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TERMS OF USE AND ABUSE: THE RECRUITING

RHETORIC OF CULTS

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ABSTRACT

Cults are negatively regarded. The way in which they persuade people to join their movements is particularly criticised by, for example, the anti-cult movement. Cults do use language in specific ways to recruit new members. There are, however, other groups who use language similarly, for recruitment purposes, but without stigmatisation. A new framework for rhetorical analysis, incorporating both classical tradition and contemporary work in text analysis, is particularly useful at demonstrating this. This thesis develops such a framework and uses it to analyse the rhetoric of three cults, Scientology, The Jehovah's Witnesses and the Children of God, showing that cults' distinctive negative profile in society is not matched by a linguistic typology. Indeed, this negative profile seems to rest on the semantics and application of the term 'cult' itself. Not only does this analysis increase our understanding of rhetoric, it paves the way for new questions to be asked about the pejoration of cults.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

"The world's head laundry is good at washing brains: Don't jump off that cliff don't walk through that door don't step into that waterfall don't take that chance don't step across that line don't ruffle my sensitivities I'm warning you now don't make me mad you're doing it you're making me mad. You won't have a chance you haven't got a prayer you're finished you're history you're less than nothing, you're dead to me, dead to your whole family your nation your race, everything you ought to love more than life and listen to like your master's voice and follow blindly and bow down before and worship and obey; you're dead, you hear me, forget about it you stupid bastard. I don't even know your name." [1]

The Ground Beneath Her Feet, Salman Rushdie.

Rushdie's lines capture what is commonly thought of as the cult experience. Upon joining a cult one dies to everything one knows. One leaves family and friends and embarks on a new life which is completely incomprehensible from the outside. The member follows the cult blindly, or at least it seems so to outside observers. The image of Jonestown still looms large and informs much of the discourse that surrounds modern day movements, even more than twenty years on. Yet the discourse that surrounds cults often obscures rather than reveals the processes within them. Allegations abound of abuse and brainwashing, deprivation of will and autonomy. It is in this way that we come to understand and rationalise cults as a radical difference in our society. This rationalisation also influences legislative and regulatory bodies in so far as the activities of cults are restricted and sometimes forbidden. Because of this, an examination of the bases of views about cults and how they operate is timely.

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[1] Salman Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, (London: Random House, 1999), p. 177.

The allegation of brainwashing is a good place to start with an analysis of cults. The notion that people would only join a cult group because of a supernatural or superscientific force is part of the rationalisation of difference. If brainwashing does occur, it is no doubt of a complex form. People subjected to brainwashing claim that they were unable to resist the force, that it is coercive and strips them of will. If this process does occur, certainly some of it is related to social practices. As language is a social practice, and identity and decision making are informed by discussion and argumentation, language must certainly also be part of the process of brainwashing. More generally, and more significantly, in terms of a departure point for an investigation of cults, language is used in the recruiting process. It may not be the only factor but it is certainly, at least *prima facie*, an important one.

The purpose of this work is threefold. Firstly, I will develop a new framework for conducting text analysis. It is essentially a rhetorical framework and will be outlined in some detail. Secondly, I will analyse a number of cult recruiting texts according to this framework in order to discover if there is something distinctive about the textual strategies that are used to recruit people into these movements. In doing so, I will compare cult texts with recruiting texts in the wider cult discourse context as well as recruiting texts from groups that generally fall outside the designation 'cult'. Finally, on the basis of this analysis, I will argue that the term 'cult' requires demystification and if it is to be used at all, needs to be used more consistently than it has been. The overall question that I will then ask, is whether cult recruiting techniques from a textual point of view are different from other recruiting techniques. I will show that they are not.

The work that has been conducted on the language of cults is not extensive. That which has been done, however, points to productive areas of research as well as pitfalls. Further, the work that has been done on cults generally, especially that of sociologists, supports imperatives for research in the area of cult language. Sociologists working on cults examine the way in which social processes within the group operate as well as the way in which the group interfaces with the outside world. Given that language is also a social process, the examination of cult texts is a logical extension of the excellent work that has been conducted in sociology.

The texts and movements that I have chosen to examine are representative of the cult community. The movements have been chosen according to Wallis' tripartite sociological division of movements into world-affirming, world-accommodating and world-rejecting movements. The texts that I have chosen are representative not only of the movements which author them but also of the three types of proof that Aristotle identifies rhetorically; *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*.

I will show that in the case of recruiting, which is essentially a persuasive action, rhetoric is the appropriate approach for understanding the texts under consideration. For this reason I will outline the fundamental aspects of rhetoric diachronically and synchronically. I will show, through an examination of the rhetoric of science, that rhetoric is most successful when it seeks to transcend its own foundations; when it parades as truth. Partly for this reason, contemporary scholars have identified a need for the 'rescue of rhetoric'. This rescue is twofold in so far as it requires an understanding of the nature of rhetoric from the point of view of both the construction and analysis of text.

The groups chosen suggest the variety of movements that are commonly called cults. In setting out the framework for my analysis I will argue that a single theory cannot capture the diversity of persuasive language or of language action. To this end, I have incorporated a number of approaches under the broader rubric of the classical rhetorical canons. This synergistic and powerful combination of elements is instrumental in providing the vocabulary and analytical insights necessary to deal with cult discourse. Further, while important work has been conducted recently in relation to the use of rhetoric as a tool of textual analysis, there seem to be no systematic frameworks. To deal with a single text in this way is not problematic. The shape of the text dictates the shape of the analysis. When one is dealing with a number of texts, however, it is important to have consistent criteria of analysis. In this way comparisons between texts are easier to make. While the texts that I deal with do shape what is included in the analysis, in all cases the five canons are addressed.

This is a new way of dealing with texts. My departure point is understanding texts as functional: they perform work. In this context, they perform the work of recruiting people

into movements. My framework is also generally pragmatic in that it understands language in a total context. In the case of recruiting texts certainly part of this work is persuasive. An important question to ask in this context is whether a text persuades someone *that* something is the case, or persuades him or her *to do* something. Thus the nature of the perlocutionary effect (or even what we might call the post-perlocutionary effect) is essential. We can also understand these texts as performing a process of enculturation, of recruitment not only into a movement but also more generally, though just as important, recruitment into a world-view. The recruitment into the movement is the *persuasion to*, the recruitment into the world-view is the *persuasion that*. The two are thus clearly linked.

While persuasion is the function of the text, this function may be realised in many ways. It is at this point that more detailed, 'bottom up' analysis is necessary. Insights from critical linguistics, semantics and text linguistics help to articulate this analysis. Using the five classical rhetorical canons allows all this work to be done within a unified framework. It also allows us to look separately at all aspects of the text, from the way it is produced, disseminated and laid out, to the way in which grammatical structures support the arguments being made. While I have incorporated a number of theories into my rhetorical framework, it has become apparent in the process of analysis, that some of these tools require further development. Thus, while I invoke speech act theory, critical discourse analysis, and the concept of the 'discourse community', I also develop these approaches to render them more powerful in the process of analysis.

The five rhetorical canons that I use are memory, delivery, arrangement, invention and style. The canon of **memory** is reinterpreted to understand it as the perlocutionary effect on the audience. As rhetoric is no longer only oral, I will argue that it is appropriate to understand 'memory' as what it is that the audience remembers, essentially what the effect of a text is on its receiving audience. **Delivery** covers both the producing 'discourse community' and the way in which the text is delivered, be it orally, in a written form, by post, through the internet and so on. It also involves an examination of the effect that textual layout has on the reader in so far as it encourages certain expectations and preconceptions about content. The **arrangement** of a text is simply how

it is put together in structural terms, what makes it accessible and recognisable as a text. **Invention** concerns itself with the selection and articulation of arguments in support of the text's purpose. Thus it draws extensively on argument theory. Finally, **style** is concerned with the relevance and effect of lexical, semantic and syntactic choices. It profits from insights provided by critical discourse analysis and stylistics.

Allowing all these aspects a voice in analysis is essential. These texts are narratives and representations. They are informed not only by the movement's particular way of looking at the world but also by other dominant voices in society. For example, the way in which cults exploit scientific language and themes is directly attributable to the status that scientific endeavour has in contemporary Western society. The texts are thus not original in the sense that they come from an untainted and innocent source. The narratives all bear traces of the pressures and influences that are brought to bear on all discourse production processes. These traces can provide us with information about how the text is oriented, what the text is responding to and in which discourse context it should be viewed.

The analysis of cult texts explains both how they may be successful as recruiting materials and how they may not be. Understanding the persuasive processes at work is a way of resisting them, but it is also a way of understanding how resistance may not be possible. This process of analysis essentially demystifies the recruitment process and implicitly at least, allegations of manipulation, brainwashing and mind control.

After outlining this multi-modal framework, analysis of **three** texts will be undertaken. These texts form the centre of their sections, though other writings from the movement will be considered where appropriate. The **first** text I examine is a speech given by L. Ron Hubbard, the founder of Scientology. It is an autobiographical text which performs more work than just telling a story. In this text, the narrative structure is also the argument structure. It is episodic, alternating between life anecdotes and generalisations based on information in these. Hubbard exploits humour in order to build a relationship with the audience. The text relies on pronouns of solidarity as well as disaffiliation to recruit listeners into the world-view of the cult.

The **second** text, a Bible study document from the Jehovah's Witnesses is a very different kind of text. It relies on semantic manipulation and the marshalling of alternative proofs to encourage the reader to consider the Bible. It relies on enthymemic reasoning, association of good character and pseudo-logical structures to make its conclusion compelling. Like L. Ron Hubbard's Story, it is also episodic, and uses both illustration and example to make generalisations favourable to the movement.

The **final text** is a Mo letter produced by the leader of the Children of God (now The Family), David Berg (or Mo). It is also a narrative which relies on specific understandings of science in order to champion the creation story over evolution. The way in which the text is structured effectively sets the narratives against each other, though as we will see, not always in their own terms and not always on an equal footing.

All this is not to say that one will necessarily encounter these specific texts while being recruited, or indeed that they will be successful in a recruitment attempt. Recruitment also involves interpersonal communication and dynamics which, while they may be hinted at in the texts, are not necessarily a part of them.

In understanding the discourse of cults it is necessary to see their discourse practices in a broader perspective. I call this perspective the 'discourse context'. If we are to make judgements about groups and their use of language it is essential to see them in context; in their appropriate discourse context. This context includes all discourse about cults, most significantly the texts produced by the anti-cult movement. Discourse does not proceed in a vacuum. It responds to and prompts other text production. To understand the position of cults in our society it is necessary to take this context into consideration. To do this, I will examine texts from the anti-cult movement as well as from other areas of society, such as corporate recruitment. Further, in order to understand cults and the texts they produce, one must accept that their textual practices are not always ones with which we will be familiar. If we do not take into account the possibility that cults may use familiar genres in unfamiliar ways, then we run the risk of misunderstanding these groups completely.

Following the chapters of analysis, I will draw together the textual features discovered in cult recruiting texts comparing them with textual features of other recruiting texts in the discourse context. This will also involve an examination of what recruiting involves, leading to the articulation of a recruiting script.

In the final chapter I will examine what 'cult' actually means. It may seem logical to do this first, before any examination of texts actually takes place. This will not be done for a number of reasons. The texts I have chosen are from groups commonly understood to be cults. Thus I begin by taking for granted the definitions that are commonly ascribed to 'cult'. In seeing what these texts have in common, we are in a better position to make generalisations about what cults actually are. Thus we are uninhibited by biases, usually negative, that surround the term 'cult'. The process is thus finally descriptive rather than normative. I will show that the groups that we consider to be cults have much in common with other groups that we do not consider to be cults. This conclusion is based on the foregoing textual analysis as well as a semantic integration of the features that arise from the analysis.

Thus I will show that while 'cult' may seem to have an accepted meaning, it is not one that is self-evident or consistently applied. This begs the question as to how we currently identify cults. I will argue that the pejoration of cults is bound up in defence of a dominant ideology which necessarily understands cults as subversive, deviant and dangerous. This is not to say that there are not dangerous groups in society which threaten the welfare of those involved. It is merely to assert that not all the groups we generally think of as 'cults' are necessarily dangerous in this way.

Having established a definition of 'cult' based on textual analysis and the definitions of 'cult' available, I ask why McKinsey Corporation is not considered a cult. I do not mean to suggest that it should be labelled a cult. Rather, given the definition of 'cult' I ask why the term is not consistently applied. I suggest that cults are marginalised because of the conflict of their values and goals with those of the dominant ideology.

