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Lórberg   Enneke Johanna

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

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Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

The Netherlands

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS,

SOCIAL CHANGE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

THEORIES AND CASES

BY

Ⓒ ENNEKE JOHANNA LORBERG

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

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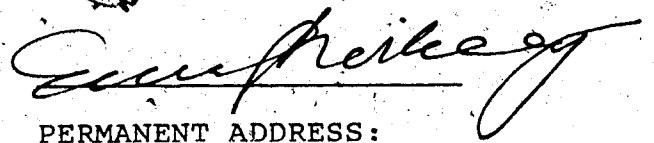NAME OF AUTHOR   ENNEKE JOHANNA LORBERG

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to examine theories and models of millenarian movements, and to show how deeply relevant the phenomenon of millenialism is to Community Development. Social dynamics generated during the process of millenarian movement under its charismatic leadership may be viewed as a way in which a tribe, a group or nation comes to terms with and absorbs rapid social changes, and how it participates in and contributes to its own socio-cultural resynthesis. Theories of revolution, revolt, and relative deprivation are put in historical and comparative perspective. Charisma, both in the setting of traditional and modern societies, is taken into account. This leads up to an analysis of how social movements, social change and millenarian beliefs and activities may be deeply interwoven in societal reality.

Millenialism is a dimension found in various degrees of intensity in social movements. Most salient characteristics of millenialism are collective action undertaken by a group in oppression or deep frustration with their social, economic, political and/or cultural conditions. Their joint action--mostly under charismatic leadership--is a desperate attempt to bring about total and imminent salvation for the group members out of a fervently kept belief that: transcendental powers, ancestors returning

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from death and/or God will intervene directly in the present situation of despair and disorientation. To speed up the coming of a new world, a new society in a "golden age", the members of the sect are frantically urged to get ready for the final event. Some of the old values and rites suddenly have become meaningless, others are imbued with a new transcendental meaning. One part of the belief system is fanatically rejected, the other part is dramatically revitalized. The adherents to the movement are torn between suffering experiences of an impossible present, projecting fantastically towards a dream reality of the future, at the same time assuming that this golden age is to crystallize right then and there. By getting all carried away in these revolutionary illusive projections--which they experience as imminent full reality in their own present time--they are making a leap into a transcending level of existence.

Under successful charismatic leadership, deep resentment can find an outlet and take the form of a protest movement. In this manner the faithful learn in a group process how to differentiate between religious and political concerns. At the same time the members of the movement-in-the-making can free themselves from their political subordination which they perceive to be, in the colonial context, part and parcel of all missionary

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activities. By the time the movement gets going, new
ideas can be generated and diffused; even alien concepts
can be blended in. Then during the next stage of in-
creasing differentiation in society, these same movements
may become exclusively religious, again in a sublimation
of politics or as a substitute for it. Millenarian move-
ments may go through stages of becoming more or less
political.

In a concluding chapter, the Black Muslim movement
in the United States is taken as a case study to apply
principles derived from general theories on millenialism.
Apocalyptic dimensions are emphasized to show how--
specifically in a racial situation--the conflict may
take on a millenarian form and be expressed in deeply
religious symbols and fantastic group projections.

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This research and thesis could only be initiated and completed thanks first of all to my supervisor, Professor Dr. Arthur K. Davis, who revitalized my interest in conflict theory and who stimulated my thinking and writing and then gently but persistently speeded up and guided me through the whole process of producing chapters in such a manner that my initially millenarian concepts and projections started crystallizing in a more-or-less acceptable form.

Secondly, I would like to express my thankfullness to Professor Dr. Carlo Caldarola who aroused my interest in sociology of religion in general and in millenarian movements in particular, always proved to have access to more relevant literature, and was able to give me many pertinent suggestions. A word of thanks to Dr. Mohsen who kept announcing throughout the research that time was passing by and that deadlines were approaching. Special thanks to Mrs. Susan McKeen who typed with great precision and full dedication from extremely rough drafts.

Last, but not least, I would like to say thanks to my husband and children who tolerated for a long time an endless row of family routine interruptions which were bordering on outright neglect and total chaos. The belief though that a thesis does not need to be repeated, made

them somehow adjust to my time-consuming interest in the millenarian phenomenon.

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CHAPTER I

MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS AND LEADERS

a)   Introduction

Millenarian movements are an extra-ordinary kind of social movement where the whole process of group crystallization and mobilization during severe social malaise culminates in collective efforts at coping with and even initiating social change on terms formulated by the group engaged. The organizational mechanisms used and the revitalized belief system manifested during the millenarian process are all couched in old and/or new religious images, symbols and rituals. Because of the excessive modes of group behavior and because of the charismatic leadership as spell-bound followers turn into "true believers" and because of the frantic group mobilization, at times bordering on collective madness, the interpretation of millenialism has long focussed on the "erratic" and "ecstatic". Such aspects were assumed to be irrational. Consequently, the millenarian movements were mainly classified as forms of predominantly expressive rather than instrumental group behavior.

The aim of this thesis is to revise this interpretation by surveying recent literature on a wide variety of millenarian movements in different areas

at various times, both past and present. The thesis also
seeks to analyze some patterns of group behavior, indig-
enous leadership, and of ideology--as these relate to
millenial group-formation. Finally, theories, models
and approaches to the phenomenon of millenialism will
be analysed to show their relevance to Community Develop-
ment (CD) and its practitioners.

In the chapters following, a millenarian movement
is envisioned as a road built by the people themselves
to lift themselves out of societal malaise and stagnation.
It is a hinterland or underclass syndrome, brought on by
a dominant regime during rapid and stressful social
change. Long overdue assimilation has not materialized.
In such cases, a powerful majority or minority subordin-
ates the other group, because they have access to all
power, resources and above all to status. The sub-
group is then deliberately cornered. Its societal
survival is at stake.

This thesis will argue that in case of a millenarian
movement, the metropolis versus hinterland syndrome is
first of all social-psychological. It is deeply and
abruptly perceived as deprivation; it is manifested in
resentment, sudden inferiority feelings and acute frus-
tration. The other variables such as lack of political
power and of social-economic resources, are always inter-
woven with the social-psychological variable.

Metropolis and hinterland are taken here as symbols standing for hierarchical exploitation and oppression. To make this crystal clear from the beginning, "community" will refer to various forms of in-group feelings, not necessarily confined to such geographical entities as a specific city, town or region.

This thesis is about social movements, not necessarily about a specific place. Gemeinschaft will be taken directly from Toennies in its original meaning of kinship relations or shared identifications with a traditional society. Gemeinschaft is the emotional, primordial ties on which a vigorous social network is based, and by which intensive feelings of belonging and identifying with others are manifested.

To the bewildered outside observer, the millenarian movement appears as a sudden search for lost identity and for a rebirth of group assertiveness. The movement may seem to be a weird escapism, a disastrous detour actually leading to increased stagnation and oppression. It may even induce collective destruction after violence has broken out.

During the process of group mobilization, religion seems to be almost instinctively grasped by the group and its emerging leaders as a vehicle of orientation, projection, communication and organization. This is

not done because religion is a last straw or an emergency
group resource in the face of impending defeat.

At this critical stage of the game all other
"normal" channels of protest and revolt are blocked off
by the metropolis. The oppressed group's deep despair,
total alienation and acute resentment may be seen as
the main contributing factors in the rise of the millen-
arian movement.

However, the religiously stimulated counter-
ideology--incisively termed "utopia" by Mannheim--is
at the same time a revitalized base for the group whose
survival is at stake. The group goes through a struggle
to regain or to revise its threatened identity, and to
re-capture a positive self-image.

Hans Mol's recent theoretical contribution to
the study of religion, Identity and the Sacred, is highly
relevant to this group phenomenon and to CD in general.
The reweaving of the web--to use Wallace's profoundly
evocative term--is not solely a reaction to attacks on
the group's original identity. As Mol shows, these group
remobilization processes are going on continuously. The
sacred is the most natural and closest plateau from which
any societal group can project and maintain itself. The
sacred is a niche of shared identity.

Selected literature on millenarian movements

indicates that millenialism can occur in any type of society, either so-called "traditional" or "modern". Highlighted in this thesis will be the most crucial components of Wallace's revitalization theory which hereby is recommended as mandatory reading for any CD facilitator. So are certain other classical studies on millenarian movements (see the attached Bibliography).

After we discuss major theoretical contributions to millenialism, causal variables, and stages millenarian movements typically go through, we shall turn to the concept of charismatic leadership. This appears to be highly relevant for local or indigeneous leadership--an element often assumed to be a basic component in CD.

Finally, the thesis will outline a case study of the Black Muslims where millenarian dimensions are emphasized. This has not before been done systematically in the existing literature on that particular movement. The example of the Black Muslims was deliberately chosen to illustrate how in a racial setting a conflict situation can easily take on apocalyptic dimensions without being understood by the dominant majority. By now, the Black Muslim movement has gone through several stages of development from a cluster of cults into a fully grown social movement. This makes it feasible to analyse in retrospect. Such analysis was impossible when Eric C. Lincoln

and E. U. Essien-Udom wrote about the early stages of
the Black Muslim movement.

b)   The Study of Social Movements and Social Change

The study of social movements has remained an
"underdeveloped" area in CD. When checking through CD
journals it appears that analysis of social movements
is not particularly suggested as a basic field of practical
and theoretical concern. What does seem to be of great
interest to CD practitioners is descriptive analysis of
desirable, if not mandatory characteristics proven
successful for CD facilitators. The type of training
recommended focusses on techniques which can be distilled
from general social scientific concepts.

This search for desirable characteristics and
techniques tends to overlook the area of social movements,
charismatic leadership and above all millenarian movements.
When looking at both descriptive analysis and photographic
illustrations of prophetic leaders in various modern
religious movements given by leading theorists like
Cohn, Lanternari, Sundkler, David Barrett, Barnet,
Worsley, and in many other studies on African Independent
Churches and sects, one wonders whether the exotic
costumes and the dramatic ecstatic behavior and the

group trances obvious from the descriptions and illus-
trations have not turned the so-called objective researcher,
away out of fear, lest he be identified himself as a
prophet instead of as a professional community developer.

.For a long time, interest among historians and
sociologists has been centering on main stream develop-
ments, in history and society. More recently, however, a
new fervent interest in small movements, counterstreams,
countercultures, minority sub-cultures, and cults and
sects has been mushrooming. The respective ideologies
of such movements have been analysed as having some
bearing or occasionally a great impact on the mainstream.
Social change is not always brought about by the majority
or supraordinate group. Coser incisively demonstrated
in his theoretical essay on this phenomenon that small
counter movements and obscure sub-groups may--after
initial failure and suppression--break through with
great ideological innovation into the mainstream of
society.

As far as theory is concerned, this thesis is
based in considerable part on Marx, Weber, Durkheim
and Toennies. But it can only encompass to a very
limited degree some of their major contributing concepts.
Marx's vision of social change, Weber's concept of charis-
matic leadership and his thesis on socio-economic change

based on "religiösische Affinität", and his Protestant
Ethic have had much influence on me. Moreover, Durkheim's
enriching idea of "conscience collective" and the so
deeply necessary continuing preservation of it during
the process of transition from mechanical to organic
society has stimulated my research. I mention here the
interpretations of Durkheim's work by Anthony Giddens.

This thesis attempts to use some of the most
essential concepts--what Nisbet calls idea-units--of
the rich European sociological heritage, without entering
the debate on whether Marx, Weber or Durkheim's respective
theories are more or less applicable from an ideological
perspective. I attempt to show that basic sociological
concepts like <u>class</u> <u>consciousness</u> and <u>conscience</u> <u>collective</u>
can be viewed as complementary, and can be applied to the
same social movement in order to reach a fuller under-
standing of the complex set of variables at play. At
the initial stage of the project, I was under the im-
pression that this thesis could look at millenarianism
briefly by applying Marx's concept of class consciousness.
This proved too restraining an approach: it excluded
other crucial elements of millenarianism, and it distorted
the rich fabric of which all social movements, especially
the millenarian ones, are made.

Weber implied at all times while coming to terms

with social change that he was in dialogue with Marx.
His own concept of Protestant Ethic was a counterthesis
to Marx's vision of change. Compare what Barnet did in
The Rise and Fall of an African Utopia, applying both
concepts at the same time to the millenarian phenomenon
in all its complexity and diversity.

Similarly, Toennies' and Durkheim's major contri-
butions to social thought are, though related, a juxta-
position of ideas mostly antithetical. Toennies never
seemed to imply the evolutionary optimism of Durkheim's
view of societal development--as if Gemeinschaft would
automatically be transformed into Gesellschaft. In
Durkheim, there appears to be more of a definitive
assumption--inherited from Comte and the 18th century
School of Enlightenment--that there is a progressive
societal development.

For understanding millenarianism and its crucial
centerpiece, charismatic leadership, one must come to
terms with these basic questions of evolutionary optimism
and linear thinking. One must deal with the assumption
that societies evolve increasingly from the so-called
"sacred" into fully "secular" realms. This premise
sees as end-stages of "Western development" where modern
advanced industrialized societies experience complete
secularization, where Gemeinschaft has evaporated, and

Gesellschaft has fully solidified; where the sacred has been banned from the mainstream of society and can only be found in isolated "backward" enclaves.

Precisely to avoid this kind of dangerously dichotomous thinking, this paper aims to use these rich sociological concepts by not putting them on a sequential continuum. Instead, our aim is to conceive of social development as a continuous process that itself is an ongoing juxtaposition of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. In that manner, Toennies originally did introduce the concepts--the one not necessarily excluding the other after a certain stage of development has been reached. Toennies did not use the term "aufheben" as Marx did along the Hegelian line of thinking: in terms of thesis, antithesis and new synthesis by Aufhebung.

> The objection has been raised, that these concepts represent, on the one hand, antithetical conception-
> al categories and, on the other hand, stages of
> historical development and that they also are
> mere classificatory concepts. The last of these
> is certainly not Toennies; meaning . . . to him
> Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft are pure concepts
> of ideal types which do not exist as such in the
> empirical world. They cannot therefore be applied
> as classificatory concepts. Rather, they are to
> be regarded as traits, which in empirical social
> entities, are found in varying properties.[1]

In millenarian movements the oppressed or dis-privileged are not necessarily one specific "class" but a segment within society of people who perceive loss of power and/or status--and primarily loss of status.

As discussed later in this paper, the concept of relative and absolute deprivation coined by Aberle in an incisive manner (modified, and even to a certain degree operationalized by Glock-Hammond) cannot explain or predict in absolute terms whether a millenarian movement will arise or not. But it can be useful when applied critically to measure and categorize degrees and dimensions of oppression, displacement and despair.

Marx's conceptualization of class consciousness can be fruitfully used if Marx is taken in his own context, that is, in the authentic perspective of his own time. To me, it appears that a comparison between Marx and Machiavelli's ideas about human nature when facing the forces of "fate" and about the risks at stake when individuals are engaged in a struggle with overpowering circumstances are related, even though there is a great distance between them in historical time. Too often Machiavelli has been misinterpreted, as if he claimed that Fortuna--a powerful metaphor for supernatural powers at work in human life--can make followers rally solidly and faithfully behind the leader. However this leader or ruler has to be supernatural himself in the ruthless application of force. When Machiavelli's concept of Fortuna is reduced to some form of supernatural brutal and blind force, his philosophy of human

nature as completely and automatically subordinated to a capricious Goddess Fortuna is not done justice.

Similarly, Marx's life-long struggle to come to terms with class consciousness cannot be reduced to a mechanical concept. Machiavelli appeared perplexed by the ambiguity and elusiveness of irrational forces at play in politics. He tried in vain to throw a net around the many variables at work in critical circumstances of socio-political disintegration and ensuing disorder. Here his barely gained emancipation from traditional forces seems to falter and halt in front of overpowering forces beyond human control, beyond the boundaries of possible yet human intervention: namely by Machiavelli's ideal-typical super-powerful ruler who unfortunately after having applied all his power techniques and strategies in a truly revolutionary manner--would yet appear to be powerless himself to face final battle with Fortuna.

Likewise, Marx seems insecure when it comes to predicting and guaranteeing the rise of class consciousness, so crucial in his vision of revolutionary change to be brought about by the working class of the oppressed. Marx's concept ought not to be taken in a narrowly mechanical manner. This distorts Marx's basic vision of man and society; his struggle with the fate of human

societies, his coming to terms with socio-economic
variables of which Marx conceived in a truly revolutionary
way--when compared to his own recent emancipation from
earlier 18th and 19th century explanations. As in
Machiavelli's case, Marx's new vision and emancipation
from traditional concepts were innovative yet incomplete.
Marx, too, was torn by the pros and contras of his own
exciting vision.

c)   The Study of Millenarian Movements

Millenarian movements have been misrepresented
and underestimated in their "positive" impact in bringing
about social change or accommodating a whole series of
changes which could be abbreviated as the process of
modernization.

> Traditional societies lack effective means for
> central decision making. Where their adversary
> is larger and better organized, their segmented
> forms of social organization cannot cope. Mille-
> narian movements attempt to solve this "problem
> of scale".[2]

This was elaborated by T. O. Ranger, Connections Between
'Primary Resistance' Movements and Mass Nationalism in
East and Central Africa, pp. 437-453 and 631-641.

> . . . The prophet offers an alternative to
> traditional local leaders and preaches his message
> to new and ever larger social groups. The prophet
> who responds to a societal crisis may provide the
> only means for organizational innovation.[3]

What has been truly intriguing to the present
writer is to ask to what degree millenarian movements
are a phenomenon of past societies. Wilson, in a most
impressive and profound argument, claims that millenarian
movements are only typical for what he seems to describe
as backward areas and enclaves of underdevelopment. As
explained elsewhere, I intend to disagree with that by
modifying this dichotomous manner of conceptualizing
about traditional societies versus modern societies.
One can pinpoint some of the definitive differences
between these two societies; but maybe not in such
absolute dogmatic, almost sectarian terms, as some
social scientists tend to do. A great passion for a
concept can endanger its "objective" application by the
user!

> The conventional revolutionary generally emerges
> in less traditional societies where voluntary
> associations are already prevalent, and he has
> only to design another such organization, devoted
> to the forcible rearrangement of the political
> system.[4]

This leads to the question: which characteristics
should be part of any definition of a modern society? For
example, many sociologists have brought out the dimension
and degree of voluntarism, as symptomatic of being "modern".
Here a brief discussion of the history of such phenomena as
revolt, rebellion and revolution would be appropriate.
(Compare G. Ellul, Autopsy of Revolution, a profound
historical analysis of medieval forms of revolt culmin-

ating at a later period in more organized forms of
revolution like the great French Revolution of 1789.)

Mannheim's major theoretical contribution to
analysing millenarian movements was his dichotomous
differentiation between the strong ideology of the supra-
ordinate group or class versus the lack of a strong
ideology among the subordinate or oppressed class. This
lack of a powerful ideology amongst the powerless was
defined as "utopia" by Mannheim. Since this well known
study appeared decennia ago, surprisingly little has
been done to apply this concept of status quo defenders
versus revolutionary discontented. Wallace called
Mannheim a sociologist whose method of analysis was
first of all anthropological, and he went on to summarize
poignantly the radically different methodological and
ideological approaches between European and American
anthropologists. The latter, for a long period, paid
little or no attention to groups with conflicting
interests, each entrenched differently in their own
positions of power and status.

> . . . building on a century of tradition of
> intense interest in the conflict of the interest
> groups, particularly the social classes, the
> European social scientist seems to be living in
> a world of mystically abstract intergroup dynamics,
> wherein social classes collide, plot and counter-
> plot, like vast shadows on a giant screen . . .
> but it is of utmost importance to the theory of
> culture and personality that anthropology in-
> corporate, and use, British and European insight

into the dynamic role of group loyalties, identifications, and interests, in determining the course of cultural change.[5]

Exactly this conflict perspective was injected by Mannheim to grasp the social-political dynamics inherent to the phenomenon of millenarianism. 'In their mutual struggle according to the traditional view of Mannheim's school, a synthesis of the two world views will emerge to become the ideology of the dominant class in the next phase of the dialectical process'.[6]

The crux of the matter in any revitalization movement is to come up with a new, satisfying group identity against a sudden threat from outside--for example, imperialistic pressure exerted by an invading, colonizing, technologically "superior" power. A competition for identity, status and power starts. This competition is particularly sharply felt by the subordinate group, the powerless fraction, tribe or whole nation under threat. This situation may develop in an international setting, or it may occur within one country where two or more groups feel the pressure of ruthless competition for power, access to resources and above all, status.

At first, one of the competing so-called inferior groups may search for help from another sub-group. But this may lead to failure and rejection when the potential ally turns around and sides with the enemy force who is in total control by then. In this socio-economic and political and cultural cul-de-sac, an alliance with

nobody--that is, complete autonomy for group self-
renewal--may be the only way out of the total malaise.
The revitalization movement is crystallizing. The whole
social-political situation is constantly being redefined
by the group from its own perspective of both despair
and hope.

Here Karl Mannheim's subtle redefinition of the
term "ideology" may become helpful. Against the ideology
of the all powerful and all pervasive faction or force
from outside, the group or nation under threat builds
up its own morale in the broadest sense by coming up
with a completely new explanation for the emergency
situation of disparity and despair.

Mannheim suggested decades ago--still not
theoretically worked out by later social scientists nor
systematically operationalized--to call this sub-group
ideology utopia, implying that in a millennial movement
the whole projection is stimulated by an unbearable
societal reality into a collective search for a better
place to live. "Place" may mean a different societal
reality altogether, or a different physical place--a
new "fatherland" or "land without evil". (There are
many instances among Indian tribes in Brazil.)

This group process of projecting passionately
and intensively towards a better future is typical for

many acculturation situations. A dilemma is faced by the whole group, class, segment or total society: its whole survival is at stake. They cannot possibly accept the novel culture because it implies that their own culture has outlived its usefulness. Their own identity is at stake. They need a neutral vehicle, not one tainted by the colors of the force already imposing itself on them. They need their own brandname, a new cultural framework to help them make the giant leap into change. They cannot simply copy what they need from the novel technology.

To forsake their own identity in a wholesale manner would mean committing group suicide. If one faction feels threatened by being increasingly left out from major access routes to power and status and goods, it has to get its own group image redone from its own roots. Then, during this revitalization process, it may feel more and more confident to add new elements into the rebuilt framework: crucial pillars to support the modified total structure.

> This is in fact what organization means and
> societies strive to maximize it by maximizing
> both order and complexity. But too many possi-
> bilities are already in the field, and when the
> orderliness of events diminishes, the only possi-
> bility for improvement lies in simultaneously
> simplifying the repertoire and insisting on
> regularity of performance. Such a procedure
> often carried out under the auspices of religion,
> constitutes a revitalization movement. [7]

During the process of a millenarian movement, an
unbearable situation of societal disorganization is eased
or completely overcome. Wallace describes groups caught
in what he terms "triangular identity crisis and alliance
situation". For example, the white southerners are
caught in triangular identity dilemma: they feel rejected
by northern whites, yet they cannot possibly ally them-
selves with southern black men since this would endanger
their precarious identity. On the other hand, one could
show how the black middle class in the north is caught in
a similar identity dilemma. (Compare Black Bourgeoisie
by Franklin Frazier.)

> The millenarian ideology often justifies the
> removal of the participants in the movement from
> the ordinary spheres of life. Indeed, this removal
> is often frequently not only social but spatial,
> whether it takes the form of withdrawal or of
> wandering. I would suggest that the deprivations
> which form the background for the movement not
> only involve the sense of blockage . . . which
> leads to resort to supernaturalism, but also
> the sense of a social order which cannot be
> reconstituted to yield the satisfactions desired.
> The millenarian ideology justifies the removal of
> the participants from that social order, by re-
> assuring them that the order itself will not long
> continue, and frees them to indulge in fantasy
> about the ideal society, or to attempt to build
> it in isolation or through violent attempts
> against the existing order. Those who suffer
> from acute deprivation and cannot withdraw from
> the world can only constitute sects of the elect,
> or utilize devices to compensate for deprivation.
> The millenarian ideology justifies withdrawal,
> and that is its functional significance.[8]

In a few conclusive statements towards the very

end of his study, Cohn[9] synthesizes general concepts from
psychology, social-psychology, political science and
history in order to come to terms with millenarianism.
He suggests that his conclusions on millenarian movements
seem identical to generalizations drawn from different
areas and periods up to the present.

> . . . irrespective of the degree of social tech-
> nological development or the type of social
> structure briefly, it would seem that when
> the existing structure of a society is undermined
> or devalued, the members of that society become
> less able to face calamity.[10]

Eric Hoffer[11] made the concept of "true believer"
the main building bloc for contemporary social movements.
Cohn used the identical term for the same phenomenon in
the middle ages. Collective fantasies as surveyed by
him were truly psychotic in their content and versions:
megalomanias, vision of the real or imagined adversaries
were a dominant and recurrent theme. Grotesque descriptions
were over and again formed in the minds of people who had
found themselves to be cut off from previously satisfying
"normal" patterns of living, abruptly disoriented, deeply
frustrated and intensely powerless. Cohn says that they
were "harassed, hungry, frightened" (page 312). He
assumes that extreme pressures and strains put on certain
segments in medieval society--i. e. the lowest strata--
did have severely distorting impacts on their perceptions
of social, political and economic reality. What had

been an isolated instance in the past of personal disorder
--always present in each segment--now would burst into the
open as collective obsessions with oppressive forces
held responsible for all the misfortunes. Individual
paranoia would now coalesce into group preoccupation
with evil powers, manipulating whole groups into mis-
fortune and inflicting disasters and defeats upon the
powerless and oppressed. An innovative group myth was
being built up and feverishly accepted by an ever
widening circle of followers who had not been paranoid
themselves in the first place. Only a few were naturally
myth-makers, but many got on to the bandwagon and became
true believers by an intensive conversion process.

> . . . it will attract plenty of idealists and
> romantics, as well as ordinary careerists and,
> for that matter, criminals too.12

Acute anxieties and a sudden great fear, initially
perceived only on an individual scale were at the base of
group crystallization. Here Cohn manages to avoid the
pitfalls of analysing social movements from the narrow
base of individual psychology. He purposely circumvents
psychological reductionism. It is important to notice
that Cohn applies social-psychological explanations as
later elaborated and systematized by Hoffer, de Grazia
and Harold R. Isaacs, Gusfield, Banks and Turner and
Killian.

In _Political Anomie_, de Grazia focusses on socialization as both a social-psychological and extremely political process: how identification with the father figure becomes a way of multiple salvation out of anxiety and crisis, to overcome _Angst_ (compare paintings by Edvard Munch and analysis by Kierkegaard). Harold Isaacs in _Idols of the Tribe_ describes in a fascinating first chapter "The House of Muumbi" the network of natural relations a person is born and grows into during the whole maturation process, to such a high degree that it becomes a niche for life: the center of feverishly strong identification (also compare Mol: _The Sacred and Identity_).

Both Cohn and Burridge[13] arrive at similar explanations about the potential causes of millenarian movements: the overriding factors are intensive and abrupt changes generating profound social upheaval. Burridge lists four main variables: (1) the abruptness of the changes; (2) the sudden forceful introduction of a money economy; (3) status inconsistency; and (4) cases where a whole civilization is dying.

In a similar way, Cohn also singled out: (1) too many socio-economic changes all at once causing severe dislocations and an acute sense of deprivation. Many may become suddenly uprooted; a few getting extremely wealthy in a short time (compare Durkheim's related

concepts on suicide as indicative of the degree of social disorder and malaise); (2) disintegration of kinship which will immediately generate emotional, physical and material vacuum; (3) a whole society is suddenly perceived to be inferior while being subjected to an invading force; (4) several sources of authority are undermined by novel powers: a disorienting process of modernization within the medieval context. As Cohn elaborated: the traditional authority of king or pope may be losing appeal and the whole society is disintegrating. (5) A clash between two cultures may bring into question basic assumptions about the society and the whole nature of the cosmos. Intergenerational differences may add to the acuteness of the crisis.

There seem to be valid reasons to suggest that from a variety of research done on contemporary totalitarian movements and from the earlier research on millenarian movements in medieval and early modern times, more general conclusions could be made as to what dimensions most of these movements have in common. Cohn too, like Barkum[14] and Burridge, stresses the suddenness of the calamities inflicted upon societies which then are perceived by the members or segments of that society as to be caused by supernatural powers: by unseen or unknown agencies.

> . . . plague or famine, gross inflation of mass
> unemployment, a rapid increase of population
> beyond what the economy can support--may produce
> an emotional disturbance so widespread and acute,
> such an overwhelming sense of being exposed, cast
> out and helpless, that the only way in which it
> can find effective relief is through an outburst
> of paranoia, a sudden collective and fanatical
> pursuit of the millennium.[15]

> . . . extravagant hopes, even when not backed by
> actual power, is likely to generate a most reck-
> less daring. For the hopeful can draw strength
> from the most ridiculous sources of power--a
> slogan, a word, a button. No faith is potent
> until it is also faith in the future; unless
> it has a millennial component. So, too, an
> effective doctrine as well as being a source
> of power, it must also claim to be a key to
> the book of the future.[16]

These movements may end up becoming fully political

and the impact can be truly revolutionary to testify the

outstanding cases of revolutionary upheavals of grandiose

--or at times rather grotesque proportions--like the

Taborites in Bohemia and the "Heavenly City" dictator-

ship of the Munsterites, established with violence and

maintained with ruthless power. More recent totalitarian

movements showed the same hunger for power by the "true

believers" who applied modern efficient and rather

sophisticated techniques of power control, propaganda,

terror and massive warfare to maintain the paranoid myth

of collectively pursued megalomania.

Here the social scientist may wonder where--at

which stage of the power and propaganda game the small

circle of true believers degenerate into power fanatics
who cynically will pursue their self-imposed millennium
ad absurdum, engulfing a whole nation into aggression on
a world-wide scale. Cohn as a historian does not
hypothesize in abstracto, nor does he venture into
sweeping generalizations about millenarian and all sorts
of related social movements. This becomes apparent in
the last chapters of his study when he focusses on
millenarian mythology in the various regions of the
disparate and disunited German Empire in late medieval
times. The fantasizing ecstacy, vibrant among a variety
of German authors of that period in history, adding to
the millenarian tradition, conveys both strong anxieties
and fervent hopes. The myth about the "Teutonic" tribes
now lost in disunity, oppression and humiliation becomes
increasingly more poignant while gaining political
overtones: the Teutonics have always been superior
and were put by God himself in the centre of world
history . . . They will of course be reassigned their
original rightful supraordinate position and all possible
power and glory will be bestowed again upon the Teutonic
race soon . . . The similarity between the late medieval
powerful German millenarian ideology--concocted out of
earlier traditions and embellished and made more persuasive
with convincingly concrete details taken from later German

history--and Hitler's very recent ideology is undeniable.
It is frightening to discover by systematic historical
and sociological research that groups or whole nations
can be turned on by this sort of mythology which is a
form of masterful propaganda for and an absolute command
to collective action.

A simple "great leader" theory is of no explanatory
use, however.[17] A whole complex set of variables is at
work when millenarian ideologies are in the making. As
it will be analysed here soon, most social scientists
will acknowledge the "true prophet" at the early beginnings
of the movement, but not without accounting for the ex-
isting great readiness among the potential followers.

To term these movements millenarian is not so
much a matter of interpretation, as these movements do
take on a variety of expressive forms, depending to a
high degree on the original socio-cultural milieu.
Incidentally, most nativistic movements in Melanesia
are of the cargo type because of prevalent strong belief
in ancestor cults. This was brought out most impressively
by Worsley in his analytical survey of that area. However,
one should add: even though most nativistic movements
in Africa are not of the cargo type, in southern and
eastern parts of that continent many cargo cults have
appeared on the scene with the same symptoms: obsessive

preoccupation with how to obtain the gadgets from the
western colonizing power. One should add here a complex
set of factors like the missionary impact in general and
the various denominations or sects practising their
missionary "callings", for example the differential
effects and outcomes of the missionary actions as brought
about by Presbyterian, Pentecostal churches or the
Jehovah's Witnesses. All good intentions put aside here,
the missionary message was invariably perceived very
differently by the peoples it was brought to with such
great emphasis and perseverance. Moreover, I feel, the
Judeo-Christian concept of time, the linear finalistic
manner of thought was a disruptive factor in itself
upsetting the traditional way of perceiving time as it
comes, not manipulating and subordinating the natural
flow of time to abstract goals and ideals. The dimension
of how time is conceived is crucial to grasp what so-
called "modernization" does to traditional ways of
thinking and acting.

Of course, the socio-cultural ambiance of each
continent and even each area and region may lead to
different expressive forms amongst these collective
indigeneous agitations. On a modest scale as in this
thesis, there is no room to do full justice to the rich
diversity of nativistic movements. Also, the specific

term "millenarian" may be restricted to some movements
because to define all nativistic movements as millenarian
would put arbitrary constraints and limitations on the
phenomenon of acculturation and revitalization. The
latter ones are movements which express strong expec-
tations about the nearby millennium which is conceived
of in immediate, earthly, fully concrete, now and here
terms. The passionate vigor, the extraordinary enthusiasm
dominant in these millenarian movements makes them stand
out differently from a maybe less complex nativistic
movement, where millenarian expectations are not pushing
the group endeavours beyond the boundaries of the real
and concrete.

The millenarian imagination could also be treated
as a variable by itself because the collectively imagined
and stimulated tension between what the group experiences
as present and what it feverishly wants as a future--i. e.
an imminent one--may become a catalyst for immediate
social action. This strongly held group illusion about
the better future and the final time--the imminent
beginning of a new world and a new future for the oppressed
group--to be redeemed extremely soon--becomes a force on
its own: social dynamics, even social dynamite. The
group may become so carried away by this powerful
illusion of imminent redemption that members--under

prophetic leadership which both intensifies and coordin-
ates the group restlessness--start taking their fate into
their own hands.

Religiously inspired and prophetically magnified
eschatological expectations now become a blueprint for
immediate group action (compare Ellul on this type of
medieval outburst of chiliasm). The enormous gap between
illusion and reality, future and present is instantly and
efficiently bridged. Out of a nightmarish dream the group
under threats from all sides waken up to defend whatever
is left of its own belief system. Collective emotions
are running high, and out of traditional behavior reper-
toire some satisfying means of expression are grasped
and some new methods taken from the alien culture are
added, not only to cope with the rapid transition but
to help bring about the so feverishly wanted big changes
for the tribe or group.

This process of group mobilization is very crucial,
because it broadens our concept of religion. After having
gone through a recent phase in sociological thinking where
religion was almost discarded as a factor altogether, the
dimension of religion is now being reintroduced again
as a building stone holding the group or society together
--even though in so-called modern times religion may have
taken on different shapes and channels. (See The New

Religiousness" by Charles Glock and Robert Bellah.)

> . . . while belief in a personal God is on the
> decline, a new self-awareness and spiritual
> sensitivity are finding expression in the lives
> of large numbers of people, especially among the
> young. There is to be seen a quickening of
> conscience as the continuing violence in national
> and international affairs, poverty in the midst
> of plenty, racial strife and oppression, and a
> host of other problems. . . . We chose religion
> as the strategic point of entry into the question
> of contemporary cultural transformation because
> we thought it potentially the most profound level
> of change.[18]

The concept of religion as a "sacred canopy" is being

revitalized itself in very recent sociological and

anthropological studies.

Also revived was the traditional debate on religion

as either a conservative force, legitimating societal

status quo and holding back social change, or religion

as a radicalizing force, generating social change and

coming up with meaningful explanations for radical social

action. To put it more succinctly: on the one hand

religion can be viewed as a supportive and necessarily

legitimating framework that permeates all societal

thinking and acting. On the other hand, religion can

go beyond this expressive function and become from a

supportive frame, a radically enabling force, initiating

action, a dynamic generator because it has become fully

instrumental. Religion in some cases may help people

to ease their frustrations--the dimension so well sensed

by Marx and Engels, to find meaningful explanations--but
no solutions--for appalling situations of crisis and
despair. (The Snakehandlers in the Appalachian mountains
could be quoted as a case of a pacifying and tension-
releasing form of religion.[19])

However, religion may also bring the group in
despair into concrete concerted action to prevent or
stop disastrous "development" imposed from outside and
to build up a new more action-centered framework. From
legitimating afterthought, it may leap into complex social
action, initiating changes and accommodating side effects
in a satisfying manner. This can happen only after the
symbolic universe has been modified and made to fit new
circumstances, even more, made to initiate radical action,
to implement the big change for the group right now.
Here millenarianism becomes a form of condensed, inten-
sified religion, pulling past, present and future into
one and the same time. It becomes a socio-political
fever: it has then become truly revolutionary.

d)   Is Millenarianism a Religion of the Oppressed
       or a Mechanism Applied Deliberately to bring
       about Social Change? Can it be Both?

The title of an excellent historical survey by
Lanternari (Religion of the Oppressed); and the title
of an incisive article in History and Society, ("Military

Machinery in Millenarian Movements")--may be misleading.
However, the general descriptive title used by Sylvia
Thrupp for a collection of relevant papers given at the
conference on millenarian movements is realistic:
Millenarian Dreams in Action. It epitomizes the revol-
utionary potentials always present in the millenarian
phenomenon. Some movements may escape into religious
myth-building and stay on that plateau. Functionalist
explanations have been used to analyse Negro cults and
sects: forms of escapism to relieve stress, despair and
deprivation. (See Frazier and G. R. Wilson, Park and
others who claim that--

> Negro religion in America is little more than
> an adaptation of European Christianity to the
> American Negro's need to compensate for social,
> physical and economic conditions in America
> . . . 20)

The debate on millenarianism centers on whether
it is pure or mostly escapism, or whether it is social
and political action by manipulation of religious dynamics.
The latter interpretation puts the charismatic millenar-
ian leadership on the ambiguous level of Machiavellian-
styled manoeuvring. For instance, the Taiping Rebellion
is particularly interesting to students of millenarian
movements and revolutions.[21] The crucial point in this
case is--how much of this movement was embedded in the
authentic Chinese tradition of acceptable forms of revolt,
and how much was introduced--as brand new elements taken

from the Bible and other western sources to manoeuvre
the people into action? Apparently during the rise of
the movement itself, many deliberate choices were made
by the leaders. They selected only specific elements
from the biblical message and left out others. For
example, all of the Pentateuch was readily absorbed and
not much else from the Old Testament, but many parts of
the New Testament were adapted.

The movement tried to enlist ethnic consciousness
for its cause: to revitalize the authentic Chinese
tradition. Purposely selected aspects of the alien
western culture were added. Confucianism was mostly
practical, non-revolutionary and conservative in nature.
The Taiping organizers claimed they were in direct com-
munication with God. Next, they very systematically
distilled, from parts of the Bible, mainly from the New
Testament, a workable eschatology.

The great visionary behind it all was Hung
Hsui-ch'uan, who had failed to pass the administration
entrance examinations several times. He was a marginal
man who could not at all prove himself in the new colonial
administrative system. Hung then professed that he was
receiving hallucinations and that he was the chosen
leader-to-be. His calling was to restore China and
overthrow the Manchurian Ching dynasty.

It is interesting to make a special note of the fact that Hung studied both administrative and theological topics. He had actually been tutored by an American missionary while at the same time trying to study administrative methods. Hung was employed for a short time as a cathechist and preacher. A helper and cousin of Hung--from a different province where already a revolt had failed--awoke his interest in politics.

Sylvia Thrupp has suggested that Christian missionary efforts may bring to the surface enormous spiritual anxieties. It seems that the Taiping leaders did attempt consistently to instill strong feelings of sinfulness in their followers. Hence the belief in atonement was indoctrinated in order to make the transition into a theocratic state a natural sequence of events. The aims were secular reforms, but couched in religious terms and millenarian imagery. Religion was used to raise revolutionary consciousness.

To return to my short introductory remarks about Marx at the beginning of this thesis: Marx was struggling to come to terms with the revolutionary situation. His continuous search was: when and how would the revolution crystallize? In the Taiping case, enormous secular discontent had been building up over long periods of time. However revolt was not crystallizing until millenarian expectations rose to the foreground and added

impetus to revolutionary sentiments. Religion was the final catalyst but in this case not just surfacing by itself. There was conscious use of religion as potentially revolutionary material, and there was a sincere effort to revitalize authentic non-revolutionary Chinese elements.

Burridge goes to great length to emphasize the spiritual dimensions present in any millenarian movement.

> . . . a moral dilemma implies dissonances in basic assumptions about power. These can be seen in stress and strains in societal relations and are particularly expressed in the prestige system in terms of which the worth of man is measured, integrity earned, and redemption gained.[22]

There are also participants in the movement who are in for quick gains and personal advancement. For these matters they have to search for legitimation. Here Weber's thesis on the Protestant Ethic can be relevant: a renewed framework, a rescued and revitalized religious base with which the individual can identify during acute crises stemming from rapid manifold changes, which are experienced as a total societal cataclysm.

If successfully carried through, a millenarian movement may facilitate the group's transition from the old symbolic universe to a new one. Millenarianism, precisely because it is so profoundly religious, may lead to and accommodate modernization. It can more efficiently prepare the participants for ensuing concrete

social action. It can ease the transition and make the members feel comfortable with their drastically changed world. It can open up wider horizons and help the participants to cope with new forms of power, status and social organization. As a vehicle of social change, a millenarian movement may give the participants a re-assuring rationale and necessary skills to cope with modernization. As a model of social change it may be more explanatory than for example communication theory or other highly technical explanations. Perhaps only under charismatic leadership--which is a mutually spiritual relationship--can the impact of the money economy and its quantitative calculating mechanism be adapted to a revitalized group morale.

Marxian analysis has always brought out convincingly the group-unifying process; how members of the movement get prepared for concrete social and political action, although it was at times criticized for so doing. Burridge's non-Marxian interpretation comes to the same conclusion here as Worsley's.[23] Also, Cohn[24] claims that in many instances the millenarian leaders may add dynamics and unity to an already existing social unrest: that the millennium as conceived by the participants may generate social action which had not yet reached the crystallization point.

To return to Mannheim's theoretical differentiation

between ideology and utopia: the disenfranchised who
do not have the supraordinate ideology or who reject it,
recreate their own symbolic universe by nurturing mille-
narian visions and by projecting their own improved socio-
economic future into an imminent present. This interpre-
tation may be relevant for the social dynamics necessary
for successfully coping with change, or with the whole
process of modernization.

Adas [25] qualifies one of Cohn's leading themes:
his emphasis on terrestrial imminence. He prefers to
term the millenarian projection a blending of the material
and spiritual, but never completely imminent. Cohn may
also have overemphasized the role of supernatural inter-
ference. In the millenarian movements analysed by Adas
there is a definitive call to concrete action for the
participants. Initiatives have to be taken, the millennium
can be prepared, there is no time for passivity, for faith-
ful waiting; there is no destruction of property either,
nor stoppage of regular work.

e)   An Ideal-Typical Case: The Iroquois Under
       Handsome Lake

       A millenarian movement among the Iroquois, started
by the prophet leader Handsome Lake in 1699, appears to
be an ideal-typical case which can illustrate well some

highlights of a successful millenarian movement leading up to authentic community development and a satisfactory manner of coping with modernization.

