strategy of those who reject solutions that compromise the freedom or integrity of any participant. Gandhi always said it is the weapon of the strong because it requires heroic restraint and the courage to forgive. He turned the whole idea of power upside down" (Ferguson 1980: 200).

The Indian Congress' civil disobedience campaign of 1930, disobeying British legislation regarding its salt monopoly is discussed as an example (Ibid: 238-239). Another important aspect of Gandhi's strategy incorporated in the New Age movement is networking or as Gandhi called it "grouping of unities" (Ibid: 216). Ferguson also noted that networking and linkage building for social change can be compared to the "emerging supranational web of corporations" (Ibid: 217). It should be observed however that while some of Gandhi's strategies may be embraced by the New Age movement, this latter clearly remains an elitist and middle-class movement. As Rajini Kothari (1970: 50-60) pointed out Gandhi used his strategies

to build a bridge between the middle-class and the poor masses as a basis for "national awakening" and placed strong emphasis on "sacrifice", "constructive work" and "serving the people". These elements seem to be conspicuously lacking in most of the New Age movement.

The New Age movement, as described by most of its authors (Ferguson 1980: Capra 1978, 1983), deals with "global issues" but in fact restricts itself mainly to what happens in California, the USA, or the Western countries, covering altogether not more than 10 percent of the globe's population. They are not "anti-systemic" and the real issues of mankind's survival, the growing rich-poor contradiction on a world scale, are not tackled at all by these social movements neither directly nor indirectly. Is it the opium for the better-off?

While the contradictions between the wealthy and the poor and powerless in the world as a whole are rapidly increasing, the wealthy, particularly the most extremely wealthy, seem to be sensing the impossibility of this trend to continue eternally, or even for another few decades. Beginning doomsday feelings are often, as was observed by Mühlmann (1961: 371) accompanied by ideas about "the end of history". It is interesting to observe that while on the one hand businessmen see crisis and uncertainty all around, politicians and their spokesmen speak of a "new world order" or even the "end of history" (Fukuyama 1990).

As Mühlmann (1961: 367) describes, views regarding "the end of history" have appeared time over again among different peoples and civilizations, as part of millenarian tendencies. He also points out that such eschatological "the end of history" views mostly go accompanied by expectations of the beginning of a radically new and more satisfactory epoch or millenium. This, of course, is not exactly the idea of Fukuyama and the circles for which he wrote his essays, but - ironically - the publication of his works coincides more or less with a recession in his country which according to best-selling economic analyses like that of Ravi Batra (1988), have all the characteristics of becoming a cyclical "great depression", of the 1929 proportions or even worse. Batra (1988), whose view regarding the

(Cont. from page 19)

present economic crisis has a certain similarity with those of André Gunder Frank (1992), points out that such a depression occurs when extreme concentrations of wealth in very few hands occur, as became visible during the Reagan years in the USA. Will the obsessive pursuit of accumulation by these, the Cargo cult unleashed by "the bourgeoisie" and its charismatic leaders, reaching worldwide impact during the last five centuries finally falter or even come to a halt, like command socialism in Eastern Europe, because of the limits imposed by Mother Earth and the world's peoples movements for survival and a whole world?

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