The textual analysis that is undertaken is certainly valuable in its own right. At the same time, in this context it is being used in the service of a more general argument, that cults

do not have a distinctive linguistic typology. The questions that this raises are also, however, linguistic. Given the social nature of language and the way in which it participates in the structuring of our reality, it is important to consider the ideological and semantic features which result in the systematic pejoration of cults.

The examination of cult discourse with a view to identifying 'cults' is timely. France has recently introduced legislation "aimed at controlling the activities of cults".[2] It aims to make a crime of "mental manipulation".[3] There are three interesting issues connected with this legislation. The first is the assumption that identifying 'cults' is unproblematic, "'We all know what sects [cults] are" said one MP, Jean-Pierre Brard, "They cultivate secrecy and dissimulation, they prosper in obscurity. We needed a weapon to fight them, and now we have it'". The obvious question raised here is that if these groups "prosper in obscurity" it suggests that they are not so easy to identify after all.

The second issue is related as it concerns the nature of 'cults'. The legislation will

> allow courts to order the immediate dissolution of any movement regarded as a cult whose members are found guilty of such existing offences as fraud, abuse of confidence, the illegal practice of medicine, wrongful advertising and sexual abuse.[4]

There is no doubt that people found guilty of these 'existing offences' should be subject to the force of law, and not exempted because of their association with a group. But if dissolution of a group is allowed in some cases it is not clear why it should not always be effected. Members of the Catholic church, to take a well known example, have been found guilty of such offences, but are treated as individuals rather than representatives of

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[2] Jon Henley, "France arms itself with legal weapon to fight sects", *The Guardian*, 1 June 2001, p. 13.

[3] See Willy Fature, "France's Anti-Sect Bill could hinder Religious Freedom", Worthy News, July 20, 2000, www.cesnur.org [accessed 4th May 2001].

[4] Henley, p. 13.

a group. Perhaps this is why "Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders have expressed disquiet".[5] This legislation relies on what "movement" is "regarded as a cult".

The third issue is to do with 'mental manipulation' itself. The legislation defines it as any activity or activities

> with the goal or the effect to create or exploit a state of psychological or physical dependence of people who are participating in the group's activities, to exercise on one of these people repeated and serious pressure and to use patent techniques to change the person's judgement in order to lead this person, against his or her will or not, to an act or an abstention which is heavily prejudicial to him/her.

This amounts to making a crime of effective persuasion if the result is 'prejudicial'. Usually moves against cults are predicated on the idea that members have no free will. But in this case, even free will can still be present. Father Jean Vernette comments, "How can one make, with no mistake, the difference between spiritual guidance and mental manipulation?".[6] Apparently according to results of the persuasion.

The assumption that members of cults should be responsible for the activities of their members expresses an ideology that is in fact created by interested groups such as anti-cultists and especially the media, as we will see. More importantly the laws have been denounced as "anti-democratic and in breach of human rights laws",[7] albeit by Scientology and the Unification Church. It is certainly arguable that these laws are discriminatory and in breach of a number of accepted human rights, the right to private life, freedom of speech and association, for example.

If human rights are to be respected theoretically and in practice they must be uniformly applied and not subject to prejudice and misunderstanding. This thesis is at least implicitly an argument against such prejudice and indeed an argument for protection of the human rights of cult members. As will often be repeated, no doubt there are groups that cause harm to individual members. But to blindly associate 'cult' with all such

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[5] Henley, p. 13.

[6] Fature.

[7] Fature.

movements that have an ideology somehow at odds with the dominant ideology is little short of ignorant. The notion that members can be compelled to act in a certain way by a movement denies free will and thus treats such members as somehow sub-human, therefore having no recourse to any kind of rights. Though there may well be oppression operating in the cult discourse context, it is not immediately obvious from the existing discourses from where this oppression originates.

CHAPTER TWO – THE LANGUAGE OF CULTS

WHAT WE KNOW SO FAR

While cults of various kinds have perennially been a subject of concern for theologists, sociologists, historians as well as more recently the general public, there has not been a great deal of writing about religious cults in terms of the way they use language. Comment on the language use of these groups, where it does occur, is incidental to discussion of other features such as cults' sociological profiles, psychological techniques of manipulation, history and development. This is quite remarkable. Personal accounts which warn against the dangers of cults invariably mention that a group has a very particular way of speaking to outsiders and to each other.[1] There does not seem to have been a great deal of work done about exactly what these differences might be. What has been written about cults, however, varies greatly, from rigorous sociological analyses to sensationalist media accounts of the evil in our midst.[2] Because of the lack of writing specifically about the use of language in cults, I will briefly outline some other work that has been produced on cults generally. While this is by no means an exhaustive list of all cult literature, it will serve to sketch the major discourse communities[3] involved in the broader cult debate.

To begin with, I will examine the few texts which deal specifically and in detail with the language of cults. I will then examine three areas of writing about cults: ex-member accounts, sociological studies and media reports. A brief overview of texts which deal with cults, even though they do not deal specifically with language, is valuable for two reasons. First, it gives us an idea of cult features considered worthy of study. This leads

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[1] See, for example, Heather and Gary Botting, *The Orwellian World of Jehovah's Witnesses*, (London: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 83.

[2] This is not a pejorative reference to Margaret Singer's *Cults in Our Midst*, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1995)

[3] For a discussion of discourse communities, see Chapter 3.

onto the second reason, namely, that even a passing familiarity with the literature on cults gives an idea of the esteem in which they are (or indeed are not) held in the general community. This provides at the very least a starting point for analysis of the texts which try to recruit members of the general community into cults. Further, it provides a basis for investigation into the semantics of 'cult' which will be conducted in the final chapter.

As has been mentioned, little attention has been paid to the language that cults use to recruit and maintain members. Detailed work in this area is predominantly in the form of graduate dissertations of which I will examine three. Karen M. King in "The Rhetoric of the New Religious Cults - Analysis of the Rhetoric of the Unification Church"[4] uses fantasy theme analysis to examine the rhetoric of the Unification Church. Fantasy theme analysis holds "that statements made by one member of a small group often have the power to capitalize on the suppressed feelings and attitudes of others in the group thus taking hold, chasing out and catching up all or most of the people in the group" in a 'rhetorical vision'.[5] King's analysis tends to be more historical and descriptive than analytical and critical, however. She outlines some of the major tropes and themes used in Unification Church discourse, but does not subject them to criticism or analyse how they affect members. But her recognition of the centrality of both the group as a producer of discourse and of the particular potencies of spoken language breaks important ground in the area of cult use of language.

Carl Cates' "Cult Rhetoric: A Genre of Manipulative Speech"[6] investigates whether or not the rhetoric of cults is distinctive from other groups and concludes that it is. He looks particularly at the Boston Church and the very controversial International Church of

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[4] Karen Mae King, *The Rhetoric of the New Religious Cults: a fantasy theme analysis of the rhetoric of the Unification Church,* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1980) Reproduction: Microfiche. Ann Arbor, MI, University Microfilms International, 1981

[5] King, p. 3.

[6] Carl M. Cates, "Cult Rhetoric: A Genre of Manipulative Speech", (unpublished doctoral thesis, Florida State University, 1994)

Christ (ICC), which grew out of the Boston movement.[7] He poses a large number of questions based on differences of style, structure and situation. To test them, he uses content analyses, the level of coding being the sentence. This certainly gives neat (and not unexpected results) but it does not reveal much about how language actually works. This approach also seems to pre-judge what may or may not be distinctive about a cult's language as the terms of analysis and the questions posed depend on unquestioned assumptions about how cults operate. For example, Cates looks for emotional language, references to the group itself and references to the group leader. Thus he tends to produce work which is essentially genre analysis, though based on pre-conceptions about the genres cults use. As we will see, part of the problem with cult discourse is exactly a lack of understanding of the idiosyncratic genres of these groups.

Molly Malouf's dissertation[8] "The Effort to be God" is the most successful of the three dissertations and focuses on Moon, the leader of the Unification Church, and on Jim Jones. Her analyses of the two men's persuasive strategies take into account language as social and constructive of identity. On the surface she may appear to come to similar conclusions as Cates and King, but Malouf analyses the speech of the two men in detail. She examines grammatical construction, use of discourse strategies, argument structure, theme and cohesive effects and construction of personal identity through their speech. This results in an understanding of the linguistic features of Jones' and Moon's discourse suggesting why they are such successful speakers without any generalisations being made about cult leaders, or indeed about cult discourse.

As we will see, many accounts of cult recruitment and lifestyle note the importance of speech strategies in drawing people into groups and keeping them there. The focus of any attention of this kind has often been, as in Malouf, on the so-called charismatic leader.

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[7] The ICC is considered to be a cult and it is quite active in the UK, especially in England. See, for example, Alison Utley, "Chaplains Warn of Abusive Sect", *THES*, 22 October 1999.

[8] Molly A. Malouf, *The Effort to be God: a study of the rhetoric of contemporary cult leadership*, (unpublished Honors degree, Dept. of Communication, University of Utah, 1996)

But initial contact with the group will probably not even mention that the group is a religion, and certainly not that it has a leader.[9] Attention paid to the leader is understandable; from an outside perspective they seem to be what holds these groups together. Certainly the leader is often the only individual accepted as having any moral agency or ethical responsibility in the group. But to understand the way in which cults use language to recruit members we have to understand how language functions in the group generally and at the recruitment stage in particular.

The accounts of ex-members articulate two major trends.[10] The first kind is the personal story. It is typified by Edwards' *Crazy For God*.[11] In it, he details his recruitment into, membership of and finally rescue from, the Unification Church. Accounts like this act as confessionals. The cult is painted largely in negative and manipulative terms, though the cohesion of the group and its apparent affection for new members is often mentioned. The manipulation excuses the now reformed recruit from his strange, or perhaps illegal,[12] prior behaviour. The autobiography, however, is problematic especially in terms of reliability. The narrative cohesion of Edwards' account is something that can only be created in retrospect. This is not an accusation of wilful dishonesty, but the memory does tend to order past events into clear relations of cause and effect, relations which may not have been seen at the time events occurred.[13] A pervasive motif in Edwards' account is the trope of the child. He explains his recruitment into the cult in terms of being cast into the role of the child by the cult.

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[9] We see this in the later discussion of ex-member accounts.

[10] I have not been able to obtain all of those published. I have, however, considered a number of accounts of these kinds. I concentrate on Edwards and Hassan because they are both representative and accessible.

[11] Christopher Edwards, *Crazy for God*, (New Kersey: Prentice Hall, 1979)

[12] For example, Edwards and Hassan mention members giving false information in the collection of funds. They assert that they are collecting for sick children, for example. This, of course, constitutes fraud in some jurisdictions.

[13] Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps, "Narrating the Self", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25 (1996), 19-43, p. 22.

Suddenly I understood what they wanted from me. Their role was to tease me with their love, dishing it out and withdrawing it as they saw fit. My role was not to question but to be their child, dependent on them for affection. The kiddie games, the raucous singing, the silly laughter, were all part of a scenario geared to help me assume my new identity.[14]

If Edwards recognised this particular manipulation at the time, one wonders why he stayed in the movement. It is more likely that he identified how love was given and responded so as to belong to the group, but did not see the implications of this at the time. It is difficult to take these accounts as factual because of their perfect consistency and strong bias, though their value in expressing a particular individual's experience is interesting. Narrated conversations which form part of Edwards' recruitment process cannot be usefully subjected to linguistic analysis, for example, as they are not objective accounts but merely recollections. These accounts are perhaps interesting from a psychological point of view, examining the role of memory in the construction of representations perhaps, but we cannot rely on them as accurate records of the use of language.

Edwards does have something to say, albeit indirectly, about the way the group used language to recruit and retain him as a member. He remarks on the way other members mirrored his experience in the way they talked about their life before joining the group. "After asking me a personal question, Family members would respond to my answer by saying how much their situation was like mine".[15] Edwards also implies the exercise of power in the use of language either through insults, "Once again [the] theme was that we are so arrogant that we might not recognize the Truth when we hear it"[16] or through audacity of remark "He really spoke with the authority of a Messiah, I thought. What conviction! I was both frightened and impressed by each audacious announcement".[17] He also notes the conduct of interactional conversation was very much controlled and

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[14] Edwards, p. 38.

[15] Edwards, p. 21.