Revitalization or nativistic movements are collective attempts to revive certain elements of a group's culture that are threatened with destruction by the culture and the technology of a conquering invading power. The movement may come up with a set of rigid prescriptions and mixed new and old taboos, while a new synthesis is being formed by group efforts. Group creativity comes into the picture here. It seems to me that from this perspective of collective yet initially passive anxiety transforming itself into active joint creativity, a new insight can be gained concerning rapid social change and group acculturation.

The clash between two cultures was at the roots of the Handsome Lake movement. Inevitably, the invading culture was perceived as superior, if only because of its powerful new technological features.

Immediately a pervasive socio-cultural malaise set in among the native people under stress and threats from the invaders and their gadgets. These European gadgets are looked upon with great respect and envy at first. Later, resentment and hatred crystallize in the subordinate group. Humiliation and a previously not

experienced feeling of collective inferiority (mixed
with some sort of barely hidden admiration and suspicion)
seemed to the over-run natives, to be a high price to pay
for these gadgets. Yet those inferiority feelings re-
mained mixed with a barely hidden admiration for the
gadgets. Ambivalence was the name of the game, and
ambivalence facilitates over-reactions toward both the
old and the new, in sudden sequences.

The gadgets however, remain in extremely high
demand among the tribe or country caught in the colon-
ization or modernization process. The gadgets come to
be perceived both as the real thing to get at whatever
price, and as the symbol of superior power and secret
knowledge of the invaders/colonizers. Magical control
may be ascribed to the colonial representatives. Tensions
are building up; after all colonization or modernization
is not much of an option, it imposes itself. The conflict
is climaxing. The natives are frantically searching for
ways to fight back and yet get hold of those gadgets
seen as all-powerful and magical.

Elements felt to be most suitable for this
emergency situation, taken from the existing cultural
framework, are revived, over-emphasized and magnified
beyond their original meaning. New elements are borrowed
from the oppressive culture, often very purposely selected

for efficient manipulation by the group in collective self-defence. Out of the existing repertoire of rituals, ceremonies and prescribed group and individual behavioral patterns, just a few are synthesized with elements taken intuitively from the dominant culture. This frantic search for new meanings and new methods to cope with the bewildering changes forced upon the group from outside is the crystallization point of the nativistic or mille-narian movement.

In short: a specific form of social movement is most likely to develop in cases of sudden and severe cultural clashes with their ensuing rapid socio-economic and political changes.

There is an underlying rationale to each movement. The group and the prophet leader in constant and intensive interaction choose some customs from the present and past indigeneous culture. If successful, a new synthesis may come up after a tumultous and restless period. This synthesis blends more or less harmoniously native and foreign elements. It is a grandiose cultural phenomenon. At first puzzling, then alarming, the societal crisis has been brought under control. A new "sacred canopy" has been built to accommodate the drastically changed society.

So it was with the deeply successful movement amongst the Iroquois under its prophet Handsome Lake in

1699. His followers became "true believers" again, and
overcame stagnation in a new "revitalized" sense of be-
longing, pride and actual community development. Some
other surrounding tribes did not manage to get out of the
social malaise. They became more and more disorganized
and disoriented; witness the increasing quarrelling, in-
fighting, drinking, witchcraft and adultery. We see a
range of alarming symptoms indicating a high degree of
social disorder, bordering on total break-down of the
conscience collective.

The analysis of this particular revitalization
movement becomes most insightful when the focus is on
acculturation or "modernization" as a process generated
by the group itself. This means a form of community
development under circumstances extremely critical for
the threatened community.

Inkeles' study of modernization (focussing on
individuals within the total structure coping with
modernization) may appear incomplete when compared to
the perspective of a revitalization movement. Specifically,
for community development this angle should never be left
out of the total perspective on modernization. This does
not mean to disregard the aspects brought out so impres-
sively by Inkeles, but to underline that both perspectives
should be applied to gain a fuller understanding of social

change and acculturation. Both for analytical precision and for progress in the theory of Community Development, the study of millenarian movements could become an eye opener in many ways.

The twin perspectives of social movement and social change--interwoven as an autonomous group process with its own social dynamics and its self-designed and symbolic framework--is an exciting angle to study tribes, groups, classes, segments or whole societies coping with rapid changes and profound societal disorder. "Community" gains here an intensified meaning, transcending visible material boundaries and encompassing invisible but far stronger bonds that hold groups and whole societies together. Whether millenarian movements are often fore-runners or not, of nationalistic movements is for some theorists still a debatable question. In some cases and in some geographical areas this hypothesis appears rather plausible (see Kedourie). However, not all millenarian movements gain that degree of coherence and continuity. One theoretical construct predicting that these movements are most likely to branch out into large scale national-istic movements accommodating soc changes and easing modernization on a national level ll not fit all re-vitalization movements.

It is not the intention of this paper to reach

out for theoretical generalizations of universal pro-
portions. Some theorists on millenarian movements have
definitively been attempting grandiose models to fit all
social movements and forms of social change categorized
as millenarian movements or religious protest movements.
To me, this appears a somewhat millenarian effort itself,
not uncommon amongst social scientists in the past or the
present. However this paper only aims at some general
conclusions about millenarian movements at the inter-
mediate level as suggested by Merton.

Basically all these movements--revitalizing, cargo
cults, millenarian, nativistic, revitalistic--are one and
the same general category: frantic group efforts to come
to terms if possible with drastic changes imposed from
outside, mostly but not solely. (See Wallace, Thrupp,
Barkum, Burridge, Cohn, Adas, Barrett, Talmon, Sundkler)

This thesis will also pay special attention to the
fact that the changes are sudden. The disaster type of
impact on the existing societal structure and symbolic
framework is in my view of crucial importance. This
aspect was not fully emphasized in a systematic manner
until Barkum made it into the main theme of his analysis.
Also Burridge underlines this dimension rather well in
his study by categorizing the suddenness of social change
as a variable all by itself. He beautifully epitomized

the abruptness of rapid social changes in the metaphor
of an airplane suddenly landing amongst the tribe, causing
general cultural malaise and generating the beginning of a
counter movement against the invaders' overpowering impact.

f) <u>The Aims of This Thesis in Brief</u>

The main thrust of the thesis will be a discussion
of various interpretations and possible models or theories
of millenarian movements. Specific attention will be
given to these movements, their rise and fall, their
social dynamics and leadership characteristics, and how
such phenomena can be of great relevance to community
development. Towards the end of an analytical and critical
survey of these religious protest movements from a mainly
CD perspective, the Black Muslims will be briefly analysed
as an example of a radical religious counter movement,
in order to show by one case study how intricately social
change and religion are interwoven in this type of movement
for change.

Our special focus will be on dimensions of charis-
matic leadership and social dynamics bound to generate
fantastic millenarian projections which may crystallize
in concrete collective actions. In the case of the Black
Muslims, attention will be given to how the black socio-
cultural heritage necessarily had to be revitalized in

order to raise the oppressed group morale, to bring about
a collective positive self-image and to call for a splendid
redemptive future solely for the blacks, starting immanently. This miraculous transformation of group image and
morale was done in the black ghettoes in the 1960's in
one of the most effective revitalization movements of
our time. Unfortunately, far too little attention has
been given to this movement, because it was apparently
perceived as an embarrassing phenomenon for the usually
more optimistic interpretation American Whites have of
the "existing freedom and equal opportunity" in their
own society.

With regard to ethnicity and poverty, race and
class, multiculturalism and social stratification--one
of the major obstacles in the American sociological
tradition has been the fallacy of functionalism, its
lack of historical perspective, its failure to come to
terms with social change, and its misplaced but fervent
optimistic belief in progressive linear "development"
and "equilibrium". Gouldner's announced crisis in modern
sociology has long since come, and its intensity may yet
increase. The models built up among optimistic so-called
"liberal" North American sociologists trained in the
functionalist school proved suddenly to falter. The
hypothesis of increasing assimilation automatically

leading up to full integration proved false. New prophets
of a completely different category, more radically and
realistically oriented appeared on the scene: Elijah
Mohammed and above all Malcolm X.

Throughout the Middle Ages runs a persistent
pattern of social agitation religiously inspired. Some
social scientists attempt to show that this form of
social upheaval and collective primitive protest is a
phenomenon of the past. Cohn, the discoverer and expert
on medieval millenarian movements, suggests that only
a few civilizations have been unpropitious to revolutionary
chiliasm. One could cite the ancient Indian culture
shaped by Hinduistic philosophy: spiritual climate and
socio-cultural ambiance were not particularly prone to
development of millenarian movements. From surveying
the extensive literature now abundantly available in
this field, one can but conclude that almost everywhere
in any time, the millenarian revolt, even revolution,
can potentially occur in any crisis of abrupt disaster
and total despair.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Rudolf Herberle, <u>Toennies, Community and Society Concepts</u>, pp. 146-147. Also compare: Ferdinand Toennies, <u>Ferdinand Toennies on Sociology: Pure, Applied and Empirical</u>, translated and edited, Wener J. Cahnman and Rudolf Herberle (Chicago: University Press, 1971).

[2]Michael Barkum, <u>Disaster and the Millennium</u> (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 26.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Antony Wallace, <u>Culture and Personality</u> (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 130-131.

[6]Antony Wallace, <u>Religion: An Anthropological Perspective</u> (Random House, 1966), pp. 131-132.

[7]Ibid., pp. 214-125.

[8]David Aberle, "A Note on Relative Deprivation" in <u>Millenarian Dreams in Action</u>, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 214-125.

[9]Norman Cohn, <u>The Pursuit of the Millennium</u> (Revised Edition, Oxford University Press, 1970).

[10]Ibid., p. 312.

[11]Eric Hoffer, <u>The True Believer</u> (New York: Perennial Library, 1966).

[12]Cohn, op. cit., p. 312.

[13]K. Burridge, <u>New Heaven, New Earth. A Study of Millenarian Activities</u> (Toronto: 1969).

[14]Barkum, op. cit.

[15]Cohn, op. cit.

[16]Hoffer, op. cit., p. 18.

[17]Compare Pieter Geyl, Napoleon: For or Against (Penguin Books, 1949).

[18]Charles Glock and Robert Bellah, The New Religious Consciousness (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

[19]M. Lewis, S. E. Kobak and L. Johnstone, Family, Religion and Colonialism in Central Appalachia, paper given for American Anthropological Association (1972). N. L. Gerrard, "Churches of the Stationary Poor in South Appalachia," in Change in Rural Appalachia, Implications for Action Programs, ed. John D. Photiadia and H. K. Schwarzweller. R. Coles, "God and Rural Poor," in Psychology Today (June, 1972). N. L. Gerrard, "Serpent Handlers of West Virginia," in Transaction (St. Louis: Washington University, May, 1968), pp. 22-28. W. L. Barre, "Snake Handling Cult of American South West," in Explanations in Cultural Anthropology, ed. H. Ward (1964).

[20]A. H. Fauset, Black Gods of the Metropolis (Philidelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

[21]Compare S. Thrupp's "Millenarian Aspects of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864)," in Millenarian Dreams in Action, ed. S. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 70-79.

[22]Burridge, op. cit., p. 163.

[23]See discussion of Burridge and Worsley in Chapter II.

[24]See discussion of Cohn.

[25]M. Adas, Prophets of Rebellion, "Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order" (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE ON

MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

a)   Predetermining Variables in Comparative Analysis:
     A Holistic Approach Suggested by Wallace and
     Burridge.

Most millenarian movements have at their core a
redemptive process that engages a community of people,
tribesmen, city dwellers or rural segments of the popu-
lation who acutely perceive their deprivation. Alarmed
by their inferior position and/or sudden lack of esteem,
the group in crisis abruptly comes to realize that all
members are cut off from the mainstream of society,
power, resources and status. They experience deep
anxiety about their powerlessness and inferior position;
they feel rejected. A great variety of predetermining
variables is possible depending on which time in past
or present, which type of society, which geographical
area, which general cultural and socio-economic framework.

To discuss all possible types of millennialism is a
real challenge. To classify all forms of millenarian
movements into an all-encompassing model means leaving
the realm of the possible and venturing into model-
building for its own sake. There are huge differences
among the various millenarian phenomena, depending on
the societal context.

This thesis hopes to show that millenarian movements may potentially arise in all types of societies, sub-societies and regions, amongst certain classes or non-classes. Such movements may arise from existing social movements, or they may prepare groups for a wider type of social movement at a later stage.

Historians like Cohn, Hobsbawn, Lanternari, Barkum and anthropologists like Worsley, Sundkler, Barret and Adas have accepted the challenge to project a more general framework beyond the boundaries of their own area of specialized research. Such a theoretical approach --always a risk-taking leap into the abstract--invariably has enriched our understanding of the millennium, more so than very specialized and highly detailed studies of one movement. Yet it has also entailed some unbalanced conclusions which can only be corrected by more specialized research.

As matters now stand, medium-range theories appear to be the most promising method. Within a certain socio-cultural area and period in time, a comprehensive ideal-type in Weber's terms can be developed, based on results from detailed studies done in the field. Wallace, Talmon, Barkum and Burridge went beyond the realm of medium-range theorizing by attempting a more universal model or descriptive analysis. Lanternari mainly restricted

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himself to a profound historical survey of various
movements. Barkum aimed at a more universal theoretical
concept in his interdisciplinary approach towards the
disaster factor in millenarian movements. His critical
analysis of movements and their interpretations is highly
illuminating, especially his final chapters on problems
of causality, which factors are predetermining, and in
which kind of societies millenarian movements seem most
likely to arise.

Burridge analyzes in detail a few typical movements
and then projects a very broad framework which knits
millenarian dimensions into a Gestalt similar to Wallace's
earlier condensed framework. Burridge appears to include
more concrete factors; he goes far beyond the predomin-
antly social-psychological matrix of Wallace. His study
is seminal because of the rich theoretical contributions
in the last chapters, where he comes up with broad gener-
alizations. These are based on comparative analysis--
about access to power, loss of status and collective
moral assumptions. These assumptions have to be reordered
and transformed in times of sudden great societal crises.

If Barkum should be given credit for having
advanced our theoretical conceptualization about disaster
and community, then Burridge deserved equal praise for
having enriched our theoretical endeavors concerning

millenarian movements. His analysis reaches a climax
when he touches upon the essence of millennium: crystal-
lization of the communal spirit which transcends the
material factors of socio-economic deprivation, of col-
lective craving for power, and wealth, of group agitations
about status incongruency. Burridge opens up new perspec-
tives on communal regeneration in a Gestalt perspective.

Both Barkum and Burridge incorporate into their
analysis the classical sociological tradition of Marx,
Weber, Durkheim and Toennies without aligning themselves
with one of these specific theories. Barkum contributes
to our understanding of Marx's class consciousness by
analysing in depth the pre-millenarian conditions. He
singles out disaster and repetitive defeat. What type
of disaster is most likely to prepare the soil for the
millenarian spirit, and in which type of societal setting?
A modified concept of "class consciousness" could be dis-
tilled from his work, and new insights--gained from the
focus on the rise of millenarianism--could be made relevant
to community development.

The strength of Burridge's work is his conceptual-
ization of the millennium as a Gestalt or pattern. He
critically analyses the shortcomings in some Marxian
studies of millenarian movements which tend to over-
emphasize the socio-economic and political factors as

solely predetermining. Actually, one would prefer to
put this differently from Burridge: socio-economic and
political factors can hardly be overestimated since they
were and still are often understated in routine function-
alist research. However, Burridge should be given credit
for coping to terms in one concise framework with power,
status, multiple deprivation and at the same time with
other elements transcending the concrete and tangible,
namely, human endeavors of moral and spiritual group-
regeneration.

Like Wallace, Burridge makes use of the Gestalt
idea to attain a holistic approach encompassing at least
potentially all human dimensions present in societal
reality. (Compare Hans Mol on continuous efforts to
reinforce the identity, to keep a satisfying 'niche', a
place to stand, so basic to group identification and ob-
jectification.) Whereas Wallace remains within the self-
imposed constraints of his specific focus, the social-
psychological and anthropological realms, Burridge steps
beyond these man-made boundaries of one field. His frame-
work is truly interdisciplinary. He shows the limits of
Marx' class consciousness when dealing with millenarian
movements, and he pursues this argument by a critcial
survey of leading Marxian studies on millenarianism.

Burridge grasps the impact on people's thinking

and acting when access to power is unilaterally controlled,
when there is abrupt drop in status, and when deprivation
is all-pervasive. By condensing several aspects of the
millenarian movements, taken from different periods and
locations, his study becomes most insightful. If, in
many ways the metropolis versus hinterland theory could
be termed an updated, more versatile and sophisticated
version of Marx's original model of exploitation, then
Burridge's synthesis could be called a qualitative leap
forward in theorizing about millenarian movements and
factors of deprivation.

Yet I feel that Burridge may have understated the
explanatory possibilities of the Marxian model. Burridge
starts his explanation with a critical analysis of the
social, economic and political variables included in his
model. Here his construct runs parallel to the metropolis
versus hinterland thesis. He then adds the dimension of
charisma and moral group-mobilization in a Gestalt syn-
opsis: the communal spirit takes form in collective
activities to rescue whatever possible of the socio-
cultural framework under attack.

Burridge does not specifically apply or mention
the metropolis versus hinterland (overclass versus under-
class) thesis, but his assumptions are identical. De. t-
erate use of the term metropolis and hinterland could have

in itself some explanatory advantages, because the two
terms are ~~evocative~~ and highly relevant to grasp develop-
ment versus underdevelopment, specifically when analysing
forms of exploitation in a colonial or imperialistic
setting, or in any highly centralized and bureaucratic
context. The thesis itself has become--par excellence--
one of the best theoretical vehicles to come to grips
with contemporary forms of underdevelopment: the whole
syndrome of exploitation by a "metropolis". This
phenomenon is not only rampant in the Third World, but
also within the so-called developed world. For example,
forms of blatant exploitation can be found in regional
disparities, urban ghettoes, rural enclaves.

These striking metaphors of hinterland and metropolis
may also turn into a disadvantage at the explanatory level.
For example, are millenarian movements solely to be ex-
plained from the metropolis versus hinterland perspective?
This is a most challenging question. If applied in a
mechanical manner, this approach would reduce millenar-
ianism to another case of underdevelopment and perceived
deprivation; all millenarian movements then could be
classified under the heading of deprivation. Yet this
may not do full justice to the phenomenon itself.

In his endeavor to conceive of millenarianism as
communal movements under charismatic leadership to

regenerate their own "conscience collectives", Burridge appears to converge the focusses of Marx, Durkheim, Weber and Toennies into an innovative synthesis.

To zero in on the case of the Black Muslims, it would be appropriate here to raise the questions: in what context of exploitation and underdevelopment should the movement be placed, and what theoretical framework would be most suitable?

Kenneth Clark uses the metaphor of colony to describe the black ghettoes in the U. S. A. in his classic study Dark Ghetto. Dilemmas of Social Change (New York, 1965). On the one hand, he assumes appalling and persistent hinterland or underclass conditions within the ghettoes themselves. On the other hand, he does not commit himself rigorously to just one model or theory. Both of his studies on ghettoes (including his A Relevant War Against Poverty) are historical, anthropological, sociological and social-psychological. Moreover, they contain analytical and practical community development components. It is a holistic approach towards poverty and discrimination, underdevelopment and "race". The author highlights social dynamics developing amongst the group in despair. Without dealing specifically with the millenarian phenomenon, Kenneth Clark emphasizes that "development" has to start as a communal affair amongst

the "hinterland" inhabitants themselves. The latter have to reactivate their group resources--pride and hope above all.

b)   Millenarian Movements and Community Development

Community Development has generally neglected the study of millenarian movements. To a certain degree it was perhaps bound to disregard this phenomenon of communities--in the social sense of social movements-- engaged in their own redemptive process, because in contemporary North America, Community Development has shown a stubborn tendency to focus on communities which are in part visible, quantifiable, and which have clear legal boundaries. Moreover, community development seems to have accepted without much questioning many operation- alized concepts from North American urban and rural sociology. Consequently, a specific geographical base and quantitative aspects such as demographic data became the pivotal points of reference for applied research in community development.

This is an unfortunate limitation, because it narrows the group-identification process down to a quantitative abstract and therefore unreal entity such as a city or town. In this manner, Community Development as a learned discipline undermined its own theoretical and practical foundations, which are--what holds people

together? That social bond goes beyond whatever can be quantified in physical distance or closeness. This constraining definition of community has hampered research on social movements. Also, it has prevented community development practitioners from looking at millenarian movements as a rich mine of investigation covering such aspects as societal relations in crisis, rapid social changes, consciousness-raising for the millennium, alternative routes towards modernization, and group mobilization.

Unfortunately, millenarian movements have been avoided as "abnormal", "deviant" collective actions as atypical group behavior, as social excesses. Charismatic leadership is held to be an ambiguous topic because first of all a systematic historical approach in community development is often missing.

Secondly, a certain rationalistic optimism appears to be inherent in North American community development and its practitioners. The underlying belief seems to be that social change is basically a progressive process founded on reason and rationality as inherited from the 18th and 19th century philosophers of progress. At a quick glance, millenarian movements are often not taken to lead to "progress". They are more often dismissed as retrogressive, holding back progress and modernization.

c)   The Process of Retribalization: From
Gesellschaft Back to Gemeinschaft?

The rise of millenarian movements is not
necessarily limited to traditional societies, as some
social scientists claim. Jumping to an absolute con-
clusion about Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, and about
the so-called progressive and inevitable desirable
development towards modern industrial societies may lead
to a distorted image of millenialism. It may be safer
to assume that there will always be remaining enclaves
of close kinship--like ties within the greater society.

Fernandez (1964) in his research on millenarian
movements went to great lengths to prove his claim that
they are only prevalent in kinship-oriented societies.
His approach centers on potential recruitment patterns:
solely along kinship lines can millenarianism crystallize.
However, research on non-kinship-oriented contemporary
modern societies shows similar recruitment patterns
amongst people joining a social movement. Gerlach and
Hine (1970) did extensive work in this field. The leading
theme of their study is that close ties and associations
amongst people make them converts to a movement, with
ensuing total engagement and permanent adherence--
carrying the marks of "true believers".

Moreover, even though for modern so-called
advanced industrial societies, the nuclear family has

been claimed as a main characteristic, in more recent
theoretical and applied research, this assumption has
been questioned and considerably modified. The nuclear-
family concept seems useful, only if one allows room
at the same time for an ongoing process of "retribal-
ization"...

Recently, a new focus on "modern" forms of the
old phenomenon of tribalization has become apparent.
This process is manifested in the close ties among
members of a supposedly "anonymous" highly urbanized
society. As a matter of fact, in psychotherapy and
group counselling, this concept of retribalization is
purposely used, reinforced and amplified in order to
guide individuals who suffer anomie and who show
symptoms of alienation back into integration and
happiness.

> The network effect is a "turn" on phenomenon of
> group interaction . . . When, during the attempted
> resolution of a crisis, this phenomenon is induced
> in a group made up of family, relatives, neighbors,
> and friends who have had various continuing contact
> with each other, a retribalization occurs. Attenu-
> ated relationships are revived, while symbiotic
> ties are loosened or severed. Latent interests
> are energized . . . Old ghosts are exorcized and
> locked doors are opened; zest and fun are redis-
> covered. The world shifts in its ominous trend
> toward depersonalization, dehumanization and
> loneliness.
>   The social network is a relatively invisible,
> but at the same time a very real structure in which
> an individual, nuclear family, or group is embedded.
> . . . The retribalization goal of social network

intervention attempts to deal with the entire
structure by rendering the network visible and
viable, and by attempting to restore its function.[1]

d) Cohn and Wallace on Millenarian Movements: The
Perspective of Alienation and/or Anomie

To Norman Cohn's summary of essential characteristics
--millenarian movements are total, imminent, transcendental,
and terrestrial--could be added the dimension of disaster
as a factor all by itself. In their search for causality
--the most ambiguous aspect of social scientific research
--social scientists have centered their research on
variables which could explain the rise of millenarian
movements. Relative deprivation has been used over and
over again (see later discussion). However, to grasp
the early beginnings of the millennial movement, it
might be far more helpful to dwell on the factor of
sudden disaster imposing itself on the tribe, group or
whole society, and how this disaster is perceived by
the people afflicted.

Cohn did this impressively as a historian focussing
on medieval disasters and the whole socio-economic and
political context, the total symbolic universe in which
these were experienced by the people of that time. In
his profound analysis of the medieval socio-economic
conditions, he is at the same time pursuing from a

comparative perspective the theme of Nazi Germany by juxtaposing in his own mind the medieval millenarian outburst and such modern mass psychoses as Nazism and Fascism. However, Cohn does not draw sociological generalizations about disasters in the past and the present because his Marxian-inspired analysis first of all focusses on the social and economic variables. This is not meant to be a critique of Cohn's study which is to all future research on millenarian movements the corner-stone of critical analysis. His classic study-- 1957--was published and revised, enriched by Cohn's own further analysis. After that, a wide variety of studies appeared on millenarianism in various parts of the world and during different periods of history. A great part of this recent research has actually been inspired by Cohn's bold and innovative work which appears to remain the outstanding contribution on medieval millenarianism.

Focussing as Cohn did on a specific period in history in order to distill a Weberian ideal-typical description of the medieval millennium, he managed to condense his elaborate historical data into a certain ideal type. The research opened up a whole new perspective and instigated truly interdisciplinary approaches. Cohn became against his own intentions--maybe literally against his own will--the travelling spokesman for millenarian

research. As he revealed in the foreword to the second edition, he was invited as a speaker by many universities and learned associations. Consequently, Cohn's own thinking was considerably revitalized by the great interest shown in his tentative conclusions. Social-psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and increasingly more historians ventured into the field of millenarian movements.

After Cohn, the historian pioneering in the study of millennial movements, Wallace should be singled out as the pioneer anthropologist in that field. In contrast to Cohn, Wallace does not give an elaborate descriptive analysis of various movements. Rather, he attempts to build an analytical model of the essential character-istics in sequential order of their development in terms of stages. The impact of this model cannot be over-estimated. (See discussion of Wallace's main ideas later.) Cohn and Wallace are mandatory reading for anybody who approaches the field of millennial studies.

It is fascinating to notice as a side observation that Marxian-inspired historical research and maybe Freudian theory as well stimulated anthropological field-work and theorizing. These two theoretical systems complemented each other. Both became fundamental to the whole field.

Cohn's starting point is "alienation", whereas Wallace appears to depart from "Anomie". Both of these key sociological concepts, inherited respectively from Marx and Durkheim, are crucial to the holistic understanding of millenarian movements.

For Wallace, the most important if not the only fully observable variable during the crystallization process of millenarianism is stress in the network of the tribe, group or total society. The next question to be asked then is: how much stress can be tolerated before the threshold is passed by the whole group of anxiety-experiencing individuals? For Cohn, the socio-economic conditions of disorganization, dislocation, disorientation and despair are the key variables. He appears guided by the Marxian concept of alienation.

Wallace uses an almost completely psychiatric terminology to describe people in their societal relations. His powerful evocative metaphors like stress, strain, and reweaving web are taken from the discipline of both social psychology and psychiatry. The danger of strongly metaphoric language is that it may distract the observer from societal reality, especially when used almost solely to build up a theory, that is, when the metaphors become the pillars of the theoretical construct. This had led some critical theorists to question the

value and use of everyday language for theorizing.
(Compare Baldamus in <u>The Structure of Sociological</u>
<u>Inference</u>, on unwanted, unplanned methodological side-
effects generated by the vagueness or un-preciseness
of the sociological vocabulary.)

Weber, both as historian and sociologist, had
brought up this debate on so-called "value-free" sociology.
More recently, critical theory has contributed to the
search for a "neutral" social-scientific language.
Historians from the early 19th century had consistently
questioned the language use quite some time before
sociologists started to think about a neutral scientific
terminology.

In the 19th century German School of Historicism,
Ranke led some historians astray by introducing his
powerful but ambiguous metaphor "Zeitgeist". He claimed
that each period in history--past and present--"ist
direkt zu Gott", "einmalig" as maybe only this German
word can convey: what happens, happened only once.
This concept of "Zeitgeist" was rescued, revitalized
and operationalized by David Barrett, <u>Schism and Renewal</u>
<u>in Africa</u>, (Oxford University; 1968) and applied to
millenarian movements and the factors which cause the
outbreak at a certain moment in time. If each period
in history is unique in itself--as Ranke claimed--then
no comparative analysis is possible and no generalizing

concepts may be applied. Weber overcame the pitfalls
inherent to Ranke's visionary mystique of "Eimaligkeit"
by suggesting the use of ideal-types in comparative
historical analysis.

Weber introduced two types of ideal-types:

> One is applied to historical occurrences which
> are called by Weber, who here follows Rickert's
> terminology, 'historische Individuen'. To this
> type for example belongs Weber's formulation of
> an ideal construct of modern capitalism. The
> other is applied to recurrent and prevalent
> phenomena which usually appear as constituent
> elements of social occurrences . . . The
> historical Ideal typus joins a mass of diffuse
> and discreet single phenomena into a uniform
> structure. The ideal type of general phenomena
> is a formulation of prevalent types of behavior
> and the ideal typical condition for their
> appearance.[2]

e)   Wallace's Theory of Revitalization

In an article in 1964 James Laue suggested that
the Black Muslims could be looked at in Wallace's terms
as a revitalization movement. However, Laue leaves out
the historical and interdisciplinary perspectives of
millennialism and uses only some of Wallace's terms like
stress-reducing techniques and cultural distortion. At
the time of his writing, the Black Muslims were yet in
a continuous state of flux. Now after several upheavals
and split offs--so typical for all millenarian movements
--it may be more worthwhile in retrospect to apply models

and patterns of these movements in general, taken from
various theorists in this field which has now become
truly interdisciplinary. To apply only Wallace's model
may become a "cultural distortion" in itself. Moreover,
the present author feels that more explanatory aspects
can be distilled from recent theoretical contributions
to the field of millenarianism. This thesis attempts
to show that Wallace's model could be used more fully
bu juxtaposing it to other approaches to millenarian
movements. In this manner comparative interdisciplinary
analysis may increase our understanding of social change.

Most crucial in Wallace's vision of the millennium
is the high degree of "stress", "strain": great anxieties
pervade the society under discussion, be it a "primitive"
or a "civilized" one. The societal crisis affects a
whole society, class, caste, religious or occupational,
acculturational or other definable group. He describes
the people in their struggle to alleviate distress and
cope with severe disorientation. Social dynamics are
explored with organismic tools of analysis. The metaphors
are evocative and the dominant theme is the "mazeway"
falling apart because of increasing incongruities.
Great discomfort is experienced between the new harsh
reality and the pre-existing social framework. Members
of the group suffer acute collective loss of meaning in

manifold ways. Wallace's descriptive analysis becomes
highly dramatic when he is turning to the joint defence
mechanisms invented and applied in the counter attack
by the group whose fate is at stake: "the reweaving
of the web".

The stages described are (1) steady state: chronic
strains are present but just inside the limit of the
cultural group tolerance.

(2) Increased individual stress: now the
threshold has been reached and the individuals cannot
bear any longer the discrepancies between their traditional
cultural framework and the world collapsing around them.
A natural disaster, military defeat, disease of epidemic
proportions, onset of socio-economic upheavals, extreme
political oppression, rapid acculturation may all be
potential causes.

Tucker lists similar causes of social disorder:

Distress occurs in such a wide variety of forms
that it seems hardly feasible for a theorist of
charismatic leadership to catalogue them. They
range from the physical and material distress
caused by persecution, catastrophies (for example
famine, drought) and extreme economic hardship
to such diverse forms of psychic or emotional
distress as the feeling of oppression in peoples
ruled by foreigners, the radical alienation from
the existing order experienced by revolutionaries,
or the intolerable anxieties that have motivated
many followers of religious millenarian movements
in the past and political millenarian movements
in the modern age. Although distress in one form
or another is more or less endemic in social history,

it is at times of crisis that charismatic move-
ments for change develop in profusion as would
be messiahs attract followers en masse.)

(3)   The crisis of acute disorientation is termed
"cultural distortion" by Wallace.   Instances of personal
disequilibrium multiply into collective meaningless.
The mazeway has become an empty shell.   Its traditional
grid does not appear to match   re with the radically
changing societal structures.   Shock waves   change
make the old framework look completely out of proportion.
Now, as Burridge puts it:

> . . . fresh categories are sought.   Faced with
> experiences and kinds of behavior which the
> traditional categories can no longer predict,
> whose ordering the traditional categories and
> assumptions can no longer guarantee, heart and
> mind plunge into the past to seek that inspiration
> which will carry them forward to a new synthesis.

(4)   Total disaster can only be prevented by
revitalization: i. e. a group rescuing its own past
and at the same time building its own future.

(5)   This revitalized steady state is the new
Gestalt: the all encompassing socio-cultural and religious
framework.   The group has completed its own acculturation
process by reshaping under great stress its own identity.

Wallace's model, innovative as it is, leaves us
with some theoretical ambiguities.   The strong metaphoric
language may have taken away some of its analytical
precision.   There are six theoretical steps which Wallace
differentiates for the group to take in its frantic search

for a viable identity and a new stable niche; mazeway
reformulation; organization, adaptation, cultural trans-
formation and routinization. Separating these stages
too rigidly would distort the intent of Wallace's frame-
work. Of course, it is only in theory that one can dif-
ferentiate all the phases; in societal reality some or
all may be happening in a far more fluid, almost simul-
taneous manner.

Wallace did manage also to clarify Weber's ideal-
type of charismatic leadership by differentiating these
stages. The ongoing group process between followers and
leaders is sketched in a unifying manner. Although
Wallace's framework is mostly based on historical and
anthropological research, it is very applicable to
modern societies as well and meant to be so. This makes
it extremely versatile and fruitful.

So far, the model has not been used very much in
community development. Where Wallace articulates social
change as an innovative group mobilization process, his
findings could be made very relevant to community develop-
ment. Moreover by envisioning followers and leaders in a
unified societal action group during the collective
trauma, Wallace manages to overcome some of the am-
biguities in Weber's ideal-type of charismatic leader-
ship.

The ways in which James Laue attempts to insert different terms used for millenarianism into his brief survey of the Black Muslims may not be very satisfying. He suggests the following stages in the development of the Black Muslims: revitalizing, vitalistic, millenarian and messianic. However, as I see it now, these dimensions may be all present in the one revitalization movement depending on circumstances and context. The respective stages of steadiness, increased stress, cultural distortion and revitalization can on the other hand be used effectively to improve the analysis of the Black Muslim movement. This has not been done so far in the literature published on this movement.

f)   ## The Millennium in the Middle Ages: A Constant Search for Reassuring the Gemeinschaft

The whole medieval symbolic universe was loaded with prophetic metaphors and powerfully apocalyptic images to remind the faithful that God's history was marching on towards the Final End. (This is impressively elaborated by J. Ellul in his study of medieval revolt and chiliastic hopes in Autopsy of Revolution.)

Cohn's study of the millennium and Johan Huizinga's The Waning of the Middle Ages are comparable in many ways. Both are classics on medieval history because of the

penetrating and innovative treatment of the preoccupation
so typical for that time with death, final end and Last
Judgement. Huizinga's study focusses on the late medieval
obsessions with death and decay, with intensive passionate
living, and with a constant fear and horror of dying.
Huizinga critically analyses the great medieval phen-
omenon of "Angst".

Deep anxiety was felt by people who were painfully
experiencing rapid transitions: political, cultural,
socio-economic changes they could not possibly cope with
in the context into which they had been socialized.
Symptoms of severe disorientation were rampant. Huizinga
in his approach towards social change deliberately attempts
to focus on the dimensions which remained the same in
people's thinking and acting--in Durkheim's words, "the
conscience collective". Huizinga shows how people's
images of that time changed mostly by becoming more
intensified in color, shape and texture and turned in-
creasingly more dramatic and violent. At the same time,
the all-encompassing religious frame of reference remained
the same. As an historian of art and culture, Huizinga
concentrated specifically on beautiful rituals and
esthetic forms.

This intensifying, reviving and beautifying of
the old symbols proved symptomatic for the vibrant ending

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of an old period and the almost reluctant beginning of
the new. People caught in this dilemma cannot yet
come to terms with the new without rewinding the old.
This was how Huizinga envisioned social change: 'by
overemphasing what people were embedded in as deeply
familiar symbolic framework, they could collectively
gain the strength so necessary for coming to terms with
the new conditions.

The most essential contribution made by Wallace
in his revitalization theory is, as Barkum puts it:

> . . . he removes cultural innovation from realm
> of incremental change and places it in category
> of quantum leaps.[5]

This insight applies also to Huizinga. Huizinga
as an historian and Wallace as an anthropologist came
up with related versions of social change. Throughout
Huizinga's Waning of the Middle Ages runs the theme of
a frantic collective search for intensified security by
reviving the old symbols and norms in a feverish manner.
Huizinga conveys beautifully how people in the many
countries and provinces belonging to the Duke of
Burgundy--his focus of study, i. e. northeast France
and Lower Countries--were passionately engaged in re-
vitalizing their own traditions, that is, by amplifying
them in intensity, almost ad absurdum.

Unfortunately, Huizinga's seminal study of the

late medieval spirit as a revitalizing movement in itself
remained unknown to many sociologists, especially the
North American school which often lacks interest in
historical perspectives. Huizinga's vision of people
in times of rapid transitions, drastically revitalizing
their rituals and forms inherited from a period already
in decay, ought to have an impact on theories of social
change and acculturation. Cohn as an historian capital-
ized on the rich medieval historiography of this period
and succeeded in making his own study both historical and
theoretical by adding a new perspective on social change
and people caught in the middle of it.

In the Middle Ages, the chiliastic fervor reached
a climax during the time the Black Death was stalking all
over Europe. The Flagellants visually expressed and
dramatized how people's minds and bodies were preoccupied
for decades with the end-is-at-hand syndrome (revived
again in Bergman's movies).

One could mention cases where cyclical and
regularly returning disasters did not generate panic
and millennial restlessness, like the flooding of the
Nile. Disasters do not generate apocalyptical fears
when they are seasonal. my earlier reading on
medieval historiography, this proves correct. It was
only when the disasters were multiple, abrupt and truly

"abnormal", out of proportion, that the normal frame
of reference seemed to fall short of a satisfying ex-
planation. Then new, radically different explanations
were called for and here Cohn traces the recurrent
pattern of a collective search for apocalyptic explan-
ations of grandiose proportions.

People in great acute disorientation are frantically
searching for new answers, because the old ones have
become alarmingly inadequate. Throughout medieval times
the apocalyptic understream stayed alive. There were
always isolated but continuing layers in society pre-
occupied with the supernatural as revealed in the Book
of Daniel and the Revelations, and reinforced with late
Roman and medieval versions of the Apocalypse.

Increasingly throughout the Middle Ages there
were riots and revolts by some segments of the popu-
lation. At certain times--but not always--the people
in their rebelliousness coalesced with the always present
but not always manifest millenarian undercurrents. The
prospective millenarian prophet in waiting then could
rise to the occasion and channel the people's anxiety,
resentment and revolt onto the millenarian plateau.
Especially in the second and later editions of his study,
Cohn articulates his dual concept of revolt and millen-
niums reinforcing each other in many instances. He

emphasizes that the medieval revolts were not all typically millenarian. Moreover, only the completely alienated, that is, the really margi████ly poo████████ likely to become enchanted and swept along by ████████ian prophet-preacher, totally immersed in salvationist doctrine and extremist actions. Then the whole idea and practice of revolt·became a nightmarish vision.

> Prophets would construct their apocalyptic lore out of the most varied materials--the Book of Daniel, the Book of Revelation, the Sybilline Oracles, the speculations of Joachim of Fiore, the doctrine of the Egalitarian State of Nature --all of them elaborated and reinterpreted and vulgarized. That lore would be purveyed to the poor--and the result would be something which was at once a revolutionary movement and an outburst of quasi-religious salvationism. It is characteristic of this kind of movement that its aims and premises are boundless . . . the people for whom it had most appeal were neither peasants firmly integrated in the life of village and manor nor artisans firmly integrated in their guilds . . . [6]

Moreover, the marginally poor and uprooted whom Cohn follows in his study showed an increasing alienation from authority as embodied in the Church, especially in the Pope and clergy. Instead of being any longe█ ████-fully and devotedly accepted as the incarnati████ ██ ███ ███ on earth, the Pope was becoming increasingly reje████ ███ mistrusted. In the eye of the ██████ful beholder, he was now seen as the incarnation ██ ████ of Luxuria and Avaritia. With increasing apo█████tic vehemence, the

Church was being rejected and attacked, and in the ensuing
vacuum of desacralized authority the disoriented poor
started their frantic search for a new "Gemeinschaft"
outside the traditional boundaries of the Church.

> It is because of these emotional needs of the poor
> that the militant social movements . . . were at
> the same time surrogates for the Church—salvation-
> ist groups led by miracle working ascetics.[7]

Not only was a break-away from the corrupted church
authority sought. Medieval kingship, previously con-
ceived as the incarnation of moral law and divine in-
tention, was also loosing its grip on the people because
of a new type of competitive power, a struggle for the
emancipation of secular power. In France, the reactions
to this struggle for secular power were brief outbursts
of revolutionary millenarianism, because the power of
the new monarchy consolidated itself comparatively fast.
In Germany, this power struggle went on for centuries
leading up to the Great Interregnum. Consequently, the
German people appeared to project their anxieties into
countless millenarian movements. Invariably, the power
vacuum was a rich soil for unrest of multiple forms and
whenever a new power tried to impose itself ruthlessly,
it did not reach to the roots among the people. They
then perceived power as oppression and wholly illegiti-
mate. In Germany, particularly the cult of the savior of

the poor flourished any time another upheaval was

experienced in an endless seeming series of disturbances.

> When finally one comes to consider the anarchist
> millenarian groups which flourished around the
> close of the Middle Ages, one fact is immediately
> obvious: it was always in the midst of some much
> wider revolt or revolution that a group of this
> kind emerged into daylight.[8]

Not just in Germany because of its permanent

condition of disorder and restlessness, but also in

France, the Lower Countries, specifically in Flanders

and in Bohemia, and in England--one finds the same move-

ments from the 12th to the 16th century flaring on and

off. Only the completely marginal seem to become mes-

merized and fall into the hands of the millenarian

prophets.

> . . . and what emerged then as a new group--a
> restlessly dynamic and utterly ruthless group,
> which obsessed by the apocalyptic fantasy and
> filled with conviction of its own infallibility,
> set itself indefinitively above the rest of
> humanity and recognized no claims save that of
> its own supposed mission.[9]

> . . . and finally this group might--though it
> did not always--succeed in imposing its leader-
> ship on the mass of the disoriented, the per-
> plexed and the frightened.[10]

g) The Debate on the Millennium: Is it More Typical
of Rural Areas than of Urban Centers?

Whereas Cohn implies that millenarian movements

may arise either in rural or urban areas, Barkum attempts
to show that millenarian movements are more typically
rural in isolated agrarian areas where kinship ties are
strong and stable. He rightfully terms the extended
family a bufferzone and suggests that in cities in pre-
industrial society, the extended family is still functioning
as a buffer. Similarly, Hobsbawn puts millenarian move-
ments in the context of what he describes as archaic
societies or pockets thereof, literally left behind in
some remote parts of Europe during its early industrial-
ization (18th and 19th centuries). Moreover, Hobsbawn[11]
scrutinizes the smaller-scale cities during that period
and points out how much some of these cities yet truly
formed a Gemeinschaft, whose members traditionally and
devotedly were aligned with their local king or count
whom they obeyed respectfully as their God-given ruler
and natural protector. Both ruler and ruled were wrapped
up in this sacred pattern of authority. It took a long
time in history before traditional forms of revolt changed
drastically into more or less modern outbursts of revo-
lution. (Compare Ellul, Autopsy of Revolution) Talmon
calls millenarian movements pre-political; it may be more
historically-correct to define them as revolts which
were simultaneously religious and secular because no
clear differentiation could be made until the French
Revolution's concerted attack on authority. (Compare

G. Lefèbvre's _Le Probleme de l'Incroyance au XVIeme Siecle_, which is a study on Rabelais.)

Queiroz suggests that millenarian movements are the only possible form of revolution and reform in all traditional societies. Barkum tries to find plausible reasons for millenarian movements being more likely to develop in rural areas, especially because of the naturally compact populations and the prevalence of extreme deprivation. In the heterogeneous city, one person's disaster may become another's windfall. He feels that close communal identification has begun to die out in the "modern" west and gives the example of an earlier outburst of millenarian panic all over the countryside in 18th century France: "La Grande Peur", mid-summer, 1789. When local fears were spreading as apocalyptic rumors throughout homogeneous rural areas, La Grande Peur took on epidemic proportions. Barkum claims that it was typical for millenarian movements to begin in one location then generate countless parallel movements in other rural regions. He then concluded that "millennium with total claims of loyalty and a single authoritative world view is incompatible with interest-group politics".

Tilly differentiates between communal and associative ties which amounts to another way of indicating a gradual development from Gemeinschaft into Gesellschaft. (Graham and Gurr, _Violence in America_, p. 38)

Communalism with its physical and social vulner-
ability, its homogeneity, and its well defined
local ties, is more likely to be the scene of a
contagious atmosphere of anxiety and suggest-
ibility.[12]

If Barkum tries to associate millenarian movements
with rural conditions, Seymour Lipset goes even farther
when associating millenarian movements with a lower social
class where authoritarianism, political extremism and
emotional religiosity are rampant, so this class neces-
sarily is a source of chiliastic revolt. This seems
very debatable. It may be true that rural inhabitants
most often have a lower class status than city dwellers.
Here Barkum undertakes to rework the class background:
"millenarianism of a lower class is less a class phenom-
enon per se than a response to peculair conditions of
rural life". (Barkum, p. 72) The depth of the margin-
ality of the rural poor is greater, so their millenarian
outbursts are expected to be more extreme.

Is Barkum not here trying the impossible by
claiming that Gemeinschaft--which he specifies as homog-
eneity, close ties and buffer zone (as Adas does)--is
more typical at any time for rural areas anywhere?
Moreover, he does make mention himself of "scattered"
instances of urban millenarian movements, as in Florence,
Munster in late medieval times--around the end of ▪▪▪th
century respectively and in 1534-35. Very recently the

Marcus Garvey movement was predominantly urban and yet
fully millenarian. To this series could be added other
contemporary cases like the Black Muslims, the earth-
quakes of Tokyo and Rio de Janiero. Moreover, Barkum
does concede that there are totalitarian millenarian
movements in our own time, especially in cities. When
discussing the Russian Revolution, Barkum points out
how the revolutionary movement was spreading extremely
fast in homogeneous areas which were not necessarily
rural: for example, in the one-company towns.

To what degree at all can millenarian movements
be seen as class revolt? Is class consciousness a
dimension in them? During the middle ages all mille-
narian movements arose in non-urban settings, banding
together homogeneous rural populations.[13] Increasing
division of labor makes the rise of millenarian movements
more unlikely. Pre-industrial society with its kinship
ties is a more fertile seed-bed. However, during the
middle ages there were at least two great exceptions
to this rule: the fervent millennialism in Florence and
Munster. Florence could boast of a unique civic tradition
ascribing to herself a very special role of leadership
and claiming to be the only true heir to the city of
Rome and its equally unique role as a holy city, domin-
eering over all of Italy if not all of the known world.

Florence then, as a city, had a sense of "calling" to its part on the world stage.[14]

This city had been imagining for centuries that a superior destiny had been carved out for her. Florence, the only successor of Rome and the world's next best center of regeneration, rebirth and what not! Since at least the 13th century, many half-religious, half-political sects were tolerated rather well within the Florentine walls, whereas other similar sects like the Cathars, Fraticelli, Amadamites and Waldensians were flourishing primarily in agrarian areas. Not so in the case of Florence, and when the religious and political organizer and prophet Savonarola appeared on the scene in Florence, the conditions for millenialism were right there, ready made. Consequently, Savonarola was not so much of an innovator as a synthesizer of existing vague millenarian ideas in Florence.

The other major striking case of fully developed urban millenialism during the late medieval period occurred in Munster. A sketchy outline of the sequence of events (as relevant to this discussion) runs as follows.

An internal class struggle was going on in Munster itself between a cohesive well-cordinated but competitive guild system versus an oppressive, highly regulatory

ecclesiastical regime. While this struggle was inten-
sifying in Munster itself, some other external factors
added their weight to the internal conflict: namely a
series of disasters such as crop failures and epidemic
diseases spreading all over the surrounding areas. More-
over, the Turks were invading western Europe, and conse-
quently taxes were increasing all over Europe to muster
defensive forces, while floods and famines were occurring
left and right. Simultaneously, in the Low Countries in
the 1530's, the chiliastic movement of Anabaptism erupted
under a new prophet leader Melchior Hoffman. This caused
another outbreak of related Anabaptism in Munster under
a local Lutheran leader. Fervor increased on all fronts.
The millenarian followers from Holland marched en masse
into Munster, literally converting that city into semi-
permanent headquarters of such a totalitarian social
radicalism in extremes as never was witnessed anywhere
else.

The strength of Barkum's argument lies perhaps not
in his somewhat artificial differentiation between rural
and urban pre-millenarian conditions, but in his incisive
analytical comments on the impact of the sequence of
disasters, and on the millenarian consciousness, passed
on from generation to generation by an intensive and
isolated socialization process. This dimension was not

systematically treated before and here Barkum adds to the understanding of the rise and spread of millenarian movements. His chapters on "The Disaster Origin of Millenarian Movements" and on "The Disaster Prone Environment" are also of great importance to gain more insight into the millenarian movements of the Black Muslims: the endless series of collective suffering like enslavement, enforced migration, continuous colonization and oppression, uprootedness culminating in total disorientation. This strong sense of repetitive defeats and betrayals in the lives of the disprivileged and oppressed is not individually based deep anxiety but collectively experienced and expressed. The whole Black history is filled with abrupt and drastic uprootedness shared by all Blacks in America and this came more recently to another climax in the two big migration waves from the impossible South to the inhospitable North. It was the despised nation's history from Plantation to Ghetto. These two last major migrations took place after World War I and World War II and both ended in accumulative misery because of continuous lack of status and true citizenship, because of alienation ad absurdum in the northern ghettoes.

h)   The Impact of Disasters on People's Minds:
       Possible Connections Between Upheavals and
       the Millennium.

> The decisive point in modern history was, from
> the point of view of our problem (Ideology and
> Utopia) the moment in which 'Chiliasm' joined
> forces with the active demands of the oppressed
> strata of society. The very idea of the dawn of
> a millennial kingdom on earth always contained
> a revolutionizing tendency, and the church made
> every effort to paralyze this situationally
> transcendent idea with all the means at its
> command.15

Crucial for understanding the potential rise of

millenarian movements is the fact that not one but a

series of similar disasters may become the catalyst.

How to define a disaster-prone area or period, when to

look for potential millennial reactions to follow

--these are complex questions approached rather differ-

ently by leading theorists in this field. The most

elaborate analysis has been done by Barkum in his study

Disaster and the Millennium. Not all disasters generate

millenarian beliefs although many millenarian movements

were preceded by a series of obvious disastrous events.

> Natural disasters, famine, plague or drought may
> have provided such occasions--of millenarianism
> --but the most frequently observed circumstances
> of charismatic phenomenon appear to be the con-
> ditions promoted by war or the clash of cultures.
> Invasions or migrations may have caused disruption
> of norms and values from time to time creating
> occasions on which men might have accepted the
> offer of extraordinary supernatural intervention
> had it been available.16

Successive disasters may generate millenarianism.17

Sometimes one sudden catastrophe may suffice if the social context happens to be already permeated with the nervous millenarian expectations, for example the Tokyo Earthquake of 1923. Disasters can be natural or man-made: famine, flood, a plague of epidemic proportions, earthquakes, war, defeats, oppression, migration, depression, colonization. By discussing the impact of disasters on people in various kinds of societies and different period of time, Barkum articulates the concept rather well.

It can be concluded from his critical survey that not all forms of serial disaster predetermine millennialism. One could mention cases where a society or a whole civilization in decay seems not to have evoked the millenarian syndrome, e. g. the rather abrupt breakdown of cultures like the Minoan, the Etruscan, the Mayan. Barkum cites three possible reactions to his ideal-typical situation of multiple disaster: (1) apathy and decay; (2) development of a full millenarian movement; and (3) defensive restructuring (Bernhard Siegel's theory) which often marks the conclusive ending, the routinization of a millenarian movement.

In this perspective, the development of the Christian and the Islamic religion may be compared: Contemporary communism has evolved as a movement in a

similar way (see Tucker's insightful article). Other
religious movements could be categorized, too, as de-
fensive restructuring: the Shtetl Jews, the Mormons,
the Amish and the Pueblo Indians. Most religiously
inspired movements changed themselves over time into a
certain compromise with society by becoming passively
millenarian after having started off as more actively
millenarian movements (compare Brian Wilson on Sects).

Barkum gives two examples at the beginning of
his analysis of what he terms "disaster-prone environ-
ment". The often cited Burned Over District of Upstate
New York is an example, where religious fervor and mille-
narian outburst had been manifest in almost regular
patterns of returning ways of religious enthusiasm
(see also Field). After his critical discussion of
the "relative deprivation" theory, Barkum goes on to
show how there were no specific socio-economic variables
at work in Upstate New York which could have caused such
an unusual and returning panic. Moreover, typical catas-
trophic pre-millenarian events were strikingly absent:
no famine, no flood, no earthquakes, no comets, invasions,
banditry, plagues, epidemics or wars. However, the
millenarian spirit had been rampant for some decades,
though it appeared to be a more passive type of mille-
narianism; not so much voicing social protest and demanding

revolutionary changes, but rather projecting toward a
remote future of salvation. Strong otherworldly ex-
pectations were on people's minds. In this area and period
the Millerites predicted the end of the world in the year
1844. This was the only specific crystallization in time
of the millenarian spirit.

In Ireland on the other hand, during the potato
famine of 1848-49, a definitive concrete emergency sit-
uation had suddenly arisen because of a whole sequence of
disasters. No millenarian outburst followed. Barkum
points out with regard to the first example that the whole
context of thinking and acting had been deeply imbued
with millenarian fervor for over a long period of many
generations. People had been socialized into the mille-
narian spirit although there was no unusual socio-economic
distress to speak of, no major political upheavals, no
natural disasters. It was a case then of generations
of socialization in millenarian conceptions which had
prepared the ground for a definitive outburst and had
worked as a recruiting mechanism.

> The burned over district, having been populated
> by participants in the Great Awakening, simply
> became an arena in which a familiar form of
> religious expectation was played out. The
> absence of social content from the preaching
> is further evidence that the practice of
> periodic social cleansing campaigns no longer[18]
> reflected deeper social or economic tensions.

In the case of the Irish example all the precon-
ditions were present, yet no millenarian outburst

materialized. In the Irish case the acute sense of loss, despair and anomie was alleviated in a very pragmatic way by mass emigration. Moreover the anomie was temporary because the unusually strong position and influence of the Roman Catholic Church successfully guided the people through the suffering into a form of coping with daily misery. Some disasters are apparently taken in their stride, as they come; with resignation people appear to adapt to drastic changes. Thus, the silting of Bruges' access to the sea did not cause a millenarian upheaval, whereas in the typical medieval context many sudden changes were automatically perceived as God-sent punishments for evil committed. To put disasters in the familiar religious framework came almost as a natural reflex to medieval people. (Compare Eileen Power, Johan Huizinga.) The chroniclers were always pointing at God's sudden intervening power or for that matter at any appropriate Saint for interference or protection--whenever an unusual event would break through the monotony of "normal" events to be recorded.

For example, in the 13th and 14th centuries, during major socio-economic and political upheavals in both Ghent and Bruges and during a series of artisan revolts under the famous brothers van Artevelde as

leaders, there were millenarian elements all over the provinces of Flanders, Antwerp, Artois and Hanois. (See elaborate analysis of these socio-economic and political upheavals by Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, Histoire de la Belgique, 1931.)

In cases, the social protest would become strengthened and widened by the millenarian spirit, especially by the fervently chiliastic expectations. (Compare Cohn and Ellul; also compare Worsley for impact of millenarian movements on social change in the Melanesian case.) It would be a shallow way out of the theoretical complexity here to resort to the popular chicken-egg question. This would reduce causality in millenarian movements to a matter of--what precedes what. Millenarian and revolutionary movements may coincide, may be present at the same time amongst the same groups of people in similar socio-economic and cultural-religious context. (I am purposely not using the overloaded term "class" here for this period in history.) They may then reinforce each other and literally speed up the impending sequence of events. The millenarian spirit may intensify and dramatize the revolutionary movement which had started already or was in the process of its early crystallization.

In other cases, the same spirit may delay, side-

/track or postpone indefinitely any form of concrete action. This leads to a discussion when and why, under which circumstances rebellions most typically do start. (Compare V. Murvar, "Messianism in Russia: Religious and Revolutionary", in Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. 10, 1971, Pp.277-338.) In some historical cases, deep anxieties are shared by the masses but the charismatic leader does not appear on the scene. The presence or the absence of such a leader makes all the difference: no millenarianism may crystallize.

From earlier research I did (at Groningen University, The Netherlands) the Thirty Years War could be quoted as an exceptional case in point: where all the millenarian preconditions were present but the millennium failed to crystallize. Extremes of socio-economic distress and major political upheavals had preceded the outbreak of the war itself which intensified the general break-down of society in various German counties. This caused a seemingly endless chain of political crises. (Compare A. Lloyd Moote, The Seventeenth Century: Europe in Ferment, 1970; "Secular States in Tension, 1600-1660", pp. 99-186.) Historians applied statistical methods to this period in German 17th century history to measure the degree of disorientation and dislocation. Even this method was not sufficient to account for the obvious

lack of millenarian outbursts. On the other hand, in
the early 16th century Germany there had been strong
and repetitive outcrops of the millenarian spirit and
agitation as witnessed during the Munster Rebellion and
the Peasant Wars.

To give another example: Hitler rose to power
in a meteoric manner during an extraordinarily deep
crisis in Germany. In comparative analysis, Tucker
points out how there had been a very deep crisis in
Russia for many decades, but how it was only during the
second decade of the 20th century that the crisis had
deepened enough and that the repetitive defeats did
have a final eruptive impact. Namely, only in 1917,
when the war had aggravated and spread misery among the
masses, did Lenin's charismatic call meet with fervent
responses from all over the country.

> I shall never forget the thunderlike speech,
> startling and amazing not only to me, a heretic
> accidentally present there, but also to the
> faithful, all of them. I assert that nobody there
> had expected anything of the kind. It seemed as
> if all the elements and the spirit of universal
> destruction had risen from their lairs, knowing
> neither barriers nor doubts, nor personal dif-
> ficulties nor personal considerations, to hover
> . . . above the heads of the bewitched disciples.[19]

A social historian like Crane Brinton puts
the final events leading up to the French Revolution in
juxtaposition to similar crises in other revolutions.
Erik Erickson talks of these societal crises in

psychological terms such as abrupt identity vacuum,

existential dread.   The essence of millenarianism is when

the appropriate leader-prophet appears and preaches

redemption for all in an innovative synthesis drawn out

of the societal crises: ". . . a charismatic leader is

one who offers people salvation in the form of safety,

or rituals or some combination of these."[20]

> To fix the beginning, of a movement at a given
> point in the stream of historical events is always
> hazardous and signifies a neglect of the fore-
> runners of the movement. But the successful
> reconstruction of what is most essential in
> historical development depends upon the historian's
> ability to give the proper emphasis to those
> turning points which are decisive in the articu-
> lation of the phenomena. The fact that modern
> socialism often dates its origins from the time
> of the Anabaptists is in part evidence that the
> movement led by Thomas Munzer is to be regarded
> as a step in the direction of modern revolutionary
> movements. It is obvious of course that we are
> not yet dealing here with class conscious pro-
> letarians. Similarly, it must be readily granted
> that Munzer was a social revolutionary from
> religious motives. However, the sociologist must
> pay particular attention to this movement because
> in it Chiliasm and the social revolution were
> structurally integrated.[21]

In cases where a millenarian movement obviously

turns the people away from logical (and in terms of

context of movement) concerted action, there is a ten-

dency among some social scientists to come up with easy

explanations and in my view dangerously broad general-

izations. There is no doubt that in some instances the

millenarian fervor did provide its followers with pain

and stress-alleviating channels, with distracting actions,
with forms of escapism and pacifying rituals, with unreal
promises of better things to come by magic or whatever
supernatural interference to be manifest soon. In short,
the millenarian fervor would improve the group morale/
without at all changing the socio-economic hardships.
Moreover the millenarian spirit may drive its adherents
from revolutionary consciousness into insane collective
actions, out of great fear, chiliastic despair about the
deeply aggravating misery of the present. See through-
out 16th, 17th and 18th century where millenarian sects
would commit collective suicide at several instances in
Russia's tumultuous history, so abundant with extremes
in human suffering among whole segments of the population.

However, this pie-in-the-sky syndrome is by no
means typical for all millenarian movements. Inevitably
this should broaden the general analysis of the impact
of religion as a powerful group identification process:
a very complex phenomenon which cannot possibly be de-
fined as a solely religious form of group crystallization
based on a certain set of transcendental assumptions.
Here the recent theoretical "rewording" of religion as
Identification and the Sacred by Hans Mol could be made
relevant to the interpretation of millenarian movements.
The powerful social dynamics generated by charismatic

leadership during the group conversion process in a so-
called prophetic protest movement should be of deep
interest and concern to the theory and practice of
community development.

i)   A More Universal Perspective: Acculturation.
       How Viable is the Concept?

        For a long time in social scientific research, the
focus was on forms of controlled acculturation manifest
during the extensive period of European colonization and
imperialism. Of course, earlier forms of less systematic
acculturation were known and well studied in historic
research done on previous empires like the Egyptian,
Babylonian-Persian, Greek, Helenistic and Roman. When
looking at colonialism and imperialism as forms of con-
trolled acculturation, the rise of modern nationalism
should be mentioned as a variable adding enormous impetus
to the imperialistic drive for power, for forceful access
to resources and unilateral control over whole segments
of continents outside Europe. (Compare A. D. Smith on
nationalism and Schumpeter's seminal study of imperialism.)
Imperialism is here taken in a historically precise
definition of so-called Modern Imperialism, a culmination
of competitive colonialism with modern techniques and
extremely nationalistic overtones (see J. S. Bartstra,

Modern Imperialism, 1880 to present, 1958; Langer, The
Diplomacy of Imperialism, Alfred Knopf, New York, Fourth
Printing, 1965.)

A more general acculturation theory as attempted
by Dohrenwend and Smith[22] could be fruitfully compared
with Wallace's universal ideal type of a revitalization
movement. In Dohrenwerd and Smith's case, a team effort
by two social scientists propose an outline of a theor-
etical model that could encompass an unusually wide
variety of acculturation cases. By defining possible
stages into four general categories (alienation, reorien-
tation, reaffirmation and reconstitution) the authors
transcend the boundaries of millenarian, nativistic,
vitalistic and revitalizing movements into a more uni-
versal category of adaptation to innovation by group or
individuals. The categories as defined allow both for
individual cases of acculturation and for complete social
movements. However, overemphasis on the group's selection
of viable elements from both conflicting cultures does
not lead the authors to a satisfying synthesis of the
group processes involved: identification and mobili-
zation of resources. This aspect of social dynamics
is not accounted for in the model. The authors appear
aware of the pitfalls involved in theorizing too widely
and of the risks of constraining the definitions too

narrowly. Their solution seems to follow Merton's suggestion to build theories on the intermediate level.

Acculturation itself is a very wide field and millenarian or revitalization movements could be termed a sub-field of research and theoretical endeavor. Widely acclaimed definitions were given by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits.[23] Somewhat later Herskovits[24] did a critique of the team work above mentioned. According to the team, acculturation implied:

> . . . those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact . . . [25]

Throughout studies and descriptions of acculturation, the following terms appear to be used rather frequently: disintegration, fusion, assimilation, dominant or superior versus subordinate or inferior culture or tribe, group, class. Interestingly enough, at first Dohrenwend and Smith used the term assimilation instead of their fourth final category, "reconstitution". Obviously the term assimilation implies that certain characteristics of the "dominant", "superior" culture are "better and stronger", so that assimilation of whole group and symbolic framework was bound to happen and consequently was "naturally" justified. This assumption for a very long time has plagued the mainstream of American sociologists when dealing with the presumably last and final ethnic sub-group, the Negroes or Black people.

In 1954, the Social Science Research Council,
focussed on acculturation and its varying speed for
different sub-dimensions, e. g. Ogburn's well-known
theory of cultural lag, suggesting that technological
changes occur faster than changes in other aspects of
culture. General stagnation then may set in because
the socio-cultural context cannot accommodate, literally
cannot digest the changes imposed by the technological
development. The Council also suggested that often the
focus in studies of acculturation is lopsided, either
concentrating solely on the "native" culture or even
worse, solely on the dominant culture. Very seldom though
are both perspectives treated simultaneously in a balanced
and fair way.

Frequently the process of acculturation itself
is underexposed and the treatment is far from holistic.
An holistic perspective on acculturation is attempted
by Wallace, and the strength of his theory appears to
be the consistent focus on conscious individual and
group strivings to accommodate the overpowering rapid
changes persistently defined by Wallace in his metaphors
of "strains", "stress" on the "life supporting matrix".
One should immediately add here that Wallace does not
use such terms to adhere to the functionalist school:
on the contrary, he fully incorporates conflict into his

theory. Moreover, he claimed that a revitalization move-
ment may not get off the ground unless it has a concrete
political-economic base. It may often be set into motion
under strongly religious impulses; yet during or right
after its early crystallization process other variables,
especially politico-economic ones, may gain the upper
hand.

> The formulation is regarded as a man who has
> been vouchsafed from a supernatural being or
> from some other source of wisdom unavailable,
> to the masses, superior knowledge and authority
> which justifies his claim to unquestioned be-
> lief and obedience from followers.[26]

In a later stage though, the same movement after
aggravating signals of obstinacy and power abuse given
by the power entrenched, will rework its own code to
legitimate its more forceful manoeuvring. This then
will inevitably lead up to force or violence.

> The general tendency is for codes to harden
> gradually and for the tone of the movement to
> become increasingly militant, nativistic, and
> hostile both toward non-participating members
> of the group, who will ultimately be defined
> as "traitors" and towards outsiders who are
> "enemies".[27]

So now the leap from the religious into the secular
realm is made as part of an almost "natural" process it-
self, dictated by the sequence of events: the intensifying
of the socio-economic and political crisis. Instead,
Smith and Dohrenwend focus on internalization of new norms
as the main collective preoccupation.

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Here Wallace predicts that if the movement manages
to sweep along great segments of the population--and in
the case of a modern industrial society--is successful
in gaining access to and establishing control over trans-
portation, power, bureaucracy, resources and military
apparatus, then the new culture--previously suppressed
sub-culture--can make itself entrenched in turn. Then
the revitalization movement will balance itself out, con-
formity will gain over symptoms of disorientation, dis-
tortion and anomie will decrease. This surfacing of a
new coherent "conscience collective"--to use the Durk-
heimian wording--is a necessary precondition for the
movement and the new society to get off the ground and
survive!

In order to become permanently viable, Wallace
claims that an economic base is required. This is a re-
markable theoretical addition to a model which first of
all conceptualizes revitalized movements as social-
psychological and religious pehnomena. Here Wallace
has fully capitalized on Mannheim's seminal idea of ideol-
ogy versus utopia. It is most exciting to notice through-
out his studies--not just in the condensed version of
revitalization movements in his famous incisive article
Revitalization Movements--Wallace looks at religion and
the ideologies--or utopias it incessantly tends to inspire

--as a complex force in societal structure, as a framework
that can carry people through a collective crisis of
multiple dimensions, even more so as an enabling force
that can generate a whole revolution brought about by
the oppressed.

> . . . the tendency in any society toward one set
> of beliefs and rituals, the ideological, which
> are conservative, aimed at the repair and per-
> fection of the existing system, and toward another,
> the utopian, which are directed toward the attain-
> ment of a revolutionary change for the achieve-
> ment of a new and better world. Ideological
> rituals may be said to have as their aim social
> control in a cybernetic sense; they intend to
> instruct, to direct, and to program individuals
> as they enter upon new tasks, and to correct the
> "wobbling" of the system of society which would
> result if individuals strayed too far from the
> roles they have assumed (this is the typically
> functionalist conceptualizing of people playing
> their roles prescribed by the all pervasive
> norms.)[28]

Then Wallace projects far beyond this:

> . . . much of what is written about 'religion'
> deals almost entirely with its ideological
> rituals and their functions; this is perhaps
> because the anthropological observers of religion
> tend to come from conservative institutions in
> conservative societies. Indeed, to many Western
> persons, religion is ideology--and that which is
> ritualistic and supernaturally rationalized, but
> is not ideological, is either ignored or dismissed
> as pathological or merely superstitious.[29]

Some of the advantages in a "neutrally" worded
theoretical construct as attempted by Dohrenwend and
Smith are its versatility and medium-range focus. It
can be used for a wide and complex set of acculturation
situations and because of its rescuing of earlier concepts

like "alienation" it can be a stimulating starter to
generate new perspectives, and exercises in re-theorizing.

Dohrenwend and Smith use the case of Australian
tribes on the border of white men's frontier settlements
to epitomize the collapse of the symbolic framework which
used to hold the tribes together.

> . . . the myth making process in its native form
> breaks down completely . . . With the collapse
> of this system of ideas, which is so closely
> related with so many other aspects of native
> culture, there follows an appalling sudden and
> complete cultural disintegration and a demorali-
> zation of the individual such as seldom has been
> recorded for areas other than Australia . . .
> native sentiments and values are simply dead.
> Apathy reigns. The aboriginal has passed beyond
> the reach of any outsider who might wish to do
> him well or ill.[30]

Unfortunately, this quotation gives the impression
that the Australian case is unique. All Dohrenwend and
Smith want to show by this example is that there may
arise such an extreme degree of alienation that the
culture under threat comes to a complete standstill.
This did happen in many other instances.

What they term as second stage is the process of
reorientation when the group itself starts moving in the
direction of the alien culture while abandoning some
elements of its own culture and overemphasizing and
reinforcing some other vital aspects of the indigeneous
framework. Rules are changed by sequence of internalization
processes. In this manner the intolerable gap is bridged.

The next phase is "reaffirmation" when the old
and new elements are synthesized in and by a social move-
ment. A classic example of this type of accommodating
syncretism is of course the prophet Handsome Lake and
his followers who under deeply religious collective in-
spiration became highly modernized in this synchronized
process, ending up with a modern economy and a religiously
regenerated social life.

The most exciting stage is the phase of
"reconstitution", a term applied by the authors to define
the innovative results when the group or tribe well-
versed now in the two cultural frameworks and completely
confident with the new self-designed and self-styled
synthesis makes a giant leap by incorporating innovative
aspects to the whole socio-cultural frame of reference.
Dohrenwend and Smith quote as examples the indigeneous
reactions of the Araucanians to their sudden but long
lasting and intensive contacts with the Spaniards in the
16th and 17th centuries. At first the Araucanians were
almost at random picking out some features which impressed
them instantly in their dealings with the Spanish invaders.
By the time the invaders had become oppressors, the con-
tacts had been mostly military, then more political and
then finally they became religious. However the Araucanians
got on their own feet during the final religious phase of

acculturation by building up their own authentic symbolic framework: not copying their conquistadores but outdoing them completely in their own religious ingenuity and cultural creativity.

Critique: This theoretical construct is soundly based on some related social scientific concepts but it lacks Wallace's seminal overall thrust and theoretical precision. Above all it seems lacking in sociological imagination in the sense brought out by C. Wright Mills' study of that name.

Yet it is necessary to have this type of theoretical construct in order to encompass acculturation on this intermediate level of abstraction. On the other hand, it does not clarify how social movements and innovations are interwoven, part and parcel, in some group process of joint re-identification. It fails to account for the group dynamics of social change: what was the original bond of the group in crisis and which variables most likely cause the initial break-down of the societal system and the symbolic framework. Yet the authors are themselves aware of the limits to their construct and at the end of the descriptive introduction to their theoretical sketch they suggest some basic questions to be posed in order to initiate systematic research in the field of acculturation.

In my judgement far from enough theoretical
justification has been given for the four specific stages.
Or are they just given to sketch potential avenues of
development of this process, never mind the exact sequences?
Also it is confusing that only to the first stage an
almost heavily overloaded, often overused terms has been
assigned like of all names: "alienation", whereas to the
other three stages almost meaningless rather non-descriptive
names have been given: reorientation, reaffirmation and
reconstitution.

A basic question now arises: is this attempt at
theorizing grounded or are the elements not really holding
together by an inherent logic? (Compare Grounded Theory
by Glazer and Strauss) Granted, there is some rationale
to the whole model, because it attempts to come to terms
with the whole process of acculturation.[31] For analytical
purposes, its schematic outline may be helpful to pinpoint
the most likely sequence of events and provide a grid to
survey a variety of related acculturation movements.
However, it does not zero in on millenarian movements
nor cargo cults nor revitalization movements and their
internal dynamics; it only tries to work out a very
universal model of acculturation processes in different
societies and at various periods in time. As is so
alarmingly typical for functional analysis, it does not

allow theoretical space for development in historical
perspective.

My main objection is that I sense simplifying
functionalist overtones when the authors are defining
culture and norms.

> A cultural system can be viewed as consisting of
> sets of ordered, interdependent activities. Each
> concrete instance of such structured activities,
> in turn, may be assigned to one of a number of
> realms or orders: political, economic, religious,
> educational, medical and social-recreational
> . . . These rules for their part have the power
> to dictate conduct either by virtue of having
> been internalized by most of the individuals
> engaged in the activities or by virtue of the
> higher authority which enables some individuals
> to impose their wills on others, or both. The
> rules, together with the activities following
> from them, may be termed "norms".[32]

This definition--so typical for its narrowly function-
alist assumptions--brings out exactly all the dimensions of
societal reality which are left out of this approach.
Well known functionalist assumptions about the so-called
interdependence between the normative and social system,
the social economic and political systems which are given
space--yes--but subordinated to the all pervasive normative
system invariably lead to severe underestimation of the
movement itself which brings about the acculturation.
This so-called automatic complying with norms and mech-
anical playing of prescribed roles by individuals and
groups totally submerged in the normative system leads
to reification of norms and values. The whole narrow

perspective makes the authors here miss the essence of
an acculturation movement: the fully humanly conscious
group mobilizing its resources in a critical but even-
tually redemptive process on both a deeply religious and
completely secular plateau: an emergency movement to
rescue what is yet viable of the old framework and add
what is highly desirable of the alien invading system.

> . . . what Parsons and other grand theorists
> call 'value-orientations' and 'normative structure'
> has mainly to do with master symbols of legiti-
> mation. This is indeed a useful and important
> subject. The relations of such symbols to the
> structure of institutions are among the most
> important problems of social science. Such
> symbols however do not form some autonomous
> realm within a society; their social relevance
> lies in their use to justify or to oppose the
> arrangement of power and the positions within
> this arrangement of the powerful.33

Both Wallace and Burridge transcend the artificially
constraining boundaries of functionalism. They do make
room for people and individuals acting out of despair
about the socio-economic and political predicament they
suddenly find themselves in. These theorists do assume
that social actors are not just wrapped up in playing
out prescribed roles and conforming to norms and behav-
ioral patterns embedded in an all encompassing cultural
system--supposedly the "top layer" in the all determining
and pervasive cultural dimension of Parsons' set of
patterned variables.

A. D. Smith in his recent study, <u>Functionalism</u>
<u>and Social Change</u>, systematically analyses functionalism
and its dealing with--or not dealing with--social change.
He wrote an excellent critique on the manner functionalists
have circumvented the real societal actors in history.
The assumption that history moves unilaterally in a some-
what mysteriously controlled cybernetic process--by con-
tinuously adjusting its course, undoing any slight de-
viating curve or move downwards--has caused great dis-
tortions in functionalist analysis. The theoretical
construct of a societal system that incessantly gravi-
tates towards an equilibrium by balancing out perceived
strains and stresses, leaves out human individuals as
autonomous actors in any given historical or present cir-
cumstances. It smooths out conflict and clashes by per-
sistently overemphasizing the so-called "natural" equi-
librium towards which the system is supposed to be moving
at all times. It disregards human initiative and indi-
vidual decision making. It fails completely to come to
terms with the social dynamics of any given social move-
ment because it does not conceive of groups of people
choosing their own course in history.

Nor does it acknowledge that within given complex
social economic and political circumstances different
groups of people or different segments of society or

classes could be mobilizing their resources in very

different manners (compare the study by Oberschal on

Social Conflict and Social Movements). A revolutionary

movement does have its own rationale for being a social

movement the way it is!

> We are insulated from the prejudgements contained
> in the dichotomies rational/irrational and secular/
> religious. If a general rationality and order
> among human beings and their affairs are not
> assumed from the start, sociological analysis
> must founder. The label "irrational" tends to
> become a portmanteau of ethnocentric prejudices,
> for faith is faith whether thought of as religious
> or secular. More positively, with this definition
> we can identify activities and movements of gen-
> erally millenarian type where the words "God",
> "deity", or "spiritual being" or their synonyms
> in other languages are not in evidence.[34]

How acculturation is mostly a dynamic two-way

process is further elaborated by Caldarola in his critical

discussion of Dohrenwend and Smith's framework (in

Introduction to Christianity: The Japanese Way. E. J.

Brill, Leiden, 1979). Caldarola distinguishes more

concisely than was done in the model under discussion,

which factors are crucial during the whole process,

especially when the final outcome of acculturation is

what Dohrenwend and Smith term "reconstitution". He

goes beyond this framework by differentiating between

material and spiritual cultures and by suggesting that

usually artifacts and technology can be more easily

absorbed by the existing so-called receiving culture

than spiritual dimensions such as values, norms and human

relationships. In other words: a whole symbolic frame-

work cannot be passed on in a wholesale and neutral manner

by the donor culture to the receiver. As Caldarola puts

it: it has to be grafted onto the existing patterns of

behavior with which it should be fully compatible. If

not, rejection will follow.

> By virtue of their own personal limitations, the
> communicating individuals can never transmit their
> culture in its entirety; that part of their cul-
> tural inventory which they do transmit is deter-
> mined both by their motivations for making the
> contact and by the actual intersubjective inter-
> pretation of these motivations which occur in
> the specific acculturative situation. A classic
> illustration of the latter process is the mis-
> interpretation of the "needs" of native peoples
> . . . Thus intercultural communication is a
> product of purpose and cross-purpose, resulting
> in highly selective patterning of contacts in
> which perceived reality is the effective mediator
> in the determination of compatibility . . .
> Hence acculturation is not a passive or colorless
> absorption by the receiving culture; it is
> essentially a creative and culture-producing
> process, particularly when unforced.[35]

j)   Revolt and Revolution in Historical Perspective
        and their Relevance to Millenarian Movements

The French Revolution has been defined as a

watershed: the beginning of modern history. There has

been a tendency to evaluate revolutions in terms of what

the French Revolution tried to accomplish. Ellul suggests

that revolt and rebellion were typical of the medieval

and early modern scene, up to the eighteenth century.
As he shows in his historical and sociological analysis
of the phenomenon "revolution", it was the French Revol-
ution that was the first major consciously planned and
systematically implemented form of social change by over-
throwing the existing system.[36]

However, I feel that any interpretation of the
French Revolution should also account for "modern" aspects
present in earlier revolutions like the Dutch 16th century
revolt, the English Revolution and the American Revolution.
How "modern" all these revolutions were is not so much a
matter of debate but of degree. (Compare Peter Aman,
The Eighteenth Century Revolution, French or Western, Heath
and Company, Boston, 1963). What has been fascinating to
me during the analysis of millenarian movements is to keep
this historical perspective on revolution and social
change in mind. To what degree is the group mobilization
process and the outcome of such movements "modern",
"revolutionary"; and to what degree is the whole phenomenon
of millennialism "reactionary", "retrogressive", i. e.
avoiding changes, rejecting reforms and projecting back
towards a lost and idealized past. At this point some
aspects of revolution, especially the French Revolution,
may be relevant.

If a revolution is conceived as a secular group

mobilization for total change of society and revolt as a more inarticulate pre-modern form of protest calling for a return to a better past within the given sacred frame of authority--then where and when would millenarian movements as religious futuristic rebellions fit in?

> We may ask ourselves when (prophetic movements) will occur. Some factors may be named: oppression, internal tensions, sudden changes, catastrophes, diseases, poverty. It is true that where all of these factors occur, prophetic movements will frequently arise. Sometimes, however, a secular revolutionary (nationalistic) movement may arise instead, or else an organized attempt at economic betterment, for instance through the foundation of cooperatives . . . These are functional equivalents which weaken the rule: 'where such and such conditions are fulfilled, a prophetic movement will arise'.[37]

The religious dimension present in each movement has not been very popular among sociologists in the 20th century, so-called modern and rational. Religion in general has been for some time an almost ambiguous dimension, not fitting in with the logical positivistic doctrine that dominates the social sciences.

> The comparative study of religion has always been plagued by this peculiar embarrassment: the elusiveness of its subject matter. The problem is not one of constructing definitions of religion. We have quite enough of those; their number is a symptom of our malaise. It is a matter of discovering just what sorts of beliefs and practices support what sorts of faith under what sorts of conditions. Our problem, and it grows worse by the day, is not to define religion but to find it.[38]

Revolutions and revolutionary movements are related in many ways, for example, in the aspects of mass engagement

and charismatic role of leaders. Social movements and
millenarian movements are related along the same lines"
they involve irrationally and deeply emotionally engaged
followers, and they show charismatic leadership. Moreover,
there is the dominant perspective of fervent hopes, strong
and collective feelings manifesting themselves after long
accelerating initiation rites or conversion sessions (see
Hoffer, Gerlach and Hine, Toch). Even though millenarian
movements are obviously more frequently found in Third
World countries, many social and revolutionary movements
in the "developed" parts of the world appear to have
strong millenarian characteristics. (See Cohn, Hobsbawn,
Thrupp, Talmon, Gusfield)

While keeping "social change" and "revolution"
in mind, it would be useful to explore the reactionary
and revolutionary elements in millenarianism by looking
at some of the movements, their "programs", and their
initial and final actions. Frequently, the beautiful
dream would turn into obsession with violence. What
makes people revolt? (Compare Ellul's study Autopsy of
Revolution.)

A millenarian movement--when compared to a "real
revolution"--may not be a revolt or rebellion at all, but
rather a form of escapism. In some cases, the millenarian
programs or their emerging aims were vague and idealistic;

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in other cases they were precise, pragmatic and radical.
One wonders whether they were at times reactionary and/or
at other times revolutionary, or perhaps both at all times.

Further, millenarian movements are often amorphous,
about which only scanty information is to be gained,
especially in non-literate societies. Concepts of meta-
historical time are hard to grasp in theory. How to con-
ceptualize the intensive, frantic fanatical preparations
during a miserably frustrating present, looking toward a
better ideal time, a golden age which is supposed to come
almost immediately? The adherents to the movement are
torn between suffering experiences of an impossible present
projecting fantastically towards a dream reality of the
future while assuming this golden age is to crystallize
right then. By getting carried away in these illusive
revolutionary projections--which they are experiencing
already as imminent full reality in their own present
time--they are making a leap into a totally transcending
level of existence.[39]

Cohn, in his _Pursuit of Millennium_, is focussing
on the uprooted and disoriented poor who cannot bear their
daily fate any longer. They therefore follow the relig-
iously driven leader into violent extremes of religious
and utopian undertakings. There may be no definitive
program, but there is a strong sense of justice. The
coming of the Final Judgement ought to be speeded up.

The idea of a near holocaust is on people's minds.

People revolt when their daily lives become unbearable, as Ellul describes in his <u>Autopsy of Revolution</u>. When the present human situation is frustrating, uprooting and humiliating, the revolutionary fantasy projects towards the future while idealizing parts of the past on a very selective basis. For example, when the Ghost Dance was spreading among the Western American Indians, they were in total despair. It was a case of multiple deprivation (Glock and Stark). No strictly causative explanation can predict for sure that the millenarian movement will erupt in a predetermined way.[40] Lanternari and others have cited cases where all sufficient conditions were present, yet revolt did not break out.[41]

Ellul[42] seems to suggest that revolutions evolve from "primitive" or "pre-modern" to "fully modern". Nisbet[43]--although agreeing that the French Revolution was "radicalizing", "modernizing" and "secularizing" to a very high degree--argues that the whole development of social thought since the French Revolution has been only partly radical and partly traditional, reactionary or even religious. (See his analysis of the five basic unit ideas in <u>The Sociological Tradition</u>.) Eliade defines the total framework of any society--"primitive" or "modern" --as religious. Revolutions, however "radical" or "secular",

could be analysed together with millenarian movements in
the same perspective. Models and theories could be fruit-
_fully exchanged.

Broadly speaking, from the 12th to the 18th
century, there were countless rebellions, but no full
blown revolution in the modern sense of the French Revol-
ution. The English and American Revolutions have some
modern dimensions, but up to 1789, there was no absolute
concept of freedom. Only partial and concrete liberties
were aimed at. The medieval chronicles tend to record
an uninterrupted "flow" of events. Revolution was un-
thought of. Revolt was, but "anchored" in history and
looking back at an idealized past. Revolt was both re-
actionary and mystical, always rejecting the present
state of affairs and the immediate past. Instead, there
was a strong longing for a return to the good old times,
whereas there never was a doctrine for the future. If
projecting at all towards a vague future, it would be a
visionary search for an egalitarian millennium.