[16] Edwards, p. 29.

directed: "In the discussion period that followed [the lecture], I noticed that any questions that could be answered were easily dealt with, but the more difficult or unanswerable questions were bypassed, with Jacob simply saying that if we waited until the lectures were over, Dust's meaning would become clear".[18]

The second category of accounts takes the personal story as its departure point. It is not so much a confession as a morality tale. Both types of account have elements of this (as stories like Edwards' are also 'cautionary tales'). But in the second form of account, the narrative is then used as evidence for theorising about cults in general. Steve Hassan's *Combatting Cult Mind Control*[19] is one of the best known of this kind. He, like Edwards, was at one time a member of the Unification Church. After leaving the movement he became an exit counsellor[20] and while he is often presented as the typical face of the anti-cult movement, he is not universally adored amongst anti-cult people.[21] His book, as the title suggests, is a protection manual for those feeling under threat from cults. His central theory relates to the manipulation that allegedly leads to recruitment.

He rejects theories of 'brainwashing', even though this seems to be a rejection of terminology only, in favour of one of 'mind control'. He argues that hypnotic techniques and group dynamics are exploited to manipulate the individual into joining the movement. He eventually builds his theory on Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, that if you change a person's behaviour, their beliefs will follow. Control of environment, thoughts, emotion, information and behaviour are crucial to exploit this dissonance. Hassan's co-opting of various psychological and psychodynamic theories gives his work the appearance of considered science because it draws on traditional work in psychology. But his purpose, like Edwards', is justifying and explaining his own membership in the

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[17] Edwards, p. 94. Interestingly, Edwards made this comment upon reading one of the leader's transcribed speeches.

[18] Edwards, p. 30.

[19] Steven Hassan, *Combatting Cult Mind Control*, (Vermont: Park Street Press, 1988)

[20] An exit counsellor 'rescues', 'deprograms' or treats ex-cult members.

[21] Private conversation with anti-cult groups in London, August 1998.

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Unification Church. Again, these kinds of texts are not always useful in coming to terms in a detailed manner with the way in which cults use language if only because of the strong anti-cult position that such texts take.

Hassan does have some comment in his account, at least implicitly, about the language that cults use. Hassan, like Edwards, mentions the unanswered questions. "At that point I didn't notice that my questions were never answered".[22] He also remarks on the Unification Church's practice of 'love-bombing' which involves flattering a new or potential recruit.[23] It is actually extralinguistic features that Hassan mentions; voices full of 'intrigue' and 'mystery'.[24] But what is more interesting is that the lectures that are given, at least in the beginning, didn't seem to explain "why everyone...seemed so happy all the time".[25] So in fact, it was the disparity between discourse and behaviour that was seductive for Hassan.

What is common to both types of account, and, as we shall see, also to media accounts, is that the offending cult is given a great deal of power. Their attacks are apparently flawless. The recruitment process is one in which the group moves the recruit about like a pawn, manipulating him/her at will. Edwards and Hassan mention and fit the stereotypical profile of a potential recruit; that of a vulnerable, young person, who has just undergone major change or upheaval in the form of finishing education or a relationship: someone with no ties who is generally drifting. The vulnerability of the recruit is emphasised in direct contrast to the power of the cult. This creates an interesting view of cults. On one hand, they prey on the weak, suggesting that they could not manage to manipulate anyone less vulnerable. On the other hand, the group is all powerful, seemingly all knowing and far too clever for any resistance. Ex-member accounts like Hassan's attempt to present the self as at once vulnerable and intelligent. The paradox results from this dual self-portrayal. I will return to these two ex-member accounts again.

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[22] Hassan, p. 13.

[23] Hassan, p. 14.

[24] Hassan, p. 15.

As cults are generally thought to be religious groups, it is only natural that theologians might be interested in them. Walter Martin heads the Christian crusade against cults. There is a proliferation of material of this kind, usually produced by particular churches about particular Bible based cults.[26] Writing tends to focus on detailed theological matters and argues that these groups are cults (as well as heretic) because they are wilfully misinterpreting and misusing Christian texts. The underlying argument is that anything, which is not a specific kind of Christianity, of the kind endorsed by the authoring church, is a cult.

What is significant about Martin's work is his recognition of the manipulation of language which takes place in some alleged cults. He notes that the Christian texts and vocabularies can be used to mount a very 'un-Christian' argument. If one is not aware of the theological differences (despite the linguistic similarity) one can very easily be recruited, or indeed think that the new group does not actually differ from orthodoxy. He also recognises the relationship that a recruiter can build with a potential recruit simply by using language which is the victim's own. "It is therefore possible for the Mormon theologians to use the terminology of the Bible and historic theology, but in an entirely different sense from that intended by the writers of Scripture".[27] The recruit is encouraged to see similarity of belief rather than difference and any difference is glossed over by using a familiar word in an unfamiliar way. I do not think it is necessary to hold any views about the intention of Scripture writers to see Martin's point. Basically he is arguing that many Bible based cults, the Mormons for example, capitalise on an established and familiar Christian discourse.

Unfortunately, Martin's definition of cults as anything which falls outside of his Christianity is not a very useful one. Eastern religions automatically fall under his

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[25] Hassan, p. 13.

[26] See also, for example, John Ankerberg and John Weldon, *The Facts on The Mormon Church*, (Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 1991)

[27] Walter Martin, *The Kingdom of Cults*, (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1985), p. 18.

definition, but non-religious groups like *est* and Lifeforce do not.[28] Further, his insistence on received theological tradition through the ages is even alienating, I would think, at times for a dedicated Christian. Christianity for Martin is as much made up of political decisions by church fathers as Biblical texts. More significant, at least for some readers, is Martin's unerring literal interpretation of the Bible.[29] He pins the evil of the Spiritualist movement (the Fox sisters and Mary Baker Eddy being pioneers) firmly on the lapel of women in general. He cites approvingly, "'Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression (1 Timothy 2:11-14)'".[30]

While these potentially alienating parts of Martin's work are not endemic to the genre, the definition of 'cult' as anything that is not orthodox Christianity tends to be. Yet, it is in such writings that detailed analysis of doctrine, text and theology takes place. Further, Martin's spurious comments on the position of women, for example, do not render irrelevant or untrue his excellent observations on language.

The most significant work about cults has been by sociologists, though this work is not uniform in its conclusions either. I will not attempt to cover this extensive field exhaustively. However, these texts deal rigorously with cults in terms of their internal structures and their place in society more generally. The insights and data included in these works is invaluable when considering the language of cults especially when one conceives of cults as discourse communities. Attitudes towards authority, both within and without the movement, practices that may be considered deviant by non-members and beliefs about the world may help unravel textual structure and content.

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[28] These groups have been identified by others as potentially harmful. See for example Mark Gallanter, *Cults: Faith, Healing and Coercion*, 2nd edn., (London: Oxford University Press, 1999)

[29] This is something the Jehovah's Witnesses are often accused of as will be discussed in later chapters.

[30] Martin, p. 63.

Bromley and Shupe, Wallis, Mellon and Barker all engage in dialogue with, and extensive interviewing of, cults. This often involves the researcher residing with a group over a period of months. Their approach is fundamentally different to any other group working in the area of cults. They view these movements as simply another part of society, making no judgements as to their right to be a part of it; thus there is at least an implicit acceptance of them. The thoroughness of the research cannot be overlooked. The obvious advantage in terms of reliability is that the accounts are not tainted by a prior personal membership of the group.[31] The disadvantage, which is a direct consequence of this, is doubt about whether the researcher has really experienced the group as other members would. There has also been some controversy as to who funds this research.[32]

Eileen Barker is perhaps the best known of these scholars. Based at the London School of Economics, she has also set up an organisation called INFORM in order to provide the public with information and to maintain open dialogue with groups. Barker's fame is indubitably also a result of the "new religious movement" tag she uses in place of 'cult'. She writes, "The term new religious movement (NRM) is used to cover a disparate collection of organisations, most of which have emerged in their present form since the 1950s, and most of which offer some kind of answer to questions of a fundamental religious, spiritual or philosophical nature".[33] Barker argues that these NRMs use techniques that in no way differ from what occurs in families, educational institutions, the armed forces or even traditional religions.[34]

NRM is not really a replacement term for 'cult' as it does not cover the same semantic area; for example, it is not pejorative. But it is used instead of 'cult' and in this way NRM

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[31] Though these sociologists are often accused of collusion with cults and are sometimes called 'cult apologists'.

[32] See for example Benjamin Zablocki, "The Blacklisting of a Concept: The Strange History of the Brainwashing Conjecture in the Sociology of Religion", *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*, 1 (1) (1997), 96-121 at p. 109.

[33] Eileen Barker, *New Religious Movements, A Practical Introduction*, (London: HMSO Publications, 1989), p. 9.

[34] Barker, 1989, p. 19.

research is essentially a different kind of research to 'cult' research. The obvious difference with the NRM term is that it is a radical redefinition of the terms of enquiry. We are no longer talking about cults, which are generally defined in terms of manipulation or coercion, but about religions which have recently come into being, that is, *new religious* movements. While this work is welcome in terms of tolerance, improved knowledge and understanding, it does not directly grapple with the issues surrounding the semantics of 'cult'.

Margaret Singer is one of the few sociologists who attack cults with vehemence. In *Cults in Our Midst*,[35] Singer outlines her theories of thought control, a practice she regards as germane to cults. She sees the thought reform program, and thus the program of cults, as one which destabilises any sense of self, involves a radical re-interpretation of life history and world-view, and develops into dependence on the organisation.[36] Interestingly, Barker comes to similar conclusions but in neutral terms. For example, the destabilisation of a sense of self is seen as a reorganisation of selfhood, something that may be effected by many kinds of group membership.

Media representation of cults differs very little from the personal accounts of involvement in cults. One can speculate about why this is the case. It may be a question of 'giving the public what they want' or one of the voices that have access to media exposure; the groups representing disgruntled ex-members simply getting more (favourable) air-time than competing views. A piece in a weekend newspaper supplement about the Mormon's practice of polygamy, for example, links child abuse and negative attitudes towards women directly with doctrinal beliefs.[37] These Mormons are described as "a cross between the Mafia and the scores of wacky American cults which believe that they alone have been chosen to survive the Apocalypse".[38] Other reports describe

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[35] Singer.

[36] Singer, p. 62.

[37] Peter Huck, "Wedlocked", Good Weekend supplement in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 1998, pp. 54-58.

[38] Huck, p. 57.

members as "unquestioning zombie[s]", the groups as using "sinister mind games" and "sophisticated mind control techniques".[39] Certainly some 'cults' are based on false claims which can easily be discovered.[40]

Unsurprisingly, in the media and in general, most writing about cults does come from ex-members. Further, these are unhappy ex-members. Accounts of brainwashing, physical privations and abuses, and the final rescue from the group abound. These 'real life' accounts which purport to give a true representation of life within a cult are problematic texts for various reasons. The objectivity of these personal accounts is not guaranteed. Further, they present a fairly uniform representation of life in cults, which does not tally with other investigation.[41] One does not often see, especially in the media, ex-members accounts which praise a cult, for example. Yet this is a question of representation and of which voices are heard, rather than due to the non–existence of positive or praising opinion.

As is often the case, the representation of cults by the mass media is that which predominates not because it is necessarily true, but because the media is so predominant. While cults have always been seen by the media as deviant and strange there is now an emphasis on the broad base from which cults draw membership. This does two things. Firstly, it destigmatises the cult member in an absolute sense. Blame is shifted away from the recruit which allows them to leave and recover from the group with impunity. The ex-member is a legitimate story teller, not someone who is in some way fundamentally deviant. At the same time, the cult is given more apparent power. Cults are seen as being able to recruit anyone. It is not the potential recruit that is weak but the cult which is sophisticated and powerful especially with respect to its discourse practices. This makes cults a valid enemy.

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[39] Viki Wilson, "Bella Report", *Bella* 25 August 1998, (34), 34-35.

[40] See for example Peter Woolrich, untitled article, *Punch* 28 June 2000, (109), 19-21. The leader of a group of Bible decoders is said has a long criminal record and makes claims about his educational background which are easily shown to be false.

[41] Barker, 1989.

The 'realisation' that cults can recruit all kinds of people, especially 'intelligent' people, actually re-inforces the notion that joining a cult is not a valid choice. The intelligent person must have been worked upon by extraordinary and supernatural forces. Certainly this notion is also bound up in the pejorative connotations of the term cult itself. But exactly why joining a cult should be a bad thing is not often open for interrogation.