Revolt then, was first of all religiously inspired.
Social, economic and political issues might come in as
second thoughts: the basic context and content of the
revolutionary movement remained religious. As Machiavelli
saw it, too: the late medieval and early modern area of
"revoluzione" was a "rinnovazione", a fresh start of the

past, a return to a pre-determined point that had been mistakenly left. Not a break-away from the past, but a return to the past was on people's minds. There was no doctrine for the future. If the movement happened to evolve into a revolt of grand proportions, then it could culminate as Ellul puts it "in a march toward The Advent". It could help bring about the final judgement of all mankind, as the participants in medieval movements envisioned it so often: Joachim di Fiore, Cola di Rienzo, Watt Tyler, Thomas Muenzer, Johan van Leyden.

Revolution is associated with an abrupt and profound change in society, especially in its political system. When coming into use in the 16th century, the word revolution implied astronomical connotations. As Arendt puts it:

> Revolution became an astronomical metaphor for
> a phenomenon of cosmic proportions: a revolution
> of General Will.[44]

In the setting of the traditional society, revolution was not thought of. Jacques Ellul[45] and Robert Nisbet[46] elaborate on the fact that all revolutionary movements before the French Revolution were not true revolutions in the modern sense. They saw the French Revolution itself as a watershed. After that shocking and uprooting historical event, the gates had been opened forever by the Jacobins in their persistent, ruthless and

literal application of Rousseau's ideas of "la Voluntée Générale". The world of politics had dramatically changed. Authority was sacred until the Jacobins made it profane.

Robin Hood typified beautifully revolt within the social religious context of a traditional society. This type of banditry was endemic in such traditional societies as analysed by Hobsbawn. The "do-gooder" would suddenly appear on the local scene with his heart-warming and harmless kind of charity. He does not even put a finger on the wrongs and evils of the social system; he leaves the status quo as is.

As Hobsbawn pictures in <u>Primitive Rebels</u>: the rebel leaders, in the traditional society, were bandits of the Robin Hood type. They were undertaking a romantic enterprise of revolt in a folk style. The bandit appears on the scene before there is any trace of class conscious-ness among the suppressed poor. Banditry then is defined as an endemic phenomenon in traditional rural societies.[47] When the traditional equilibrium breaks down--Robin Hoodism rises to the foreground, as was the case in some back-wards parts of Europe in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, in Southern Italy, Sicily and Spain (Andalusia). In con-trast to revolution, social banditry is a rather modest and not truly revolutionary form of protest. There are no discernible calls for equality.

The French Revolution, then, was the first <u>total</u> revolution. It was not simply a spontaneous outburst out of frustration with an unbearable situation. Rousseau wrote the blueprint which Robespierre was going to apply. There was religious but not Christian fervor--a fervor sanctifying the total secularization of human acting and thinking.

This secularized crusading spirit of violence was used as a matter of tactical routine, and it too was almost religiously justified. Religion was abolished but the Red Republicanism founded on Rousseau's idealized concept of general will was equally religious. The de-Christinaization decrees of the Reign of Terror were planned to eradicate the whole western European tradition in one big sweep. A new secular millennium was purposely started on a <u>national scale</u>: a fully secular calendar was introduced to brainwash the minds of the people and erase all memories and symbols related to a forcefully rejected past. (Compare in case of more narrowly defined millenarian movements where one societal group is "re-weaving" its web of symbolic meanings.) Revolution and millenary movements have in common the dimension of human hope: fervent hopes, high expectations, intensified collective projections. Originally--going back into history --these hopes and projections were all embedded in the religious context of the total society.

However, the boundaries between so-called "fully secularized" and "still religious" forms of collective movement and revolt are partly fading and partly over- lapping, even in our "modern", "western" society. Many revolutionaries--both leaders and followers--are somehow "religious" to a very high degree while engaged in the process of bringing about change. They see it as their "calling" to act collectively to change society. Neither Machiavelli nor Marx for that matter were fully "secular- ized" in their visions of human free will up against the powerful circumstances in society. Even the Jacobins, manipulators of the spell-bound and totally dedicated revolutionary crowds--while violently implementing what they claimed were totally secularizing changes in French society--did not execute their radical revolutionary pro- gram without religious nor millenarian overtones. On the contrary, they forcefully introduced a brand new col- lective religion with new symbols and dogmas.

The "religious" or millenarian dimension in all revolutionary movements remains a returning phenomenon, inherent in collective human acting. Its powerful drive is extraordinary. It transforms the followers into ser- vants of the leader (totally dedicated, participating until the bitter end) blindly executing orders from the "holy above all" authority. This type of irrational "modern"

mass movement is a recurring human phenomenon. These
symptoms of collective madness are not restricted to mass
movements on the macro scale; they can appear equally
well on the micro level of smaller groups where the "we"
feelings are getting out of hand.

In Brinton's model of revolution--mostly based
on the French Revolution--the leader is both idealistic
and pragmatic. He has to be a propagandist and agitator
with hypnotising capabilities. Simultaneously, he is an
organizer and a dogmatic formulator of the ideology.[48]
Brinton envisions revolution as a fever taking over the
whole body at an accellerated speed; many of his analytical
terms have metaphoric overtones.

An innovative approach towards religious dimensions
in societal reality has become manifest in contemporary
sociology. This is what Eliade terms "total approach",
"creative hermeutics" and he wishfully states that a
Nietzsche should have dedicated himself to the interpre-
tation of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy instead of having
the "job" done so scientifically and in a highly special-
ized compartimentalized way by so-called scientific but
not very creative experts. In Eliade's view, the her-
meneutics done by the narrowly trained experts amounts
to just technological work in a strictly mechanical way.
Truly hermeneutic work on religions should be performed

by universal historians of religion because they only

are prepared to understand the relevant documents: "to

illuminate primitive universes".[49]

Moreover, the religious dimension and the total

commitment of the individuals to the transcendental

"holy" cause can be found in similar apparently related

modern mass movements (Compare Cohn, Hoffer, Gerlack and

Hine, Banks, Toch, Gusfield, Tucker). The resort to

religious appeal is in most cases sincere and not often

manipulative. Millenarian leaders can politically awaken

followers, by making them conscious of their own unique

identity. Deprived groups can be pulled into the main-

stream of society by active, and inspired participation in

this kind of group identity and consciousness-raising.

The whole millenarian movement becomes a link to a further

political development.

> It lubricates passage from pre-modern religious
> revolt to full-fledged revolutionary movement.[50]

A millenarian movement may have a strongly unifying

impact.

> It usually evokes exceptionally intense commit-
> ment and fervor and since exaltation eases com-
> munications, millenarianism expands swiftly almost
> by contagion, cross cutting and breaking local
> barriers. It widens horizons of identification
> and participation and creates wider unities . . .
> so, it can be termed a "potent agent of change"
> . . . it invests the struggle with aura of final
> cosmic drama.[51]

moreover . . . it has the power to bridge future
and past in creative synthesis between new and
old, couches messages in powerful and familiar
language and images of traditional religion.[52]

Also important is the specific mechanism of
recruitment of new leaders and new followers
by exerting both a strongly collective and
directly individual appeal. Externalization
and sanctification of source of authority puts
leaders above sectional loyalties.[53]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ross V. Speck and Carolyn Attneave, <u>Family</u>
<u>Networks. A Way Toward Retribalization and Healing in</u>
<u>Family Crisis</u> (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), p. 6.

[2]Rolf E. Rogers, <u>Max Weber's Ideal Type Theory</u>
(New York: 1969), pp. 43-44.

[3]Robert C. Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic
Leadership," in <u>Philosophers and Kings: Studies in</u>
<u>Leadership</u> (New York: 1970), pp. 82-83.

[4]K. Burridge, <u>New Heaven, New Earth. A Study</u>
<u>of Millenarian Activities</u> (Toronto: 1969), p. 142.

[5]Michael Barkum, <u>Disaster and the Millennium</u>
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974),
p. 108.

[6]Norman Cohn, <u>The Pursuit of the Millennium</u>
(Revised Edition; Oxford University Press, 1970),
p. 281.

[7]Ibid., p. 283.

[8]Ibid., p. 284.

[9]Ibid., p. 285.

[10]Ibid.

[11]E. J. Hobsbawn, Primitive Rebels, <u>Studies in</u>
<u>Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the Nineteenth and</u>
<u>Twentieth Centuries</u> (New York: 1959).

[12]Barkum, op. cit., p. 72.

[13]In general, the medieval urban centers (although
fair sized: 10,000-15,000 inhabitants) do not qualify to
be termed "fully urbanized" according to Sjoberg's ideal-
typical definition: complex division of labor, achieve-

ment-oriented class system, diffused social power, conjugal family ties only, highly trained specialist and mass literacy and permissive norms. Such "modern" conditions were yet in the making.

[14] Compare Donald Weinstein, "The Myth of Florence," in _Millennial Dreams in Action_, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970).

[15] Karl Mannheim, _Ideology and Utopia_ (Harvest Books, 1936), p. 2.

[16] Bryan Wilson, _Magic and Millennium_ (New York: 1973), p. 27.

[17] Hobsbawn in _Primitive Rebels_, also shows many instances of multiple disasters hitting people in certain areas, "burned over districts", for example, Andalusia. Waves of millenarian movements kept the peasants agitating after a whole series of famines first of all had struck that province extremely heavily: 1812, 1817, 1834-35, 1863, 1868, 1882, 1905.

[18] Barkum, op. cit., p. 63.

[19] Taken from a description by N. Sukhanov, cited in I. Deutscher, _Stalin; A Political Biography_ (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 140.

[20] Robert Tucker, op. cit., p. 83.

[21] Mannheim, op. cit., p. 211.

[22] Dohrenwend and Smith, "Toward a Theory of Acculturation," _Southwestern Journal of Anthropology_; "Acculturative Contact: Some Dimensions in Search of a Typology," Annual Meeting of A. S. A. (New York: 1960).

[23] "Memorandum for Study of Acculturation," _American Anthropologist_, 38 (1936), pp. 149-152.

[24] _Acculturation: The Study of Cultural Contact_ (Gloucester, Mass.: 1938).

[25]Dohrenwend and Smith, op. cit.

[26]Antony Wallace, Religion. An Anthropological Perspective (Random House, 1966), p. 161.

[27]Ibid., p. 162. Also Compare Michael Adas, Prophets of the Rebellion, Chapter 7, "Rebellion, Suppression and Impact," (Chapel Hill: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

[28]Wallace, op. cit., p. 161.

[29]Ibid.,

[30]Dohrenwend and Smith, op. cit., p. 34.

[31]Compare analytical discussion of Dohrenwend and Smith by C. Caldarola who applied this model in his study Christianity: The Japanese Way (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 1-20.

[32]Dohrenwend and Smith, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[33]C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, p. 37.

[34]Burridge, op. cit.

[35]Caldarola, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[36]Jacques Ellul, Autopsy of Revolution (New York: 1971).

[37]As quoted from Kobben, The Logic of Cross-cultural Analysis: Why Exceptions, p. 39. In Smelser, Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences, p. 300, specifically, and the whole chapter on "Classification, Description and Measurement" and on "Association, Cause, Explanation and Theory".

[38]Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed. Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia (1968), p. i.

[39]Compare Y. Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation Between Religious and Social Change," _Archives Européennes de Sociologie_ (Vol. 3; 1962), pp. 125-148.

[40]"The Ghost Dance was a doctrine of hope, and incidentally, of cultural revival. One of its consequences was revival of Indian culture on the basis of millenarian promise. Restructuring occurred on the basis of the promise, of course, rather than on the basis of an actual return to buffalo hunting and institutionalized tribal warring." J. T. Borhek and R. F. Curtis, _A Sociology of Belief_ (1975), p. 94.

". . . commitment may be interpreted as resulting from the fact that the belief system adopted is more rewarding in some way than the ones rejected or not selected. This is not to say that millenarianism was the only option either in the Middle Ages or among the Plains Indians in the late 1880's. Nor does it mean that what is rewarding is always that which has an optimistic projected outcome. The selection process is often described in terms of rather complex models of resonance or elective affinities." Stark and Gerth and Mills.

"These terms mean that groups under strain elect beliefs that have utility--that are rewarding, for example. This is the gist of Weber's statement that the rich are seldom satisfied to be rich; they must believe that their good fortune is justified." Ibid.. p. 95.

[41]Compare Sylvia Thrupp's _Millennial Dreams in Action_, pp. 55-69, discussion of ideal types like the one by Ribeiro. Many explanations end up becoming reductionist; all millenarianism reduced to deprivation. However, there are many other dimensions. As Ribeiro points out, there is asthetic appeal in the movements, need for dramatic experience and appeal to new type of leadership; charismatic. Compare also the need for religious ritualism in each society or group. See Johan Huizinga, _Homo Ludens_, translated from Dutch into _The Play Element in Culture_. Also compare S. F. Moore and B. Meyerhoff (eds.) _Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology_ Chapter 1, "Organization and Ecstacy", and Chapter 2, "Symbol and Festival" (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 27-100.

[42]Ellul, op. cit.

[43]R. A. Nisbet, The Social Philosophers: Community and Conflict (New York: 1973).

[44]Hannah Arendt, On Revolution (New York: Viking Congress Edition, 1965), pp. 53-54.

[45]Ellul, op. cit.

[46]Nisbet, op. cit.

[47]Compare Hobsbawn's chapters "The Social Bandit" and "Mafia" in Primitive Rebels: ". . . social banditry has next to no organization nor ideology, and is totally inadaptable to modern social movements. Mafia is an institutionalized system of law outside the official law. Hobsbawn analyses specific types of cities in southern Europe where authority of king or pope living in the city was conceived of by the citizen as sacred. It could never be violated in a true revolution. The ruler symbolized and represented the people. He could be evil, but still his authority was sacred, God-ordained.

In a similar way in Hopper's model the revolutionary leader has to have both irrational and rational character-istics. He should be very versatile by being able to play the role of prophet, radical, extremist, but also of a moderator, practical reformer, planning statesman and bureaucratic organizer. Different types of revolutionary movements require different types of leaders, depending on which period in history, and which kind of revolution. See T. H. Greene, Comparative Revolutionary Movements (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1974).

[48]Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, Chapter 2, "Types of Revolutionists" (New York: Vintage Books, 1952).

[49]Compare: Elidade, The Quest for History and Meaning of Religion; Berger, The Sacred Canopy; Luckman, The Invisible Religion; Greeley, Unsecular Man; Bellah, The Broken Covenant; and Mol, Identity and the Sacred.

[50]Y. Talmon, Notes Critiques on Millenialism, p. 143.

[51]Ibid., p. 141.

[52]Ibid., pp. 141-142.

[53]Ibid. Compare Gerlach and Hine's chapter on
"Recruitment", and Essien-Udom, Chapters "The Nation:
Its Growth"; and "The Way Out", in Black Nationalism.
The Rise of the Black Muslims in the U. S. A. (1966);
and Lincoln, The Black Muslims (1969), pp. 33-50.

CHAPTER III

THE IDEAL-TYPE OF CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

a)   Max Weber's Contribution

Weber stated that charismatic leaders have been
the "natural leaders" in times of psychic, ethical,
religious, political distress. Charisma, he said, in-
spires its followers with "a devotion born of distress
and enthusiasm". In times of great anxiety the charis-
matic leader is perceived by acclamation to be the
messianic savior, first by a small intimate circle of
close followers, then by a widening group often rapidly
accelerating into a large movement.

The initial gestation period is quite crucial.
If the charismatic leader fails to establish these primary
group relations by repeatedly showing his supernatural
powers--for example, by performing "miracles"--this
movement will not get off the ground. From miracles
on a small scale demonstrated in his immediate circle
and consisting for example of healing and forecasting,
he may then branch out into major charismatic operations
like initiating revolutionary changes, even calling for
a war.

Weber's concept of charismatic leadership has had
a deep impact on social scientists. But the various

formulations given by Weber himself--complex, profound but somewhat ambiguous--have generated great disagreement as to what Weber really meant by the whole concept. No consensus may ever be reached. The most thought-provoking aspect of Weber's formula has been "the essence of charisma--not a leadership based on proven successful performance nor on specific dignity, but a unique gift of grace: charisma. By this the leader is set apart from other men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least exceptional powers or qualities." (Weber, _Theory of Social and Economic Organization_, 1947, p. 358.)

Of particular relevance to our present study is the question: should charismatic leadership remain confined to the religious realms, or can it be equally well applied in such secular areas as political leadership? Loewenstein prefers to restrict its use to religiously inspired leadership. He differentiates between "modern world versus traditional society", i. e. those parts of Africa and Asia yet enchanted by the "magico-religious ambiance".

Originally Weber found the term in Rudolph Sohm's _Kirchenrecht_, 1892. Sohm conceived of charismatic leadership as generated by a transcendental call from a divine being in whom both followers and leaders believe. Weber broadened the term and built it into a theoretical concept; he also extended its application by using it for

several forms of leadership in modern totalitarian states.
Loewenstein disagrees with Weber on this application, he
suggests instead that modern demagogues like Hitler do
not qualify as charismatic leaders because they are
solely preoccupied with access to power and how to
maintain it at all cost.[1]

It is not a simple matter to distill from Weber's
complex writing a clear inventory of charismatic prereq-
uisites. (Compare J. Ratham, "Charisma and Political
Leadership", Political Studies, 12, N 3, 1964, pp. 344-
354.) Tucker defines Weber's concept as very relevant
to modern societies, too. However, he questions the
stand taken by several scholars like Apter, Shils,
Dorothy and Ann Rattwill, who place charismatic leader-
ship in the context of modernization in Third World
countries. Charisma according to these authors is a
very recent and necessary crystallization of traditional
elements, still so alive in these societies engaged in
the often stressful process of modernization.[2] Here
Weber's ideal-type is matched with many case histories
of contemporary development, from traditional--through
charismatic--to rational-legal leadership. This force-
ful procedure of nation-building in a short stretch of
time may cause severe dislocation and disorientation
because of imminent rapid industrialization and urban-
ization imposed by the "metropolis". The "hinterland"

segment of the nation in the making may suffer an acute

identity vacuum, unless the charismatic leader can gen-

erate identification with a new community on a nation-

wide scale.

⋅ Tucker in his rewording of Weber's concept wants

to preserve the universal application: non-bureaucratic

leadership sanctioned by spontaneous devotion, profound

enthusiasm and sincere respect. Leaders and followers

alike belong to a closely knit community, a primary

group, a true Gemeinschaft, a form of communism in

the original meaning of the word.[3] The followers are

under the leader's spell because of his exceptional

gifts: he exercises a domination over them. They are

enchanted by his personal leadership qualities. However,

he must demonstrate and reinforce his charisma over and

again in a tireless effort in order not to break the

spell. It is not just a matter of becoming a charismatic

leader but how to be continuously perceived in that

"enchanting" manner.

From a logical point of view, no routinization of

charisma appears feasible. Charisma--exceptional God-

given gifts in the leader--cannot be routinized because

it would be a contradiction in terms. Yet Weber made

it one of the main tenets of his ideal-type. How then

can the charisma embodied in the one person be depersonal-

ized and then transferred to another person? Is

routinization a sort of mechanism of success?

Weber hinted at the ambiguities involved in this process of routinization. Reports on millenarian movements give abundant examples of failure of routinization; instead the charisma of the departed leader keeps lingering on, even more, in many instances may add new impetus to the movement. (See Cohn, Hobsbawn, Lanternari, Worsley, Sundkler, Adas.) The clue to grasping Weber's incisive writing on this form of leadership may be found in his general conceptualization of three stages in societal development. Appelbaum in his insightful brief theoretical sketch on social change dedicates some pertinent chapters to Durkheim, Marx and Weber's visions of change. Appelbaum epitomizes the essential elements of these various theoretical concepts by putting the abbreviated formulas of social change into a one-page chart. There Weber's model is classified under a cyclical type of social change, and charismatic leadership is conceived of as the beginning of a new cycle of societal development.

Weber himself was fascinated with the phenomenon of charisma, especially during the later part of his career when he became increasingly "disenchanted" with what he termed increasing rationalization and bureaucratization manifest in western European societies. His

most impressive theoretical constructs of traditional,
charismatic and legal-rational forms of authority hinge
on his own growing aversion toward the latter stage. It
is interesting to notice that one of Weber's famous stu-
dents, the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, wrote in a
similarly disenchanted mood about developments in
western Europe in the 1930's. These pessimistic re-
fleotions on the course of societal events were the leading
theme of Huizinga's study, In the Shadow of Tomorrow.[4]
There may be a nostalgic longing for a less rational
society. This mood may have become the prism that
colored Huizinga's thinking and made him identify so
exceptionally well with that period in late medieval
history which also was projecting back toward an idealized,
past. (See earlier discussion of Huizinga's concept of,
social change.)

b)   Wilson and Edelman on the Concept of Charisma

Brian Wilson is one of the main contributors to
research on millenarian movements. His basic assumption
is that they are a phenomenon of the past, typical only
of traditional societies. His complex argument--which
deserves close attention because of its profound and
scholarly argumentation--centers on the concept and
degree of "secularization". Wilson implies that increasing

secularization has made millenarianism an anachronism.

To return to Weber for a moment--who had coined
the term charisma so incisively--his ideal-type was not
based on pre-literate societies, since his research
centered mostly on historical societies. Wilson prefers
to reserve the term "charisma" for pre-literate societies.
His case is based on extensive research on the millennium,
witness his major contribution Magic and Millennium.[5]
This outstanding study is both historical, sociological
and theoretical. In a later book, The Noble Savages,[6]
the potential socio-cultural milieu of millenarian move-
ments is scrutinized, and the author ponders in depth
about "charisma" and what it entails. He is essentially
a Weberian, although he also incorporates dimensions of
Marx's thought into his work. Magic and Millennium is
an excellent example of how opposing strands of 19th
and 20th century sociological thought can be combined
in a fruitful manner.

Through the prism of charisma, Wilson juxtaposes
modern and preliterate societies. He singles out certain
dimensions in the latter which make the social milieu
congenial to the rise of millenarianism. For instance,
there is no role differentiation: persons and their
qualities are perceived as a Gestalt. Transcendental
beliefs are dominant and not "rational", calculating

skills nor instrumental expertise; human groups crystallize

on the base of these beliefs. Ties that cement people

together are deeply emotional and followers are attached

to the leader in an expressive and holistic manner. Roles

and people, then, are not segmentized. Here Wilson appears

to operationalize rather impressively the pattern

variables of Parsons: the relationships are ascriptive

rather than universalistic, particularistic rather than

general.

Wilson further suggests that Western scientific

thinking is based on a radically different perspective

of reality which is now not perceived any more as an

extension of oneself nor according to a personal idiom.

In other words: abstract conceptualizations have undone

anthropomorphic images. It is only in the setting of a

traditional society that the cognitive function of

thinking is still fully interwoven with the emotional

and evaluative dimensions. [7]

Moreover, Wilson returns to Toennies' Gemeinschaft

and Gesellschaft. He juxtaposes these concepts with all

their potential illusions and connotations in a somewhat

evolutionary perspective. What was so typical for the

Gemeinschaft-type of society has become obsolete for the

Gesellschaft-type of development. Millenarian movements

have become a thing of the remote past, or a small scale

phenomenon in backward enclaves contained by the major

society. Sub-cultures have remained alive and viable,

even though, or exactly because, the mainstream society

has exerted pressure and become a direct threat.

Focussing on the basic differences between the

two types of society under discussion here, Wilson

summarized his views:

> Faith is easier than empirical analysis, innate
> nobility a more congenial idea than cultivated
> learning . . . nobility becomes an anachronism
> in the modern world. It is not the product of
> our socialization procedures, educational systems,
> psychological theories, or techniques of social
> selection. It has ceased to be regarded as a
> possible pinnacle of human endeavour. It persists
> only as a disposition of faith for those, at the
> social margins, with the will to believe in some-
> thing that is in origin primitive.[8]

Wilson then goes on to describe what makes modern

society truly "modern" in his vision.

> We live in a post-moral age, in which rights and
> wrongs of behaviour are increasingly determined by
> purely technical considerations . . . the appeal
> of charisma, of the man whose supernatural nobility
> and power would save us, is primitive.[9]

Charisma then according to Wilson's interpretation

can only be re-enacted in a romanticism manner by harking

back to a remote idealized past. So,

> it retains its emotional attraction, it is simple
> to understand, and its appeal to the sheer human-
> ness of man as an utterly radical alternative to
> the oppressiveness of advanced technological
> society, whether capitalistic or socialist.
> Charismatic thus is outdated. Within the insti-
> tutional arrangements of society--and politics

and religion are traditionally the areas most receptive--charisma persists only as a shadowy item.[10]

On the other hand, Wilson warns that Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy may have been drawn in a too abstract manner, as if the modern system of government is only functioning as a "complex, sustained and immensely elaborate structure of action". However, that can only be the sophisticated perspective of Weber, the methodologist himself. Individuals even in modern society may yet perceive the social system in far more anthropomorphic terms and above all, images.

People today as in the past are under the continuous illusion that there must be some powerful forces--more or less personified--at work behind the scenes of abstract power display. But here Wilson only allows for some remnants of charisma. For instance, while he is explaining how the concept and mechanism of modern democracy is actually based on rationality, on men being fully rational beings and aware of their own interests, even capable of making adequate choices--

> The political scientists maintain a hidden campaign (at times but thinly veiled) against what they see as irrational elements in the political system, emphasizing the possibility of "rational" choices, and excoriating "deference", "ethnic prejudice", "backlash" and by implication "charisma".[11]

In Wilson's view there is only a residual

acknowledgement of the marginal importance of the

personal qualities of the leading politicians, because

other more objective criteria are lacking.

Edelman in The Symbolic Uses of Politics[12] reaches

conclusions about political leadership in modern society

which are diametrically opposed to Wilson's thesis. He

conceives of the whole administrative system of govern-

ment as a symbol-system itself. In further analysis he

shows how so-called "rational" voting behavior may be

termed an optical illusion artificially created by

strictly statistical manipulations or biased positivistic

assumptions.

> Leadership is a complex and subtle thing, and
> we are learning to look for its dynamics in mass
> responses, not in static characteristics of
> individuals.[13]

> If they respond favorably and follow, there is
> leadership; if they do not, there is not.[14]

Edelman allows for charismatic forms of leadership

in any kind of social milieu, including modern society.

Instead of emphasizing rationality as symptomatic for

"being modern", he selects "anxiety" and "being at a

loss". Here his vision appears to coalesce with that

of Erich Fromm.

> Alienation, anomie, despair of being able to chart
> one's course in a complex cold and bewildering
> world have become characteristic of a large part
> of the population of advanced countries as the
> world can be neither understood nor influenced,
> attachment to reassuring abstract symbols rather

than to one's own efforts becomes chronic. And
what symbol can be more reassuring than the in-
cumbent of a high position who knows what to do
and is willing to act, especially when others
are bewildered and alone? Because such a symbol
is so intensely sought, it will predictably be
found in the person of any incumbent whose actions
can be interpreted as beneficient, whether it is
because they are demonstrably beneficient or
because their consequences are unknowable.[15]

Edelman follows Weber in differentiating between
charismatic and bureaucratic leadership, but then shows
how "modern" leadership has taken on new characteristics
which were not encapsulated in Weber's original ideal-type
of bureaucracy.

It ["modern" leadership] depends on the impos-
sibility of demonstrating success or failure, a
disinclination to rock the boat and the dis-
position of alienated masses to project their
psychic needs upon incumbents of high office.
Our environment of large organizations, our media
for disseminating a barrage of abstract symbols,
and our detachment from warm personal relation-
ships provide a culture that is generating a new
leadership dynamic. Fundamental to this new
dynamic is the general sense of anxiety . . .[16]

Here Edelman's vision of man in modern society
for ever trying to cope with great anxieties and grasping
for a way out, for security, even for total salvation
appears to merge with Barkum's interpretation of disaster
and millennium. Societies change drastically; man does
not. It can be said then that maybe modern man has not
changed very much at all, especially in crisis situations.

Edelman concludes in his study (based on both
experimental research on human perception during

a crisis situation) that because of the intense degree

of anxieties experienced, the people project onto their

leader whatever is most pressing on their minds. All the

leader needs to do is somehow bring into the open and

synthesize what keeps haunting people at the time of

crisis and great distress.

Sociologists who approve of the secularization

thesis could be expected to disapprove of the appearance

of charisma in modern society. However Bellah, Luckman

and David Martin who all oppose the assumption of in-

creasing secularization, do not use the persistence of

charisma in their argument. Wilson himself believes in

increasing secularization. He objects to what he claims

is a watered-down, completely "secularized", almost dec-

orative use of the term charisma. He questions whether

the uncritical application of the term by modern jour-

nalists may not be symptomatic for the increasing search

for "re-enactment" in the Weberian sense.

As far as explanatory capacity goes, Wilson feels

that in a Gesellschaft setting the concept charisma is

useless, even misleading. Consequently, he wants the

term to be abolished because it has been vulgarized,

not only by journalists, but also by social scientists

themselves. Here Wilson comes close to Peter Geyl's

ideas how history and concepts derived from certain

periods can be abused. Peter Worsley agrees with
Wilson that charisma is "too spongy" a concept in order
to have any practical sociological application.

Incidentally, by some other critics Weber has
been blamed for having introduced a great-man theory
of history in his ideal-type. Objections to the ill-
famed great-man theory are widely known and efficiently
documented. Wilson critiques Weber's critics on this
issue:

> To suggest that it is charisma--not science
> or rational procedures--which really make the
> wheels go round, is to resuscitate an emphasis
> on the individual for which Weber's critics
> took him rather too severely to task.[17]

Wilson concludes to keep Weber's concept but
relegates it to pre-literate societies. Obviously
Wilson's absolute assumptions about secularization as
an ongoing process color his perspective on charisma.
However, there are reservations to be made about char-
ismatic leadership in any given society.

c)   Examples of Charismatic Leadership in their
     Original Socio-Cultural Contexts

In the Melanesian area millenarian movements
frequently arise without an obvious leader or prophet
of exceptional qualities. Ordinary local men may tem-
porarily come to the foreground because people put their

personal trust in them. There may be no charismatic
appeal whatsoever at play.

Into Worsley's framework of exploited segments
of the population, the charismatic dimension fits un-
easily. In his explanation, the mutual relationships
between leader and followers is not at all the main
building block towards group cohesion and social action.
So-called charismatic qualities of emerging leaders are
in his line of thinking only a marginal factor. He
focusses mainly on the content and the quality of the
message and how it is directly made relevant to the
degree of exploitedness--that is, how deeply the people
themselves feel that they are being exploited. (See
The Trumpet Shall Sound[18]) Moreover, Worsley is dealing
with cargo cults in which the obsessive preoccupation
with material goods is obvious, even to the non-Marxian
observer. In such a socio-cultural ambiance a self-
made man operates on the shared assumption that his
status is being measured in terms of visible, economic
goods above all: food stuff and their exchange value.
Hence the local enterpriser has as his sole priority
the acquisition of material possessions to earn himself
an impressive reputation. How many economic goods can
one individual visibly produce so that his status can
be calculated accordingly in the socio-cultural context?

This is also the main theme in Glynn Cochrane's study Big Men and Cargo Cult (Oxford, 1970). Both Worsley and Cochrane explain how accumulation of wealth is the main ongoing concern for Melanesians, and how these economic possessions are crucial in order to participate in any way in the local society. Exchange of goods is the main objective. The better exchange position he is in, the more one's status is enhanced. This type of economic determinism though could not be called identical to a "modern" system of stratification and class consciousness. Yet some of the underlying ideas are rather similar. It is first of all a passionate preoccupation with material goods and social awards to be ascribed to the achiever, the self-made man. Status depends on competition and economic pursuits. But all this does not make Melanesian society western or class-divided.

The concepts of class and oppression and exploitation could be applied to the Melanesian case when defining the domineering position of the colonizing power versus the natives. This Worsley does very convincingly in his analysis. Where Worsley perhaps falls short is in explaining why millenarianism breaks out in some villages and not in others, even though the same socio-economic variables were at work in all the villages.

At times the cargo cult "hysteria" breaks loose because of rumored disruptions by Europeans and/or because of strong paranoid anticipatory preoccupations with potential invasion by Europeans. This presupposes a strong belief in supernatural power among the native people, without always necessarily producing a charismatic leader. The whole collective frenzy of these cargo cult outbursts, so symptomatic for this area, prove the profoundly expressive meaning inherent in all millenarian activities: participants are enabled to relieve their anxieties. From their frantically performed new and old rituals, fervent hopes are being distilled. The most beneficial outcome may be this social-psychological feeling of being redeemed. The perceptions of total group salvation are very strong.

To turn back to the theme of leadership: in many of the Melanesian instances of millenarianism, the leader may not have been a true prophet. Yet the man who proves capable of summoning the millenarian response may fill in the emotional vacuum caused by the general malaise. His message is right for his audience because complete personal trust is at its base. He may do very little and have extremely little to offer, but the manner in which he leads the ceremonial dances and teaches new chants may just be enough to spark the millenarian

fervor. He may then convey new and strong hopes, without ever having consciously intended to do so. His message may not be profound nor even specifically relevant from an outsider's perspective. But to the insider the man is extremely appealing and so is whatever message he has. Even though the followers are all in the thrall of the magical pattern of thinking and acting--

> extraordinary social power is not claimed by reference to the divine, perhaps because power differentials between individuals were not sufficiently great to warrant appeal to exceptional sources other than those of conventional sorcery ideas.[19]

Millenarian forms of leadership have to be put in their own socio-cultural context in order to do justice to them. Millenarian movements may not only arise as a response to sudden situations of great distress. Amongst the Indian peoples of Brazil, whole bands of the Tupi-Guarani wander off to the Land of No Evil; over and again these tribal migrations occur and they have been an established pattern since time immemorial, i. e. since before the Portugese colonizers arrived. The repeated search for and the collective march to this visionary land of paradisical dimensions has become a ritual itself.[20] It was a collective re-enactment of a dream shared by a whole group. The prophet may not be the actual but only the symbolic leader. The prophet may

actually expose a considerable degree of incompetence,
obviously lacking in practical and tactical experience,
yet he may become fully accepted because of his charisma,
which is a social phenomenon.

A striking case of inept but charismatic leader-
ship was Te Ua Haymeme among the Maoris in New Zealand,
the so-called Hau Hau movement. This was a form of
opposition against the British in 1862. First a king
had been installed in a somewhat constitutional manner,
copied from the oppressor. But the whole king concept
failed to take roots. Next, in a truly grassroots manner,
the Maoris banded together in rebellious efforts by
drawing on the biblical idea of a prophet-leader. Inci-
dentally, the Maoris had been familiar with the Bible
for quite some time. (Compare Barrett[21] on this phen-
omenon: the radicalizing impact of the Bible, especially
after the translation into the vernacular.) Now they
were suddenly ready to appropriate appealing ideas taken
from the Old Testament to the social-economic and polit-
ical predicament they were in themselves.

It became crucial to find the right person at
this critical instance to play the biblically inspired
prophetic role. The availability of a figure like Ua
did not guarantee that he would be the most perfect
claimant to the charismatic call. His prophesy that a

wreck of a ship would land on the coast of New Zealand
was enthusiastically received and fervently believed,
because the members of the tribe were ready for the
message of salvation, regardless of the clumsy manner
in which the message was concocted and delivered. The
prophet may have literally stumbled into the position
of leadership. To the followers, though, the charismatic
situation had reached the fullness of time. Whatever
occasion arising was now instantly perceived as the
perfect matching one. In the eyes of the believer,
mediocrity may be turned into excellence.

> Nobility may be inherent in the charismatic
> claimant, but often it is only a pale reflection
> of the nobility that is claimed.[22]

When Europeans suddenly did arrive in the Melanesian
area, they were categorized as "Big Men" according to the
existing local framework. The only difference was that
these "coming and going" European newcomers appeared to
possess more power and status than the local Big Men.
Conflict broke out when the natives perceived that
these so-called superior "Big Men" did not treat the
local men as people: the traditional relationship which
had always been based on reciprocity was abruptly dis-
rupted. The whole socio-cultural framework was disinte-
grating, and severe symptoms of status discrepancies
became chronic. There was no more room for ordinary

men to gain status and exert power, to prove themselves
in their own traditional context.

The longer and more intense the contact with the
European invader, the more traumatic the impact, but
only in areas where the concept and practice of "big
men" had been an indigeneous social system before.
European administrators came on too strongly, too
suddenly and they were perceived as more powerful versions
of local "big men". This caused a social upheaval of
great magnitude.

> Status and symbols emerge from an interrelation
> of myths, life crises, and economic and political
> relations. Not simply the consequences of economic
> deprivation, not solely the over-enthusiastic
> response to missionary teaching or particular
> kinds of administrative action, the events of
> a cargo movement are seen to correspond with
> an effort to overcome the dissonances between
> statusses and the symbols which guarantee their
> worthwhileness.[23]

Only in cases where the traditional concept of
manhood and self-realization could be reconciled more
gradually with the new values, no clash occurred. Simi-
larly, wherever the Europeans did treat the natives as
if they were men, the existing social framework was not
disrupted. (Compare Reinhild Rodriguez.[24])

To focus on specific details taken from extensive
fieldwork done in this area: peculiar local circumstances
can help explain why some communities of a certain size

(about 200 to 300 native inhabitants, and kept to that size by systematic infanticide to make sure that the limited existing resources would suffice) experienced the millenarian phenomenon, whereas others did not. The main factor here was that continuous warfare between the different villages was carried on constantly to prove true manhood. New war leaders had to be chosen, and required qualities of leadership had become almost in-stitutionalized. Local "big men" then used to come and go as warfare casualties. The European "big men" were equally so perceived: administrators would only stay on temporarily. The millenarian movements then were true local community efforts to make the Europeans recognize that the local "big men" had status too. As Cochrane summarizes:

> In the areas where the movements broke out there was no institutionalized political system. Every-thing depended on the impermanent authority of the "big men". The peculiar nature of this traditional social organization and the peculiar nature of the British Colonial Administration were bedfellows--European contact maintained the "big men" system and its values. In Sir Henry Maine's terms the societies where the movements broke out were distinguished from the societies where the movements did not break out by the fact that they had not moved from status to contract. The maintenance of social order was dependent on status, the status of the "big men". And the "big man" was dependent on his ability to achieve results.
>   The movements were spontaneous reactions against status deprivation.[25]

It is worthwhile to notice that these movements

for recognition were based on static concepts of power and status. They were not innovative in political terms because they stopped at the political boundaries imposed on the various communities by the colonizers' administration. So pre-existing rituals and tradition-bound organized behavior were on people's minds. No new epistemological assumptions about political organization were made. The movements were not after dynamic changes but after guaranteed continuation of the same rituals and after status reconsolidation.

> This traditional knowledge added to deductions made about Europeans accounted for the morphology of the movements.[26]

At the most then, some new rituals were added during the group mobilization process, but no innovative concepts of power were added to the repertoire. The "big men" on the local scene were not prophets in a religious ambiance, so concludes Cochrane, but men who possessed traditionally sanctioned attributes of status and mechanisms of power.

Isolated native communities especially would feel bewildered by the sudden invasion of colonizers. As Ndabaningi Sithole says: "overwhelmed, overawed, puzzled, perplexed, mystified and dazzled."[27]

In the Melanesian area in the late 19th and 20th centuries, the natives felt extremely disadvantaged

compared to the obviously superior wealth displayed by
the missionaries who showed their typical middle-class
Victorian lifestyle. In the eyes of the natives, this
was a fabulous way of living. Jealousy was a natural
reaction. Moreover, the missionaries started doling
out some material goods as a reward for having shown
at least outwardly Christian behavior patterns! Since
there were only a few converts at first, the rewards
were yet impressive. Then, after many collective con-
versions, the source of rewards became thinner and dried
up completely. That turned potential converts against
the stingy, greedy mission and its "failing", "false"
agents.

Moreover, preaching damnation and hellfire in
absolute terms--as especially the Presbyterians did with
great emphasis--had an impact far beyond missionary
expectations. The doctrine of a God who takes personal
revenge on wrong doings worked in a disastrous manner
on the minds of the natives. Simplified versions of
the biblical content as preached repetitively by foreign
missionaries was amplified by the natives into a religion
of extreme and violent revenge taking. It became a very
appropriate rationale for aggressiveness. The Christian
message of the Apocalypse took on ominous forms whereas
the Kingdom to come with plenty of food and goods and an

abundance of western clothes and tools was now in turn going to be reserved for natives only. The day of reckoning had come already. Epidemics--like new diseases obviously brought in by the foreigners--and other natural disasters like lack of rain or too many storms and floods could be blamed on the foreigners. All disasters were instantly put in a new dramatic context of evil versus good.

The first contact with the Europeans was a terrifying and highly disruptive experience, especially because Christianity was originally a very millenarian religion itself. That's why the early missionaries unintentionally hit deep millenarian chords among the natives, who selectively took the message on their own terms of very intense expectations in the midst of sudden social malaise. An abrupt hysteria takes over, a frantic getting ready for final event by nervous, ritual re-enactment of earlier happenings. Also an extreme xenophobia becomes apparent and there is a strong violent desire to get even with these white foreign oppressors.

Justus van der Kroef[28] points out how the sudden switch by the Dutch colonial administration from indirect to direct rule brought on these feelings of resentment among the Javanese.[29] Their culture had at its center a delicate balance to be maintained at all cost between oneself and the cosmos. A monistic concept of the

ultimate reality was expressed in a variety of super-
natural forces. A sublime condition of metaphysical
equilibrium had to be permanent because if upset at all,
it would bring misfortune to the whole community of be-
lievers. Protest by individuals was only possible as a
search for a new harmony with the existing collectivity.
Consequently millenarian movements in the Indonesian
socio-cultural context are but different forms of the
same constant search for societal equilibrium. Van
der Kroef epitomizes the social change processes by
looking at individuals engaged in millenarian thought
and action. He uses functionalist-sounding terms like
equilibrium and status-seeking, but not in a functionalist
perspective. On the contrary, he focusses on individual
actors from a truly historical and conflict perspective.

Adas[30] differentiates several stages in the group
reactions: (1) rumors are spreading and omens are re-
ported. (2) Symbols are called upon to legitimate the
new movement. (3) Rituals are used to reinforce group
solidarity and to invoke supernatural assistance. Oaths
are taken and initiation ceremonies performed. (4) The
use of talismans is unusually widespread. (5) The ob-
served behavior of the invader is copied and magic is
used to outdo his power. (6) Threats and extortion are
applied to those who fail to join the movement immediately.

Rumors were not only spreading naturally. They were purposely made up to set the mood for collective agitation. Prophetic leaders would use this kind of technique to enhance the atmosphere of tension and ominous feelings, excessive expectations. Natural disasters were instantly exploited as potent, illustrative material to prove the case of the new prophet. In this procedure old symbols would be elaborated and reinforced. Talismans were used more than ever as a protective device against the threatening technology of the invader. It appeared that all defensive and reassuring resources were drummed up to neutralize the novel forces of the colonizing administrators. Charms and magical incantations were put to use to counteract the "abnormal" powers manifest in the invaders.