There are two points to make about this. The first is that the term 'cult' and its increasingly negative connotations are simply accepted, or not taken up as an issue. This is increasingly the case as 'cult' is abandoned for terms such as 'new religious movement'. There is no real analysis of what "cult" might mean and therefore to which groups it might legitimately be applied.[42] The second problem is that cults consist of people. If we accept that it is the sophisticated rhetoric of the cults that seduces otherwise sane, intelligent and rational people, we have to ask who the seducer is? This problem is (implicitly or naïvely at least) solved by the charismatic leader. The leader is arch seducer (often accused of sexual perversion for example) and the still point of the whole group. In terms of outsider views, the leader is the only accountable moral agent. Thus the leader becomes the incarnation of evil, the sacrificial lamb, as it were, on the anti-cult altar.

It is sufficient to note that it is not only the lack of work on cults and language that is problematic, but also the surrounding discourses about cults. The generally held view that cults are evil makes it potentially more difficult to analyse texts originating from these movements. Thus there is not only a gap to fill in terms of work on cults and language, but also well established attitudes that need to be questioned.

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[42] I will examine the semantics of 'cult' in Chapter 8 and then consider whether it is consistently applied to groups.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY AND FRAMEWORK

"For us, there is only the trying. The rest is not our business. "

Four Quartets, "East Coker", T. S. Eliot

In this chapter I begin by outlining my methodology and continue by explicating my framework. The methodology of this thesis revolves around the way in which the particular texts were chosen for examination. In this way, it gestures towards some of the subjects which will be discussed in the framework section of this chapter. Not all the approaches and tools which will be used in the analysis of specific texts will be outlined in this chapter. Rather, a representative sample of the kinds of tools that fall under the rubric of particular canons will be given. The insights that particular approaches bring to particular texts will be continued in the analytical chapters.

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will outline how the movements and texts were chosen and in the following section outline the framework used to analyse them. As 'cult' is one of the subjects of this thesis, it was necessary to begin with a working concept of a 'cult'.

In methodological terms, I begin with accepted notions of cults, with all the pejorative denotation and connotations which accompany them. It seems more appropriate to accept at the start that certain groups are generally considered cults. Through this investigation, this starting point is questioned. But a starting point must be found.

I based my choice of three recruiting texts on three elements. Roy Wallis in *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life* suggests that movements fall into one of three main categories; the world-affirming, the world-rejecting and the world-accommodating. To some degree Wallis' actual classifications of particular groups were

used. He explicitly discusses Scientology and the Children of God, for example.[1] For the Jehovah's Witnesses, I relied on secondary material about the group[2] and Wallis' theoretical distinctions for their classification. This is perhaps the most contentious choice of the three groups chosen in its 'cult' status.[3] The Jehovah's Witnesses have existed for a long enough period of time to be accepted into what are considered mainstream religious practices. The fact that they are 'Christian' and use Bible based texts aids in this acceptance. Nonetheless, as it is accepted that the identification of movements as cults is at worst provisional, this does not seem to be problematic.

The second reason for the choice of texts, as opposed to movements in some cases, was the tripartite division that Aristotle makes between kinds of proof. He suggests that the three main types of proof in a rhetorical argument are from *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*. I thus chose particular texts with this in mind.[4]

Because the textual analysis that was conducted can be generally described as close text analysis, it is not possible to deal with a large corpus of texts. Other texts were read and analysed; they will be referred to. It is, however, not possible to do justice to a large number of texts within the analytical framework chosen.

The third element was that the texts are representative of recruiting texts from the movements. This is a difficult characteristic to describe. The texts that have been examined are not flyers that members might hand out on the street. Neither are they

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[1] See Roy Wallis, *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984)

[2] See, for example, Botting and Barbara Grizzuti Harrison, *Visions of Glory: A History and a Memory of Jehovah's Witnesses*, (London: Robert Hale, 1978)

[3] Though Allan, Markham, Barrett and Gallater all mention the Jehovah's Witnesses either as dangerous or different. I am not at this point ratifying absolutely any group being labelled a cult. But discussion of the Witnesses as a cult is far from unprecedented.

[4] I tested this categorisation in the case of the Scientology text by employing basic automated textual analysis techniques. See Appendix I for a brief summary of these results.

necessarily texts which are only available to committed members,[5] though all of them are used not only with recruits but also with experienced members. This will be discussed in the individual analyses.

Flyers which are handed out to many people tell us something about the movement and about its use of language in the recruiting process. Undoubtedly one learns about the image a particular group wants to project. But more important at this stage is arguably the interpersonal connection between member and potential member. While the texts that I examine may be presented in a social context, with member contact, this is not necessarily the case. Unlike flyers, they provide a great deal of evidence about the persuasive strategies of the group. They are the bridge between the interested passer-by and the committed member. Henceforth I will refer to these 'bridging texts' simply as recruiting texts.

By claiming that the texts are representative I am claiming that they are representative of their kind, that is, of substantive recruiting texts. To say that they are representative is not to say that they use the same strategies as other texts of their kind from the movement. For example, the Scientology text relies on the character of L. Ron Hubbard. This does not seem to be uniformly typical of Scientology recruiting texts, as we will see in the discussion of *Dianetics*. Nonetheless, the kinds of arguments that are made, in terms of content and factual assertions, are typical. In the analytical chapters I will situate the individual texts within the broader corpus of a particular movement's recruiting texts and thus justify that they are indeed representative. At this stage, it is sufficient to say that by looking at a large number of texts from the movements I have considered, there is nothing that is disruptively atypical about the chosen texts.

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[5] These movements often have a hierarchy of restricted texts. Certain texts are not available to members until they have expressed a pre-defined level of commitment to the movement.

Movement Selection

As mentioned, Wallis makes a three-way distinction between world-affirming, world-rejecting and world-accommodating movements. It is the only comprehensive sociological division of cults. While other sociologists investigate groups individually or cults generally, Wallis alone makes distinctions between types of cults. I will discuss each in turn, justifying the placing of particular groups in these categories.

Scientology falls into the world-affirming division. This is corroborated by Wallis.[6] This group is characterised by: "coping with the demands made upon us to succeed in modern capitalist societies... with the dilemmas of individual achievement", "personal success in securing the valued goals of this world: improved income and personal relationships, greater confidence and self-esteem, enhanced ability to cope with life's vicissitudes".[7] The movement promises that it will be able to assist the individual in coping more effectively with the world. "Intelligence will be increased, social capabilities immeasurably improved, psychosomatic illnesses and psychological disabilities eliminated".[8] Scientology phrases this as "becoming more able".[9]

One is helped to become more able in the context of the existing world order, though, hence the label 'world-affirming'.

> The logic of the market is wholly compatible with the *ethos* of such movements. Thus the salvational product will be tailored for mass-production, standardising content, instructional method, and price, distributing it through a bureaucratic apparatus which established or leases agencies, just as in the distribution of Kentucky Fried Chicken or Ford motor cars.[10]

Scientology's almost parasitic reliance on psychology and scientific rhetoric is also typical of the world-affirming movement.

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[6] Wallis 1984.

[7] Wallis 1984, pp. 28-29.

[8] Wallis 1984, pp. 28-29

[9] See the Scientology website, www.scientology.org. [accessed 3rd August 1998]

[10] Wallis 1984, p. 33.

Many of the world-affirming movements have been to some extent influenced by Hindu and Buddhist idealist philosophies. But they have also drawn substantially upon developments in modern science and psychology for their beliefs and practices – or at least for the rhetoric of their presentation – and, marketing a soteriological commodity in quite highly secularised surroundings, the tendency has been to emphasise the *scientific* character of their ideas and techniques, and to suppress the more overtly religious aspects, although an attitude of pragmatism has informed their practice in this regard.[11]

The Family, also known as The Children of God or The Family of Love, is a world-rejecting movement. This is a categorisation which Wallis also makes.[12] They were founded in 1968 by David Brandt Berg, later known as Moses David or Mo, and emerged from the American fundamentalism of the 60s.[13] The world-rejecting movement considers that the world has departed from a divine plan and that when their movement has prevailed, or after a millenialist transformation, order will be restored.

Like the Unification Church (The Moonies) the Children of God recruit with the help of 'love-bombing' techniques. Love and emotion generally are the major forms of persuasion; the exit costs are deprivation of this love. This is not deprivation of the love of the group but ultimately of the love of God as the leader is in direct contact with the Divine. This tends to make the movements authoritarian.[14]

The Jehovah's Witnesses seems primarily to be a world-accommodating movement in so far as it makes at least some "distinction between the spiritual and the worldly".[15] The Jehovah's Witnesses do not generally require or encourage members to disobey secular laws, rather the opposite in fact; members should give governments their due, taxes for example.[16] There are some exceptions; saluting flags, serving in the military and voting

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[11] Wallis 1984, p. 34.

[12] Wallis 1984.

[13] Wallis 1984, p. 9.

[14] Wallis 1984, p. 20.

[15] Wallis 1984, p. 35.

[16] Alan Rogerson, *Millions now Living Will Never Die: A Study of Jehovah's Witnesses*, (London: Constable, 1969), p. 109.

are all rejected by the Jehovah's Witnesses; this is seen as worship of another power and in contradiction to Scripture.[17] Religion is seen as providing "solace or stimulation to personal, interior life"[18] rather than being a social activity and yet "the form of practice which is worship or ritual will characteristically be collective".[19] If there is any protest it is against other religions rather than the world at large. Movements of this kind generally "draw their associational forms from traditional social models of churches or other religious voluntary associations".[20]

At the same time, the Witnesses do share the utopian visions of the world-rejecting movements. Wallis' comments on the Aetherius Society hold true also for the Jehovah's Witnesses. He writes that the Society is world-rejecting in so far as it is criticises greed and materialism, violence and environmental degradation; but that members also see these problems as remediable: "their response to the world is one of accommodation, while they pursue their mission of striving to save it from its self-inflicted fate."[21] For the Aetherius Society this 'remediality' is used, as far as I can tell, when predicted destruction does not occur. This caveat makes their theology self-reinforcing. This world is accepted in so far as it is the site for the new world. As this utopian vision seems to underpin the movement as a whole, the Jehovah's Witnesses have been categorised as a world-rejecting movement for the purposes of this study.

The distinction between the spiritual and the worldly is often an uneasy one for the Jehovah's Witnesses, if by worldly we mean physical. The soul can die; God does have a corporeal body but Jesus' return will be invisible. Resurrection for humans, however, is

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[17] In particular, the first commandment, "You shall have no other gods before me" (Ex. 20: 3).

[18] Rogerson, p. 35.

[19] Rogerson, p. 36.

[20] Rogerson, p. 37.

[21] Wallis 1984, p. 38.

eventually absolutely physical.[22] Their theology and cosmology is dictated almost piecemeal such that all Scripture can be accommodated.

Text Selection

The other justification for the choice of texts is rhetorical. Aristotle in his *Art of Rhetoric* specifies three ways of proof through speech. "Of those proofs that are furnished through the speech there are three kinds. Some reside in the character of the speaker, some in a certain disposition of the audience and some in the speech itself, through its demonstrating or seeming to demonstrate."[23] The three proofs, then, are *ethos, pathos* and *logos*; character, emotion and apparent or real argument respectively.

As we will see, L. Ron Hubbard's speech, "The Story of Dianetics and Scientology" rests on the presentation of his own persona. According to Aristotle:

> Proofs from character are produced, whenever the speech is given in such a way as to render the speaker worthy of credence - we more readily and sooner believe reasonable men on all matters in general and absolutely on questions where precision is impossible and two views can be maintained. But this effect too must come about in the course of the speech, not through the speaker's being believed in advance to be of a certain character.[24]

There are two important points made here. First, the character of the speaker is established at the same time as the argument that will be carried by character is also made. Second, note Aristotle's descriptive approach to the whole issue of rhetorical persuasion. He recognises that we do conflate good character with good argument; however he does not point out that this is problematic and potentially massively deceptive.

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[22] See Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, *You Can Live Forever in Paradise on Earth*, (New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1981)

[23] (1356a) p. 74.

[24] (1356a) p. 74.

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We will see that while L. Ron Hubbard purports to tell the story of Scientology, he is really telling the story of L. Ron Hubbard. The two are in fact the same thing. But the credibility of the movement is bound directly to the credibility of L. Ron Hubbard. Aristotle claims that "character contains almost the strongest proof of all, so to speak".[25]

The Jehovah's Witnesses' "A Book for All People" rests on an apparent argument, or *logos*, structure.

> Just as in logic we have *induction* and the real and apparent *syllogism*, so is it with rhetoric, where *example* is *induction* and *enthymeme* syllogism, apparent enthymeme being apparent syllogism.[26]

More will be said about enthymemes and example. For now it is sufficient to note that linguistic cues for logical argument, such as logical connectives like "however", "therefore" "thus" and so on, are sometimes the only 'proof' provided. Indeed, while all the linguistic markers may be present, such proofs can be apparent rather than real.

David Berg's Mo letters, on the other hand, have their persuasive power in the manipulation of emotion. Aristotle writes,

> Proofs from disposition of the audience are produced whenever they are induced by the speech into an emotional state. We do not give judgement in the same way when aggrieved and when pleased, in sympathy and in revulsion.[27]

These forms of proof are not mutually exclusive. Arguments from character will also use these forms and cues of *logos* and indeed rely on emotion in so far as they rely on a good opinion of the speaker. In the analytical chapters that follow, it should be clearer that in these texts, one form of proof predominates and performs the primary work of carrying a particular argument.

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[25] (1356a) p. 75.

[26] (1356b) p. 75.

[27] (1356a) p. 75.

FRAMEWORK

To begin with, I will outline the framework I will use in considering cult discourse. In presenting this, I will discuss some of the problems with the theories involved. Theories and methodologies used to analyse discourse come with their own ideological underpinnings. They make assumptions and assertions about the world and the way in which language works in the world. It is crucial to grapple with these ideologies to be clear about analytical biases. Further, while all approaches have advantages, they often have these at the expense of neglecting other aspects of the text. For this reason I have developed a model that incorporates a number of different approaches within a single framework. As has been mentioned, the approaches detailed in this section are not exhaustive. The framework itself will be developed through textual analysis in later chapters.

This section will outline my analytical model and discuss some of the theoretical implications of this model. I will attempt to situate the model in broader concerns about interpretation, communication and rhetoric. In the analytical chapters, particular approaches to text will be articulated in detail as this becomes relevant to the texts under consideration. The principle framework that I will be using is a rhetorical one. The five canons of classical rhetoric, with some reworking, accommodate many contemporary theories. It seems appropriate to rework some of these canons as they were originally intended to describe a rhetoric which was primarily oral. To this end, it is appropriate to begin with some thinking about rhetoric itself. Despite the recent 'recovery of rhetoric',[28] rhetoric (as a mode of either composition or analysis) is much misunderstood. By outlining my approach to rhetoric, I hope also to justify its use in the environment of contemporary textual studies.

In the final chapter I will outline Wierzbicka's natural semantic metalanguage which is used at that point to articulate specific semantic problems. It is a powerful approach

semantically because it is a metalanguage of primitive universals. As will be discussed, it is a tool of articulation which requires prior analysis rather than directing analysis in a particular direction. The philosophical underpinnings of Wierzbicka's work, as will be discussed, are not in conflict with the general principles articulated in my framework.

Rhetoric

Rhetoric is, among other things, a search for solutions to problems. It acts on an audience and in doing so may result in action in the world. It is social and it is dynamic. Absolute and definite truths are not always available. This does not mean that questions without definite answers should be left aside. Rhetoric is often maligned because it deals in probability and plausibility rather than absolutes. As many scholars note, uncertainty is part of the human condition. Sometimes people can't find answers because of a lack of information. Sometimes this information is completely inaccessible, sometimes a matter for future discovery, sometimes even this cannot be determined. To devalue rhetoric because it lives in this area of uncertainty is to deny the fact of uncertainty in the world.

This section will not be a definitive history of rhetoric.[29] Rather, it will outline some of the reasons that rhetoric is appropriate to the study of persuasive discourse. To begin, I will briefly examine Classical approaches to rhetoric. Myths and preconceptions about rhetoric, articulated by Palmeri,[30] will then be examined to understand where they come from and how they misunderstand rhetoric. The first myth involves a realisation that one cannot separate form from content and that language is essentially social. Understanding the second myth involves recuperating relativism and understanding what is meant by reality. The third myth centres around a misunderstanding of the complexity of rhetoric.

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[28] See for example R.H. Roberts, and J.M.M. Good (ed.), *The Recovery of Rhetoric: Persuasive Discourse and Disciplinarity in the Human Sciences*, (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993)

[29] For a good overview of rhetoric see Renato Barilli, *Rhetoric*, trans. by Giuliana Menozzi, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989)

[30] Anthony J Palmeri, "Ramisim, Ong, and Modern Rhetoric" in Gronbeck et al (1991), 50-63.

Style, delivery and invention are by no means impotent or insignificant. Investigation of the fourth myth involves an understanding of ideology, particularly the ideology of science. All texts are underpinned by certain assumptions and ways of thinking. It is only when these assumptions are naturalised, when rhetoric attempts to deny its rhetorical foundations, that ideology becomes oppressive. The ratification of these foundations is ultimately up to the audience.

The rhetoric of science will be dealt with at some length. This is because science exemplifies the anti-rhetoric. The rhetoric of science is one which attempts to transcend its own rhetorical base by naturalising its own foundations. Finally, I will outline the 'rescue of rhetoric' and its implications for text analysis.

Rhetoric deals with persuasion. Recruitment materials are also in the business of persuasion and are thus rhetorical. While other theories and methods can deal with the questions that recruitment materials pose, indeed they will be co-opted into service, rhetoric is particularly suited because of its emphasis on persuasion. Rhetoric has a long history. Certainly we can trace it at least back to the ancient Greeks, but the rhetorical tradition continues in contemporary scholarly work, whether it is known by this name or not. Simply said, rhetoric is a fact because persuasion is a fact. People will always want other people to come to our point of view; we will always be subject to other people's persuasive actions. Sometimes these attempts will succeed, sometimes not; sometimes they will result in the 'right' outcome, sometimes not. But without an understanding of persuasive methods, we cannot even begin to assess this. The most interesting case of rhetoric is when it tries to completely transcend the nature of itself. We see this clearly in the rhetoric of science. While rhetoric maintains, as it cannot otherwise, that there are no absolute foundations, science tries to repair this apparent flaw. The rhetoric of science constructs facts and truth and seeks to persuade its audience that there is no such thing as persuasion, but only proof.

Because of the essentially non-foundational approach of rhetoric, it entails a general view of the world but it makes no particular claims about the world. In relation to truth and reality, it claims merely that sometimes these are not accessible. To reject (or damn)

rhetoric for not being other than it is appears to be a strategy to pretend that persuasion does not take place. This is a deceptive strategy and implies that we always deal in facts. It leads also potentially to ideological oppression through the naturalisation of certain foundations and forms of proof. It neutralises questions and thus disempowers those who want to ask them. Brummett writes, "If we could see how we are influenced [by rhetoric], if our repertoires for making reality were broadened, we might make the world into something different".[31] Indeed, our social worlds are "the product of linguistic interaction among social groups and result when the group reaches a consensus about some object of discourse".[32] Consensus is by no means a bad thing. When it becomes impossible to question the premises which predicate this consensus, it becomes oppressive. An awareness of the essentially rhetorical nature of these premises allows questioning.

"Rhetoric" has a bad press. We use it to refer to empty speech[33], to writing which obviously conforms to a 'party line', which has not been considered critically by the individual speaking. In this sense 'rhetoric' is almost synonymous with ideology or propaganda and is no longer confined to oral contexts. We usually think of 'rhetoric' as collocated with 'mere' and 'empty'. In Classical terms, however, rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic. Dialectic is concerned with truth and, more importantly, is a matter which individuals have no stake in, in so far as their individual opinions do not

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[31] Qtd in Carl G Herndl and Stuart C Brown, "Rhetorical Criticism and the Environment", in Herndl and Brown (1996), 3-20 at p. 5.

[32] Lisa Ann Tawil, *Disaster in Guyana - Analysis of the Rhetoric of Jim Jones and its Impact.* (unpublished Bachelor's dissertation, Tulane University, 1985), p. 4-5. This dissertation was not included in the above discussion of cults as the received copy was substantially incomplete.

[33] See for example Norman Fairclough, *New Labour, New Language*, (London: Routledge, 2000), p. vii; though generally Fairclough does not see rhetoric as only empty words.

influence outcomes.[34] A dialectician divides things "observing the natural articulation" and not "like an unskilled butcher".[35] In *The Topics*, Aristotle writes,

> A dialectical problem is a subject of inquiry that contributes either to choice or avoidance, or to truth and knowledge, and that either by itself, or as a help to [16] the solution of some other such problem. It must, moreover, be something on which either people hold no opinion either way, or the masses hold a contrary opinion to the philosophers, or the philosophers to the masses, or each of them among themselves.[36]

Weaver writes that "true rhetoric" needs dialectic, but only rhetoric is concerned with the actual.[37]

To Plato, rhetoric was not an art but a skill only to be used in the service of truth. In *Phaedrus*, Socrates personifies rhetoric: "I do not compel anyone to learn to speak without knowing the truth, but if my advice is of any value, he learns that first and then acquires me. So what I claim is this, that without my help the knowledge of truth does not give the art of persuasion".[38] This is an admirable goal, but it presupposes that one can unproblematically identify truth. Plato's personified rhetoric further suggests that truth is not available equally to all individuals. This is pertinent in the case of cults, as the leader is often revelator of truth; indeed, this defines his/her authority. Rhetorical analysis allows us to see this authority at work in supporting arguments as well as allowing insight into how the authority is attained in the first place.

Barilli remarks that Plato inflicted the "heaviest attack and reduction of rhetoric ever faced".[39] Plato opposes rhetoric to dialectic, with rhetoric a mere "mundane art whose

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[34] Richard M. Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), pp. 15-16.

[35] Plato "Phaedrus", (265) p. 82.

[36] 104b.

[37] Weaver 1953, p. 21.

[38] Weaver 1953, p. 15.

[39] p. 6.

aim is to entertain, distract, or please the crowd".[40] Plato's view of rhetoric needs to be seen in relation to his view of language and his ontology. Language is a mere copy of reality and deficient because of this. Further, reality is accessible, through dialectic, which is "an encounter of souls",[41] rather than through rhetoric. It is ironic then that Plato employs rhetorical techniques, often deceptively, to get his ideas across. In the light of his personified rhetoric, however, it is defensible if we accept that he does have access to the truth.

In *The Republic*, Plato is guilty of a number of false arguments. A common strategy that he employs is the false bifurcation. I will briefly examine just two examples of this. In book one, Socrates treats the just man as though justice was his sole occupation, in the abstract, and to the exemption of all else. Thus when buying and selling a horse, Socrates asks us to choose between a horse trainer and a just man, as though we could not find the both in one.[42] So false alternatives are presented such that the abstraction of the just man is never useful, except in his capacity to be just. A similar sort of argument is made when discussing the abilities of the just man: "So if the just man is good at keeping money safe he will be good at stealing it too".[43] This is perhaps true in the abstract, but surely the point is that the just man is good at keeping money safe because he **would** be good at stealing it but would **not** do this. Socrates transforms the possibility of 'can' into certainty.

A similar strategy is at work in the discussion of acting and 'roles'. The argument made is that as each person has a position in the perfect society according to that role (i.e. occupation) which they are best at and most fitted to, somehow one can only be best at one role. This, of course, is a manipulation of 'best'. It assumes exactly what it sets out to

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[40] Barilli, p. 7.

[41] Barilli, p. 7.

[42] p. 11.

[43] p. 12.

prove, that it is "impossible to play many roles well, whether in real life or in representation of it on the stage".[44]

Plato's approach to rhetoric is certainly consistent with his world view; but that world view is not unquestionable. Indeed, the Republic is only possible if the human world is as perfect as Plato claims it is not.

Aristotle takes a different approach. Barilli writes,

> Obviously the detractors of rhetoric will denounce...the worst "sophistic" iniquity, taking sophistry in its pejorative sense: this amounts to concealing truth, using unfair practical weapons on behalf of a position that is logically inferior, so that it may rise up and impose itself in spite of weakness. Things look very different if we start from the presupposition that, at least in the world of human affairs, no stable and unique "truth" may triumph and there are only more or less convincing arguments.[45]

Aristotle accepts that one can't always begin with true premises in a way that Plato does not.[46] Aristotle accepts the "mob" which Plato rejected. But he is not a sophist in the negative sense of wanting to make the weaker argument the stronger. Rather, he accepts that sometimes the best one can hope for is probability, yet one needs to put one's own vested interests aside in the promotion of arguments. In *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle outlines the technical aspects of rhetoric. Its position is ambiguous, in so far as it is an art and a science.[47] It relies on form and content, logic, emotion and the character of the speaker.