There was one over-powering rationale at work in the minds of the threatened native people. From the symbolic framework they were immersed in, they tried to come to terms with the new powers from outside. Incidentally, if certain talismans and tattoos proved to fail, they were discarded and new kinds were invented. All this was done within the existing framework, without transgressing traditional boundaries. A satisfying explanation would be easily found for the failure of certain protective devices. Then some objects or a certain

leader would be dropped, but not the whole cultural framework itself. Moreover, a strong-capable leader could remain fully trusted because temporary failures and setbacks would not affect the holistic belief system in which his authority was rooted. His persuasiveness and respectability could easily be rescued after some defeat, especially if he had proven himself as a good leader in the ambiance concerned. Here western observers --who were present on the scene of action itself and later interpretations--have failed for a long time to grasp the logic and indigeneous rationale inherent to millenarian movements. As Adas summarizes:

> Like most prescientific peoples, they tended
> to overlook or explain away failures in the
> practice of devination, healing or magic.
> They did not because they lacked the ability
> to criticize but because their expectations
> for the failure of magic or prophecies did
> not involve the scrutiny of nor challenges to
> the more fundamental assumptions on which
> magical charms and millenarian visions were
> based, as it might have been in scientific-
> ally oriented societies.[31]

d)   The Position and Importance of the
      Charismatic Leader

> . . . a leader need not achieve power--national
> or other--in order to qualify as charismatic.
> What is decisive is whether or not he attracts
> a charismatic following and shows a marked ten-
> dency to become the centre of a charismatic
> movement . . .[32]

There is no consensus among social scientists
whether millenarian movements are a phenomenon of the
past or not. The controversy centers on whether mil-
lenarianism is typical only in the context of a trad-
itional society. So-called "modern" societies then
are supposed to have "advanced" in the process of
"secularization". Hence religiously inspired movements
are by definition outdated.

Tucker argues that because of the immensely strong
appeal of the salvation message embodied in the charis-
matic leader, millenarianism will always be with us.
Furthermore, Tucker's explanation is not a social-
psychological reductionist one. Many will agree with
Tucker that the human predicament has not undergone a
practical metamorphosis, that technological "progress"
has not overcome human alienation, that "modern develop-
ment" has not brought about automatically complete and
permanent happiness.

The charismatic leader may simultaneously evoke
unconditional followings and strong resistance. Counter
charismatic responses are not uncommon. Some charismatic
leaders are singularly driven by a novel vision which they
manage to convey in an irresistable manner, enchanting a
mass of followers. Others, although charismatically
inspired, are more pragmatic organizers and social-

political activists. Some embody both dimensions and appear on the stage as prophet and activist. All of them--if truly charismatic--have a compelling vision of their own "calling"--to use Weber's original term--an urgent sense of mission, manifested over and again to the faithful masses in despair. The degree of collectively experienced anxieties has prepared the ground for the leader. His claims to supernatural strength fall on ready soil.

> I do not mean to suggest that a charismatic
> leader acquires charisma exclusively because of
> his inspirational sense of mission and belief
> in the movement, or even that his personality
> per se independently of the content of his mes-
> sage, is sufficient explanation for his impact
> upon followers. We cannot properly say that of
> charisma that "the medium is the message"
> although it is a large part of this.[33]

A recurrent theme in many millenarian movements is the conspiratorial theory underlying the movement. Cohn shows how the Jews were categorically accused of being evil mongers.[34]

There appears to be a correlation between how strong the collective suspicions of conspiracy are, and how fervent and passionate the group identification is with the Messiah-type leader. This paranoia about the alleged conspiracy against "us" intensifies the mille-narian aggressiveness towards "them". Next, the mille-narian group claims that the conspirers all have to be

destroyed, so a forceful rationale is put into motion.
The enemy is accused of having brought on its own de-
struction.

> The leader's personality becomes more salient
> and magnetic for many because of its identifi-
> cation with the conspiracy doctrine, and the
> latter, however fantastic it may be becomes more
> believable because of the leader's paranoid earnest-
> ness, the obsessive conviction with which he por-
> trays the conspiracy and inveighs against it.[35]

Just when the grievances have become unbearable
and the humiliation intolerable, at the most traumatic
point in time, the potential prophet may appear on the
scene, perceived as the embodiment of all millenarian
expectations. He verbalizes what people are preoccupied
with. The prophetic visions vary widely but the pre-
dicted coming of the millennium often includes the out-
right damnation of the cruel rulers and the abolition of
all oppressive taxes and outstanding debts. Exploitative
tenants and landlords are going to be meted out their
overdue punishment.

If racial dimensions are present, then the built
up resentment may take on more inflammatory proportions.
Prophetic protest leaders give vivid expression to these
feelings of great distress.

Cultural, socio-political and economic shock
waves caused by the colonizing invader may generate a
longing for an idealized past and a dream-like vision
of a restored harmony.

> However . . . deprivation and millenarian thought
> tendencies are not in themselves sufficient to
> produce sustained social movements. Popular dis-
> content and millenarian tendencies must be amal-
> gamated and articulated either by a prophetic
> leader or leaders, or by prominent figures in
> established socio-religious organizations, such
> as cult-shrine networks and secret societies.[36]

On the other hand, there also have been some

prophets without millenarian visions, as discussed by

Sundkler and B. Wilson (respectively, in Bantu Prophets

and Magic and Millennium, pp. 133 ff.; and Worsley,

pp. ix-xx.)

In general, though, for the successful rise of

a millenarian movement, a mutually reinforcing relation-

ship between leader and followers is of decisive importance

for the group mobilization process. Even in areas that

for a long time have shown a propensity for millenarian

agitations during crises, this may not guarantee that

a full movement will develop. A millenarian tradition

combined with sudden socio-economic distress may not be

enough for the movement itself to crystallize. Here

Adas may have diversified Barkum's main emphasis on

disaster and millenarian tradition.

Adas shows specifically how peasants band together

under local prophets. During the crystallization process

the adherents to the new movement feel that they can

retrieve their lost status and identity. They become

men again, proudly back on their feet, instantly lifted
up from the bottom station, relieved of their inferiority
feelings. Their own community cohesion is being restored
to its original respectability.

From the perspective of the colonizing power the
outcome of some of these movements means decentralization
and a direct threat to the metropolis itself. The local
communities engaged in their own consciousness-raising
may discover their regained, and additional power. From
then on these movements gain their own momentum. They
become from first fully prophetic and truly revolutionary.

T. S. Greene gave a survey of leadership and
development patterns of the revolutionary situation in
different countries and periods.[37] Adas in a similar
manner manages to put leadership patterns of development
and sequential stages in millenarian movements in com-
parative analysis. By including different geographical
areas taken from widely varying socio-cultural contexts
but all during the same period of western colonization
in the 19th and 20th centuries, Adas succeeds in ad-
vancing the research on millenarianism. His method is
in my opinion the most beneficial at this stage. By
relying on various existing models and hypotheses, Adas
deepens our insight by comparative analysis of specific
aspects of millenarian movements. The theoretical outcome

is a refined model. The perspective on millennium and prophetic leadership have been revitalized in a scholarly manner.

A charismatic leader often has already participated in the "advanced" culture and economy which are imposing themselves on the native society. Actually, he may have travelled widely, even worked consistently and for quite some time for the colonial administration or the missionary church, so his horizon has become wider. All this gives him specific skills and above all a different outlook on society and its values. During this somewhat improvised preparatory training for his imminent "calling", he has become familiar with the supraordinate system and its mechanisms. Specifically the values of money and time and the rigor of bureaucratic organization are not novel to him anymore. He is predestined to become the go-between for two cultures and societies. He will be able to select useful elements from the supraordinate structure and translate and transform whatever can be made to fit into the native ambiance.

He is not a compromiser with the colonizer's system--the "metropolis". He realignes himself basically with his own sub-culture, the "hinterland". At the same time, he articulates for his people whatever new assumptions about power and values he deems paramount. In this manner

the native culture and structure may gain competitive
strength instead of being destroyed because the cultural
shock from metropolis was too heavy. He is standing
between two worlds, one of which is crumbling. He comes
to rescue the traditional community by injecting new
elements into the traditional structure.

> He is an outsider, an odd one, extraordinary.
> Nevertheless, he specifically attempts to initiate
> both in himself as well as in others, a process
> of moral regeneration. Both he and his audience
> are caught between opposed conditions of being.
> But whereas the prophet has travelled some way
> along the road towards the synthesis, and in
> himself represents it, his audience has to be
> persuaded into taking the same path . . . in
> standing alone where others habitually rely on
> kinsfolk or friends or neighbours or allies, a
> prophet is an individual in himself which points
> to the humanity in man and also exhibits those
> qualities of the divine free-mover to which all
> men at some times in their lives aspire . . .
> not singular in a way that will make him an out-
> cast, a prophet sees in himself all those to whom
> he speaks, and they see themselves in him--a
> communion from which charisma is surely born.[38]

In colonized countries the white authorities get
alarmed at the start of a millenarian movement, having
no clue about what is going on. They may react with
immediate force and severe reprisals. The prophet leader
could be arrested and put in jail for an indefinite period.
Quite frequently the shaman-leader would die in jail or
if released, would return briefly but very successfully
to the followers, feverishly waiting for him or her.
This return is sensed as proof of supernatural power,

of forces imminent in the leader who then has created

a movement even stronger than his or her own visionary

beginning.

Now the movement thrives on increasing expectations.

Wild rumors are spreading beyond the first boundaries.

The impact is strongly unifying the people and the dead

--or permanently imprisoned--leader appears to generate

messianic enthusiasm. The mysterious disappearance or

long absence of the leader tends to add to the collective

restlessness and a strongly modified but Christian-

inspired adventism may be manifest. At this point, the

movement may be transforming itself from the expressive

into the instrumental stage of action: concrete goals

are articulated. Political objectives are crystallizing

in the still amorphous group outbursts. After the

colonial or missionary authorities start reacting against

the movement, the growing movement starts reacting vio-

lently back at the whites and especially against the

hated collaborators. (See Adas, Prophets of Rebellion,

Chapter Five, "Towards Violence: Abortive Repression

and the Rise of Secondary Leaders.")

Cohn, Hobsbawn, Lanternari, Adas and anthropological

researchers have shown how the leaders are invariably

marginal men, some of obscure but definitively mysterious

background. In the middle ages they had been priests or

monks before in an unsuccessful manner, without being fully integrated into the appropriate class. In Third World countries, these leaders emerge from similarly marginal people who become initiated into western ways of living and thinking by receiving training for military, government or church roles. So ex-corporals, ex-office workers or ex-cathechists now switch roles and take on the new "calling" of prophet-leader. These new intel- lectuals tend to drop out of the colonial establishment, after disillusionment and alienation have set in. Then they go back to their own people among whom they assume the role of instantly respected leader with great expertise, precisely in fields where the local people had been feeling deeply confused and disoriented. The new prophet is able to articulate new assumptions and categories. But what- ever he comes up with must be based on emotions and aspirations immanent in the community he is addressing. He is only externalising what is already on people's minds.

Burridge singles out as crucial the impact of the money economy and the bureaucratic colonial administration on the people, especially their own leaders. Adas em- phasizes similar aspects of modernization, especially manifest in the emerging leaders who, because of their brief participation in the novel system, are now seen

as experts in the eyes of the villagers. There are
obvious advantages: capacity to deal with the foreigners,
an impressive degree of literacy, familiarity with the
new technology and administration. These give the local
leader enormous status on top of all the supernatural
qualities that are immediately ascribed to him.

Frequently though, the early rise of some of these
leaders is not impressive. They may have had a good
start in magical curing; they acquire quite a reputation
until they suffer some failures, at times ending up in
jail for obvious wrong-doings. This appears similar to
what Hobsbawn is describing in Social Bandits: erstwhile
law-breakers become at a later stage of the game initi-
ators of a new social order and they gain enormous legiti-
mation during the process of group mobilization. Failures
--physical break-downs, wrong-doings--instead of breaking
the career, seem to set the stage for the beginning of a
new, more impressive career. The leaders first turn into
martyrs and then into prophets for sure. As Sundkler
shows in Bantu Prophets and Zulu Zionism, the early
crystallization period of the potential leader is marked
by personality break-downs, emotional upheavals and total
derailment, followed by a period of retreat with visions
and dreams. After these intensive sessions, the erstwhile
weak leader returns from his complete isolation and emerges
now as a strong leader with supernatural qualities.

It can be concluded that the prophets play a pivotal role; that their careers deserve more comparative analysis. On the one end of the continuum are prophets whose background is upper-middle-class, but their previous positions of authority and expertise had been threatened by the colonial administration. Adas worked this out systematically for his cases under study: for example, Dipanagara and Kinjiktile abruptly suffered status inconsistency and ensuing disorientations because of lost positions. Their socio-cultural context though was yet pretty much intact since the foreign impact was only recent.[39] Naturally, they had to emerge as champions of the social order under attack.

The other prophets analysed by Adas--and almost all of the ones in Worsley's study--were of lowly background; they had not been in any position of power or status in precolonial times. For them also, rather suddenly all avenues of advancement were blocked off. However, they had an advantage; because of a variety and intensity of experiences and some direct involvement with the new system, they could operate as cultural brokers. They were literally doing a job of "mixing and matching" elements from two conflicting cultural frameworks by applying various techniques, borrowing from the new world, yet using reinforced ideas from the old world.

Prophets who had been themselves fully embedded in indigeneous leadership, could draw more heavily on, the traditional bonds and styles. Prophets who had to manage affairs on a cultural broker basis were bound to be far more creative. Moreover, their task was more risky; they had to earn their own legitimation.

Interestingly enough here too, the religious factor often proved to be a revolutionary one too. Many of these prophet leaders had received religious instruction and practical leadership or teacher training from the mission school in a typically colonial context. Others, as in the case of Indonesia--long before the Dutch invasion--had been initiated into mystical aspects of Muslim religion and magic healing cults. Their educational background was exceptional compared to the followers in the village. Moreover, travelling and working experiences had naturally widened their outlooks and restructured their identities. This exactly made them stand out as leaders. As Adas summarizes:

> Prophetic leaders of lowly background . . . gained an aura of achievement from participation in the educational--religious or political--military institutions of the European colonizers that was vital to their success.[40]

To summarize: the word charisma may have turned into a palimpsest by now. New meanings have been written

over the old ones to the point of becoming meaningless.
The original strength of the concept has been watered
down in every-day language to some kind of personal
magnetism, some attractive attributes as a speaker,
techniques to persuade an audience and get people
lined up behind an issue. Weber had a much more pro-
found interpretation in mind when he introduced the
term into his construct of ideal-typical charismatic
leadership. He intended to give it a timeless quality
while at the same time implying that it is of varying
intensity in different historical periods.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Robert Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership," Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership, ed. D. A. Rustow (New York: 1970), pp. 69-70.

[2]Ibid., p. 72.

[3]Ibid., pp. 72-75.

[4]Johan Huizinga, In the Shadow of Tomorrow. A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Distemper of Our Time (London: 1936), p. 124.

[5]Bryan Wilson, Magic and Millennium (New York: 1973), p. 98.

[6]Bryan Wilson, The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charismatic Leadership and its Contemporary Survival (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 98.

[7]Compare Robin Horton, "African Traditional Thought and Western Science," Africa, 37, 1 and 2 (January and April, 1967), pp. 56-71 and 155-187.

[8]Wilson, Noble Savages, p. x, xi.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., p. 2.

[11]Ibid.,

[12]M. Edelman, Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1970).

[13]Ibid., p. 73.

[14]Ibid., p. 76.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 77.

[17]Wilson, Noble Savages, p. 12.

[18]Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults in Melanesia (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

[19]Wilson discussing Worsley in Noble Savages, p. 16.

[20]See Alfred Métraux, "The Tupinamba and the Guarani," in Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward, Vol. III (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute of American Ethnography Bulletin, 1948), pp. 69-94 and 95-133; Journal de la Société des Americanistes, NS, XIX, (Paris: 1927), pp. 1-45; W. H. Lindig, "Wanderungen der Tupi-Guarani" and "Eschatologie der Apapocuva, Guarani," Chiliasmus and Nativismus, ed. W. E. Muehlmann, (Berlin: Reimer, 1961).

[21]David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa (Oxford University Press, 1968).

[22]Wilson, Noble Savages, p. 11.

[23]Cochrane, Big Men and Cargo Cult, Foreward by Burridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. ix.

[24]Compare Reinhild Rodríguez, Unabhaengige religiöses Bewegungen in Kenia (Freiburg: 1975), pp. 71-75 and p. 82.

[25]Cochrane, op. cit., p. 163.

[26]Ibid., 164.

[27]Ndabaningi Sithole, African Nationalism (New York: 1969).

[28]Justus van der Kroef, "Messianic Movements in the Celebes, Sumatra, Borneo," Millenial Dreams in Action, ed. Sylvia Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 80-121.

[29]A. C. Kruyt and N. Adriani show how exactly extended indirect rule in the long run will also bring about millenarian outbursts. (De Godsdienstige Politieke Beweging "Mejapi" op Celebes, pp. 144-145.)

[30]Michael Adas, Prophets of Rebellion, Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order, Chapter VI "Mobilization: Symbol and Ritual, Talisman and Sympathetic Magic," (Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press, 1979).

[31]Ibid., p. 155.

[32]Tucker, op. cit., p. 78.

[33]Ibid., pp. 88-89.

[34]Franz Newman identifies five variations on the millenarian conspiracy: The Jesuits, The Freemasons, The Communists, The Capitalists, and the Jewish, in Belemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism (London: 1942).

[35]Tucker, op. cit., p. 90.

[36]Adas, op. cit., p. 93.

[37]Thomas H. Greene, Comparative Revolutionary Movements (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1974).

[38]K. Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth. A Study of Millenarian Activities (Toronto: 1969), p. 162.

[39]Adas, op. cit., pp. 92-122.

[40]Ibid., p. 120.

CHAPTER IV

THE BLACK MUSLIMS:

AN APOCALYPTIC VISION OF RACIAL RELATIONS

a) Introduction to the Apocalyptic Vision

The story of the rise of the Black Muslims has been told rather well by Eric Lincoln and Essien-Udom in their classic studies of the movement. This fourth chapter intends to discuss briefly how these two studies are complementary and how they form a necessary starting point for any analysis in this area.[1]

To encapsule what has been said in the preceding chapters my aim here is to focus on the Black Muslims from the perspectives of social change and religion as a dynamic and revolutionary factor. As will be shown shortly, Lincoln and Essien-Udom in both their profound analyses, did not at all focus on the Black Nation of the Islam as a millenarian movement. As a matter of fact, neither of them ever used the concept of millenialism while defining the movement, although symptoms of "messianic and charismatic" leadership were hinted at by Essien-Udom. In a more recent article, Lincoln uses the term millennium when describing the historical development of the White power structure, not when analysing the Black mythology.[2]

The myth--instinctively created at first, then
almost deliberately and most effectively introduced to
the oppressed masses in the ghettoes--was a most power-
ful one. It made the disoriented Blacks instantly spell-
bound. The extraordinary story of where, when and how
the Black people originated worked as a miraculous catalyst.
Totally alienated unemployables became fervent joiners
and hard workers overnight. Where teachers, counsellors,
social workers and parole officers had failed, and where
police and criminal justice already had written off
skid-road individuals, suddenly the Black Muslim prophet-
leaders managed to convey the message of individual
transformation and group change. What was it in their
monitoring messages and improvised "group dynamics" that
clicked so faultlessly with potential followers?

The myth of the mysterious Moorish-African or
Black Jewish or Arabic-African origin was called by the
White outsiders and observers "weird", "alarming",
"irrational", "naive", "nonsensical", a typical example
of a "pie-in-the-sky" for the uneducated. The apoc-
alyptic overtones of the mythological success story of
the Black Man, despised, uprooted and exploited by the
White devils, yet predestined by divine plan to take his
revenge in an imminent come-back--frightened and annoyed
the White Establishment. The myth was ridiculed or

ignored. It was never put in comparative perspective
with the myth on which American White nationalism it-
self was based, with its Dream of Equality and accumu-
lative Progress.

While briefly discussing the major contributors
to our understanding of the Black Muslims--mainly Lincoln
and Essien-Udom, and to some degree Draper--this chapter
attempts to emphasize the apocalyptic dimensions of the
Lost and Found Black Nation of Islam. "Apocalyptic" is
often taken in its narrow "static" meaning of: an ex-
tremely strong warning of God's imminent intervention.
Franklin L. Baumer suggests:

> The word "apocalypse" means literally an unveiling
> or disclosure of the future. But among the Jews
> and early Christians it also denoted a profound
> pessimism about the world and man. In the Rele-
> vation of John, that classic of Jewish and
> Christian Apocalyptic, the "new Jerusalem" is
> established only at the end of time, and by
> God's intervention, not human works. It is pre-
> ceded, moreover, by the most frightful and hair-
> raising events, by the ride of four horsemen, by
> plagues and wars and all manner of natural calam-
> ities.3

Somewhat unfortunately, Baumer takes Mannheim's
version of "apocalypse", the millenarian dream through-
out human history, in a too narrow, static interpretation.
He sees it as an announcement of evil forces winning over
good forces with time running out. The carriers of such
messages of doom and damnation tend to become passive
compliers with the sequence of events as preordained

by God or whatever other supernatural power.

> "Apocalyptic" signifies a mood utterly at variance
> with what Karl Mannheim calls the "Utopian men-
> tality"; a state of mind which takes a dim view
> of "time" or rather of what man can accomplish
> in "time"; which accepts suffering, conflict,
> death as permanent data of temporal life; which
> perceives that demonic forces are gaining in
> strength and threatening to overwhelm civili-
> zation--in a word "crisis thinking".[4]

Baumer points at the variety of meanings the word
can assume in contemporary critical thinking about the
future. (Compare his elaborate study of what he terms
"crisis thinking" in our age. _Main Currents of Western
Thought_, New York, 1952, where other modern prophets of
doom and despair are analysed like Johan Huizinga's _The
Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Dis-
temper of Our Time_, London, 1936; and Arthur Koestler's
The Age of Longing, New York, 1951.[5])

Only rarely do present interpretations of the
Apocalypse match the original Doomsday announcement
as prophesized by St. John on Patmos in the Aegean Sea
(a location to return in the Black myth) in the early
days of Christianity, when Christianity was still a truly
millenarian movement and not a fully developed church of
institutionalized religion. (Compare Troeltsch's ideal-
types.) Some theologians or sectarians stick to the
letter of St. John's revelations: that the end of the
world is at hand, and that it will be preceded--or tempor-
arily held back--by an intensified final conflict between

God and the Antichrist.   Recognizable signs and events
will foreshadow the speeding up of this final cataclysm.
After this, a brand new heaven and aearth will be estab-
lished.

Most often, the apocalyptic admonitions--either
religious or secular--are used to scare the sinner our
of his wicked wits--to bring him back to the path of
righteousness by warning humankind of the degeneration
and imminent downfall of civilization in general.

Apocalypse then may be used in two manners: from
a pessimistic prophetic perspective or from an optimistic
view. To return to sociology and its practitioners:
Comte and Condorcet obviously took Apocalypse in the
sense of an Apotheose: a perfect end stage of human
development. This colored their perspective on social
change as progress. The functionalist school unfor-
tunately was side-tracked by the same optimistic apotheose
in its conceptualization of ethnic relations in the United
States, expected to evolve into an end-stage of full
assimilation. Parsons' impressive model of pattern
variables implies progressively improved societal re-
lations, an end-state of equilibrium as accumulative
Progress. Consequently the sudden outpouring of doom
and damnation by the Black countermovement onto the
White Establishment was not immediately absorbed by

social scientists. This may explain the lack of interest
--or moral courage--to tackle the phenomenon of Black
Separatism as a conflict issue in American society.

The apocalyptic visions of doom and damnation
for Whites only, as prophesized persistently by Noble
Drew Ali, Wallace D. Fard, Elijah Muhammad Poole and
Malcolm X, raised havoc amongst the Whites. Their clear
and repeated prediction that the White people's time had
run out and that the Black man's turn was now imminent
was not a popular message. Because of these heavily
loaded apocalyptic overtones, the Black Muslim movement
was quickly misinterpreted as an illusive obscure sec-
tarian group whose fantastic projections were remote
from socio-political reality. This could lead into a
critical discussion: is the Black Nation of Islam a
sect or social-political movement? Did it end up in
pure escapism? Did it, because of the deeply religious
ideology it had created, produce its own opium?

One of the main tenets of this thesis has been
to show that millenarianism and its dramatizing apoc-
alyptic vision of society is a potential revolutionary
force. Its lopsided perspective of the predicament the
oppressed group is in, may generate powerful social-
political energy. It can unlock its own social dynamics
during the revolutionary process of reworking the group's

own past and creating its own future. It can transcend
the present malaise by getting ready for concrete social
and political action. Yonina Talmon's outstanding
theoretical contribution to the interpretation of mille-
narian movements and their social dynamics emphasized
the dramatic tensions generated by these apocalyptic
visions.[6] Time is transformed by the prophet-leader
and his spellbound followers onto a mythological plane
connecting a resurrected past to an imminent future.
This became a factor itself to bring about and speed
up social change. These group efforts may take on
revolutionary proportions.

b)   Are the Black Muslims a Religious or
        Political Movement?

     Essien-Udom claims that the movement is predom-
inantly a-political and that definitive distrust of any
form of political action is manifest. The vaguely
political concepts used are utopian and impractical. It
is the esoteric philosophy that gives coherence to
Muhammad's ideas and organization. The fantastic relig-
ious framework built up by W. D. Fard, i. e. Allah in-
carnated and his messenger Muhammad is at the most, the
cement that holds the movement together. In a conclusive
chapter "Black Zionism" (compare Sundkler's second study

on South Africa, Zulu Zionism). Essien-Udom evaluates
the Black Muslim ideology as a way out of present misery,
as both utopian and pacifistic, restraining from concrete
political and social action and projecting towards an
idealized but unrealistic future. He sees as symptomatic
for all Black Muslim behavior this constant withdrawal
from action, purposeful escapism, not getting ready for
any form of revolutionary action, but sitting back and
waiting with deeply religious fervor--until Allah himself
will interfer and initiate the Black Kingdom of Righteous-
ness. Passive waiting and praying for the Messiah and
endless delaying of prophesies by modifying dates and
details of prediction are typical for the whole movement.
(Compare When Prophesy Fails, L. Festinger et al., Harper
Torch Books, New York, 1956.)

What to Essien-Udom is the underlying aim of the
movement is a desperate search for acceptance into the
American society: for respect, status and good life,
here and now. Out of the long-term despair amongst the
Blacks grew this fervent belief that the present wicked
White power structure will be overthrown by Allah, by
direct and imminent interference. So all the followers
have to do is wait faithfully but attentively for the
obvious signs of the final coming of the end--a comet,
a rising star or a war. In his version, the Black Muslims

are pawns in their own transcendental power game, created
by their own fervent expectations. It is Allah who will
decide when the final battle is going to start. He had
predetermined that He and his followers will be the
winners. The eternal and righteous state will be imple-
mented in a completely transformed world, according to
a divine plan revealed solely and mysteriously to the
prophet Elijah Muhammad and his true followers. The
Apocalypse works in a reassuring, almost pacifying manner.
In the meantime, daily life takes on a new meaning.

Here Essien-Udom does not seem to capitalize on
the millenarian dimension--in my view so obvious--in the
whole Black Muslim eschatology. His analysis is based
on and at the same time constrained by a rather dichoto-
mous supposition: that any given ideology must contain
by nature esoteric and exoteric elements. The underlying
theme throughout his study is that the esoteric compon-
ents are to be pictured as a set of strange, irrational
but very appealing religious and philosophical doctrines
about the role to be played by the Black man, after his
present suffering and oppression has been undone and the
evil White power system is dismantled in the ultimate
Armageddon. Essien-Udom depicts the elaborate new myth
about the Black man's glorious past, his superior descent,
his present exile and misery, and his imminent salvation
as an interesting but "esoteric" belief.

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He analyzes clearly how the Blacks in the North .
American ghettoes are in an ambiguous bind: they reject
their own sub-culture which was forced upon them by their
oppressor and which may contain some remnants of their
original heritage. These remnants of authentic Black
culture are derogatorily termed "Negro folk culture".
They refer to their authentic musical style, ethnic food,
language, maybe some burial rites, and above all, mother-
centered family-life--which in White American middle-
class circles translates into "broken families".

On the other hand, the Blacks, nominally called
Americans, never gained full American citizenship. They
were never truly admitted, although they really want to
be. The good White middle-class life was never equally
extended to the Black masses. The few Black individuals
who did make it into that envied class, supposedly did
so solely on their own initiative and perseverance. More-
over, these Black bourgeoisie members try intensively to
undo their Black past, to get rid of the remnants of their
embarrassing Black subculture, by separating themselves
as much as possible from their ethnic background, without
ever becoming fully assimilated into the White class of
their dreams, choice and aspirations. This ambiguous
dilemma remains at the base of the Black man's search
for identity. (See E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie.

The Rise of the New Middle Class in the United States,

New York: Collier, 1962. Chapter IX, "Society: Status

Without Substance", and Chapter X, "Behind the Masks".)

> To this we should add this profound limitation
> on the Muslim movement: the fact that Negroes
> are culturally trapped in the American main-
> stream in spite of how inadequately they have
> been assimilated into it. They share all the
> normal desires and aspirations of Americans,
> especially material and social approbations
> through conformity.[7]

In my view, this search for identity by the Blacks

is generated by a most complex form of alienation.

Seeman[8] differentiated between various dimensions of

alienation: of oneself, of society, normlessness, hope-

lessness and powerlessness. To the Black situation, all

these dimensions are applicable, yet may not encompass

all aspects of the compounded malaise. Rootlessness both

in the sense of lack of physical territory, and lack of

a glorious past one can identify with could be added to

the phenomenon of Black alienation. This leads to a

discussion of Black Nationalism.

Elijah Muhammad broke through this dilemma of

compounded alienation and led his people in their search

for a place to belong and a past to identify with by

creating a new myth, which proved to be deeply satisfying

to the believers and by injecting a sudden meaning into

the malaise of their daily lives. This was accomplished

by revitalizing old elements already present in the Negro

heritage. This aspect was more convincingly brought out by Lincoln, especially in his recent article and in the study he edited which is a collection of writings on The Black Experience in Religion.[9]

Most interpretations will agree that the Blacks feel deeply alienated from the White power structure. That they identify on the emotional level with the Moslems in Africa and Asia by sharing the same religion, or at least what they believe to be the same religion is not often consistently brought out, except by some Blacks themselves. They view Africa and/or Asia as their homeland. In all projections about a glorified Black past, the African continent looms large. However, for a long time, especially during 19th century western imperialism, Africa and its inhabitants were held low in esteem by White western people. Consequently it was with increasing ambiguity that Blacks themselves felt they had to look at what was considered to be their homeland and its "savage" inhabitants.

Gradually the focus of religious and ethnic identification shifted from Sub-Saharan Africa to the northern parts. Egypt, Ethiopia and Morocco appeared more respectable because they could be shown to have been cradles of civilization at some time in history. This search for religious and cultural identity ended

up mainly in the Middle East, some times Israel, but most
of the time Mecca. Some Black sects claimed that their
forefathers and culture originated there. These favorite
parts on the Black mythological world map were--besides
Egypt, Morocco and Ethiopia--all of the Middle East,
especially what was termed in ancient history, Mesopot-
amia. From an outsider's point of view, all this may
seem a rather romanticising projection, a sheer dream.
From the perspective of a true believer it becomes a
deeply satisfying explanation for a miserable present.
An attractive but lost past will be resurrected soon
in glorious redemptive future.

The so-called "redemption of Africa" was a phrase
used throughout the 19th century amongst Afro-Americans
who were supportive of not only the missionary movement
but above all of Black Nationalism. Burkett has shown
in his study of Garveyism that these persistent hopes
were based on a definitive prophecy taken from the Bible,
namely from Psalm 68: 31. "Princes shall come out of
Egypt and Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hand
unto God." This prophesy was taken literally and lo,
when the Italians were badly defeated by the Ethiopians
in the well-known battle of Adowa in 1896, this victory
was immediately hailed as the fulfilment of the prophesy
itself. Marcus Garvey himself became one of the strongest

believers that all of Africa would be redeemed for the

Black people as soon as the White people were punished

for all their evil doings. So Garveyism as a movement

could find a strong responsive chord within the Black

ghettoes exactly because its ideology and eschatology

were built on these same Afro-American religious trad-

itions. (Compare pp. xix-xx in St. Clair Drake's

Foreword to Burkett's study, Garveyism as a Religious

Movement. The Institutionalization of a Black Civil

Religion, Scarecrow Press, London, 1978.)

> When Malcolm X became the alter ego of the ghetto
> youth and pointed out that his father had been a
> Universal Negro Improvement Association organizer
> as well as a Baptist preacher, the circle of
> Garvey admirers widened and the desire for more
> knowledge about him increased. . . . The young
> Black militants were impressed by the fact that
> one of their contemporary heroes, Kwame Nkrumah,
> first prime minister in de-colonized Black Africa,
> wrote in his autobiography that Garvey had been
> his inspiration. And they did not fail to notice
> that he named Ghana's shipping company The Black
> Star Line after the Universal Negro Improvement
> Association's ambitious but disastrous venture.
> The facts surrounding Garvey's arrest and depor-
> tation became for them, a stick with which to
> beat what they defined as "house niggers".
> Garvey had prophesized that he'd return "in the
> whirlwind". The young new believers saw his
> spirit abroad in the northern ghetto rebellions
> that set fire to the cities. By this time their
> elders were rediscovering Garvey too, and some
> of them later discerned his spirit in the program
> of government-subsidized Black Capitalism.[10]

However, as St. Clair Drake warns, even though

these groups eagerly identified with Garveyism, as they

perceived it, Garvey himself most likely would not have

agreed with their versions of his ideas. The apocalyptic view of social reality means different things to different people at various times in history.

Essien-Udom's explanation stops short at differentiating between what is "esoteric" and "exoteric" in the Black Muslim mythology. He gives credit to "esoteric" philosophy pervasive in the whole Black Muslim ideology and eschatology, but he defines these elements as functionally beneficial by giving coherence to the movement and its novel belief system. He only hints at some aspects of messianic leadership and its impact on the individual Black Muslims. He does not consistently compare this phenomenon of mass mobilization around a prophet leader to related millenarian movements, either here or in other periods in history. As a matter of fact, he rejects outright the idea that Black Muslims are comparable to such movements manifest presently in the Third World. 9

Yet Essien-Udom's analysis is excellent when he shows convincingly which segments of the ghetto population join, why they get deeply and fanatically engaged in the movement, and how ready they are for a prophet-styled leader. He also brings out extremely well to what degree the movement and its dynamic ideology transform the new joiners into profoundly motivated and truly

"reborn" individuals who then totally identify with the cause and the leader. His study contains ground-breaking chapters on the Black Nation's rise and growth in which he terms the whole process of individual conversion and group reinforcement "The Way Out". The critical analysis of recruitment and initiation procedures is thorough. It goes somewhat beyond Lincoln's comparable but more strictly descriptive parts on the Black Muslims as a movement. In many ways, Lincoln relies rather heavily on Eric Hoffer's innovative but lopsided short study of social movements and bases his explanation of the social dynamics of the movement almost verbatim on Hoffer's model.

However, Lincoln has a far more insightful concept of religion as a pervasive force, enabling individuals and groups to cope with change, even to initiate and steer it along. Lincoln's model of religion--pivotal for group identification and crucial as a motivating force--comes close to what Hans Mol suggests in his recent theoretical construct of religion: a niche necessary and vital to any group, any segment, tribe or nation that needs a base to stand on, from which to project, to objectify and to act in a meaningful manner. In short: here is a prerequisite for any viable symbolic framework.

The drawback of both studies is that the research

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and writing was done while the movement was still in
full process of becoming, respectively Essien-Udom in
1960 and Lincoln in 1961. Many reprints of both studies
followed, especially of Lincoln's study, but all these
did not add much new to the first interpretations given.
Originally Lincoln coined the name "Black Muslims" with
whom he actually had and still has a very good working
relationship. "The Lost Nation of Islam" itself never
objected to this alternative name. Essien-Udom left
this specific field of research altogether and returned
to his homeland of Nigeria--after having spent two years
of intensive direct daily contacts with Black Muslims
for research purposes. Lincoln, on the other hand,
stayed in this field and has added to his first analysis
in a recent article: <u>The American Muslim Mission in the</u>
<u>Context of American Social History.</u> (Mimeographed lecture
given at a Symposium: Dimensions of Islam in North A
America, May, 1980, at the University of Alberta, Depart-
ment of Religious Studies.) Here Lincoln draws an
historically and sociologically broader picture of
American society, its institutionalized racism with its
all-pervasive Christian and democratic creed of equality,
and its persistent practice of unequality.

Both Essien-Udom and Lincoln[11] discussed in some
detail the impact of earlier religious sects like the

Moorish Temple under its leader Noble Drew Ali, the Marcus
Garvey movement--both mushrooming right after World War I
--and a variety of earlier Black nationalistic projections,
which all failed in terms of measurable and visible achieve-
ment but which did add enormously to the social dynamics
of the Blacks as a societal group, gaining consciousness
of their own identity, reviving their lost past and
building up an innovative and reassuring myth leading
them into a glorious future. In his later article,
Lincoln abbreviates the analysis of the earlier stirrings,
sects, schisms and movements amongst the Blacks. He adds
to the intensity of his explanation of religion as a
deeply motivating force, as a powerful social dynamics, as
a necessary process of group identification. While he
discusses in brief the importance of the forerunners of
Elijah Muhammad, especially Noble Drew Ali and Wallace D.
Fard, he shows how these obscure prophets in the making
managed to create a most appealing religious ideology
based on old and new traditions and vague religious
ideas, almost picked at random, yet blended instinctively
in a manner that made just the right sense to the potential
believers.

Elijah Muhammad saw his calling first of all as.
one of great moral reform, to build up the Black spirit
by leading the followers out of the long-term impasse of

degeneration and humiliation. The dynamics of his "moral

rearmament" were provided by the apocalyptic manner in

which he perceived himself: namely as the leader of the

fierce battle on behalf of all Black men against the

tyranny and hypocrisy of all White Caucasian devils.

Elijah depicted himself as the personification of this

incessant struggle between Good and Evil, Black and White,

God versus Devil. At the same time he claimed to be the

reincarnation of W. D. Fard--the mysterious and obscure

prophet-preacher who had come before him. He also claimed

to be Allah's direct messenger. So Muhammad directly

participated in divine power and supernatural interference

in human affairs.

Both Essien-Udom and Lincoln argue at length how

the Black Muslims as a movement are not revolutionary but

pacifist, avoiding aggression and violence and only ad-

vocating self-defence in case of attack from outsiders.

Yet the movement generated great alarm and deep conster-

nation amongst the White establishment which blamed

Muhammad's aggressive speaches for causing violence and

generating revolt.

Essien-Udom suggests that Muhammad's speeches

and admonitions may sound aggressive in their use of

language and imagery, but that basically the content of

the message is non-revolutionary by calling for restraint

and self-defence at the most. Essien-Udom did his research on the Black Muslims in the late 1950's and he focussed mostly on Elijah Muhammad and his reign; so did Lincoln in his book.

In his recent article, Lincoln has more to say about Malcolm X and how he continuously revised his philosophy and adjusted his leadership techniques. The movement of course in the meantime had survived its first and second leadership crisis: respectively Fard's mysterious disappearance and Muhammad's self-styled smooth succession (1933-34) being the first routinization of charismatic leadership and Malcolm's rise to power being the second time of routinization. It was Malcolm's reign that initiated a period of moderating readjustment and more diplomatic accommodation to the existing White power structure without giving up the sectarian ideology completely. He softened the harsh racial images and symbols introduced by Muhammad and became the Black Nation's travelling speaker to whom the White establishment was at least willing to listen carefully, with suspicion but also with intense interest. One could say: Malcolm managed to make the sect into a movement with still some of the sectarian themes left in the movement's ideology, deliberately applied to keep the fighting spirit alive.

> Malcolm began his Muslim career accepting the
> Muslim's concept of complete territorial separation.

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careful reading of his last speeches and public
statements suggest that he eventually rejected
complete black territorial separatism as un-
desirable and unattainable, but he nevertheless
continued to espouse other forms of black nation-
alism. He still believed that the black muslim
program--minus territorial separation--was best
for black American liberation. He believed that
white people per se were not inherently evil,
but rather that the American political, economic
and social systems made white Americans racist
and evil. While visiting the Middle East and
Africa, he was amazed that peoples of all colors
lived under Islam peacefully together with color
mattering not at all.[12]

When viewing the whole movement from early rise

under Elijah Muhammad to full development under Malcolm

X, it seems that increasing tolerance and accommodation

are typical for any sect--religious or secular. Such a

sequence was the most natural way to follow for Malcolm

X when he took over and consolidated the organization.

Yet he too allowed room for aggressiveness by leaving

outlets for blowing off steam. Instinctively Muhammad

had managed to provide the new believers with controlled

and focussed channels to ventilate their built-up frus-

trations and deep-seated hatred. Developing this new

community of fervent believers and totally committed

followers, Malcolm X tolerated collectively shared hatred

without calling for a racial war. (Freire claims that

the Brasilian farmers during the process of group

consciousness-raising transcended their hatred against

the oppressors. In contrast to the picture drawn in

this study, <u>The Pedagogy of the Oppressed</u>, he modifies
this version somewhat in a later[13] article where he does
allow for group resentment.)

c) <u>The Black Myth</u>

· Six millennia ago, a mischievous Black scientist
by the name of Yakub whose whereabouts were close to
Mecca, started experimenting in order to produce a
new but inferior human race. His plan was a devilish
one, namely to create first a brown race, then a yellow
or red one, and then last but least, the present white
race, starting with a first man called Adam. These
experiments were held during a long period of exile
on Patmos in the Aegean Sea by Yakub and his scientific
assistants. They applied the most advanced techniques
available, developed by Black scientists only, long
before the presence of any white man. They succeeded
in producing white Caucasian devils who proved to be
the ugliest race in history. As soon as these white
devils were let loose, they started causing a civil
war amongst the originally perfect and harmonious Black
Nation. Its King was then approached by his desperate
advisors to stop these white monsters in their evil
manipulations and war mongering. Of course, the King
banished all white devils to a different continent,

called Europe, where they lived as savage cavemen
for more than two millennia, crawling on their hands
and feet and keeping company with dogs--as they still
do up to this day and age.

Then the prophet Moses was sent to civilize these
white devils, about four millennia ago, but he was
unsuccessful. Next the prophet Jesus was sent out,
about two millennia ago in order to convert the Jews
to the religion of Islam. After many years of intensive
prosetelysing, Jesus also failed, and he was killed by
the ones he had tried to convert.

In the year 1914, the evil reign of the white
Caucasians was going to be terminated and the beginning
of the First World War was of course at the same time
the beginning of the end for all white men. America
and Germany were the two worst enemies of civilization.
The down-fall of America would be identical to the
fall of earlier Babylon: a total catastrophe for all
the white Caucasians who had participated in that evil
reign.

The so-called Negroes are in fact the true
descendants of the Asiatic Nation originating from
the continent of Africa. They descend from the Shabazz
tribe who were living in the best and most paradisical
parts of the world, the fertile Nile valley and
Mesopotamia, specifically in Mecca.