Myths

Unsurprisingly, there is a great deal of prejudice against rhetoric. Palmeri identifies this in the articulation of four myths of rhetoric. To understand what informs them and why they are in fact questionable myths gives a greater understanding of rhetoric generally. In

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[44] p. 94.

[45] p. 4.

[46] Barilli, p. 10.

discussion of these myths I will expand on the important elements of rhetoric. Some of the foundational points already iterated about rhetoric, for example that it does not deal in certainty, will be revisited. At the risk of being repetitive, it is important to explore the full implications of the character of rhetoric. The four myths are:

1. Rhetoric deals with ornamental language rather than substantial ideas
2. Rhetoric deals with appearances, not reality
3. Rhetoric is a truncated art primarily concerned with style and/or delivery; or with limited aspects of invention
4. The expansionist myth; the tendency to include all types of communication within the domain of rhetoric[48]

These myths devalue rhetoric in relation to our epistemological norms, that is, in relation to the power of rationality, and the possibility of singular, correct answers. They are myths that are so entrenched that they themselves are taken for facts.

Myth number one

The first myth is perhaps the most widespread. Undoubtedly this myth owes something to classical handbooks of rhetoric which were often no more than catalogues of devices.[49] The idea that rhetoric is merely the trimming of an argument, style in the most superficial, insubstantial sense, has infected the discussion of particular rhetorical strategies too; most notably metaphor.[50] Such views also encourage a misunderstanding of the concept of style, casting it as distinct from and incommensurable with content.[51] It is necessary to remember that one cannot exist without the other. Texts, as Halliday and

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[47] Barilli, p. 12.

[48] Palmeri, p. 60.

[49] George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 32.

[50] Ricoeur writes that focusing on single words in poetry leads to the false view that metaphor and tropes are rhetorical and ornamental only. Paul Ricoeur *The Rule of Metaphor*, (London: Routledge, 1978), 44-5.

[51] See for example Teun A van Dijk and Walter Kintsch, *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*, (New York: Academic Press, 1983), p. 17.

Hasan write, are realised by sentences[52] just as words realise meaning.[53] There is no real division between form and content. Analytically the division may be useful and thus there may be appropriate terminology, but in actuality this bifurcation is a false one as stylisticians know.[54]

This first myth, and the bifurcation between style and content, can be understood as grounded in a conception of argument as logical, as a series of propositions which follow one from the other. As we have seen, this is the field of dialectic; not rhetoric. The first myth is essentially an accusation that empty words are being made to sound full; that deception is involved in rhetoric. It is worth dealing with this myth at some length. To begin with, it is important to note that just because arguments made in rhetorical texts are not always strictly logically defensible, does not mean that they are not arguments at all. We will see in the examination of argument later that there is more to argument than logic.

Henderson distinguishes between the various strategies of rhetoric itself. He accepts that rhetoric is persuasive, but that this effect "depends on 'ornamental' qualities of personality and mood (*ethos* and *pathos*) as well as argumentative strategies (*logos*)".[55] This analysis sees this dual character of rhetoric as an asset and complexity. Because of this duality, the ornamental nature of rhetoric is not a reason to dismiss it. These rhetorical strategies are realised by the same text, simultaneously. Indeed, to call these features ornamental suggests that they are not essential to an argument or that they are peculiar to rhetoric. Both suggestions are questionable. Henderson rightly places 'ornamental' under question by enclosing it in quotation marks. All texts rely on some kind of transformation, through grammar, genre or register. There are no neutral choices.

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[52] M.A.K Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London: Longman, 1976), p. 2.

[53] Kathleen and John Callow, "Text as Purposive Communication: A Meaning-based Analysis" in Mann and Thompson (1992), 5 –37 p. 6.

[54] See "Stylistics" in Jef Verschueren, Jan-Ola Ostman and Jan Blommaert (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics, Manual*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995)

Rhetoric is the use of language for persuasion. This has already been established, but appreciation of this challenges the first myth. Language, and indeed rhetoric, are social practices. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca write,

> All language is the language of a community, be this a community bound by biological ties, or by the practice of a common discipline or technique. The terms used, their meaning, their definition, can only be understood in the context of the habits, ways of thought, methods, external circumstances, and traditions known to the users of those terms. A deviation from usage requires justification, and, in this connection, realism and nominalism, both linked to philosophies of language that are equally inadequate.[56]

More than one person is involved. It makes no sense to speak of a text without considering the audience that it is presented to. It makes no sense to speak of an argument if there is no one to follow, appreciate, agree or disagree with it. At this point, we will examine some of the tools that rhetoric uses in proof; the commonplace and the enthymeme. They have corollaries in logic. But rhetoric is about persuasion and plausibility; not logic.

As language is social, the devices which carry a successful argument also rely on social ratification. Two devices which facilitate this are the commonplace and the enthymeme. Commonplaces are essentially socially agreed truths. Aristotle writes, "The premises of rhetorical deductions are seldom necessary".[57] Because they are socially agreed, they can be used as premises for arguments. They are not uncontrovertible, they can be disagreed with, especially in particular cases; but generally, all things being equal, they will be accepted as plausible premises. Enthymemes work at a different level. Just as one has deductive and inductive arguments in logic, one has enthymemes in rhetoric. Their

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[55] Ian H. Henderson, *Jesus, Rhetoric and Law,* (London: E.J. Brill, 1996), p. 47.

[56] C.H. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation,* trans. by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), p. 513.

[57] Aristotle, p. 77.

distinguishing feature is that something is left out. A premise or conclusion is implicit. This has the effect of making the audience complicit in the construction of an argument.[58]

Commonplaces are not as straightforward as the above definition might suggest. Even though it has been suggested that they are generally acceptable, there are some caveats to be made. Three points need to be made about commonplaces. The first is that they are not generally universal. If they are, it is at a high level of generality. If we look very simply at the arguments about abortion we see the same commonplace at work on both sides; the importance of human life. We accept that human life is a good thing, a thing to be valued. This is not problematic. The application of universal commonplaces is problematic as they are ideal and the world is not. Thus one is forced to consider questions such as when life begins and how to balance the values of the life of the mother with that of the child, whether 'quality of life' should enter into the equation and what this actually means. Commonplaces can be exploited in particular situations because they are generally acceptable. But the way in which they are applied is not always straightforward or unproblematic. Further, commonplaces may be in direct competition with each other; sometimes we appeal to the moderation of age, sometimes to its pessimism.[59]

Secondly, commonplaces aid in the construction of rhetorical reality. "Commonplaces ... map the possibilities latent in reality and provide discourse with an objective setting and a concreteness in which the facts to be proved actually *take shape*".[60] As we have seen, rhetoric works with possibilities; commonplaces help to make these possibilities appear real. In using commonplaces, "the speaker appeals to, and speaks within, the *sensus communis*, or the sense which is commonly shared".[61] In a sense, the rhetor is promoting

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[58] See Elizabeth Mertz, "Recontextualization as Socialization: Text and Pragmatics in the Law School Classroom", in Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (1985), 229-249.

[59] See Aristotle, (1389b) p. 174 ff.

[60] Philippe-Joseph Salazar, "The Unspeakable Origin: Rhetoric and the Social Sciences. A Re-Assessment of the French Tradition" pp. 101-118 in Roberts and Good (1993), p. 106.

[61] Michael Billig, "Psychology, Rhetoric and Cognition" pp. 119-136 in Roberts and Good (1993), p. 126.

an ideal world; ideal in the sense that it actualises certain commonplaces. Thus persuasion becomes an aesthetic judgement as well, in so far as the world that is constructed or presupposed by a particular rhetorical text must be accepted or rejected.

The third point about commonplaces is that they can be created; they are products of culture and culture is neither homogenous not constant. Though this creation is obvious, it bears some examination. Some accepted commonplaces are theories or values which are advantageous to certain privileged groups and are then normalised as though they were natural. Commonplaces of the dominant ideology, for example, are taken as facts. This is potentially extremely oppressive.

When a commonplace is created, it is posited, proved or ratified and then used as a foundation for a further argument. Alternatively, the establishment of a new commonplace may be the whole point of an argument. It is not always clear when the future commonplace is posited what this future argument will be. By the time it has been used as a supporting structure it is, in a way, too late to object. Further, if it is a suppressed premise in an argument, it is never even open for consideration.

In this sense words themselves can be seen as commonplaces, either new words invented to describe a whole complex of ideas or the alteration of the meaning of an existing word. Macdonnel writes that "to consider the politics of meaning, we need to let go...of the notion that words have a meaning of their own, one pinned down for everyone alike...".[62] Thus 'psychologist' in Scientology generally has a pejorative value. 'God' and 'Bible' in Jehovah's Witnesses seem to have a positive value. At the same time, single words can be used in an intentionally multi-valent manner. We see this in the use of 'science' cult texts; it can either be a positive or negative presence depending on the context and the argument being made.

Fillmore's frame theory explains how commonplaces can operate at both the propositional and lexical level. Even though Fillmore does not use the term

'commonplace', it is clear that he is talking about the same kind of knowledge. Werth writes, "A linguistic expression, such as a word (and the bulk of Fillmore's work has been at the lexical level), will evoke the whole range of experience which that item is normally involved in".[63] This accounts for connotation and shared cultural knowledge. Commonplaces, like frames, evoke a whole system of associations. This is their power. Fillmore writes,

> any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available. [...] words represent categories of experience, and each of these categories is underlain by a motivating situation occurring against a background of knowledge and experience.[64]

The concept of "deterrence", for example, took on a particular collection of ideas in the context of the cold war. This was not a simple idea of threat, rather a complex of causes and effects, actions and consequences all in the context of a nuclear arms race. Norris and Whitehouse write that

> Language itself seems to promote the cause of unreason, since there is a common-sense willingness to believe that where a *word* exists – a word like 'deterrence' – it must correspond to some intelligible *concept*, and must therefore be based on good solid ground which others (the experts) are of course better placed to understand.[65]

If experts really are expert, we may have nothing to fear. Norris and Whitehouse fear, however, that in the case of "deterrence", an oppressive ideology is at work.

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[62] Diane Macdonell, *Theories of Discourse: an introduction*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), p. 45.

[63] Paul Werth, *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse*, (London: Longman, 1999), p. 43. For an example of Fillmore working on single words see "Verbs of Judging: An exercise in semantic Description", in Fillmore and Langendoen (1971), pp. 273–290.

[64] (1982 pp. 111-112) in Werth, 1999, p. 43.

[65] Christopher Norris and Ian Whitehouse, "The Rhetoric of Deterrence", in Coupland (ed.) (1988), 293–322 at p. 294.

So anyone who questions the logic of deterrence will appear to be either ignoring the facts (human nature, aggression, the Soviet menace) or worse still colluding with 'the enemy' at home or abroad. Realism in these matters can thus be defined as a readiness to accept that paranoid logic wherever it may lead, and to view the world on terms laid down by a rhetoric of nuclear unreason. At the limit, this presages an Orwellian situation where any kind of deviant (critical) thinking must be judged either a case for psychiatric treatment or a species of punishable thoughtcrime.[66]

Thus "deterrence" is a fact rather than simply a useful trope. If commonplaces are of any value it is a contingent one. If it is impossible, or unthinkable, to question these commonplaces, it suggests that real oppression is at work. There is a real difference between questioning whether 2+2=4 and being told that 'it just does' and questioning the logic of 'deterrence' and being labelled (pejoratively) a communist exactly because of the value judgement that is attached to disagreeing.

This is really a question of linking form to meaning. The assumption is that a formal difference always represents a difference (or indeed a presence) of meaning.[67] This is not always the case. Indeed, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca write that "a given figure, recognizable by its structure [thus formal], does not always produce the same effect in argumentation".[68]

The important point to be made then is that commonplaces are contingent; they, like persuasive arguments, are probable at best. Just because something was once accepted as a commonplace does not mean it should continue to be so. What is often not clear is what are commonplaces and what are facts. It does seem that commonplaces in part define discourse communities.

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[66] Norris and Whitehouse, p. 294.