About five millennia ago a dissatisfied Black scientist of this same tribe wanted to make his own people tougher and stronger but he failed badly and the proud tribesmen ended up with their kinky hair. Moreover, they became lost for 400 years and were thrown into white slavery in a far away country where they did not belong originally. However, there is hope again for the lost tribe because within all of the Black Nation, these members lost in slavery on the North American continent will be the few chosen people, i. e. the Black Nation of Islam. They are predestined to lead all Black people out of the white men's destruction. As a matter of fact, these 400 years of slavery are nearing their end in the year 1955. Then Heaven will start right here and now on earth, in the U. S. A., and there will be forever excellent food, beautiful royal clothing and peace for all Blacks.[14]

For a long time, western European history has been biased in its interpretation of its own past, in that it was seen as the true beginning of all civilization. Other non-European continents--or at least non-Western parts of the world--had as yet to be "civilized" and up-graded to the European model. Of course the so-called "New World", the United States was more or less included

in this scheme of Western "developed nations". Some
historians tried to reorient their teaching and writing
so as to take in the whole of world history in a real
sense, not the older "World history" that was actually
the history of Europe with occasional mention of the
peripheral regions. (Philip D. Curtin, Foreword, pp.
xi-xii, Prophets of Rebellion by Adas, University of
Carolina Press, 1979.)

Up to now, a one-sided interpretation of Weber's
Protestant Ethic thesis--as an ideal-typical form of
development initiated and successfully completed by pre-
dominantly western Whites . . . --has hampered a fair
evaluation of different societies, their authentic socio-
cultural context and their own achievements outside the
European atmosphere. Western social scientists at times
turned into prophets proselytizing for world-wide accept-
ance of a secularized version of the same Protestant
Ethic, by trying to convert the "not yet developed areas"
outside the "developed" Western world into their millen-
nium of stern capitalism. A severely distorted view of
social change and development according to the ideal-
typical condensed version of Western history became a
myth in itself, and contributed to the rise of the Black
Afro-Asian counter-myth. Black nationalism coincided
with the cultural renaissance in Harlem in the 1920's.

It culminated in the White man's ideology in reverse.
All near-eastern people of ancient and biblical times
were now considered Black and superior.

d)   <u>The African Heritage in Historical Perspective</u>

To measure the remaining impact on the African
heritage of the Negro culture has been an ambiguous
problem (see Herskovits[15]). George Rawick applies an
innovative approach by focussing on small slave communities
and ongoing group processes manifest among the slaves,
and proven to exist because of the daily struggle for
survival for so many generations of plantation life.
The title of his study, <u>From Sundown to Sunup</u>[16] is most
meaningful. He follows it up by plotting the continuous
slave group processes during the daily hard labor and
especially during the short off-duty hours when there
was some time for togetherness and interaction. The
strength of his argument is the holistic approach towards
the Negro communities and their own socio-cultural dynamics.
Rawick breaks away from the traditional patchwork methods
of focussing on some remnant features passed on by the
African heritage. He views culture, social bonds and
physical survival as one dynamic ongoing process of human
interaction.

> Afro-American societies are not bundles of
> African traits but the products of the inter-
> actions of people whose ancestors had come from
> West Africa and who, used West African forms in
> order to create new behaviors that enabled them
> to survive in the New World . . . If the ability
> of people to survive requires creative change
> adequate to the task at hand, then there is no
> more creative and innovative people in the New
> World than Black Americans.[17]

> In the Afro-American communities blacks were able
> to find a mooring which allowed them to survive
> as men and women. They created for others from
> sunup to sundown, on Sundays and holidays and at
> times on Saturday afternoon, and at other times
> that they managed to get away from work (and -
> frequently at work as well), they created and
> recreated themselves.[18]

> While religion certainly may at times be an
> opiate, the religion of the oppressed usually
> gives them the sustenance necessary for developing
> survival a resistance to their own oppression.[19]

> It was . . . clearly out of this West African
> set of practices that the slave's own religion
> --the one they practised on weekdays and in the
> evenings, in the holes on the fields, in the
> cabins protected by the iron pot, at the cross-
> roads where a little man appeared before the
> sinner and announced salvation--came.[20]

The Christian religion was withheld from the

slaves simply and blatantly because they were not con-

sidered to be human beings. So until the end of the

18th century, very few slaves had been converted. How-

ever in the meantime the slaves were coping with the

extreme harshness of every day life and as a group they

kept their own symbolic framework--which was African

religion--alive. While re-enacting their religion--

adding new dimensions as called for by the oppressiveness
of the environment and the extreme challenge to survive
--their symbolic framework was not just a "coping
religion", but an "enabling one" (to use the terms
applied by R. B. Simpson in a research on contemporary
Black religion in the 1960's in St. Louis[21]). A strictly
functionalist interpretation of the Slave religion, as
given by Chalmers Johnson or a pure Marxian constraining
definition could miss the essential stuff of which
religion is made: socio-cultural dynamics for physical
and holistic survival.

There is evidence of the messianic tradition
throughout Negro history, especially during the Slave
rebellions. In comparative theoretical perspective
Mullin juxtaposes Gabriel's Insurrection of 1801 to the
other two well-known and well-researched Slave rebellions
under respectively Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey.

> Preliminary research indicates that the accul-
> turative experience, a hitherto neglected dim-
> ension of slavery, may also enrich our under-
> standing of the other major insurrections ab
> which the slaves have provided ample testimony.
> The cultural differences among slaves--so evident
> and divisive in the 1800 rebellion--were also
> manifested in the religious dimensions of the
> insurrections of Denmark Vesey (Charleston,
> South Carolina, 1822) and Nat Turner (Southampton
> County, Virginia, 1831).[22]

The historical perspective on acculturation among
the Blacks and on religion as a dynamic force reordering
or completely recreating the symbolic universe of the

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group whose survival is at stake, especially during pro-

longed oppression or during short critical moments of

rebellion, is directly relevant to contemporary Black

movements of acculturation.

> Religion and magic sustained Nat Turner's rebellion
> . . . Turner who was not a preacher in the con-
> ventional sense but a seer and holy man, also
> politicized his men by means of dream interpre-
> tations and feats of fortune telling and numer-
> ology. In this instance, too, an astrological
> event (an eclipse of the sun) made a tremendous
> impact on the black country folk; they saw it
> as a favorable sign.[23]

Mullen then shows how Denmark Vesey stands some-

what half way between the two others as far as the

sacred and the profane are concerned.

> While he normally based his appeals on political
> grounds, he recognized the connection between
> religious sanctions and rebellion from below . . .
> he used sermons based on the Bible; he also
> delegated to . . . a native African and "doctor"
> the responsibility of forming the rural blacks
> . . . into "African" legions, but like Gabriel,
> he failed because his rebellion was urban-based
> . . . Only Nat Turner who charged his plan with
> supernatural signs and sacred music, poetic lan-
> guage that inspired action, was able to transcend
> the worlds of plantation and the city. Only
> Turner led a sustained rebellion.[24]

In many parts of Africa in the so-called

Independent Churches movement, the Blacks would call

the New Testament the White man's religion and the Old

Testament the Bible of the Black man's salvation. The

message of the western missionaries was turned upside

down in order to make sense to the natives who had come

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to the alarming conclusion that the White man did not
practice at all what he preached.

Similarly in the United States since the period
of slavery there always was a natural identification
with the Old Testament which became increasingly mani-
fest after the turn of the century. Strongly identifying
with the "lost sheep", the "lost tribes" became a recurrent
theme. Moses had led the Israelites out of the house
of Egypt which stood for present Black slavery and White
oppression. A free improvising use of biblical themes
by adapting them to harsh daily life experiences became
a new form of expressing amongst people for whom all
regular avenues were blocked off. Total and deliberate
exclusion from the socio-political order meant double
alienation from the White man's order and from the White
man's church. So the oppressed took refuge in what
Howard Brotz calls "Judaistic idiosyncracy"--a strong
belief in being God's chosen people. They were the true
Israelites who had been forcefully removed from their
homeland: Ethiopia.

e)   Forerunners

The most obscure and earliest forerunners of the
Black Muslims were the Black Jews whose revitalization
efforts of their imagined past (Black Jewish identity)

is most pertinent here to our theme of group projection towards an idealized past. Already in the 19th century the Blacks had been looking up at the Jewish community because of its economic achievements (as pointed out by A. Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, Ann Arbor, 1963. Compare Lenski, The Religious Factor. A Sociologist's Inquiry, page 36, on the strong communal bond amongst Jewish people.) According to Booker T. Washington, the Jews were as oppressed as the Negroes, but could draw upon a rich cultural uniqueness because they were by collective birthright the chosen people who consequently had faith in themselves.

> Unless the Negro learns more and more to imitate the Jew in these matters, to have faith in him-self, he cannot expect to have any high degree of success.[25]

The Blacks discovered they were rejected by the Jews who did not want to convert Blacks at all. So the Blacks started enacting their own Jewish conversion by reweaving their web of identity and by creating and recreating a new Jewish eschatology in which a reversal of roles took place. The White Jews were now only the pretenders to the throne of David. The Blacks were the true inheritors. Howard Brotz has termed this an "explosive sense of the past". (Phylon, xiii, 1952, pp. 324-325.)

The Black Jews became inspired by Black nationalism

and Jewish Zionism which made them articulate their

racial pride.

> Like their Jewish counterparts, most American
> Negroes would watch with eager interest the
> building of a free Zionist state in Africa.
> They could be counted upon for generous finan-
> cial support and enthusiastic moral encouragement.
> But only a few would be ready to undertake the
> hard and thankless pioneer work needed to create
> a Black Israel in the African jungle.[26]

As analysed in detail by Deanne Shapiro,[27] the

small movements of Black Judaism in the late 19th and

early 20th century should be seen as a desperate response

to the high level of urban anomie. (Compare Sundkler)

In 1899, the Moorish Zionist temple was started

in Harlem by a southern migrant evangelist who claimed

in brief: . We who are Black worship Christ; Christ was

a Jew; so we are Black Jews. Extensive symbols were

introduced to underline the goal. The set-up was a

total community with group homes and shops and all

marital ties foresworn. The cult did not last long.

The identification with Jewish tradition was shallow,

and the general orientation was basically Christian.

After some schisms and reorganizations, a new

cult was formed in the 1920's called Betl B'nai Abraham:

Blacks were now said to be Hebrews by virtue of being

true Africans. "Negroes" do not exist; they are only

an artificial by-product of White civilization. Again

this is the Western European centered perspective on

history, in reverse. The leader detected--or mostly
invented--Hebrew cultural elements in Africa. Black
Jews were supposed to have originated in Nigeria, or
Carthage, or from the Sinai, or in Sudan.

The Betl B'nai Abraham managed to sell some
stocks on the market in order to build up trade with
West Africa--not very successfully. Members wore turbans
and sang old Garveyism songs. Special classes were held
in Hebrew, Arabic, mathematics and mechanics. However,
too many schisms broke up the cult in 1930. It appears
that by then Black Judaism had exhausted the theme of
Black cultural nationalism it had been obsessed with
for so long.

Another small sect, the Ethiopian Hebrews, claimed
to have access to the lost heritage of the African past
and proved themselves to be direct descendants from
Ethiopian Jews, or maybe from a Jewish sect in Mada-
gascar . . . or from Solomon and his queen Sheba . . .
Shapiro concludes in her article that all these American
Jewish cults use the Hebrew tradition as both·a mystique
and rational theology. On the believing individuals this
has an emancipatory impact.

This kind of deliberate use of a suitable past
was attempted in a situation of deep frustration and
despair. So history, culture and religion had to be
invented again by the group to escape from the present

stigmatized status of being Black. As surveyed by
G. E. Simpson (<u>Black Religion in the New World</u>) the wide
variety of Black cults and sects cannot be done justice
here. A dominant characteristic seems the search for
community amongst Blacks, because the White system was
totally exclusive. The sects crystallized around a
charismatic leader who may have had access to some
special healing and magical practices. Most services
were rather restrained. There was not much extasis
or trance-inspired behavior. Often there were some
educational group programs forming part of the cult's
organization.

In the well-known cult of Father Divine,[28] total
submission to the charismatic leader was a prime pre-
requisite. Father Divine claimed to take care of every-
thing for everybody. As a matter of fact, he just about
did so andtthis was his major appeal and strength: he
preordained complete regulation of the individual angel's
life, and provided all faithful members in a rather this-
worldly manner with basic needs like food, shelter and
counselling for some form of employment. The strict
group life-style was puritanical with many food taboos
and total abstention. What was somewhat unusual in this
charismatic leader: he had an acute sense for small
business and combined this practical insight with strong

opposition to any form of discrimination in general.
Even more, he was supportive of civil rights, and al-
though he preached "buy Black", he did not reject White
society and the goal of assimilation.[29]   Burkett says
that it is very important to underline that both Divine's
Peace mission and the Black Muslims claim Garvey as their
spiritual predecessor. However, the religious reweaving
of the web was done in a very different manner.   Father
Divine's "kingdoms" were not of this world. His deliberate
break with Afro-African culture--both secular and religious
--made the appeal of the cult limited. The Nation of
Islam was much more of this world. Yet by imposing the
revitalized Black religion of Islam--or created for the
situational needs of the Blacks in the ghettoes of the
United States--Muhammad perhaps made his movement too
exclusive.

Cults, sects, even some movements all based on
apocalyptic visions and prophetic revelations had been
mushrooming amongst America's Blacks since the turn of
the century, especially since World War I, and coinciding
with the traumatic northward urban migration, the post-
war depression and disillusionment amongst the Negroes.
Many Blacks had taken part in America's war effort
abroad in order to witness, upon their return to what
they thought would be an improved condition at home,

massive riots breaking out in their home cities. This
form of White aggression kept spreading on a scale not
witnessed before. The Ku Klux Klan rose out of its
ashes again and mob lynching was the order of the day.
This rather recent period in American history may not
be as well known as it should. Depression is most
commonly thought of as hitting hard all Americans in
the 1930's, but not so much as starting right after
World War I and as a predominantly White backlash against
all Blacks, both in the South and North. These were the
years that apocalyptic stirrings amongst the Blacks
turned from sporadic into epidemic.

Marcus Garvey, the most impressive leader of all,
was directing his mass movement at the same time as Noble
Drew Ali was operating his Temples on a smaller scale
but along similar lines of philosophy. Drew Ali thought
of Garvey as just a forerunner of himself, as a John the
Baptist. In Draper's interpretation, Drew's emigration-
ism was purely psychological and reassuring the followers
just to wait for the clearly defined signs of theffinal
cataclysm: a comet or a star within a crescent moon.
Then all Europeans would be destroyed instantaneously
and the Earth would be restored to its old glory, but for
Blacks only.

Noble Drew Ali started the Moorish Science Temples

in Newark, New Jersey, in 1913. He was an ideal-typical
obscure prophet-leader who rose to great glory in his own
movement. His real name had been Timothy Drew. At first,
almost illiterate himself, he was peddling middle-eastern
silks, medicines and food stuff as a door-to-door travel-
ling and preaching salesman in the Black ghettoes. He
wanted to try out on his customers some of the mysterious
ideas which were cyrstallizing in his fertilemmind.

Wallace D. Fard, known under a variety of names
and spellings operated at first in Detroit as an initiated
member of a Moorish Temple there, fifteen years after Noble
Drew Ali had started. Then later he initiated his own
movement in Chicago. He was an itinerant laborer, son
of a Baptist preacher, who had been wandering from the
deep South into the North, attracted by the wonderous
tales about the big cities and their rumored bountiful
employment. He ended up unemployed himself most of the
time in the late '20s and early '30s. Then, after a brief
span as a Baptist minister himself, he was put in jail
for quite a few years (1941-46), feeling rejected in the
North, especially in Detroit where he never was put to
work in the car factories he had come for.

Timothy Drew had not been a particularly well-
educated man, but he showed a profound perception of the
predicament the Blacks were in. He improvised a mystical

and religious framework based on rather disparate elements
taken from a variety of sources--Koran, Bible, Jehovah's
Witnesses movements--but falling in place rather well in
the eye of the beholder. His own "Koran", a small
pamphlet, proved to the readers and instant believers
that they were not so-called American Negroes. They were
authentic Asiatics and/or Moorish. Many followers were
believers first, then became readers in the process.
Drew Ali actually taught his own followers to read and
write while preaching to them. It was a most effective
grass-roots educational program geared in manifold ways
towards the needs of the people themselves. Their col-
lective origin was to be identified with a mystic Moorish
African past or with the Moabites--a tribe mentioned in
the Old Testament. Timothy Drew himself had a blind
belief in name changing which to him worked miracles
for the bearer of the new name. Draper calls it a
thaumaturgical name changing game (compare Bryan Wilson
on his category of "thaumaturgical" millenarian movements)
which he and his followers took seriously as instant
salvation. Arabic prefixes like "el" or "bey" were
added to existing names and all subordinate assistants
were automatically elevated to Sheiks.

> Drew had no training in the social sciences but
> he did have the perception to realize that there
> is a very definitive relationship between what
> you are called and how you are perceived, and

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between how you are perceived and how you are treated. "It is in the name," he concluded, "the black man's problems began with accepting a pejorative nomenclature."[30]

Fard used a variety of sources to season his messages about the wickedness of the White man and the glorious but lost past of the Aso-African Blacks. Apocalyptic captions taken from Jehovah's Witnesses materials, long appropriately chosen quotations from van Loon's well-known survey Story of Mankind and from James Breasted's work on ancient history, some ideas from the Free Masonry, Baptist fundamentalist and what not--these were blended together into one new impressive history of the superior Black race. During this process of conversion and positive consciousness raising, some of the eager participants were at the same time taught to read--and think--for themselves. Truly emancipatory dimensions--both on individual and group level--were present.

Elijah Poole's career as a prophet-leader started off in a similar way, wandering from south to north, looking for employment, but mostly searching for a universal meaning in the midst of daily Black misery-- also ending up in jail for quite a few years. However, Elijah managed to rise faster and to greater glory be- cause of his creative and consistant leadership.

Compared to the later movement of the Black Muslims,

the earlier cult of the Black Moors was more incoherent,
fissiparous, e. g. mysteriously guaranteed contracts
written on paper were given to the initiated only,
promising them a political status. Was this a future in
their home country? Drew Ali mixed his own version of
Islam with what Essien-Udom describes as a racial nation-
alistic theology. His concept of separation was based
on racial purity. Udom defines Noble Drew Ali's cult
as mostly religious and Garvey's movement as more
secular. In Garvey's more economic-political perspective,
Africa as a continent of group identification became a
secular religion itself.

Lincoln, too, juxtaposes the two movements as
religious nationalism versus political nationalism.

> . . . Garvey declared, "We do not want all Negroes
> to settle in Africa. Some are no good here,
> and naturally will not be good there." His real
> intentions seem to have been not unlike those
> of modern zionism. Negroes would come from all
> over the world, bringing with them a wealth of
> technical and professional skills. Within a
> few years, he hopes the new state would gain
> such prestige and power that it would be recog-
> nized as a symbol of accomplishment and protection
> for Negroes all over the world. For Garvey was
> convinced, as is Elijah Muhammad, that the Negro
> can hope for neither peace nor dignity while he
> lives in a white society. Like Muhammad, he
> saw only one solution: the establishment of a
> separate nation "so strong as to strike fear"
> into the hearts of the oppressors white race.
> . . . Presumably his black state when it became
> sufficiently powerful, would begin a revolution
> that would free all Africa, for he spoke mysteriously
> of the hour of "Africa's Redemption": It is in the
> wind. It is coming. One day, like a storm, it
> will be here.[31]

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Drew Ali's enterprise was on the microlevel comparable to Garveyism. As far as the starting of Black business is concerned, Noble Drew Ali only made some money on the side line selling so-called "Moorish" herbs, spices and ailments and making available to members fezzes and badges.

In his later article, in retrospective, Lincoln summarized the Moorish Science movement as:

> A melange of black nationalism and Christian revivalism with an awkward, confused patina of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. It was not Islam, but significantly, it was the recovery of the awareness of Islam.[32]

Garvey built up a whole complex structure of Black enterprises, including the notorious Black Star Shipping Line which ended in a spectacular failure: a financial catastrophe of grandiose proportions all of which has been over and again blamed on Garvey as a "poor organizer", "unrealistic dreamer", and "dangerous fantast". Garvey did lack practical business acumen. Consequently, during the process of getting some Black businesses off the ground, he became the victim of some of his own shadowy followers.[33] (See the following discussion of Garvey as a leader and visionary.)

The parallel is striking between the descriptions given by Draper, Essien-Udom and Lincoln of these fore-runner movements in the ghettoes of the United States, and the analysis of how millenarian movements start in

the colonial context both in the past and the present
by Worsley, Adas, Barnett, Wipper, Barrett, and Sundkler.

Marcus Garvey came from Jamaica where he was
involved in organizing trade unionism until this was
suppressed. In London, he acquired his deep interest
in Pan-Africanism. Then he went to New York where he
started the Universal Negro Improvement Association.
Cronon's study Black Moses (University of Wisconsin Press,
1955, reprinted with new preface in 1969) is the best
available historical analysis of this great leader and
the mass movement he almost single-handedly got off the
ground and managed (1917-1927). However, Cronon's his-
torically correct interpretation--scholarly and well
researched--may have been written from a somewhat con-
descending and patronizing white American middle-class
perspective. Cronon did not have access to the documents
dealing with Garvey's later career in Jamaica where, in
the 1930's, he initiated an impressive and innovative
social and educational program. Cronon only covers
Garvey's activities in the United States during the first
decade after the First World War. As critically summarized:

> Cronon did little more than maintain that Garvey
> was a black nationalist, struggling for social
> justice, racial dignity and racial self-respect.[34]

Theodore G. Vincent's later study, Black Power and
the Garvey Movement, shows Garvey to be a most efficient

mass movement organizer with an extremely fertile mind
and an analytical insight into racial conditions. Vincent's
book is not as well written and organized as Cronon's
academic treatment of the same movement. However, he
gives a more balanced and better documented account of
the political and ideological struggles the Universal
Negro Improvement Association had to face.

> Vincent viewed Garveyism as competing not only
> with the middle class centrism of DuBois, the
> NAACP and the Urban League, but also with the
> black activists and intellectuals, communists,
> nationalists and socialists, some of them more
> radical than Garvey himself. Vincent aimed to
> analyse Garvey and his movement in its appro-
> priate context.35

Garvey's movement has been persistently under-
estimated in its innovative and radicalizing impact. His
religious dimensions present throughout his activities may
have been misinterpreted as reactionary or escapist fan-
tasies. His approach towards the persistent Negro problem
of oppression and alienation, and the organizational
techniques and communicating skills he used, were indeed
modern and radical, far ahead of his time. This was the
main reason, I think, that he failed to accomplish--first
in the United States and later in Jamaica--what he had on
his agenda. Combining more recent interpretations of
Garveyism and supplying contemporary concepts of social
change, social movement, and religion as a motivating
force, I would suggest that Garvey's main goal was to

raise consciousness amongst the Blacks. He also sought
to raise the generally low level of their education so
that they would finally acquire the proper schooling for
both decent and advanced employment in the White man's
society.[36] He was a Community Development facilitator
with increasing emphasis on adult education and group
awareness--even before these specific terms and concepts
were known. He practiced conscientization long before
Freire advocated the same thing. He was by no means a
fool or religious nationalistic fanatic as he was far
too often depicted, both by the White and Negro middle-
class press of his own time. His organizational activities
in the United States should be compared to his community
development efforts in the 1930's in Jamaica--where he
returned after having been released from jail and extra-
dited by the United States because of the mail defrauding
incident.

> During this second Jamaican phase of Garveyism,
> however, Garvey did not succeed in colonial
> politics, not because he failed to strike a
> responsive chord with the Jamaican populace, but
> because the existing political situation did not
> allow those whose thinking had begun to be eman-
> cipated by Garveyism to express themselves. He
> did not succeed at trade organization, but because
> the powerful capitalist classes were not prepared
> to allow a legal trade union movement . . . He
> was a pioneer of organized political life, pro-
> viding education for his followers through co-
> herent party programmes.[37]

Garvey was the most complex forerunner of the Black

Muslim movement. He had a permanent impact on the Nation of the Islam: quite a few of the latter had been active Garveyites before. Moreover, some were ex-followers of Noble Drew Ali. This was often publicly acknowledged by Muhammad and Malcolm. The Black Muslims were a continuation, another powerful variation on the same themes of Black nationalism and religious and cultural identification with a lost past that had to be resurrected or (if erased) recreated from scratch.[38]

Garvey used far more colorful and loud decor in his mass meetings, such as parades, rituals, music, badges, banners, military and social-educational sub-units and brigades which all carried fancy medieval English names and titles. Compared to his splendid and highly diversified organization, the Nation of the Islam looked pale and bare. But the principles applied in both social movements were deeply related. Also both ventured into small black enterprises like financing and starting grocery stores, small restaurants, hotels, barber shops, laundries and farms. In these fields on a smaller scale, the Black Muslims proved more successful.

Even Garvey's strong opponent, Dubois, gives him in mild retrospective considerable credit for his achievements:

> It was a grandiose and bombastic scheme, utterly impractical as a whole, but it was sincere and

had some practical features; and Garvey proved
not only an astonishing popular leader, but a
master of propaganda.[39]

Roi Ottley, who was far more unsympathetic in general

towards the movement, had to concede the following praise to

his fierce opponent:

> Concretely, the movement set in motion what was
> to be the most compelling force in Negro life--
> race and color consciousness, which is today
> that ephemeral thing that inspires "race loyalty",
> the banner to which Negroes rally; the chain that
> binds them together. It has propelled many a
> political and social movement and stimulated
> racial internationalism . . . It accounts for
> much constructive belligerency today.[40]

f) The Millenarian Context

In the context of this thesis, I like to emphasize

the apocalyptic spirit manifest in American history and

society since the early beginnings of the first colonies.

To return to some of Barkum's preconditions necessary for

the rise of millenarianism; whenever a region or whole

country can be defined as a "burned over district", mil-

lenialism is most likely to break out again and again,

continuing the same millenarian spirit. American history

is rich in these examples: The Latter Day Saints had

moved all the way out to the West to found their own

Theocracy, which later continuously adjusted to society's

increasing pressures, and then developed into another

denomination called The Mormons. By the time Garvey

appeared on the American scene, the frontier as such was closed. Of course, Garvey never harbored a vision of a Utopia in the American West, but in Africa. Moreover, the last hopes to ever get Black communities off the ground in Oklahoma had been dashed by the time the First World War broke out. At that time, the White settlements had successfully encircled all-Black communities making dependent enclaves out of what was meant to become an independent province (or nation?) of some sort.

One could safely say in appropriately apocalyptical terms, that Garvey's arrival on the American stage happened during the fullness of time: an old period concluded, a new one initiated; the great Negro leader DuBois was dead, the migration from the south was just getting into full swing and on the international scene, the Russian Revolution started unfolding a new panorama on how changes could be brought about drastically and imminently. A bit later during the formation of the League of Nations, a long debate started on a brand new topic: rights for oppressed minorities within existing nations based on majority rule. It was not surprising then that a man like Garvey at this point in time came up with a compact package outlining human rights and advocating--in strong terms--full dignity and citizenship for all Blacks wherever in the world, especially in the United States.

That we believe in the supreme authority of our
race in all things racial; that all things are
created and given to man as a common possession;
that there should be an equitable distribution
and apportionment of all such things, and in
consideration of the fact that as a race we are
now deprived of those things that are morally
and legally ours, we believe it right that all
such things should be acquired and held by what-
soever means possible. That we believe the Negro
like any other race should be governed by the
ethics of civilization and therefore, should
not be deprived of any of those rights or priv-
ileges common to other human beings.
     We declare that Negroes, wheresoever they
form a community among themselves, should be
given the right to elect their own representatives
to represent them in legislatures, courts of law,
or such institutions that may exercise control
over their particular community.
     We believe in the freedom of Africa for the
Negro people of the world and by the principle
of Europe for the Europeans and Asia for Asiatics;
we also demand Africa for the Africans at home
and abroad.
     We believe in the inherent right of the
Negro to possess himself of Africa . . . [41]

The essence of Garveyism is most pertinent to our

understanding of the Black Muslim movement: reweaving

of the web of collective identity which had been badly

damaged, almost destroyed by centuries of total oppression,

slavery and second-class citizenship. Garvey was often

described as a colorful charlatan because his intensive

search for a reassuring, revitalized and deeply satisfying

Black identity was misinterpreted as naive. Basically,

Marcus Garvey had cut out for himself a most demanding

task: to design an acceptable form of Black civil religion.

This dimension of Garveyism was not consistently brought

out until the recent study <u>Garveyism as a Religious</u>

<u>Movement</u> by Randall K. Burkett.

> He unabashedly set out to create a new/old mythos,
> a coherent interpretation of reality which, while
> clearly building on elements long established in
> the tradition of the Black church, yet moved to
> a new level of self-consciousness and consciousness-
> formation. He boldly posited a coherent theological
> system complete with a doctrine of God--a Black God,
> the express designation of which was to shatter old
> patterns of belief and to demonstrate the fact that
> all men, all Black men, are created in his image.
> The panopy of symbols, the theology the pomp and
> ceremony, the use of music as well as the adumbration
> and explication to the theme of nationhood (from the
> creation of dukes and knights, the issuing of pass-
> ports and establishment of a civil service, to
> creation of a flag, motto and national anthem)
> were advanced to demonstrate to all men and women
> of African descent their essential oneness in the
> struggle for survival in a hostile, White domin-
> ated world . . . . The resurrection to come was of
> the Negro people as a whole: that which was to
> be redeemed was Africa, the promised land.[42]

Similarly the essence of the Black Muslim movement

was the reweaving of the web, or rather the creating from

scratch, of the collective identity for the despised Black

by Elijah Muhammad.

> Among his more commonly recognized achievements
> were his enormous contributions to the dignifi-
> cation and self-esteem of the black undercaste
> in America. But beyond that, and perhaps in-
> definitively more far-reaching in its impli-
> cations is the fact that it was Elijah Muhammad
> who must be credited with the serious re-intro-
> duction of Islam to America in modern times,
> giving it peculiar mystique, the appeal and
> respect without which it could not have pene-
> trated the American bastion of Judeo-Christian
> democracy.[43]

Compared to Noble Drew Ali, Elijah Muhammad

accomplished the most profound and professional job:
bringing Islam back as a religion in a deeply revitalized
form. Noble Drew Ali put together a peculiar blend of
fundamentalist longing for personal salvation and some
kind of redemptionist nationalism for the whole Black
group, framed in an appealing quasi-Islamic setting.
Verses from The Koran were used to convey the revivalist
message of Black frustrations and hopes.

> Drew Ali provided American Negroes with a new
> national origin that made them part of a far-
> flung Moorish Nation that had somehow made its
> way to North America. This new nationality was
> the key to Drew Ali's teachings and influence.
> "Before you can have a God," he preached, "you
> must have a nationality."[44]

As Elijah Muhammad said himself, he was going to
"cut the cloak to fit the cloth". This is an unusually
self-conscious statement by a charismatic leader recalling
his unique task, his true calling in Weberian terms to
revitalize the religious awareness and identification for
the whole group. Eric Lincoln states convincingly that
whatever is left of religious awareness never dies com-
pletely.

> Although the effort was made by those who en-
> slaved them to expurge every vestige of any pre-
> vious religious experience from mind and memory,
> there is an undeniable quality about religion
> that defies expunction. The memory of religion
> will be expurgated, a fact well attested by
> African "syncretism" . . . The memory of Islam,
> however tenuous, was never completely lost to
> the slave experience.[45]

Muhammad freely mixed elements taken from the
Bible and the Koran and used religious and secular myth-
ology as he saw fit. In a way he created his own supple-
ment to the Islamic ethic because how otherwise

> . . . does one portray the reality of Allah to
> a people whose total experience is washed in the
> pus of racial oppression: he cut the cloak in
> terms of the cloth available. Elijah Muhammad
> did not achieve orthodoxy for the Nation of
> Islam, but orthodoxy was not his goal. What
> he did achieve was a pronounced American aware-
> ness of Islam, its power and its potential[46]

Burkett applies Bellah's concept of civil religion
to Garvey and his movement crystallizing around Black
civil religion. He briefly rewords Bellah's thesis.

> . . . that (for the most part White) American's
> self-interpretation is a people chosen by God
> to be "light unto the nations"--as either exem-
> plar or savior of both--is not simply a mean-
> ingless or sacrilegious invocation of divine
> sanction for its own perceived interests. The
> civil religion "has its own seriousness and
> integrity"; indeed, at its best, it is a "power-
> ful motivating myth" predicated on a shared
> historical experience, and it possesses the
> capacity of calling the nation itself into
> being, and then into judgement, in the name
> of higher ideals to which it is dedicated.[47]

Elijah Muhammad introduced, and Malcolm X reinforced
a new motivating force to the Blacks who had been social-
ized systematically into believing and accepting that they
were underdogs and underachievers in the White man's
system of power and prestige. The revitalized "Islamic
Ethic" transformed outcasts into believers and achievers
with a strongly positive image of themselves both as

individuals and as a group. From a despised subculture
with little or no "conscience collective" and with a
long pre-history of repeated rejection, ongoing failure,
and increasing apathy, they suddenly became literally
reborn and completely transformed, proudly participating
in the Black Nation of the Islam. Imminently they acquired
status and prestige, even a modest level of well-being
because of some regular job, and deep involvement in
the local Temple's activities throughout the week. It
was an unusual form of full and rewarding citizenship
granted in the Black Nation, perhaps a surrogate type
of citizenship from an outsider's point of view. How-
ever, for the fervent believer, it was a truly emancipa-
tory change. It had immediate beneficial side-effects
for him, both in the realm of the sacred--by gaining
identity and status--and in the more practical field
of the profane--by becoming gainfully employed and
acquiring power and influence as a group.

FOOTNOTES

[1] No innovative approach has been added since
these early publications. Some dimensions were better
elaborated, specifically the historical and sociological
aspects of emigrationism by Theodore Draper in The Re-
discovery of Black Nationalism (New York: The Viking
Press, 1969). A breakthrough in understanding Black
nationalism in all its varieties in contemporary move-
ments is provided by Raymond L. Hall's incisive two
studies: Black Separatism in the United States (Hanover,
New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1978),
and Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and
Reason (New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1977).

[2] Eric Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the
Context of American Social History, mimeographed paper
given at a Symposium on Dimensions of Islam in North
America (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta,
Department of Religious Studies, May, 1980).

[3] Baumer, "20th Century Version of Apocalypse",
European Intellectual History Since Darwin and Marx,
ed. Warren Wagar (New York: Harper Torch.Books, 1966),
p. 114.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Also to be mentioned here is Huizinga's famous
forerunner, Johann Burckhardt and his Weltegeschichtliche
Betrachtungen: a most depressing cultural history.

[6] Yonina Talmon, "Pursuit of the Millennium: The
Relation Between Religion and Social Change," Archives
europeennes de sociologie, 3 (1962), pp. 125-148.

[7] Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism: The Rise of the
Black Muslims in the U. S. A. (Pelican Books England, 1966),
p. 99. Chapter "Rootlessness", pp. 91-98.

[8] Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation,"
American Sociological Review, 24 (December, 1959), pp.
783-791.

[9]Lincoln, op. cit. See also Eric Lincoln (ed.), The Black Experience in Religion (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1974). For the same aspect the following studies in this series should be of culture, religion and identity, although there is no analysis of Black religion as a millenarian movement. James H. Cone, A Black Theology of Liberation; Henry N. Mitchell, Black Preaching; Gayraud S. Wilmore, Black Religion and Black Radicalism; William Jones, Is God a White Racist?; Leonard E. Barrett, Soul-Force.

[10]Burkett, Garveyism as a Religious Movement, "Foreword" (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), p. xiv.

[11]Essien-Udom, op. cit., Chapter 2, "The Nationalist Tradition," pp. 31-67; and Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), Chapter 3, "Black Nationalism: The Minor Leagues: Religious Nationalism: The Moorish Science Temples, Political Nationalism: The Garvey Movement, Preparing the Way for Allah," pp. 50-66.

[12]Raymond L. Hall, Black Separatism in the United States, p. 107. Also compare The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1964), p. 377.

[13]"In Conversation with Paolo Freire," Development and Civilization, 51 (January - March, 1973).

[14]Paraphrased from Essien-Udom, op. cit., pp. 115-132; Hall, op. cit., pp. 97-104, Draper, op. cit., pp 69-96; and Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America, pp. 68-80. Essien-Udom emphasizes how Heaven and Earth are not to be taken in a transcendental meaning but as present and future concrete conditions flowing in a logical manner: Hell is present ghetto misery and Heaven is employment, respect, status, and good living soon. A Hopi prophesy of destruction of the earth because of so-called development by the Whites. See Suzanne Gordon, Black Mesa, The Angel of Death (New York: 1973).

[15]M. J. Herskovits, The New World Negro. Selected Papers in Afro-American Studies (Minerva Press, 1969).

[16]George Rawick, _From Sundown to Sunup. The Making of the Black Community_ (Westport, Connecticut: 1972).

[17]Ibid., p. 31.

[18]Ibid., p. 32

[19]Ibid., pp. 32-33.

[20]Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[21]"A Black Church: Ecstacy in a World of Trouble" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1970), pp. 175-211.

[22]Gerry Mullin, "Religion, Acculturation and the American Negro Rebellions: Gabriel's Insurrection," _American Slavery: The Question of Resistance_, Bracey Meier Rudwick (ed.) (Belmont, California: 1971), p. 176.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Booker T. Washington, "The Future of the American Negro," _Black Jews_, Howard Brotz (ed.), p. 8.

[26]David E. Cronon, _Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association_ (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955), p. 128.

[27]Deanne Shapiro "Double Damnation, Double Salvation: The Sources and Varieties of Black Judaism in the United States," (unpublished Master's Thesis, Columbia University), a summary of which is printed in _The Black Experience in Religion_, Eric C. Lincoln (ed.), pp. 253-274.

[28]William M. Kephart, _Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Lifestyles_ (New York: 1976), pp. 107-157.

[29]This made him an enemy in the eyes of Marcus

Garvey who expressed his anger at Father Divine on several
occasions. However, when Garveyism collapsed as a move-
ment, it was the Father Divine cult that bought the
printing presses from Garvey's defunct movement.

[30]Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the
Context of American Social History.

[31]Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America.

[32]Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the
Context of American Social History.

[33]This incident was blown out of proportion by
his fierce opponents: compare Cronon's version of the
ill reputed affair made into a real scandal to Theodore
Vincent and Burkett's more neutral interpretations of
the same incident.

[34]Vinston Williams, "Marcus Garvey and his Move-
ment" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of
Saskatchewan, 1974), p. 176.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Booker T. Washington had only advocated basic
and vocational training for Black people. This implied
adjustment to the society as controlled by the White
majority. Garvey went far beyond that limited accommo-
dating goal by claiming full human resources development
as a basic right for all Blacks in whatever society.
Naturally, such a wide ranging program was perceived
as a direct threat by the White "metropolis".

[37]Williams, op. cit., p. 176.

[38]An offshoot of Garveyism became the Ras Tafari
movement in Jamaica, starting in the 1930's and identifying
in a far more exotic manner with everything African, speci-
fically Ethiopian. The agent of redemption is not supposed
to be any modern form of organization nor any social-
political action: it is the Emperor Haile Selassi in
person who personifies the Messiah, and who will return
all his followers in the fullness of time to their home-
land. All Blacks are true Ethiopians by birthright and

the emperor is the invincible Lion of Judah. Compare
G. E. Simpson, "The Ras Tafari Movement in Jamaica in
its Millennial Aspect," <u>Millenarian Dreams in Action</u>,
S. Thrupp (ed.) (New York: Schocken Books, 1970);
Smith, Augier and Nettleford "Report on the Ras Tafari
Movement," <u>Black Experience in Religion</u>, Eric Lincoln
(ed.) (New York: 1974); G. E. Simpson, <u>Religious Cults
of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica and Haiti</u> (Revised
Edition, Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of
Puerto Rico, 1970); Frances Anne Crushley, "The Ras
Tafari Brethren: An Analysis of Political Developments
in a Black Millenarian Movement" (Master's thesis, Univer-
sity of Alberta, Political Science Department, 1971).

[39]Dubois, <u>Dusk of Dawn</u> (New York: Schocken Books,
1944), p. 277.

[40]Ottley, <u>New World A-Coming</u>, p. 81.

[41]"Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples
of the World," <u>Marcus Garvey</u>, ed. E. D. Cronon (Englewood
Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1973), pp. 30-37. In an
elaborate preamble to this declaration, complaints were
voiced in a systematic manner, e. g.: "We complain that
(1) nowhere in the world, with few exceptions, are black
men accorded equal treatment with white men, although in
the same situation and circumstances, but, on the contrary,
are discriminated against and denied the common rights
due to human beings for no other reason than their race
and color. We are not willingly accepted as guests in
the public hotels and inns of the world for no other reason
than our race and color. In certain parts of the United
States of America our race is denied the right of public
trial . . . That European nations have parcelled out
among themselves and taken possession of nearly all of
the continent of Africa, and the natives are compelled
to surrender their lands to aliens and are treated in
most instances like slaves . . . On the public conveyances
and common carriers in the Southern portion of the United
States we are jim-crowed . . . Our children are forced to
attend inferior separate schools for shorter terms than
white children and the public school funds are unequally
divided between the white and colored schools . . . We
are discriminated against and denied an equal chance to
earn wages . . . .

[42]Randall K. Burkett, <u>Garveyism as a Religious
Movement</u> (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), pp. 6-8.

[43]Eric Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History, p. 13.

[44]Theodore Draper, op. cit., p. 71.

[45]Eric Lincoln, The American Muslim Mission in the Context of American Social History, p. 10.

[46]Ibid., p. 17.

[47]Burkett, op. cit., p. 7.

CHAPTER V

EPILOGUE

For CD philosophy and practice millenarian

movements form a rich field to investigate social change

as a cross-cultural phenomenon, generated by mobilization

of the societal group's own but revitalized resources, to

focus on innovation as a collective process under charis-

matic leadership and on unorthodox manners of modernization

designed by the group itself while in acute and threatening

confrontation with rapid changes.

My conclusions are--that there is potentially room and

cause for the phenomenon of millenarianism to rise in all

types of societies, in all possible periods, past, present

and future. Millenarian consciousness is part and parcel

of an ongoing process of reweaving of the social web.

Religion or whatever symbolic framework that holds a

society, cult, sect or movement together is not solely

a reaction to a sudden threat from outside, a disaster,

perceived deprivation, abrupt loss of status or contin-

uously experienced status discrepancy. Rather, any group

is continuously and collectively engaged in maintaining

and adding, modifying and revitalizing its own framework.

This was most convincingly brought out by Hans Mol

in his analysis Identity and the Sacred: Sketch for a New

Social-Scientific Theory of Religion. This study should

become a fundamental textbook for students and prac-
titioners in the field of CD. It could generate inno-
vative approaches towards the ambiguous and evasive
concept of "community" and when applied in conjunction
with recent ground-breaking analytical studies of mil-
lenarian movements, it could open up new vistas on
societal groups "religiously" engaged in rebuilding
their niche of belonging and projecting their shared
dreams into reality. This dynamic aspect of millenarian
movements may throw more light on social mobility and
especially on the whole concept of class consciousness,
on the so-called "culture of poverty". It may show how
disenfranchised societal groups break out of stagnation
on their own initiative.

The most impressive outcome of a millenarian
movement may be that the group establishes or regains
its own identity by rescuing it from the shambles caused
by the onslaught on its own socio-cultural base. During
this revitalization process, it manages to rework its
own positive self image, transcending in strength, co-
herence and intensity what it had been before. After
the millenarian fervor has reworked itself out in concrete
results such as group unity, collective pride about the
past and goals for the future, a new sort of work ethos
becomes norm. Extravagant hopes and exotic projections

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now take on a new form of persistent motivation. Instead
of a frantic search for an Exodus to far-away fatherland
--a divinely ordained homeland--the same people are now
working towards full acceptance and maybe even complete
assimilation into the societal structure which they had
been so fiercely attacking before because of being ex-
cluded from it so systematically.

The Black Muslims seem to illustrate this cycle
of development as a movement in an almost ideal-typical
manner. Not so the Ras Tafaris who will be analysed
more specifically in this chapter to show a very dif-
ferent outcome of a contemporary counter-culture and
protest movement.

The study of millenarian movements should become
mandatory for CD students and practitioners. It has a
sobering impact on the observer of such movements because
it affects basic CD principles. Acquiring a historical
and cross-cultural perspective is crucial in order to
perceive the essence of all millenarian movements: the
collective struggle to come to terms with a multiplicity
of changes imposing themselves on the societal group
which in order to survive at all has to rescue and re-
inforce its own identity. This revitalization process
has been underestimated or even completely ignored in
CD. Terms such as "grass roots" and "where the group

is at" are used too often in a shallow way implying that
the CD facilitator will compromise with some of the goals
professed by the group. The assumption is always that
he is professionally working with indigenous leaders on
somewhat their own terms.

In general, the CD facilitator may have been
trained to look for a certain highly recommended end
stage of development, fully acceptable to the mainstream
of society, based on so-called empirical facts and
western social-scientific principles. CD then is con-
ceived of too easily as a sequence of procedures the
group should ideally go through because another main-
stream group "has made it" that way.

Crucial to understanding millenialism is the
fact that the group identification process after extreme
oppression is sometimes the only way out of socio-
cultural and political malaise. The Black Muslims
epitomize in a dramatic manner--even though a compara-
tively small segment of total Black population--that the
religiously revitalized group identity is a first neces-
sary phase in order to get the whole group out of stag-
nation and oppression. In the longer run, the sect may
use its rehabilitated--or completely recreated identity
to move up on the societal ladder. The sect may become
a pressure group to acquire social mobility. The earlier

call for complete separation and full Black independence
and claims that five American states be handed over
immediately disappear from the list of group priorities.
The millenarian spirit has transformed itself into a
counter group ideology. Utopia has disappeared from
the group's horizon. Instead, rather immediate concrete
gains are preferred in order to get a foothold in the
total societal system. This millenarian movement then
may have run its full course.[1]

To the more traditionalist-oriented student or
practitioner of CD, the millenarian perspective may come
across as severely unorthodox and deeply perplexing.
The optimistic Biddle and Biddle introduction to com-
munity organization depicts CD as a smooth and slow,
ideally controlled process of group development, self-
help and advancement by a series of small sessions, then
increasingly bigger yet orderly and rational meetings.
This is a logical sequence of western-type democratic
procedures which will guarantee progress for all in-
volved. A millenarian movement instead appears like a
noisy, disjointed and grotesque caricature of rational
and normal CD.

Yet Biddle and Biddle and countless other North
American social scientists may be viewed as true be-
lievers themselves in an optimistic philosophy of progress

which has itself become a religion. There is a stubborn
tendency to assume that CD implies one ideal-typical
western styled sequence of development, whereas develop-
ment is mostly cross-cultural by nature, and it should
bring about mutual exchange.

The analysis of millenarian movements would show
how frequently social change is a cross-cultural phenomenon.
It may also throw some new light on the phenomenon of
ethnicity: namely that projecting towards a revitalized
past is a most natural reaction for any societal group
which feels lost or cornered, and not fully accepted.
Moreover, when finally accepted, there may be feelings
of guilt, ambiguity and insecurity about having compromised
or lost one's roots. Third-generation individuals may
start all over again a frantic search for ethnic identity.
Isajew in his studies of ethnicity in the "Canadian
mosaic", shows how this persistent search for a lost
identity is an ongoing concern, a deeply felt need
amongst later generation ethnic Canadians.

Frustration arises from coping emotionally with
sudden progress made in the new world. After having
mastered in a short time span a technologically advanced
life style and the most sophisticated forms of moderni-
zation, all these achievements--even the assimilation
itself--fail to provide emotional satisfaction. A

symbolic universe that anchors the individual's life in the new world is seriously lacking. What appeared so puzzling at first to North American sociologists--this stubborn return to old roots left behind in the country of origin--becomes deeply meaningful when viewed from the millenarian perspective. The search for the old lost identity may be seen as a form of nativistic movement. The cultural shock came more as an afterthought to the second and third generations of almost fully assimilated but still hyphenated Canadians. A strictly functionalist explanation may obscure the conflict dimension generated by the dynamics of acculturation.

For CD facilitators it is of crucial importance to be knowledgeable about the impact of a millenarian movement. The phenomenon conveys an unmistakable emergency message: the survival of a societal group is at stake. An alternative basic survival system is being improvised during the crisis by the members and put to work at the same time. Intensive creativity of the group in despair becomes manifest. It is community development on its own feverishly improvised terms. No barging in at this stage of the game is advisable.

The rise of any millenarian movement is symptomatic of the degree of oppressiveness imposed by the supraordinate group. The millenarian movement starts like a fever in Crane Brinton's analogy of revolution:

it has to work itself out. It is a barometer of how deeply frustrated and resentful the oppressed and ex- cluded feel.

On the Canadian scene the Sachs Harbor report as told analytically by Peter Usher in The Bankslanders comes to mind. Could a millenarian movement have broken out over there, amongst this innovative group of migrants to Canada's North? They were perhaps not uprooted in the normal meaning of the word, yet they did have to migrate to a completely new territory, where they became extremely successful settlers and achievers. Yet they also had to carry out a hopeless fight for fair treatment and socio- cultural equality against the mismanagement or wilful neglect by the metropolis, that is, the government and big business bureaucracies with their deceitful agents of political and economic control.

> A colonial situation is created, so to speak,
> the very instant a white man . . . appears in
> the midst of a tribe . . . as long as he is
> thought to be rich and powerful . . . (and
> has) in his most secret self a feeling of
> his own superiority.[2]

> Separately sure of their purposes and jointly
> convinced of their rightness, the three southern
> institutions began in the early 1920's to draw
> the Canadian Eastern Arctic into their compass.
> Generally speaking, missionaries, policemen and
> traders never 'discovered' Eskimos. By 1920,
> there were none left to discover. What they
> did, rather, was discover Eskimos who were 'in
> need' of Christianity, trading posts and en-
> forcement of Canadian law.[3]

This case thus seems to epitomize in a nutshell what "underdevelopment" within the Canadian context can bring about. It shows how pressure exerted by the centralized power structure on the local and originally self-contained native community can frustrate the inhabitants to such a degree that they deteriorate into a state of dependency.

> There has been a continuity in the nature of changes the Eskimos have undergone, a continuity best explained in terms of incorporation: whereas missionaries and traders desired moral and economic incorporation, the newer institutions aim at incorporation that is broadly ideological (through education), national (through law and medicine), and finally political (through local government. . . . Gradually, even the Canadian Eastern Arctic, which for a long time was regarded as the last preserve of Eskimo life in anything like its traditional form, is in danger of becoming yet another empty suburb of the North American metropolis.[4]

One question remains: was it bureaucratically and mechanically applied carelessness, or was it subtle but systematic imperialism? Was "underdevelopment" planned to isolate a group of Inuit people even more from the mainstream of Canadian society than they were already, so as to quickly gain control over the resources at stake in that remote part of Canada's North?[5]

In Prophecy and Protest. Social Movements in 20th Century Canada, by Clark, Grayson and Grayson, an attempt is made toward innovative approach to Canadian history by looking at social change and social movements.

However, no movements amongst Canada's natives are included. It is a study of white man's history since his arrival on the Canadian scene. This leaves out the original inhabitants altogether. Harold Cardinal's <u>Rebirth of Canada's Indians</u> focusses on this missing perspective. By looking at the future of the Indians as a people, he brings out the social-movement dynamics and the potentially millenarian resources amongst the Indians who were slowly but systematically cut off from their own culture, native land and ancestor religion.

Examples of what the white metropolis means by development are too many to be discussed here. One striking case in Alberta comes to mind epitomizing what the power of technological development does to the powerless. The Big Horn Dam brought an artificially generated lake, located exactly where the local Indian tribe used to own their sacred grounds . . . Other provinces have brought about and are still planning similar technological developments destroying fast and ruthlessly whatever little is left of the native culture and land which originally formed an intricately balanced system of its own.

The rise and increasing militancy of Quebecois nationalism could be viewed as a belated revolt against centuries of metropolis manipulations. In almost all

forms of nationalism there are millenarian overtones.[6]
The CD facilitator should learn how to read the signs
on the wall and to decipher the millenarian symptoms.
He should never react in bewilderment or outrage, or
even worse with ridicule or complete disregard. He
should cooperate in conjunction with authentic progress
made by the group in crisis. The most salient charac-
teristic of any millenarian movement is that its emer-
gency alarm system has been put to work, but not in
accord with the goals and values of the group in power.
In the colonial context, the government administrators
frequently do not get the message. The alarm signals
are over and again misinterpreted or even worse, ignored.
Their belated interference was meant to turn the 'tide
by force. But no force can bring a millenarian movement
to a halt. It will go underground, disappear here and
rise again over there, out of its own ashes, sooner or
later. Often repression increases millenarian fervor.
Jailing the leaders will add to their already impressive
charisma. Dead leaders or leaders in absentia are per-
ceived by the followers as the most powerful and efficient
ones. They have acquired their halo because of their
martyrdom.

Modern imperialism may be seen as a culmination
of Western arrogance, as an ideology of superiority

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ad absurdum. Schumpeter wrote about imperialism as
atavism and traced it back in historical perspective.
He saw it as a persistent tendency to dominate, exploit
and expand. The French term "mission civilisatrice"
(English equivalent: "the cultural burden") became
a powerful slogan in the 19th and 20th century drive
for power and expansion far beyond France's own boun-
daries and deep into the continents of Africa and Asia.
The term conveys in a poignant manner how the metropolis
looked down upon those who had to be conquered.

Modern nationalism gave an extraordinary impetus
to this fierce drive for expansionism. During the
forceful process of colonization a wilful onslaught
on a wide variety of indigenous cultures became the
order of the day. In a much earlier period of missionary
zeal, the medieval missionaries like Willebrord and
Bonniface came to the Western European tribes to evan-
gelize. They showed a deep understanding and great
degree of tolerance towards these tribes and their per-
sistent beliefs. They kept asking the Pope in Rome in
their extensive correspondence what could be left intact
of the old pagan rites. The papal answers allowed ample
room for survival of heathen traditions, rites and be-
liefs. Compared to this early Christian tolerance, the
19th and 20th century forms of imperialistic "missionary

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zeal" are a far outcry. Political and economic imper-
atives by then outweighed all other motives.

It may be not only of academic interest to
historians to ask when exactly did the western so-called
Christian concept of the "rest" of the world change so
drastically and negatively. The Crusades should be men-
tioned in this context as the onset of change discoloring
the whole perspective on the non-Christian parts of the
world. There were yet some millenarian dimensions in
the crusading spirit too, but domineering was a strong
western Christian supraordinate ideology: that the
heathen who had conquered Christ's grave had to be
driven out, defeated and removed from the earth. This
medieval "civilizing calling" blindly assumed of course
its own inherent superiority. Religion and politics
were intricately interwoven in this missionary drive.
The politico-religious canopy, encompassing all of so-
cietal reality was yet intact. The great drive for ex-
pansionism on a systematic scale of the 15th and 16th
centuries could be viewed in a continuously changing
perspective: increasingly missionary zeal became polit-
ical.

Reasons which motivated the Portugese at the time
of King Henry the Navigator to take the initiative in
exploring the unknown world of Africa were elaborately

expounded in Gomes Eannes de Azura's Chronicles. These
drives appeared to be a beautifully blended mixture of
myth and reality, of ideology and utopia. First, there
was a strong desire to accomplish unusual and great deeds
in service of both God and the King, and to be recorded
for ever in the books of history by exploring the mys-
terious lands and peoples described in the wondrous
stories of the medieval chronicles of Brandaen. Second,
there was a wish to investigate whether those people in
that fantastic new continent were Christian or not yet,
so that one could establish fruitful trading relations
with them without however endangering one's life and
possessions. Third, it was desired to measure the size
of that unknown continent in order to find out in detail
how big the Muslim world really was. To know one's enemy's
power and territory would become priceless information in
the ongoing battle against the infidels. Fourth, the
Portugese might find a new ally, equally Christian and
willing to join in the fight under the Christian banner
against the pagan aggressors. The Portugese had become
disappointed in how little concrete support they were
getting from the western so-called Christian allies. So
why not find other allies in the new world? These new
peoples could be converted to the Christian side which
would make things more efficient for all parties. Fifth,

according to leading astrological predictions, the timing
and destination were just perfect.

Columbus took off in the same spirit: as a repre-
sentative of the King of Spain and on behalf of God in
his calling as a missionary, merchant and soldier to
travel over the ocean and find access to the not yet
fully known paradisical parts of the world. Wherever
gold was going to be found, it would be put to immediate
use to reconquer Jerusalem in the eternal battle with
the infidels in the Holy Land. The pre-history of im-
perialism, the complex motivations for expansionism and
the persistent theme of "mission civilisatrice" form a
special field of investigation. It is very relevant for
the pre-history of CD itself.

The cultural arrogance and nationalistic claims
towards superiority became manifest in what has been
termed "modern imperialism" of the last two centuries.
Yet before such a disastrous turn was taken, a very dif-
ferent approach towards the outside world prevailed in
the preceding period of the Enlightenment and Romanticism.
In the late 17th and in the 18th century, the "savages"
came to be looked up to as innately good, superior and
enviable because of their mysterious cultures and close
to nature habits of living. The western European
search for the lost paradise was still on, as Henri
Baudet describes in Het Paradys of Aarde.

These romanticising approaches towards cultures outside Europe were soon to be discarded with the onset of 19th century nationalism. The tide changed drastically. The mood became more arrogant towards non-European parts of the world. Their inhabitants had to be colonized and disciplined into the western harness of civilization.

Culmination of this sort of Western arrogance was expressed frequently in statements which exposed the new ideology.

> Africans were redeemable, but first evils within
> their own society had to be destroyed. Only then
> could the process of civilization building com-
> mence. Implicit was the replacement of tradition-
> al culture with something "higher", something new,
> something European. Clothe the savages, topple
> the pagan idols, silence the drumming, break up
> the extended family, encourage individualism,
> abolish polygamy: these are some of the elements
> of evangelical Christianity.[7]

a)   The Jamaica Ras Tafaris: Millenialism and CD

The Ras Tafaris were chosen in this epilogue as a good illustration of what elements are typical for a millenarian movement (1). The Ras Tafaris are a fully developed religious counter movement and counter culture (2) and the case contains relevant elements of CD (3).

The outcome of the Ras Tafarian agitations for their revitalized self-image is most impressive. They came up with a complete and viable counter culture, a

stimulating socio-cultural alternative to Jamaica's neo-colonial surrogate and imitative mainstream culture. Moreover, they worked out amongst themselves a communal form of living which raised not only their socio-economic status but attracted fervent participants.

Their conversion process drastically changed their individual and collective identity from apathetic outcasts into proud believers and confident achievers. This was started first on a small scale in their own parochial group affairs by starting small co-ops in self-help. Since time memorial downtrodden Blacks in the ghettoes of Jamaica had been unemployed and classified as unemployable. They did not even make it onto the level of sugar cane stripping or banana picking, until fervent hopes raised by millenarian expectations lifted them out of their stagnation.

Because their original African heritage was yet so much alive through their own self-imposed "apartheid" from the oppressive mainstream society, they managed to generate a truly authentic and different sub-culture which proved to have widely appealing characteristics. These became pervasive in Jamaican society, and even con- verted Blacks outside Jamaica. What will be the future impact of the Black Muslim revitalized Arabic heritage is open to speculation. Comparatively, the Ras Tafari

culture seems more authentic and indigenous. It has
become an inspirational and motivational force in its
own right that seems unlikely to peter out because the
roots are strong and deep.

The Ras Tafaris stem from the same source as the
Black Muslims: from Garvey and his fervently inspiring
message "Back to Africa" as a basic human right and di-
vinely ordained principle. The Ras Tafari movement has
already gone through the whole sequence of millenarian
stages. It culminated in a fully developed social move-
ment pressuring for social changes, encompassing first
the lower now even middle-class segments of society. By
now, it has a wide impact not only in Jamaica, but outside
the island.

Jamaican society proved to be fertile soil for
millenarian development. All millenarian variables were
present to a high degree; abrupt violent uprooting of
masses of people, total systematic oppression and system-
atic efforts at eradicating the people's past and group
pride, prolonged multiple deprivation, repetitive de-
feats such as slave revolts that failed. The rise of
the Ras Tafaris, then, is symptomatic of the socio-
cultural malaise suffered by the Blacks ever since they
were forcefully removed from their homeland to this
island of colonial profiteering.

When compared to the Black Muslims, the Ras

Tafarian movement dramatizes the historical heritage

the two movements have in common. They were both forced

into chattel slavery and subordinated into an exploitive

colonial system. The ruling elite had all the advantages

in technological development and organizational admin-

istration on its side.

> Perhaps the most striking feature of the island
> during the first ninety years of British rule is
> the fact that it can only be described as . . .
> essentially a society of immigrants and transients
> . . . unlike the slave system of American South or
> the majority of the Iberian colonies, there was
> here no ruling class which, infused with the
> pioneer spirit, were committed to the social
> well-being and cultural development of their
> community . . . The sociological consequence
> was a shambled patchwork of social relationships,
> which, in its excessive commitment to the sole
> goal of quick profits, discarded all aspects of
> the social institutions that are generally con-
> sidered as the basic prerequisites of a normal
> social life: marriage, the family, education,
> religion . . . [8]

Under these most oppressive conditions the various

tribal backgrounds and multiplicity of languages and

dialects severely hampered any form of community. Even

communication was limited. Yet some kind of a common

fabric was preserved by the slaves themselves, climaxing

in their traditional trances and spiritual possession

brought about in their ritual dances.

> . . . the religious dances were all the slaves
> had to remind them of their home . . . in their
> possession, surrendered to the old gods, for a

> short time they could feel themselves free once
> more. Where they could they came together to
> be near Africa . . . the more the slave owners
> suppressed and punished the dancers, the dearer,
> the more sacred did they become to the slaves
> . . . their religion became a sacred cult, the
> faithful became sworn brothers, their secret
> meetings became the cells of resistance.[9]

The two societies never became interwoven, they
were put together only by brutal force. The slavemasters
did not form a community, they only owned property in
Jamaica to increase their prosperity. It was a system,
not a society, based on absenteeism. As summarized by
T. Nicholas:

> This is very real past of present American
> society which is a continuation of geographical
> arbitrariness artificially brought out by slave
> trade and ongoing system of exploitation.[10]

The Ras Tafaris proudly trace their own history
back to the Maroons who kept revolting against the British
for a long time, by evasive techniques skilfully applied
in the mountainous inlands of Jamaica.[11] On the whole,
the Maroons never lost their sense of independence and
pride. They refused consistently to become incorporated
into the British colonial system. They were true freedom
fighters and managed to preserve much of their own unadul-
terated African heritage, especially so because they
choose to withdraw into the hinterlands of Jamaica in
self-imposed but creative isolation. British "modern"
civilization up to now is fiercely rejected and up to

the present the Maroons have been successful in keeping their own socio-cultural framework alive. The Ras Tafaris revitalized this Maroon heritage.

There are other differences between the Ras Tafaris and the Black Muslims. Eric Lincoln pointed some of them. Even though both the Blacks in Jamaica and in the deep American South could be defined as being in diaspora, yet the Jamaican preoccupation with recognition based on minute differences in color cannot be found in American society. Here the Blacks for a long time struggled to deny color differentiation. (This became one of the reasons that Marcus Garvey who had been socialized in the Jamaican concept of race and color, was not understood during his millenarian crusade in the U. S. A., because of his agitating for color differentiation.) Also, the Jamaican social system exposes its colonial background blatently by basing itself on a strong preference for anything British, copying features in a fastidious manner.

There is another basic difference in organization. The Ras Tafaris are far more acephalous in their organizational structure, whereas the Black Muslims became increasingly monolithic under strong unifying charismatic leaders like Mohammad Ali and Malcolm X. Consequently, the Ras Tafaris could be termed more millenarian because

they show the high degree of flexibility and diversified creativity under their various leaders, so typical for a millenarian movement. As a matter of fact, they illustrate the characteristics which form the center piece in Gerlach Hine's model of religious counter movements.[12] The organizational structure is highly decentralized and segmented, to such a degree that several competing but not all mutually exclusive sub-units can be found thriving within the greater whole of the movement. Gerlach-Hine summarizes this phenomenon of being sub-divided in a web-like manner as "reticulation".

In the case of the Black Muslims, the local temples do not qualify as semi-independent sub-units. They are all directly subordinated to the central charismatic leadership. Yet the Black Muslims after the irreplaceable loss of their leader Malcolm X also became increasingly diversified in a true millenarian manner. Here Gerlach-Hine's analysis of such movements in a so-called "modern" society matches the conclusions reached by various experts in the field of millenialism in different parts of the third world: compare for example Worsley, Sundkler, Barrett, Burridge, Thrupp and Adas.

Precisely because of the high degree of decentralization, a complex variety of pre-existing ties and networks can be accommodated in the same movement. This

web-like structure tolerates various intergroup linkages.
New and old networks may be assimilated without being
systematically interwoven. Yet the whole will somehow
encompass all cells.[13]

The Ras Tafaris originated as a cluster of cults
mushrooming amongst the most deprived and alienated
Blacks on Jamaica after centuries of slavery. The 1930's
was a decade of despair and disorientation. The onset of
a series of socio-economic and natural disasters hit
these disenfranchised segments of the population the
hardest. Violent outbursts of labor troubles and un-
rest in general became the order of the day. Ex-Garveyites
could nurture their persistent sense of anomie by joining
the new cults spreading like bush fire. Ras Tafari sub-
groups were a true continuation and reorganization of
the Marcus Garvey movement. The echoes of his fervent
message were still hanging around in the streets and
marketplaces. His charisma was still on people's minds.[14]

What worked as a remarkably powerful catalyst was
a remote event: the coronation of a prince named Ras
Tafari as king of Ethiopia. This event seemed to have
grandiose and mysterious proportions in the eye of the
true believer: an Old Testament prophesy was suddenly
fulfilled, Psalm 68:32. The millenarian spirit was re-
juvenated all over Jamaica's slums. It stimulated greatly

the Jamaican Blacks to update and intensify their biblical readings and to fit purposely selected verses--out of the biblical context--into this one particular event. In this manner the original prophesy gained a deeply meaningful and exciting perspective for the fervent followers.

At about the same time in New York City--in 1937-- the Ethiopian World Federation was started with similar millenarian aims. This closely related organization also became active in Jamaica, from 1938 on. God-ordained self-determination for the oppressed was spelled out in the banners of both movements.[15]

The Emperor was continuously hailed as God incarnate and as Savior of all Blacks who would join. Hatred for the white race was preached from the street corners. Consequently, the government became alarmed and claimed the whole set-up was a subversive conspiracy. All three leaders were arrested but again released after some time.

New small Ras Tafari communities were crystallizing and became a thorn in the flesh of government authorities, especially the one in Back 'o Wall (or Shanty Town in Kingston). Violent crack downs followed and for a long period, 1947-57, the cult went underground but only partially. Then it openly and victoriously surfaced again as a fully developed movement. The Ras Tafaris were feared and stereotyped by the class in power as dangerous

madmen prone to any form of violence. Yet the same mad-
men were admired and respected in ever widening circles.
Because the impact on the total Jamaican society was
one of a strongly defiant nature, it was the government
that was put under pressure.

From having been cornered and suppressed by govern-
ment and police at first, now the Ras Tafaris in turn
exerted pressure on the power structure itself. Roles
and techniques became somewhat reversed. The Ras Tafari
cells had become coordinated in the meantime and the
whole movement gained momentum and power. By the mid-
1950's, the Ethiopian World Federation had given great
stimulus to the movement. A successful convention had
been organized by the Ras Tafaris themselves. Over and
again the police reacted violently, raiding meetings,
branches and Ras Tafari camps.

Professor Lewis of the University of Jamaica
warned clearly in 1959 that socio-economic neglect
caused whole segments of the population to become enraged.
His warnings fell upon deaf ears. Riots and clashes
increased.[16] Police moved in to suppress what was called
overt subversion. However, once again the heat was taken
off temporarily and this time a university team of in-
vestigators was called in. The outcome of their aca-
demic report was most informative, reassuring and

practical. This report could almost be seen as a community survey done in CD spirit.[17]

The recommendations made were intended to generate understanding, even respect for the whole movement: (1) send a mission to Africa to investigate immigration; some Ras Tafarian representatives should form part of this; (2) The government in Jamaica should start immediate negotiations with the Ras Tafari to prepare for the trip. (3) There should be an official recognition that the movement's basic aims were peaceful. (4) All police harassment should be stopped since Ras Tafaris were good citizens. (5) Low-rent housing projects should be started and other self-help schemes to accommodate the basic needs of the cult members. (6) This should include basic facilities like water, light, sewerage and garbage collection. (7) Vocational education centers should be provided with youth recreation programs and child care centers, medical clinics, etc. (8) The Ethiopian Orthodox Coptic Church should be invited to initiate a branch in Jamaica. (9) Co-operative workshops should be set up. (10) The whole movement should receive decent and fair media coverage.[18]

The government did take some notice of this report. A fact-finding mission was sent out, but the African countries visited insisted on skilled artisans only as

future immigrants. Yet the Ras Tafaris took great pride in having been part of the mission and the brethren who participated were called ambassadors ever since.

The Africa project was gradually and quietly discarded by the government. The intensity of the Ras Tafari search for a homeland did not abate at all, even in the face of repeated disconfirmation. The Emperor and his Ethiopian empire remained the focus of imminent para- disical reality for the fervent believers. As Festinger et al. show with regard to a small persistent millenarian group in the U. S. A.: when prophesy fails, the millen- arian spirit increases.[19]

Haile Selassie did visit Jamaica in 1966 and was instantly hailed as the Savior-King. His crowning back in 1938 had mysteriously signified the beginning of re- demption for all Blacks in Jamaica in their accelerated vision of a better future just waiting around the corner. However the emperor appeared unaware and totally unpre- pared for the vibrant myth woven around him and his king- dom by the enormous crowds feverishly waiting for him at the airport.[20]

The average Ras Tafari member cound not be dis- illusioned by any disturbing fact. The millenarian enthusiasm kept its high peak, even though the Emperor did not give any sign of truly being God incarnate. The

source of group identification--exotic and absurd to the
non-believers--proved to be everlasting inspiration: it
worked as a catalyst for group mobilization. It crystal-
lized into CD run on its own group resources. The re-
ligious identification with Ethiopia generated unusually
powerful social dynamics. The repatriation and redemption
myth--outlandish and alarming to the outsider--proved to
transform the insiders from an amorphe groupless mass of
outcasts into a new extremely conscious "class", yet
transcending traditional local class boundaries. The
previous disenfranchised now proclaimed they had been
preordained to a great heritage that was lost after
centuries of oppression.

Here I wish to focus on specific CD aspects that
appear so convincing that I recommend millenialism as a
priority in CD research projects. The Ras Tafari abstract
myth of imminent redemption and the simultaneous every-day
practice of de-Jamaicanization of life for all individual
group members are intricately interwoven. The mythical
identification may seem shallow and irrelevant to the
outsider. For the believing insider, this myth is a
powerful and profoundly motivational drive. In the in-
novative perspective gained by the reborn self, Jamaica
and its every-day misery is temporary Hell now, but
Ethiopia is Heaven on Earth soon and forever. The White

man's time and power machine are running lower and lower each day. Ras Tafaris profess and proved repeatedly that they never want to be part of the West and its corrupt system of technology--a wicked technocracy that can only hasten its own doom and decay.

There is much fundamental truth in the powerful Ras Tafarian critique of western advanced technology and its doomed society. Their prophetic attack on western civilization depicts it all as on its way down. A highly technologically developed system is digging its own grave --if there is any soil left on the earth by the time the white man has fully finished himself and his surroundings --after his senseless productive system has come to a haltering stop in an abyss of pollution.

The Ras Tafari attack on all things white is far more devastating and systematic than the Black Muslim one, although again both movements are deeply related in their basic dogma: that all Black men are superior to the white men and his doomsday productivity. In contrast to the devilish white man and the hellish conditions he has con- jured up by his witchcraft--his wicked technological miracles and magic tricks--the Black men are the truly reincarnated Israelites.[21] And it is up to the invincible Emperor to arrange for impending repatriation of the elected from their exile in foreign parts. Maybe just

a bit more time and opportunity will yet be granted to the white man to change his devilish intention. However time is running out almighty fast.

In a concluding chapter <u>Soul Triumphing: A Return to the Roots at Home and Abroad</u>, Leonard Barrett gives a penetrating analysis of the social dynamics of counter-movements based on the millenarian catalyst.[22] Barrett pinpoints some of the essential characteristics of millenarian movements: how they develop from collective restlessness into concerted action and steer the believers into exerting pressure on the group in power. In his interpretation they are first of all cults of revolution.[23] The religious fervor enables the group wrapped in semi-mythical, semi-realistic images to conjure up strong imagery into real power. The group fantasies have intensified into political games for real. Collective witchcraft played up in strong imageries may drastically add to the group aggressiveness. The next step may be that the same group starts "cultural judo", i. e. a sophisticated technique to keep the opposition guessing what the group is up to. Because there are various leaders and not just one, one or more segments of the whole movement are always taking the lead in an unexpected manner. This will assure the movement of enormous tactical advantages and endless resourcefullness.

I wish to emphasize here that the millenarian group
is not just preoccupied with its own collective transcen-
dental salvation. The attack on the oppressors are well
focussed and the whole new salvation myth is built on the
basic dogma of imminent redemption. This last term implies
that a definitive punishment will be meted out to the trans-
gressors soon. Redemption is a final and judicial process
that will bring about drastic changes in the whole polit-
ical system, based on true justice and equality. Theo-
logians differentiate clearly between the concept of sal-
vation as an individually centered belief[24] and the con-
cept of redemption which implies an abrupt overthrow of
the present power system.

Brian Wilson analysed both concepts of salvation
and redemption in historical perspective, and came up
with a typology based on four dimensions: collective,
individual, transcendental salvationist, and imminent
salvationist. Cults, sects, churches and a whole com-
plex variety of religiously focussed movements can be
categorized according to two of the four dimensions.

Most millenarian movements do not fit in this
perspective because of being collectively, transcen-
dentally and imminently directed. The Ras Tafaris
express their being directed horizontally and vertic-
ally and communally at any given moment in their langue

which uses no ordinary sentence construction but a
reduced syntax, simplifying but at the same time dram-
atizing the constant tension between the tangible present
and imminent future already manifest in the here and now.
Every simple statement about the present reality only
gains meaning because of the futuristic context every
human feeling and acting is put in. There is no concept
of "I". The Ras Tafarian Brethren truly express at all
times that every action, every single member is part and
parcel of a greater universe. Time is linear; all human
action is communal, goal-directed. All members are al-
ready at this very instance participating in eternity
since the prophecy was fulfilled: God incarnate in
Haile Selassie. Consequently the Brethren cannot believe
in individual death having any impact at all. Redeemed
collective life goes on forever for the true believer.

The Ras Tafaris and Black Muslims are an outcry
of deep despair and utter frustration against the per-
sistent lack of equality. To generalize on this aspect:
certain millenarian movements can be looked at as sympto-
matic for acculturation as a fait accompli whereas at the
same time there is no progress whatsoever in real equal-
ity. The outer appearances of assimilation are visibly
there, but the previous outcasts remain second class
citizens.[25]

In some other parts of the Caribbean the Blacks may have adopted values rather similar to those of the privileged class. Yet the ghetto inhabitants are excluded from the system in multiple manners because the blatant difference in status prevents them from realizing the values they adopted so eagerly, almost fastidiously and slavishly, because the values were forced upon them by the metropolis, its overpowering productive system and its powerful advertising mechanism. What blocks full assimilation is not to be found within the subgroup but within the dominant group which closes ranks to exclude permanently the subordinate group. The real barrier is imposed by the white upper class which keeps saying: "do become civilized the way we are". However in most societies sub-groups having absorbed the values and orientation of the dominant group are met with impassable barriers as soon as they seriously try to be admitted into the mainstream. Then revitalization movements may spring up out of total frustration.

An oppressed group may rename itself after a glorified past to draw strength from a collectively imagined historical heritage. Harold Isaacs points out in his study with the evocative title, Idols of the Tribe, how strong the urge is felt by any societal group to call itself by a new deeply appealing name,

very deliberately chosen to conjure up a whole series of glorious events and features the group proudly identify itself with. Also the new name and myth are selected to demand respect, even awe from the oppressors and, of course, to bolster one's own morale. However, the very fact that an exotic name is chosen does not mean automatically that the group rejects assimilation forever. The more extravagant the names chosen and the more exotic the parts of the world--i. e. the lost fatherland or parts thereof--the group claims for immediate repossession, the stronger may be the desire to be assimilated into the mainstream society. Repatriation --absurd and outlandish as it may sound to the group well entrenched in its power--is being claimed as a divine right. Yet all that the rejected may really want is full acceptance, overdue status and a good life like that enjoyed so abundantly by the others. All this highlights the over-development versus under-development syndrome.

Of all millenarian movements so far discussed, it appears that the Ras Tafari movement falls into a category almost all by itself. The members categorically refuse assimilation. The Ras Tafari philosophy seems to have become a permanent viable alternative, a force to reckon with.

Of course, most societies do not know at all how to cope with such a movement. They lack completely the necessary basic flexibility. Above all, they fail to understand what makes such a movement arise. Eric Lincoln has expressed himself in a very pessimistic manner about the impact of any such movement on the greater society.[26] In his view, any power system is invariably set into motion according to rules of self-centered interests for the ruling classes exclusively. The outrage and resentment accumulated over long periods of time, during many generations is so deep-seated that both sides are set on a collision course which will prove self-destructive.

> When these powers fail to respond because they cannot--having been in effect automated by reciprocating systems of relationships which exclude the interests of the poor and the weak--the social mechanism has become an automator programmed for its own destruction. [27]

According to Lincoln, a millenarian movement may not be able to change the direction taken by the total society until after a disastrous clash has broken out. However, the main thrust of Barrett's penetrating book appears that Black counter-movements, especially the counter-cultures with strong millenarian dimensions are already having a tremendous impact on the wider society and have initiated drastic changes for the "wretched of the earth" themselves, who are religiously

--on a sacred level--and zealously--in secular manners--
engaged in their own emancipation.

.In sequential chapters, titled in highly evocative
manners, Barrett puts all these Black movements on the
map of world history: they are not isolated, unrelated
instances of Black protest and revolt, just at random
scattered here and there. They form together a world
--with revitalization movement which impact is spilling
over traditional boundaries of class and nation: Soul-
Force, Source of Soul, Soul in Captivity, Soul Under
Stress, Soul Awakening, Soul Asserting Itself, Soul
Triumphing: A Return to the Roots at Home and Abroad.
Barrett accomplishes in this ground-breaking study on
the Ras Tafaris what was not yet done for the Black
Muslims. He summarizes in a nutshell the whole mil-
lenarian phenomenon, solely focussing of course on the
Caribbean world, not tracing the development of similar
movements so well researched in European medieval and
early modern history and in the Third World. Yet he
encapsules the basic ingredients and causal variables
of millenialism extremely well, and then manages to
depict the Ras Tafari phenomenon in its own historical,
cross-cultural context; as a truly African millenarian
movement with unusually wide and powerful repercussions,
outside Jamaica, even outside the Caribbean area.

The outcry poured over the white man and his corrupt system is most colorfully and bitterly expressed in the Ras Tafari counter-ideology. The white man is depicted as just an automatic appendix fixed onto the technology he has called into life himself. But now, let loose on its own, this technology has turned into an independent monster seeking the destruction of humanity, driven by its own uncontrolable forces.

> Western men are guided by their intelligence,
> and that is where their intelligence reaches.
> They have no divine qualities, no divine in-
> spiration. They go by selective concepts.
> They have no spiritual diagnosis. They go
> by A, B, C. They have no divine function.
> No divine principle. You have black men,
> too, like that, you know, who are the carbon
> copy of his slave master. Like a roast bread-
> fruit. You have seen a roast breadfruit?
> White on the inside, black on the outside.[28]

During the so-called development of the western world, the white man has proved to possess no feelings, no concern whatsoever. He only express his mechanically scientific approaches to all objects and persons. The deceitful tricks he plays in his technological pursuits are typical for a man who has frighteningly transformed himself into a robot; i. e. without a human soul. (Compare Kafka's collection of related deeply symbolic stories about horrifying transformations occurring in existential reality of man: Metamorphosis. Especially the story in which a young man existing in his room has

turned abruptly and mysteriously into some k̶ of
monstrous crawling animal.)

While trying to absorb the Ras Tafarian utter
disgust and great impatience with the white man's
"civilization"--all emphatically expressed in this
myth woven around the Black Man and his pure unadulter-
ated ways of living and based on his own tremendous
"Soul-Force"--the equally vehement Machiavellian attack
on man and his society comes to mind. It was in his
exuberant but profoundly critical and bittersweet play,
La Mandragola, that Machiavelli ventilated his societal
critique; his utter disgust at the society of his time
and the men in power exploiting all the others to the
point of making the powerless into manipulated puppets.[29]

In a similar manner, Erasmus, the other outspoken
critic of that same period, depicted the depraved m̶i̶n̶d̶s̶
and mechanisms of the men in powerful Church p̶o̶s̶i̶t̶i̶o̶n̶s̶,
using their God-ordained seats to pursue the̶i̶r̶ ̶cor-
rupted interests. Erasmus ̶'̶s̶ witty and powerful
book Laus Stultitiae (In P̶r̶a̶i̶s̶e̶ ̶o̶f̶ Folly) calls up a
human world that has turned i̶t̶s̶e̶lf upside down by pur-
s̶u̶i̶ng its own destruction and by transforming the sacred
values it preaches so beautifully into monstrous vices
it practices systematically.

"In Praise of Folly" is also the alarming message

about the west and its value system turned upside down, repeated by the Ras Tafari Brethren: anti-British, anti-American, anti-colonial, anti whatever force or influence happens to operate and manipulate as a metropolis. CIA agents and Billy Graham messengers are all put into the same category of western hypocracy and exploitation. The Ras Tafari counter-ideology has reached its highest pitch of moral indignation about the west. In the Ras Tafari Weltanschauung the "mission civilisatrice" has become an ugly force.

> I and I utter words, and it manifests. All that I
> and I do is to project a life that is higher than
> the Christians. For Christian life, Christianity
> is a profiteering organization. When Billy Graham,
> the C. I. A., on pulpit, the preaching of the
> gospel is over. I and I just project a life,
> and who want to follow, follow it. Man see it
> and say, the life that man living, each and
> everyone shall live that life. Him say "I
> want to be a Rasta", and him start to follow
> after I. It's just the life that they seen,
> showing the true pathway to life everything.
> If I and I stumble or fall, slip or slide,
> him slide too.[30]

b) On Different Forms of Consciousness Amongst Groups in Stagnation

Marx wrote about the lack of class consciousness amongst the French peasants of his own time. They were in his view unrelated, uncoordinated, just as potatoes in a bag, as Marx succinctly put it. They formed no good material for preparing any form of revolution or change.

Research on millenarian movements as an ongoing
societal phenomenon may lead to better understanding of
concepts like the rise, presence or absence of class con-
sciousness, and it may question the validity of the con-
cept of poverty altogether. Ossowski, the Polish Marxian-
inspired philosopher and social scientist, puts the concept
of class consciousness in historical perspective, going
far beyond the boundaries of time and place as Marx had
set out for his own thinking. His rather neglected study
Class Structure in the Social Consciousness (1963, Routhe-
legean Kegan Paul) centers in comparative analysis of
different societies in history, wherein societal groups
ars arranged in a certain order. The crux of the matter
of class consciousness is to define how individuals and
groups perceive the position they are located in. For a
long time, societies could be conceived of as heirarch-
ically arranged systems, as organizational ladders on
which groups were assigned fixed places and individuals
played their prescribed roles. Only when the "have nots"
were diametrically opposed against the "haves" in a di-
chotomous manner, the central allocative system of power
and reward would be questioned and attacked. Many
societies of the past were symbiotic or stagnant: social
dynamics were non-existing.

In the long history of Russian chiliasm there is

a persistent theme: the dramatic twin cosmology of the
children of light who are continuously engaged in a
battle--a deadly cosmic struggle--against the children
of dark.[31] In all Russian millenarian movements this
fight is carried out collectively on a spiritual plane,
but simultaneously on an economic and political plane.
At times the followers were driven into excessive be-
havior and would commit communal suicide. These in-
stances of collective masochism and self-imposed disaster
were not isolated but formed a returning pattern, em-
bedded in the Russian tradition of revolt. (Compare
contemporary case of Jonestown massacre as a single
isolated instance of communal suicide, exposing the
same conversion mechanisms in a one man's cult.) Along
this same historical perspective, Bolshevism eventually
was the one movement--amongst many competing revolutionary
messianic ones--which became concretely successful by
capturing the power structure. Ossowski looks at Persian
history from a similar dualistic perspective as expressed
symbolically in its own religious ideology: the forces
of light fighting against the ones of darkness. Such a
dynamic religious conflict ideology can assume concrete
societal reality at certain stages of history. It can
give impetus to a socio-political movement for revolution-
ary change.

Peter Lloyd also elaborates on the theme of class awareness in his thought-provoking study <u>Slums of Hope:</u> <u>Shanty Towns of the Third World</u>. Based on excellent sociological, anthropological and historical material-- condensed from complex related theories--he tries to build up a cognitive map of the social actor's world and his view of the society he has moved into out of despair. How does the individual actor perceive his position? For example: what does the migrant laborer carry along in his bag, in his socio-cultural heritage that makes him survive as a human being in the shanty town he has moved to or more often was forced to move to? Does he have access yet to a meaningful ideology that provides him with an explanation for the bottom end position he is in as a squatter? Frequently social scientists have routinely described these shanty towns as lacking in any form of collective consciousness.