[67] See for example Schank and Abelson at p. 11. The basic axiom of their "Conceptual Dependency" is "For any two sentences that are identical in meaning, regardless of language, there should only be one representation". Roger C. Schank, Robert P. Abelson, *Scripts, Plans, Goals and Understanding: An Inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures*, (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1977)

[68] p. 172.

Enthymemes are not unproblematic either. They are particularly suited to obscuring problematic premises. But in the case of persuasion, they are particularly powerful because of this. The way in which they make the audience complicit in the construction of the argument cannot be underestimated. To be at least partly responsible for the authoring of the argument creates an immediate connection between the author and the audience.[69] Further, the missing portion needs to be commonly shared; if not, the argument may lose its intended force.

This strategy of concealment is necessary for the rhetorical function to proceed. Consigny remarks that it would be impossible to find solutions without this concealment; further, it is not essentially unethical as the Socratic tradition states.[70] Consigny claims that "all discourse in every instance simultaneously conceals phenomena while it reveals others, and that the most deceptive and seductive discourse is that which seems not to conceal at all".[71] As will be discussed, an awareness of rhetorical technique is a challenge to this deception.

Myth number two

The second myth, that rhetoric deals with appearances and not reality, is another way of seeing rhetoric as essentially deceptive. Indeed, it presupposes an essentially Platonic distinction between the two. It is misleading, as this notion encodes a distinctive attitude about reality and how we come to know it. If by 'reality' one follows Platonic thinking and means only that which is certain and universally true, then rhetoric usually does not deal with 'reality'. Certainly rhetoric relies on a reality of action; that decisions can be made and then actuated. But rhetoric deals with probabilities; what is likely to be the case. The reality of certainty is the domain of dialectic. If all matters were certain, there would be no need to talk about them, no need for rhetoric. Rhetoric creates reality. It is

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[69] See van Dijk, Teun A., (ed.), *Discourse as Structure and Process: Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction volume I*, (London: SAGE, 1997), p. 213.

[70] Scott Consigny, "Rhetorical Concealment", in Brown and Steinmann (1979), 35–43, at p. 41.

not a reality based on nothing, but one socially negotiated and used as a basis for social action, as we have seen.

People using rhetoric do not deny facts if facts are available and incontrovertible. But this is a question for the constructed arguments and the acceptance of them by the audience as we will see. Facts are, despite their apparent solidity, socially ratified and grounded in a particular understanding of reality. Such presuppositions can be called into question by appropriate rhetorical means.

To say that reality, and by implication truth, is not always available, immediately lays one open to charges of relativism. The move into rhetoric is seen as a retreat, a conservative tactic, a tactic that closes doors rather than opening them. "Tending your own little narrative, agonistically or otherwise, looks very much like a conservative tactic to keep change to a manageable minimum within the confines of a comfortable *status quo*".[72]

The charge of relativism is a difficult one to negotiate, firstly because it is not always clear what it means, and once this cat is out of the bag, it is very difficult to catch. It is difficult to catch because all statements are undermined by relativism itself, in so far as it is understood as meaning 'anything goes'. If one says that truth is only available some of the time, the obvious question is, when is that? Sim notes that "rhetoric can hardly be viewed as neutral," that "it is always in the service of an ideological position." He asks, "what are the conditions under which a given rhetoric gains plausibility?".[73] His answer: "the "personal charisma" of the rhetor becomes most important within contexts of the postmodern "collapse of grand narrative authority and of foundations".[74] The answer is only worried because of the negative view of ideology. 'Ideology' is not necessarily

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[71] p. 41.

[72] Steven Mailloux "Sophistry and Rhetorical Pragmatism" in Mailloux (1995), 1-31 at p. 19.

[73] Stuart Sim, *Beyond Aesthetics: Confrontations with Poststructuralism and Postmodernism*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 90.

pejorative, however. All texts express an ideology; it need not be deceptive or coercive. Sim also neglects the way in which rhetoric works, that is, socially. Though there may be no absolute foundations, there are safe places; commonplaces. These socially negotiated and ratified premise points underlie rhetorical action. With these in place, even though there are no absolute foundations and grand narratives, there is certainly more than an individual's charisma.

Socially negotiated truths are available, common to humans, who are the measure of all things.[75] Man is the measure in so far as people constitute the audience which must pass judgement on the matter at hand, that is, whether they are persuaded or not.[76] Man is also the measure in so far as human values, cultural commonplaces, are the only guides. As there is no truth, no easy formula to it, one must make do with what is available. We have already seen this in the essential social nature of the commonplace and the enthymeme. Vickers writes,

> Rhetoric recognises that no statement is assured 'uncontroverted, universal agreement' (NR 67); and that all discourse confronts 'the necessity for interpretation' (NR 126), for the construction of models of understanding, notions which are 'malleable' rather than 'univocal'. For this reason 'the conclusions of an argument' are not binding in the way that a mathematical proof is, but can be questioned in the light of further experience (NR 132), or opposed arguments (NR 461).[77]

Rhetoric saves relativism from meaninglessness because of the context it requires. Rhetoric requires discussion and agreement, it requires that speakers and audience bring experience and personal knowledge to bear on the questions being asked. Rhetoric is the recuperation of relativism in action as long as the participants are alive to their roles.

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[74] Mailloux, p. 19.

[75] See Mailloux, p. 10.

[76] Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca maintain that if an argument is persuasive to a universal audience, then it can be considered rationally convincing.

[77] Brian Vickers, "The Recovery of Rhetoric: Pertrarch, Erasmus, Perelman" in Roberts and Good (1993), 25-48, at p. 41.

The third myth, that rhetoric is only concerned with style, delivery and some part of invention, is a development of the first. But in some ways it is an admission that the first myth is false. Maintaining that rhetoric is no more than style and delivery with some invention, is a more specific claim than that rhetoric is only the ornamental use of language. It is a claim that engages with rhetoric in its own terms. Be that as it may, style, delivery and invention go a long way in covering what would normally be seen as rhetoric's full complement of canons. This will be properly explored in the next section.

That is not to say that the rhetorical situation itself does not involve some suspension of disbelief or that no reasonable action can be taken because of rhetorical persuasion. Our conventions of proof in certain fields give some information more significance than it otherwise might have had. In legal deliberations 'standards of proof' are actually degrees of persuasion; 'beyond a reasonable doubt' or 'on the balance of probabilities'. Even in science we talk about what is 'statistically significant'; what is likely not to have occurred merely by chance. The specific assumption that statistics seems to work (which is different to 'believing' it or holding it as true) is that the world is predictable and ordered; which is often what using statistics sets out to prove. Our very conventions of cause and effect are not as logically rigorous as we would like to believe.[78] "Rhetorical proof is never more or less than an invitation to assent (*pistis*), and rhetorical truth is likewise neither more nor less than moral plausibility (*doxa*)".[79] For the invitation not to be a command, however, we have to realise at some level that we are dealing with rhetoric. The suspension of disbelief occurs at the intersection of possibility with actuality; with the move from plausibility to assent and thus into reality.

Certainly the personal charisma of the speaker is part of the available methods to the rhetor. Argument by *ethos* has long been recognised. One can be charismatic personally

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[78] See Paul Feyerabend, *Farewell to Reason*, (London: Verso, 1987), "According to Hume, theories cannot be *derived* from facts" at p. 65.

[79] Henderson, p. 63.

without being an effective speaker, however. Sim ignores the fact that the realisation of charisma in a speech or text is exactly what is at stake. Language has to be used in the service of this. Aristotle remarks that "this effect [of charisma] too must come about in the course of the speech, not through the speaker's being believed in advance to be of a certain character...character contains almost the strongest proof of all, so to speak".[80] Part of this charisma can also be the creation of or appeal to authority and foundations. Appeal to emotions is also part of the rhetor's repertoire. Aristotle writes, "Proofs from the disposition of the audience are produced whenever they are induced by the speech into an emotional state".[81] Arguments from *logos* are also available, and indeed, underwrite the appeals to character and emotion. "Finally, proof is achieved by the speech, when we demonstrate either a real or an apparent persuasive aspect of each particular matter".[82]

All aspects of rhetoric support and reinforce each other. The kind of delivery a speaker chooses influences the way in which the audience views his/her character; the kinds of arguments s/he chooses motivate the audiences opinions of him/her, his/her cause and may encourage emotional responses. The art of rhetoric is about commandeering all the available resources to the cause at hand. Used well, the available resources are formidable.

Myth number four

The fourth myth, that all communication is included under the umbrella of rhetoric, is largely an accusation; one directed at those wishing to recover rhetoric. It stems, perhaps, from the use of rhetoric to consider discourses not usually considered rhetorical, science for example. Certainly not everything can be considered rhetoric; not all communication is persuasive (it may be exclusively informative for example). Discussion of rhetorical techniques usually does involve a critique of the way in which 'reality' is represented; a

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[80] Aristotle, p. 75.

[81] Aristotle, p. 75.

[82] Aristotle, p. 75.

ferreting out of bias and interest that is underlying. Thus rhetoric becomes synonymous with ideology. Once this connection is made, rhetoric may well seem to be everywhere. Certainly rhetorical techniques of analysis can be applied nearly universally in so far as we can see texts as transformations. Rhetoric is both a way of constructing and deconstructing texts. To assert that rhetoric is everywhere is perhaps only to deny certainty in any human endeavour and to assert that all text is open to interpretation at some level or at least underpinned by something.

The question of ideology and its devalued status can only be answered by a proper understanding of rhetoric. Linking ideology with rhetoric implies that the latter can be exploited by certain groups of society, that it is a tool of domination. It seems that it is not the presence of ideology as such which is problematic, but its oppressive use. The potential for domination through rhetorical devices is always possible, especially if the audience does not understand their role of ratification. To be dominated in such a context, one has to be somehow complicit in this domination. This complicity, however, can be won through the demonstration of general common ground. Persuasion requires a common cultural context; this may differ between certain parts of society. These common values are commonplaces; values and ideas that are generally accepted and that can be used to support arguments.

In the end the audience is necessary to ratify commonplaces and facts. Vickers writes,

> The process of persuasion, unlike the artificially isolated system of demonstrative proofs, 'assumes the existence of an intellectual contact' between speaker and audience, 'an effective community of minds' (NR 14) and therefore involves 'a constant interaction among all its elements', speaker, audience, situation (NR 190). The determining element, these modern rhetoricians argue, is actually the audience, not the speaker - a point seen by Aristotle and Demosthenes long ago - for it is 'the audience which has the major role in determining the quality of the argument and the behavior of orators' (NR 24). Plato recognised this truth, and his desire to damn rhetoric and rhetoricians limited its 'audience to an incompetent mob' (NR 25). But of course 'argumentations can be addressed to every kind of audience' (NR 7)[83]

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[83] Vickers, p. 41.

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The audience, whether they realise it or not, dictates the context of the persuasion, the commonplaces that will be ratified and so forth. Whether an audience is qualified in a Platonic sense to judge the merits of a speech, or to pronounce on its merits, is somewhat beside the point. The fact is that they do. Lyne does argue, however, that "If our audience is sufficiently like us to make communication possible, then it can serve as a kind of barometer of meaning".[84]

A persuasive speech is for the benefit of, or is at least aimed at, the audience. The audience is that which needs to be persuaded; they define the purpose of the speech. As this is the case, we can see the persuasive speech as doing something *to* them. Obviously the thing that is done to them is that they are persuaded but this is not a simple process; persuading someone is not like hitting them. The audience must first be persuaded into being persuaded; that is, they must become complicit in the process. That is why there is more to rhetoric than there is to a demonstrative proof. The audience must be receptive to the invitation to assent. At the same time, rhetoric is not only persuasion.[85] The audience has to act as "accreditor of inferences" in rhetorical texts.[86]

Rhetoric of Science

Once the audience is convinced, action can take place on the basis of rhetorical arguments. Indeed, sometimes the rhetorical foundations of the action are forgotten and taken for fact. Part of the reason that rhetoric has had to be 'recovered' is because of the powerful influence of a particular rhetoric and ensuing action: the rhetoric of science. The rhetoric of science is not only used by scientists, but also by practitioners of other disciplines; the social sciences, psychology and linguistics for example. What 'science' means and what science is are not necessarily the same thing. For this reason I will distinguish between the actual practice of science (science) and the rhetoric of science

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[84] John R. Lyne, "Rhetorical Mediation", in Brown and Steinnman, (1979), 251-257, at p. 255.

[85] See Lyne, p. 251.

[86] Lyne, p. 251.