Oscar Lewis built his famous culture of poverty on the following view: a sub-culture with mostly neg- ative characteristics. He laid bare in an alarming manner the very substrata of subhuman living, the symptoms of a permanent social disease: POVERTY. This illness of being underdeveloped was contagious and epi- demic among certain segments of the population and in certain parts of the world. Its germs were almost

genetically predetermined; the symptoms were passed on from one generation to the next. Consequently it now appeared that recurrent patterns of this disabling disease "underdevelopment" were so all-pervasive and crippling to the patients that a patchwork approach would not do the patients any good.[32]

Basic interpretations of this concept of poverty could be summarized as: total despair, continuous frustration and permanent apathy. As elaborated both in theoretical and practical analyses by various social scientists dealing with poverty, poor people are depressed and passive, and feel powerless because they have never conceived of themselves as possessing any form of power, influence or effectiveness. Everyday life is harsh and miserable and one is born and socialized into this vicious circle (see Lewis, Haggstrom). It is not until this cycle has been broken through at least once by perhaps some form of minor change--brought about by the people themselves--that they become aware of their own strength, dignity and power. During this happening they may suddenly gain some beginning of positive self image and group identity. They have become conscious human beings, entitled to certain basic rights they had never conceived of before.

In the normal cycle of poverty there is only the depressing monotony of subsistence-level living, an

ongoing misery and drudgery (as Lewis terms it: "iron
entrenchment of lifeways"). There are no social dynamics.
Life is an endlessly depressing condition carried over
from one generation to the next, from day to day. There
is no point in projecting towards a future because the
present is as bad as the past has always been. There
is no glimmering of hope, no time-perspective, no dimension
of past nor future. Poor depressed people hardly have a
sense of history because events have no meaning for them
beyond the monotonous monochrome pattern of daily mis-
eries.

All this is supposed to be especially applicable
to poor people left out of the mainstream of a more
developed industrialized total society. People in a
traditional society may yet show a high positive degree
of "conscience collective" in the Durkheimian meaning.
Lewis termed this poverty syndrome a subculture itself,
and showed enormous empathy by analysing its various
dimensions. (Others have contested the concept of a
poverty subculture by defining it as more of a temporary
condition, a time-and-place bound reaction to patterns
of subsistence living, expressing itself in a variety
of behavioral patterns.[33])

Especially for CD, the concept of poverty remains
an illusive assumption because it does not let itself be

easily transferred from one into another culture; different local situations may ⬛⬛ to be defined on their own terms. How to raise whatever form of consciousness amongst people caught in this so-called cycle of poverty is a moot question.

The case of Montegrano comes to mind--an imaginary village of South Italian peasants--as reported on by Edward Banfield in his well-known study The Moral Basis of a Backward Society (Chicago, 1958). This village or region is a case of poverty all by itself: puzzling in its complexity, and challenging most standard theories of poverty.

Montegrano is no community at all because of the total lack of community spirit, no sense of group belonging whatsoever and the frightening reign of what Banfield terms "amoral familialism". There is no class system to speak of in regular terms, although at the same time Banfield calls attention to an elaborate static frame: some sort of social stratification which appears ossified. However there are no social dynamics. No change, no movements, no crystallization in any degree of class consciousness, groupness, sharedness empathy.

There is a complex status differentiation but mostly between town and country people. Status depends solely on the appropriate town and the not very appropriate

country manners. The males, especially, are very much
preoccupied with their status which is to be derived
from true mannerism. A strictly Marxist model and
mechanical interpretation, based on class antagonism
and crystallization of the Revolution would not explain
the situation in Montegrano. Although all these factors
--class, status, poverty, underdevelopment, ignorance,
lack of social mobility, apathy and despair are parts
of the causal background, they don't explain the total
behavioral pattern which is fatalism, pessimism, cynicism
and extremes in mutual suspicion. The peasants are
desperately poor, underdeveloped, apathetic but even
in case of repetitive disasters and humiliating defeats,
any beginning form of millenialism seems far out. Actually
the long painful history of how more and more of the small
peasants' plots were further and further sub-divided--con-
sequently increasing the existing poverty into extremes
of hardship and despair does not offer a parallel to
other cases of millenarian outbursts or revolts. The
total lack of "conscience collective" is appalling. Any
prospective CD facilitator should study this case twice
or more before stumbling into the field itself. Where--
on which level and how--would one start raising conscious-
ness among the Montegranese? They all seem so frantic
and familistic in their daily ruthless struggle to

monopolize narrow family interests only--applying truly
Machiavellian manipulative tactics without any consider-
ation for communal concerns, without any notion of com-
munity spirit, that each nuclear family wages a total
war of suspicion, aggression and harassment on all fronts,
against all surrounding neighbours, Moreover, there is no
millenarian tradition to speak of in this specific region
of Italy in contrary to the well-known persistent millen-
arian tradition among the "Lazarretti" in Toscany and
Umbria, dating back to the middle of the 19th century
and yet up to very recently well and alive among some
peasants.

In contrast to Banfield's analysis, the main theme
of Peter Lloyd's innovative study is to show how shanty
town inhabitants do have their own conscience collective.
They do not live in a socio-cultural vacuum. They are
organized, related, maybe even coordinated on their own
terms, i. e. not according to middle class standards and
norms. His chapters on Poverty, The Actor's View of his
Society, Communities of Origin and The Migratory Process
contain theoretical material that is very relevant to CD.
Theoretical problems generated by the ambiguous concept
of poverty remain manifold. Peter Lloyd--by focussing
on clusters of poor migrants who became squatters in
shanty towns--attempted to re-direct the research on

poverty on a new track: on individuals and groups who store accumulative experiences of past and present. The theme of Lloyd's study also ties in with our focus on millenarian movements and where and when such movements are most likely to arise. It leads into the theme of spiritual resilience and constant search for group identity amongst all classes and all sorts of human groups. Culture is not a stagnant heritage. It is being revitalized and put to use to enable communities of people to live humanly, to project their own lives.

To return to our focus on Black ghettoes, Melvin D. Williams (in an earlier study Community in a Black Pentecostal Church, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1974) uses anthropological, sociological and historical methods combined to describe the social relations amongst the Black migrants and their offspring in the northern city of Pittsburgh. His very profound research centers on the intensity of community consciousness amongst these most despised ghetto inhabitants. Kenneth Clark had focussed on the social dynamics in his Dark Ghetto, transcending in a most convincing manner the assumptions on which Oscar Lewis' theory of poverty was built.

Melvin Williams adds enormously to our understanding of any Black ghetto by zeroing in on the autonomous intensity of the feelings of belonging, the strong dynamic

urge to identify with whatever is left or can be revit-
alized of the cultural heritage of the Black South.
Above all, he highlights the spiritual resilience gained
during this collective search for being reborn. The
members of this Zionist Holiness Church--itself of
course a pseudonym like Montegrano--proudly share their
Pentecostal beliefs which enable them to stand up as
people in their own group, not as underdogs. After the
recent pilgrimage from the South to the North, the
Promised Land--they ended up at the bottom end of the
societal ladder. This ghetto church in its all encom-
passing aspects of communal living becomes a counter-
culture itself with the strength of a Gemeinschaft, a
local movement that holds these lowest class people to-
gether in an accelerating joyful collective identity in
the midst of economic misery and socio-political alien-
ation from the mainstream society. These fervent be-
lievers should not be routinely categorized as sharing
the so-called culture of poverty; they profess strong
positive beliefs about themselves and their church-based
world. They came across as confident bearers of a vi-
brant culture, but mostly within the boundaries of their
beloved church community. For the rest they remain as
alienated as ever from the outer world; from the harsh
surrounding ghetto reality and from the oppressive total
society. However even under these extreme apartness

conditions forced on them by the metropolis:

> They embody the stuff of community. They rein-
> force, identify and conceptualize in terms of
> images of whom that community represents. Thus,
> their communicative code, full of references to
> food, farm, the rural landscape, human anatomy,
> animals, death, the physical world, and the
> supernatural, contains messages and it is indic-
> ative of a system of symbolic expression that
> validates and identifies these southern Black
> rural peasant migrants apart from the wider
> society.[34]

> When one commits oneself to this "despised few",
> as they call themselves, he has established a
> looking-glass self that defies anything but total
> commitment to Zion. . . . Zion is a religious
> organization, a human community, a Black group
> in a Black urban ghetto, and a Black response
> to the world wide human phenomenon of urban-
> ization. (See Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958, for
> a Polish response . . .)[35]

Zion is a shelter and base for the poor Blacks from the South, not only guaranteeing a transcendental kingdom but also providing a place here and now.

> . . . a quest for status, power, recognition,
> prestige and money. This quest is continuous
> in spite of the ideology in Zion that discounts
> all such achievements.[36]

Ideology as a term and concept was invented by an obscure 18th century French philosopher by the name of Destutt de Tracy who wanted to find a logical term for a newly developed set of ideas or theory. It became a slogan for declaring war and justifying aggressive action and exploitation. Napoleon was the first to use it consistently and loudly, accusing the enemy of its bad intentions. Marx termed it "illusions", false

consciousness. Mannheim systematically analysed ideology from the sociological perspective as a social set of illusions blending all human parties and groups and wrapping them up in their own biased misconceptions. (R. Sterling, Macropolitics, pp. 158-161.)

When a millenarian movement arises, it is the seismological registration of oppression, hurt feelings, resentment, degree of institutionalized racism; in short, symptomatic for the strength of the ideology of the group in power. For that matter, South Africa and the U. S. A. are quite comparable.[37] Up to this very moment South Africa is a hot seed bed of millenarian movements, multiplying themsleves in ever ongoing new renewal and schism movements. This has been so now for decades, starting already before the Nationalists came into power in 1948. The white power ideology deliberately and systematically cut off Blacks from the mainstream of society, increasingly so since apartheid legislation was introduced starting in 1948. The Blacks were declared landless, powerless, slave workers, the haulers of water and cutters of wood, by law banned from participating in White democracy. When analysing the American White power establishment, the degree of oppression--though considerably less--is to some degree based on similar ideological assumptions and socio-political mechanisms.

However, not just these countries should be singled out for having this type of structure. Australia systematically closed its doors for colored immigrants, and presently democratic Western European countries treat their foreign "guest workers" as appendixes to the economic system: as slaves who have no human nor civil rights whatsoever. Excesses of jealously exclusive nationalistic policies are looming large on the horizon of all so-called modern national states, Canada as a whole and its provinces on their own are no exceptions.

It is out of the impressive interdisciplinary and very recent research on nativistic and millenarian movements, specifically on the type termed "independent church movements" that innovative methodologies are being introduced and new theoretical insight is gained. A few leading analysts and their research should be mentioned here to conclude the epilogue and show how this very new sub-field in social scientific research-- millenarian movements or more generally on religiously inspired movements for whatever type of changes--could have an enormously stimulating impact on CD ground-breaking and eye-opening. This could widen the horizon of the traditionally oriented interpreters of community, and it could put the dimension "development" on an exciting new plateau, as a movement for individual and

group emancipation, comparable to the Renaissance and the Reformation. This again may lead to a "revitalization" and reinterpretation of Weber's Protestant Ethic itself.

It is fascinating to point out here that some of the most revealing and radical research in this whole field of African "religious independent movements" was undertaken by ex-missionaries who became "converted" into sociologists and anthropologists and theorists. Bengt Sundkler is the most striking example of such a "conversion": it implied far more than a change in career. It was above all a change in spirit, attitude and ideology. His seminal studies on millenialism as manifest in the independent churches movements mushrooming all over the White Republic of South Africa and its dependent territories like, for instance, Swaziland--are comparable to the monographs so differently treating the same community in Mexico--Tepotzlan, done first by Redfield and later by Lewis. Sundkler too revisited the same area of his first investigation, and his second interpretation became rather different. Indeed, in his first study <u>Bantu Prophets</u> (1961) he seems to emphasize more the reactionary dimensions in the local so-called Zionist and Ethiopian Church movements. In his second study, <u>Zulu Zionism</u> (1976) he treats the same revitalized rituals from an innovative perspective. He points out how the impact

of nativism and millenialism has an enormously radical-
izing impact on the individual, how these movements under
religious cloak contain tremendous revolutionary poten-
tialities to emancipate the engaged individual and the
whole collectivity.

> . . . in segregated chlorocratic society of
> South Africa separate churches became outlets
> for pent-up frustrations: reaction to conquest.
> . . . The endless series of new segregated Bantu
> sects could be explained as an after effect of
> rigid segregated white societal system and of
> the denominationally segmentized white mission-
> ary action. Bantu churches are logical answers
> to white segregation policy.[38]

These schismatic movements then, opened up new
avenues, maybe not yet for authentic political expression,
but at least as an outlet for nativistic nationalistic
feelings to crystallize. In some ways, they were re-
actionary. In other ways, though, they functioned as
a pre-political training school for later more out...
spoken political activities. Is it on the whole then
a forward or backward movement? "Syncretistic sect
becomes a bridge over which Africans are brought back
to heathenism." However, it is also "a symptom of
awakening of Bantu race".[39] These Bantu churches were
a stage for crystallizing native leadership to prove
itself, for budding prophets to captivate a ready
audience.

> . . . Leadership problems became of primary im-
> portance, especially for Bantus who stress rank

. . . Strong inherent leadership qualities
will express themselves in utopian movements. [40]

While the movement was linked to the Bantu concept
of a tribally ranked society, it blended in with the
authentic tradition of authority. But it was a new
transformed authority emancipating its followers because
of its revolutionary recomposing of old and new elements
in an apocalyptic religious and radical program for the
poor who, in the whole conversion process, had been made
aware of their own individuality and their own racial
identity in a novel, exciting and deeply stimulating
manner.

> In the South African of apartheid and legally
> condoned radical discrimination, the problem
> of personal identity and the meaning of "homin-
> isation"--to use Teilhard de Chardin's term--
> takes on a fundamental urgency for both Black
> and White. What has White South Africa, as a
> people, not lost by discarding the enormous per-
> sonal resources of their great African contemp-
> oraries! . . . To the distant onlooker, the
> loud and lively Zion worship seemed like an
> escape into Utopia. Yet, at least in some of
> these men and women something had happened--
> and happened through Zion--which made them
> more prepared for the next phase and stage in
> the struggle for liberation of man. There was
> a new realization of selfhood and worthy iden-
> tity in these men and women because of their
> discovery, in and with Zion, of the richness
> and relevance of their own religious and cul-
> tural expressions. This led some of them to
> readiness for cultural creativity and social
> involvement which in any society must be
> given high priority. [41]

Similarly, L. Freire's _Pedagogics of the Oppressed_,
accelerating feelings, an intense sense of being liberated

as a human being,[42] a truly Renaissance spirit seems to emanate from his dramatic reporting on how the Brasilian farmers are reaching the state of authentic human consciousness for the first time in their lives. Freire is propagating a revolution of how to become human like the "early" Marx in his humanistic writings when he described how the free man--in the new society after the final revolution--can spend his day freely following his own creativity and working in a truly natural human way, liberated from machines, routine and capitalistic oppression. Freire's interpretation of revolution is not violent nor utopian--millenarian, but his revolution of the individual and collective personality is truly emancipatory without retrogressing into a remote idealized past, without unrealistic visionary projections into a supernatural future. Yet the sacred canopy revitalized by and during the millenarian movement may bring about a "secular millennium" of authentic, fully liberated humanism in the individual believers and their sociopolitical reality in which they are now far more consciously participating.

Like Sundkler, a missionary who turned into a sociologist, David Barrett (in <u>Schism and Renewal in Africa</u>, 1977) surveyed 6,000 nativistic movements using a complex set of socio-economic, cultural and religious

variables. Three thousand of these occurred in the
Republic of South Africa alone. The theoretical outcome
of his in-depth analysis of African indigeneous movements
is that after the initial impact of more or less con-
trolled acculturation, suddenly some years or decades
later, there follows a deep clash--when the Africans
discover the discrepancies between the white man's message
and his actions. This violent indignation is generated
by the time the Africans are able to read the biblical
message in their own vernacular. Barrett calls this
point in time crucial: the crystallization moment which
he terms "the tribal Zeitgeist". Then a sufficient
degree of intolerance and deep awareness has been reached;
it is the boiling point for secession movements to start
formenting. The Africans discover their own direct
access to the biblical morals and they want to regain
indirect tribal-based control over their own affairs.
Barrett's findings show that especially there where a
multiplicity of competing Protestant missionaries had
been at work and where the original ancestor cult was
strong, millenarian movements would arise as soon as the
New Testament translations in tribal languages were given
out. Then the Black anti-ideology started crystallizing.

Stanley Barrett in The Rise and Fall of an African
Utopia: A Wealthy Theocracy in Comparative Perspective,

elaborates on the question who would be the more suitable interpretors of these religiously inspired movements for change: theologians or social scientists who would come up with more profound explanations in the spirit of Weber's "verstehen"? To me, it seems the more inter-disciplinary this field becomes, the richer our under-standing may grow. Sundkler, because of his wide prac-tical experience in the whole field of South African church movements, did not end up as a so-called "neutrally" observing sociologist. He remained first of all a parti-cipant himself, capable of having a deep sincere empathy with the people, their beliefs and rituals, he was studying. Another theologian, H. W. Turner, who became a leading contributor in this field of African Church movements for change should be mentioned here.[43] Yet all this does not imply that theologians ideally should monopolize this field.

Routinely applied terms like sect, cult, to define these independent church movements do imply religious de-viance, unorthodox sidetracking, not quite acceptable to the European mainstream of religious thought. Labels like "African Prophet Church" and "African Schisms" show an ethnocentric bias and may carry some western ideological overtones, derived from a self-righteous orthodoxy. Moreover some of the social-scientific verbiage used

may smuggle--via a back door--the concept of homeostasis and the assumption that religious deviancy is a temporary abberation which will balance itself out smoothly in equilibrium. Frankly, it does not allow room for individual social actors and the collectivity they are engaged in while designing configurations of societal reality.

In his Preface, Stanley Barrett confesses to be an agnostic himself, raised in the western rational and scientific method of thinking. He says that he considers it treacherous to enter the cognitive world of the Olowo people and to think in the same terms of causality as the Olowo Apostles do. His mentor, J. Peel, expert himself on similar movements in Nigeria (Adadura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba, 1968) warned that religion is the most difficult topic for social scientists. Weber said of himself that as far as the topic of religion was concerned, he considered himself completely "unmusical", "not tuned in". Evans-Pritchard pointed out that the early scholars of primitive religion were agnostics or atheists which fact did affect their interpretation. He quoted--as a warning to further research in this field of religion--from a colleague in this field that non-believers "will talk of religion as a blind man might of colours, or one totally devoid of ear, of a beautiful musical composition".[44]

Stanley Barrett focusses on a strongly utopian millenarian movement for change in certain parts of Nigeria: the Olowọ, using this African religiously inspired community as a testing ground for Weber's Protestant Ethic. J. Peel[45] claimed that the Ọlowo members were mostly this-worldly oriented and that their religiously inspired outlook on life and themselves made them remarkably ready for systematic ecbnomic work. Peter Lloyd's[46] interpretation is diametrically opposed to this: he claims that their sectarian view and mood made them other-worldly and reluctant to changes. Almost all interpreters though agree that the Olowo believers tried to make Christianity more African on their own indigeneous terms. This made all these "independent" African churches in general also more compromising with traditional African forms of authority, so these new sects had a strongly emancipatory effect on the anxious and ambitious new role player. Religion, then, may have a worldly impact on the sectarian joiner who, having acquired the sectarian group consciousness, is better prepared and equipped for socio-political and economic action as well. Stanley Barrett's interpretation appears the same as Sundkler's: the schismatic church movements open up new avenues for indigeneous Black leaders and followers. This would run parallel to Weber's interpretation of the Protestant Ethic: these church sects and

movements, are symptomatic for the process of emancipation,
potentially revolutionary, setting in motion a whole new
process of modernization, rationalization, humanistic
development of people engaged in raising their own con-
sciousness about the world surrounding them and the place
they occupy in it.

The Olowo case is a most complex utopian religious
movement with many millenarian dimensions--closely ob-
served, well-recorded and researched. To abbreviate
this African movement and make it relevant to other
forms of millenialism, especially to the Black Muslims
and the Ras Tafaris, Stanley Barrett suggests that the
Olowo movement served as a functional equivalent of the
Protestant Ethic, that it drastically modernized the
members and their socio-economic activities. He lists
the emancipatory ingredients which the movement entailed:
a strong belief in divine determination, ascetism, ration-
alization and obsession with work as an inherently good
pass-time, held to be successful in the long run. How-
ever, the one ideal-typical characteristic of the Cal-
vinistic ethic was obviously missing: individualism.
On the contrary, the fervent believers in this case
were completely wrapped up in the collective community
sense and effort, and they submitted themselves totally
to the authority of the leader. In a comparative final

analysis with Japan's modernization process: the Olowo movement, too, was an innovative collective orientation, stimulating development on a group base.

To conclude: Stanley Barrett's analysis contains rich theoretical material on Weber's Protestant Ethic. It is a most innovative and fascinating study in this field of African religious movement viewed in the context of social change and modernization. He brings the European 19th and 20th century sociological tradition to bear upon the perplexing variety of African religious initiatives taken in the area of modernization on indigeneous terms. The conclusion Barrett comes up with can be made relevant to other Black movements outside Africa, as well.

Research on social movements and how they are interrelated with social change--specifically interwoven with processes of acculturation--is a most crucial field for CD. Brian du Toit did research on several religiously based movements including millenarian ones entitled Configurations of Cultural Continuity (Balkema, Rotterdam, 1976). His cross-cultural research--comparable to Hobsbawn's analysis Primitive Rebels--covers a wide variety of movements which aim either at preventing social change at whatever cost, and guarantee continuity; or which accommodate and even initiate change. For our perspective here it is fascinating to follow him briefly in his

differentiating between movements for and against social
change:

(1) In tribal societies he focusses on mechanisms
which ensure that the basic socio-cultural trait are
properly passed on to the next generation. He calls
this phase in the collective socialization process "The
inculcation of traditional value orientations"--in other
words: the rites of passage--which is made into a separ-
ate chapter of his analysis.

(2) In a variety of societies Du Toit focusses
on movements of cultural adjustment like many millenarian
ones and so-called secret societies like for example
The Carbonari in 19th century Italy, and a whole variety
of cults in modern societies.

(3) The last chapter is dedicated to movements
which do not want to adapt to changes, which put all
their energy into holding back, even preventing change.
Under this heading, Du Toit looks analytically at both
the Ku Klux Klan and the Afrikaner Broederbond which
prove to be highly similar. This comparative treatment
throws a revealing light on the two total societies:
the U. S. A. and Republic of South Africa, and why and
how these movements were initiated and kept going for
such a long period of time. They are symptomatic for
an epidemic-type of societal disease: ideological
exclusiveness.

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> We may realize that a myth is a faulty explan-
> ation leading to social delusion and error, but
> we do not usually realize that we ourselves share
> in the myth-making faculty with all men of all
> times and places, that each of us has his own
> store of myths which has been derived from the
> traditional stock, always in ready supply, of
> the society in which we live. In earlier days
> we believed in magic, possession, and exorcism,
> in good and evil supernatural powers, and until
> recently, we believed in witchcraft. Today
> many of us believe in "race". "Race" is the
> witchcraft of our time. The means by which we
> exorcise demons. It is the contemporary myth.
> Man's most dangerous myth.[47]

Most fruitful research has been done and new

theoretical insights have been gained in the last two

decades in this field of religiously propelled movements

for change. The constant frantic search for a community,

a place where to feel at home, a supportive niche of

shared identity may escalate into a revolutionary

Gemeinschaft as manifest in the so-called "independent

Church movements" and their forever multiplying schismatic

subdivisions and offshoots. This recent field of separ-

ate social scientific endeavor--a sub-division of soci-

ology of religion frequently practised by anthropologists,

church historians and theologians--is a most fertile soil

for advancing our theoretical and practical knowledge of

what community means to people who are in the continuing

process of building it--in the face of their own societal

reality crumbling under the onslaught of forces from out-

side. The collective drive to regain the land taken away

by the colonial power, held to be irreplaceable because
of the communal manner of living and sacred because of
the direct continuous communication with the ancestors,
personally identified with the land, is a spiritual
issue, transcending material and tangible needs. It is
part and parcel of the whole religious canopy that used
to hold the members of the tribal community together.
What these new sectarian church movements offer is
spiritual superordination instead of the socio-political
subordination and dehumanizing degradation of the Africans.
What they need most acutely is a place to feel at home and
respected again.

For the CD perspective, it is highly relevant to
investigate who are joining these movements and what is
the outcome of these collective efforts against or for
change. The apparent heterogeneity of the movements'
membership is perplexing.

> . . . . the apparent cultural homogenization of
> African populations in religious movements or-
> ganizations may in fact be a statement of growing
> trends of social stratification based upon a class
> system. Congregations may increasingly reflect
> the class structure. Thus, cultural and ethnic
> heterogeneity may be replaced by class homogeneity
> within the context of religious movements. . . .
> This feature suggests a positive relationship
> between nationalism not limited to political
> and economic concerns but one which encompasses
> religious and cultural foci. These movements
> indicate the formation of African consciousness
> which accepts the intrinsic value of things
> African and naturalizes them within the Christian
> tradition. [48]

Those schismatic movements for renewal mushrooming
in rural areas offered the badly needed emotional support
in the field of basic needs: healing, coping with diseases
and death, and trying to come up with new satisfying al-
ternatives to witchcraft and magic. Movements spreading
in the cities may encompass a much broader spectrum of
issues, especially modern socio-economic and political
ones. Sundkler very clearly differentiates between the
small over-crowded store front churches in and around
Johannesburg and the big almost permanent religious camp-
sites--the "kraals" under their prophet leader--where
church members are flocking for elaborate long-lasting
baptismal and conversion ceremonies.

> African Christian churches developing within the
> context of social change acted as adaptive in-
> stitutions. Unlike traditional religious or-
> ganizations, many of the new churches, partic-
> ularly those in rapidly urbanizing areas, were
> voluntary associations that constituted partial
> substitutes for kin-based relationships and
> functioned as instruments for coping with a
> changing social scene. The urban churches
> provided mutual aid and a sense of belonging
> and were agencies of social control and mech-
> anisms for achieving status, prestige and
> leadership in terms of modern criteria.[49]

However, the emphasis on how these movements are
mostly adaptive, means for people in crisis to cope with
the social change is often overdone: solely a function-
alist reduction of societal reality which should rather
be approached from a holistic and humanistic perspective.

The aim of this thesis was to show that all these move-
ments are far more than a reaction to a situation of
despair and disorientation, far more than a "crisis
cult". They prove the enormous indigeneous creativity
of the groups in their ongoing struggle to construct and
revitalize the religious canopy of their community.

Wallace poignantly summarizes the development of
Christianity: how it had developed over many centuries
from

> . . . a millenarian, apocalyptic Jewish sect led
> by the fanatical Messiah Jesus, into a Gentile
> Greco-Roman sect led by Paul, and eventually
> into the giant institution of the Roman church.[50]

To be part and parcel of the so-called modern
western civilization which we now perceive as extremely
"secular" and "scientific"--may have made us oblivious
to the historical fact that the West throughout the
medieval and during modern times period grew out of a
variety of millenarian movements itself. Moreover, the
period of the Reformation in Europe is quite comparable
to the schismatic renewals now spreading all over Africa.

It was Roger Bastide who spent the better part of
his life studying the complex variety of African cults
among the Blacks in Brazil. Starting off with a modi-
fied Marxian-inspired framework, Bastide manages to
bring out the authentic processes of acculturation as

manifest in these African survival cults. He terms his

own research "Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civi-

lizations". His most innovative and profound approach

should be basic to any research project in this field of

social change, social movement and religion.

> Reacting against what he saw as the sterility of
> much contemporary British social anthropology,
> against the limitations of North American function-
> alism, against the "folkloric" or "antiquarian"
> approach, and against ethnocentrism and racism
> of any stripe, Bastide attempted to enter and
> grasp "candomblé" [the cult he studied and be-
> came extremely inspired by himself] as a living
> system of symbols. . . . Bastide saw religion
> as a central part of mankind's ongoing cultural
> activity; the anthropology of religion was, for
> him, a matter of going beyond "the chaos of re-
> ligious facts" in order "to understand man as
> manipulator of the sacred, and constructor of
> symbolic worlds". For Bastide trance and dreams,
> myth and madness, could be viewed as special lan-
> guages, and he argued early that the discovery of
> their semantic and syntactic structure must be a
> major goal. . . . Anthropology . . . ought to
> cease classifying cultural manifestations like
> dried herbs placed between the pages of a thick
> tome, cease classifying cultural manifestations
> like objects in a museum. A myth is not a dead
> thing, a dried flower; it lives and moves like
> the dreams of a sleeper. 51

In his article "Observations on the Sociology of

Social Movements", Rudolf Heberle encapsules a total

perspective on social movements. Part of our Chapter

II was dedicated to revolutions and revolutionary move-

ments in historical perspective. The French Revolution

was given special attention because France has always

been the classical field of study for social movements,

the laboratory for revolutions in the making.

In many cases, the "movement" has taken the place
of the gemeinschaft-like groups which were so
abundant in pre-industrial society.[52]

Heberle uses the term "texture" to denote the

quality of the socio-psychic interrelations between

members of the movement; and he suggests that the con-

cepts of community "Gemeinschaft" and association

"Gesellschaft" are extremely relevant to movement and

members. Deep engagement is characteristic for true

believers.

. . . a social or political creed can assume the
role of a pseudo-religion, that is to say, par-
ticipation can replace functionally, the genuine
religious experiences and the movement may in its
earlier phases assume the functional belief of a
sect and later that of a church.[53]

Richard Fenn [54] claims that increasing differentiation

between public and private sector has caused individuals

to feel left on their own with their private value systems

for their personal life. The large scale corporate

"actors" make decisions completely beyond control of the

individual and his value judgement. Benton Johnson ar-

ticulates his disagreements with this interpretation of

religion as a "privatized" affair.

This school of thought would regard the pro-
liferation of the religious and secular cults
of self-development as a simply by-product of
this process of differentiation.[55]

Fenn's interpretation then may be a serious under-

statement about religion, as a motivational force confined

to personal life only. Benton Johnson sees a much

broader role being played by religion in contemporary

society.

> . . . by any contentional definition, the line
> between the secular and the religious has become
> increasingly blurred in the therapeutic enter-
> prise . . . The new religions are only the top
> of the iceberg. They are merely the most color-
> ful and the most organized expressions of a trend
> toward the therapeutic reconstruction of the self
> that has been developing for several generations.
> Christopher Lash is right: the contemporary cli-
> mate is therapeutic, not religious.[56]

> The new therapies, whether secular or couched in
> religious language, are the successors to the
> traditional cure of souls. They have supplied
> for millions the motivational resources for
> living that are no longer supplied by tradi-
> tional world views.[57]

This is comparable to Jurgen Habermas on "bourgeois

ideologies" which are lacking in motivational resources to

guide the individual in modern societies, so they had to

fall back on traditional world views for emotional support

and for motivational drive. As Benton Johnson summarizes:

> . . . in this country the civil religion in
> general and the ethos of Protestantism in par-
> ticular have been the most influential of these
> world-views. They have helped to mitigate the
> demoralizing effects of a calculating and atom-
> istic utilitarianism and they have provided a
> continuing source of hope for one's own future
> and for the future of the country.[58]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Raymond L. Hall, after his two publications on
Black nationalism in the U. S. A., ventured into a cross
cultural comparative perspective on various nationalistic
movements and their collective search for identity and
for a fatherland. He relates these movements to the
Black movements for change within the U. S. A.: ". . .
that Black separatism is no more than the Black struggle
for justice, equality, and humanity against individual
and institutional racism, injustice, and the historical
and contemporary American denial of a fair chance for
dignified Black survival." "It is about people who at
first unconsciously accepted the American Dream in all
its utopian splendor, but later realized it was a night-
mare; it is also about people who hold onto the dream
while struggling to unmask the nightmare, hoping that
it is a sheep in wolf's clothing." Raymond L. Hall,
Black Separatism in the United States (Hanover, New
Hampshire: 1978), pp. 12-13.

[2] Hugh Brody, The People's Land (Penguin Books,
1975).

[3] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[4] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[5] Compare D. Booth, "Andre Gunter Frank: An
Introduction and Appreciation," ed. I. Oxaal, T. Barnett
and D. Booth (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976),
pp. 78-80. "Exploitation and Uneven Development: From
Spatial Relations to Social Relations".

[6] See P. Vallières, The White Niggers of America
(McClelland and Stewart, 1971).

[7] Edward H. Berman, African Reactions to Missionary
Education (New York and London: Teachers College Press,
Columbia University, 1975), p. 9.

[8] Orlando Patterson, "Slavery and Slave Revolts:
A Socio-Historical Analysis of the First Maroon War,
1665-1740," Maroon Societies, ed. Richard Price (Garden
City, N. Y.: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1973), p. 249.

[9]Janheinz Jahan, Muntu: An Outline of the New African Culture, trans. M. Gene (New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 51.

[10]Compare T. S. Nicholas, Ras Tafari. A Way of Life (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1979), pp. 6-20.

[11]Only much later the British got a few Maroons on their side for a short while by enlisting them as mercenaries for scouting and surveillance purposes. Of course this aspect of the Maroon history is not being revitalized by the present Ras Tafaris.

[12]Not included in this discussion are the contemporary Pentecostal movements as a vehicle of social change or social perpetuation.See the excellent study of social change and the Pentecostal vision by Robert M. Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited; The Making of American Pentecostalism (Oxford University Press, 1979). "Pentecostalism was a movement born of radical social discontent, which however, expended its revolutionary impulses in veiled, ineffectual, displaced attacks that amounted to withdrawal from the social struggle and passive acquiescence to a world they hated and wished to escape . . . Pentecostalism was an instrument forged by a segment of the working class out of protest against a social system that victimized them, but it functioned in a way that perpetuated that very system. A potential challenge to the social system was transformed into a bulwark of it." (p. 222).

[13]Compare Leonard E. Barrett, Soul Force: African Heritage in Afro-American Religion, in Eric C. Lincoln's series on Black Religion (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1974). Chapter 7. Barrett may have over-estimated his case by describing the Ras Tafaris as a multiple network and the Black Muslims as one movement directed by central charismatic leadership.

[14]We have gradually won our way back into the confidence of the God of Africa, and he shall speak with the voice of thunder, that shall shake the pillars of a corrupt and unjust world, and once more restore Ethiopia to her ancient glory. Marcus Garvey, The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, ed. Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 324.

We Negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the ever-
lasting God, God the Father, God the Son and God the
Holy Ghost, the one God of all ages. That's the God
whom we believe but shall worship him through the
spectacles of Ethiopia. Ibid., p. 44.

[15]The three men in Jamaica who started several cells
of the Ras Tafari cult were all Blacks who had acquired a
considerable knowledge of Africa, travelled widely and held
a variety of odd jobs. Moreover they had belonged to a
fundamentalist church and/or a Masonic society. Marcus
Garvey's slogans were taken over wholesale, especially
his inspiring dogma that the Black Man has a divine
origin and that he is thus by nature superior to the
White Man. Photographs of Haile Selassie (previously
called Ras Tafari) were sold and guaranteed to double
as passports for the imminent trip to Ethiopia.

[16]Some sort of Ras Tafari identification cards were
sold to prospective followers and said to guarantee imminent
transportation by boat to Ethiopia. One group was reported
to carry around an empty platter in loudly voiced antici-
pation of President Manley's head--to be chopped off soon.
This was more than any government would ever tolerate.

[17]M. G. Smith, Roy Augier and Rex Nettleford, "The
Ras Tafarian Movement in Kingston, Jamaica," Social and
Economic Studies (University of the West Indies, 1962).

[18]Compare Leonard J. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 171-172.

[19]Lanternari elaborates in his historical survey
Religion of the Oppressed: over and again the millenarian
spirit seems to arise out of its own ashes. A most il-
lustrative example are the Lazarretti in 19th century
Italy: peasants who kept their unwavering passion for
the imminent return of their Savior, especially in face
of contradicting events. When they arrived on top of
the mountain where the Lord's victorious return was pre-
dicted--all dressed in white gowns to express the imminency
of eternal life--police officers started shooting at the
participants and many believers were killed instantly.
South African 20th century history is abundant with
examples like that, the Bulhoek incident in 1923 being
one of the earlier and most violent ones.

[20]Haile Selassie and his staff were almost trampelled under by the enthusiastic welcomers. The stormy welcome caused the biggest traffic jam ever recorded in Jamaica. The emperor and his entourage had to be manoeuvred away from the scene of millenarian agitation by emergency measures. Later, he granted a few polite words of ex-change with some representatives of the Ras Tafaris who appeared satisfied with whatever his Highness said or did not say.

[21]In the meantime, the Ras Tafaris are truly living according to their Old Testament inspired simple life style: back to Moses and back to nature. As typical for almost all millenarian movements there are many eating and drinking taboos. No western chemicals, additives nor medicines are tolerated; only <u>one</u> drug is allowed, even more so, ritually encouraged: namely ganja, i. e. marijuana. This ganja rite has caused many problems for the Brethren and of course has made authorities extremely suspicious of the Ras Tafarian communal goals and projects. It has given them some bad publicity and a negative group image, unfortunately.

[22]Leonard E. Barrett wrote first a concise mono-graph on the Ras Tafaris. <u>The Rastafarians: A Study in Messianic Cultism in Jamaica</u> (University of Puerto Rico, 1968); then he widened his field of research by branching out into a comparative treatment of Black counter-movements and their revitalized culture put in historical and cross-cultural perspective. This last study is also inter-disciplinary and most relevant to CD facilitators in order to become aware of the enormous creativity generated by such movements. The impact of such counter movements on the total society is of crucial importance to CD and to people who claim to be working in the field according to CD principles.

[23]Ibid., p. 153.

[24]Characteristics for so-called Fundamentalist churches which tend to approve of present socio-economic and political conditions by legitimating the status quo or agitating for retrogressive legislation. The present so-called moral majority in the U. S. A.--and somewhat overspilling into Canada too--could be quoted here as an example.

[25]Compare M. Sanford, "Revitalization Movements as Indicators of Completed Acculturation," _Comparative Studies of Society and History_ (Vol. 16, 1974), pp. 504-518.

[26]Compare Lincoln, _The Negro Pilgrimage in America_ (New York: Bantam Books, 1967). The long and painful history of the Blacks as a permanently oppressed group was the focus of this separate study by Lincoln. When he seems extremely pessimistic about permanent change for the Blacks as a sub-group within the total American society, his interpretation is extremely well documented.

[27]Lincoln, Introduction to L. E. Barrett, _Soul Force_, p. xiii.

[28]Nicholas, op. cit., p. 30.

[29]Machiavelli then goes on with his biting mockery-- all out of sincere concern about the desperate state of socio-political affairs in the Italian city-states during the Renaissance--bringing to life on the stage a bunch of corrupt crooks who are trying remarkably successfully to outdo each other in trickery and facade morality in order to gain power and control. The devastating attacks-- above all on the men who are representing the power of the Church convey an extreme pessimism about human nature --an early modern instance of secular critique of a blatant attack on the perversity of what used to be sacred. This play shows Machiavelli the ethical philosopher who wanted to put some kind of moral back into the management of societal affairs. By turning the human world upside down in his evocative writing, he aimed to depict how thoroughly corrupted the wielders of power and influence proved to be behind their church-protected facade of legitimated outer morality.

[30]Nicholas, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[31]V. Murvar, "Messianism in Russia: Religious and Revolutionary," _Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion_ (Vol. 10, 1971), pp. 277-338.

[32]In retrospective, some of the literature poured out on poverty and underdevelopment in the 1950's and

1960's has become if not obsolete, biased and at least, incomplete. A lot of it by now may be of mostly historical value to the specialist in the field of history of ideas and concepts.

"I am afraid that much of the plight of the poor continues to be a concocted tool of social revolutions, middle class perspectives, and ambitious social scientists caught up in the culturally competitive academic arena where the myths of poverty are contemporary grist for their publishing mills." Melvin D. Williams, Community in a Black Pentecostal Church (Pittsburgh: 1974), p. 184. See Lewis, 1968; Parker and Kleiner, 1970; Riesman, 1964; Spier et al., 1959; Valentine, 1968, 1969.

[33]Compare C. Hutton and R. Cohen, "African Peasants and Resistance to Change," Beyond the Sociology of Development, ed. I. Oxaal, T. Barnett, David Booth (London: 1975).

[34]Williams, op. cit., p. 175.

[35]Ibid., p. 174.

[36]Ibid., p. 179

[37]See for example, John H. Denton, Apartheid American Style (Berkeley, California: Diabolo Press, 1967). P. L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism. A Comparative Perspective (New York and London: 1967).

[38]Bengt Sundkler, Bantu Prophets (London: 1948), p. 176.

[39]Compare Sundkler's conclusions in Bantu Prophets, pp. 295-301.

[40]Sundkler, op. cit., p. 179.

[41]Bengt Sundkler, Zulu Zionism (Oxford University Press: 1976), p. 319.

[42]Comparable to the emancipation described by the Renaissance philosopher Pico de Morandola in 15th century Italy.

[43]Compare H. W. Turner, "African Prophets Movements: A Methodology for Modern African Religious Movements," Comparative Studies in Society and History (Vol. 8, 1965-66), pp. 281-294; and History of an African Independent Church I, The Church of the Lord Aladura (Oxford: 1967).

[44]Evans-Pritchard, Theories of Primitive Religion, (Oxford: 1965), p. 15.

[45]J. Peel, Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba (London: 1968), p. 300.

[46]P. Lloyd, "The Traditional Political System of the Yoruba," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10 (1954), pp. 366-384. Also compare P. C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change (Penguin, 1969).

[47]From a study by the same title Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, Ashley Montagu, (Oxford University, 1974), p. 3. Also compare: Dunham, Man Against Myth; Evans, The Natural History of Nonsense; Bain, "Man, the Myth-maker," Scientific Monthly LXV (1947), pp. 61-69; Feuer, "Political Myths and Metaphysics," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research XV (1955), pp. 332-350; Murray (ed.) Myth and Mythmaking, 1960; and Richard H. Osborne, The Biological and Social Meaning of Race (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1971).

[48]George Bond, Walton Johnson and Sheila S. Walker (ed.) African Christianity, Patterns of Religious Continuity (New York: Academic Press, 1979), p. 164.

[49]Ibid., p. 166.

[50]A. Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View (Random House, 1966), p. 254.

[51]Bastide as quoted in Foreword by Richard Price, p. ix, The African Religions of Brazil (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[52]Rudolf Heberle, "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," American Sociological Review (Vol. 14, 1949), pp. 346-357.

[53]Ibid., p. 356.

[54]Fenn, "Towards a New Sociology of Religion," Journal for Scientific Study of Religion, 11 (March, 1972), pp. 16-32; and "Toward a Theory of Secularization," Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Monograph Series, Number 1 (1978).

[55]Fenn, "Toward a Theory of Secularization", p. 4.

[56]Benton Johnson, "A Sociological Perspective on the New Religions" (Unpublished paper, University of Oregon), pp. 2-3.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., p. 9.

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