(*science*), in this section. This means that those using the rhetoric of science may not be aware of the fact. Further, science can *take place* without the rhetoric. But, when science is represented to the world, and even to the scientific community, this rhetoric is used. The rhetoric of science is predicated on facts, reason, empiricism and solutions.

A claim that something is scientific is very often a claim that is it true. Because of this, the idea that there is such a thing as a rhetoric of science seems paradoxical. This, of course, is exactly the problem. Science's rhetoric has been naturalised.[87] Science is often reified, presented as a self-directed and unified authority. It has a goal; that goal is progress and progress is good. This suggests that *science* proceeds incrementally and unidirectionally; that its path is predetermined and only needs to be traced or discovered.

Kuhn's discussion of paradigmatic shifts suggests a far less unified view of scientific progress. Notions of utility rather than truth justify the adoption of certain models and paradigms. Old models are discarded not so much because they are "wrong" (and the new model "right"), but because a new model explains data in a different, and more convincing way. The paradigmatic shift is a rhetorical event; arguments need to be made for why new models ought to be accepted. In the *science* community there is a large collection of commonplaces which can be used in a rhetorical event. These commonplaces are not necessarily verifiable but they are accepted nonetheless. Imre Lakatés writes, "all scientific research programs have a "negative heuristic," an irrefutable "hard core" of assumptions and beliefs at which the *modus tollens* may not be directed".[88]

Rom Harré writes,

> We know now after thirty fruitless years, that scientific discourse is not characterized by any specially compelling logical form. Its persuasive power lies somehow in the elements of the content of discourse, not its form. To get to the heart of the matter two myths have to be given up: one that there is clearly

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[87] Before Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, discussing a rhetoric of science would have been even more difficult.

[88] Cited in Beth, 1990, p. 22.

identifiable realm of fact, given so to speak, by the natural world; and second, that a purely logical coordination of these 'data' makes up a theory. We have to ask two deep questions: how are facts engendered in experience; and how are plausible theories constructed?[89]

The unified face that is imposed on *science* is as much a linguistic trick as the concept of deterrence. I do not mean to suggest that scientists see science as unified, univocal or singular. But the rhetoric of *science* portrays such a view. *Science* is seen as a rational methodology, an ordered and steady pursuit of truth with falsity being discarded as it is discovered. The answer is out there and we only need enough facts to be able to deduce it. Facts and generalisations are the staples of this view of *science*. The world can be reduced to an algorithm and eventually solved; objectivity is always possible. Rationalism and empiricism meet here and are called *science*.

Stanley Fish writes about this phenomenon.

> The pattern is always the same: the claim of independence - for the analysis, for the patient's share, for the "materials" - is made in the context of an account that powerfully subverts it, and then it is made again. Each claim is a disclaimer on the part of the analyst of the control he is everywhere exercising; and his effort to deny his effort extends to a denial that he is exerting any influence on himself: "Readers may...rest assured that I myself am only reporting what I came upon as an independent experience, uninfluenced by my expectation" (p 158). Here there are two claims, one more audacious than the other: the first is that his mental processes function independently of his psychic theory (a claim directly at odds with the thesis of this very case); second is that a similar independence can be achieved by those readers who rest in the assurances he offers. In other words, he counsels submission to himself as a way of being free, and he presents this counsel in the context of an argument for his own disinterestedness. Put yourself in my hands, he says, because my hands are not mine, but merely the instruments of truth.[90]

Here, Fish is writing about psychoanalysis (which, while not a science, one that uses the language of *science*). But the process in *science* is essentially the same; if one is acting in the interests of *science*, somehow one has no personal interests. It is generally accepted in

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[89] Rom Harré, "Persuasion and Manipulation" in van Dijk (1985), 126-142, at p. 130.

[90] Stanley Fish, *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 528.

the Western intellectual tradition that reason is essentially human, indeed the best part of humanity. Schiller points this out but disagrees, writing that "'reason' is not a faculty". Rather, "it stands for a group of habits which men (and to some extent animals) have acquired, and which we find extremely useful, nay necessary, for the successful carrying on of life".[91] Reason may well be central to human life, to the successful carrying on of it. But the successful operation of reason, in the sense that our actions are transparent to each other, depends on a uniform acceptance of the facts of the world; a uniform interpretation of the facts of the world. *Science* asserts the possibility of such uniform interpretation.

To examine the rhetoric of *science* is exactly to question, among other things, what 'reason' and 'rationalism' mean. Rorty offers two definitions. The first is that being rational is being "methodical: that is, to have criteria laid down in advance".[92] He sees this definition of rational as not being applicable to the humanities as they are interested in "ends rather than means" and thus there is no way to specify the definers of success at the start. It is, however, unfortunate that Rorty seems to be suggesting that inquiries in the humanities are not methodical. Rigour is surely always a good thing. Perhaps a better way of stating the first sense of rational that Rorty identifies is to say that being 'rational' can mean that some information and experiences are not deemed valid for argument and investigation. Rorty's proposed second sense of 'rational' is 'reasonable'. He sees this as entailing "moral virtues: tolerance, respect for the opinions of those around one, willingness to listen, reliance on persuasion rather than force".[93] This second sense does not distinguish between the arts and sciences in the way that the first one does. Indeed, it appears to be an endeavour to find common ground. It is an attitude rather than a program. Lyne also sees a difference between rational and irrational thought and decides that it "lies in the kinds of constraints to which inferential movement is subject".[94]

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[91] F.C.S. Schiller, "Faith, Reason and Religion", in Schiller (1907), 349-369 at p. 356.

[92] Richard Rorty, "Science as Solidarity" in Nelson et al (1987), 38–52 at p. 40.

[93] Rorty, p. 40.

[94] Lyne.

We are primed to accept that reason is good, that objectivity is desirable and that *science* encompasses both. Scientific arguments are not always correct, or appropriate, and to accept them merely on the basis that they are authored by '*science*' is surrendering thought. Yet, we are generally "properly prepared" to accept and ratify *scientific* arguments.[95] Lessl sees the public discourse of the scientist as making "people suitable for science" rather than the other way about.[96] Further, we see *science* as sophisticated and ourselves as sophisticated if we deal in it. Bailey writes, "the more adult the mind [31] thinks itself, the more complicated and technical can be the information conveyed to lead it towards a conclusion. It can be a very effective way of appealing to that form of authority that is a demonstration of the inevitable".[97]

Leff points out the distinction that is commonly made between rhetoric and scientific discourse. Of it he says, "Rhetoric enters into every kind of discourse, even the most scientific...But the fact that rhetoric is present in all discourse does not mean that all discourse is essentially the same, or that all discourse uses the same kind of rhetoric".[98] He suggests rather that we look at differences of genre. Thus, to say that there is a rhetoric of science is not to say that scientific discourse is just like any other kind of discourse. We are not dealing with differences of a fundamental kind when we consider different discourses. Rather, we are examining the differences between the way in which discourses encode reality. *Science* is a discourse that encodes reality though it may not encode it in the same way as other discourse.

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[95] Feyerabend, 1987, p. 299.

[96] Qtd in Charles Alan Taylor, *Defining Science: A Rhetoric of Demarcation,* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), p. 129. See also Feyerabend 1987, p. 299. "Thoughtless people are in the habit of pointing out that every 'reasonable' person will be persuaded that science knows best. The comment admits a weakness of argumentation: arguments do not work on everyone, they only work on people who have been properly prepared".

[97] F.G. Bailey, "Dimensions of Rhetoric in Conditions of Uncertainty" in Paine (1981), 25-40, at pp. 30-31.

[98] Michael C Leff, "Modern Sophistic and the Unity of Rhetoric" pp. 19- 37 in Nelson et al. at p. 31.

The notion of a fact, something that is and always will be the case, is a necessary fiction for scientific enquiry and essential for the scientific encoding of discourse. Facts, Feyerabend notes, are always ideational.[99] In claiming the fact as central to its method, *science* opposes itself exactly to popular views of rhetoric. *Science* supposedly uses "language that faithfully reflects or reports on matters on fact uncolored by any personal or partisan agenda or desire".[100] Facts are not always, in fact, self-evident. When Kuhn's paradigms collide, it is exactly because they do not agree on what constitutes a fact. Thus "each party must try, by persuasion, to convert the other".[101] The difficulty of facts is in part due to the lack of an objective language for scientific discussion. Kuhn argues that languages bring with them views of the world[102] and thus concurs with contemporary discourse analysis work.[103]

Weaver also remarks on the rhetorical force of "facts"[104] being virtually synonymous with irrefutable knowledge. *Scientific* facts are merely a subset of all other facts. At the same time, *"science"* itself has a particular rhetorical force. We speak of *science* as though it was a unified whole; as though all scientists think and behave in the same way and support the same facts and opinions, even though this is not the case. Weaver writes, "The word [science] as it comes to us then is a little pathetic in its appeal, inasmuch as it reflects the deeply human feeling that somewhere somehow there must be people who know things 'as they are'".[105] This is compelling because it seems to be exactly the same 'pathetic appeal' that seduces so many into cults.

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[99] Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method; Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge,* (London: NLB, 1975), p. 19. See also Halliday 1985a, 1985b and 1978.

[100] Fish, 1989, p. 474.

[101] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1962), p. 198.

[102] Kuhn, p. 201.

[103] Critical Discourse Analysis for example.

[104] Weaver 1953, p. 214.

[105] Weaver 1953, p. 216.

We understand *science* as explaining mysteries; it explains what we are and why we are here. When we want to know why the sky is blue, *science* provides us with the answer. When we want to know why a particular disease is contagious or a particular rock formation is present, we ask *science*. We are satisfied with the answers that *science* gives us. Of course, *science* was not always the addressee of these questions. Myths, explanatory narratives, used to take care of these questions. *Science* is now our explanatory discourse of choice.[106] We don't believe in 'myths' anymore; we believe in '*science*'. MacCormac writes, "Both the primitive man and the modern scientist create myths by believing that their explanation of the nature of the world is the absolute and final one. Myth results from the mistaken attribution of reality to a hypothetical description".[107] According to MacCormac, myth is a rhetoric which parades as truth.

The conventions and commonplaces of *science* have already been mentioned. These axioms are required for scientific inquiry to go forward. We believe in these conventions as they seem to work. But in the end, the process at work is exactly something like belief because we are dealing with models of the world. We know that light is neither actually a particle nor a wave, but to speak in these terms explains observations and predicts what will happen in certain circumstances. McGee and Lyne write, "An event is explained by showing that it occurred as a result of laws, rules, or principles of nature or society; and knowledge of laws, rules, conditions and so on makes prediction possible".[108] Further,

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[106] Myth functions in the same way as science. Whether or not the personifiers of the gods actually believed that the gods were large people in or beyond the sky is quite irrelevant. For to speak in these terms explains and perhaps even predicts what happens under certain circumstances. Modelling the gods as people shows great ingenuity, in fact. The capricious will of personality has far greater explanatory power than 'natural laws'; prediction is perhaps another matter. See also Roberto Calasso, *The Marriage of Cadmus and Harmony.* (Sydney: Vintage, 1994)

[107] Earl R. MacCormac, *Metaphor and Myth in Science and Religion,* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1976), p. xv.

[108] Michael Calvin McGee and John R Lyne "What Are Nice Folks Like You Doing in a Place Like This? Some Entailments of Treating Knowledge Claims Rhetorically" in Nelson et al (1987), 381-406, at p. 383.

this process is supposed to be "value-free" or "value-neutral".[109] A model that predicts and explains, however, need not actually be true.

I am in no way suggesting that scientists create science out of thin air. The rhetoric of *science* is bound up in the rhetorical force of '*science*' not in the actual practice of science. For *science*, anything is possible given enough time. Belief in *science* is the culmination of the worship of reason and empiricism and the belief in the ability of man to master his world. What is essential in understanding the rhetoric of science is that we do not generally make a radical distinction between scientific discourse and other discourse.[110]

An understanding of rhetoric, of *science* and generally, provides us with valuable critical tools. To be aware of the conventions that are exploited in constructing arguments arms against some of the potentially deceptive strategies that may be used.

Rescue of Rhetoric

Recently there have been moves to 'rescue rhetoric' in part because of this deception. This rescue is necessary partly because rhetoric has been neglected as a subject of study and partly because it has been marginalised in terms of its perceived relevance to intellectual inquiry. The myths surrounding rhetoric suggest why (and indeed how) rhetoric needs to be recovered. As much as rhetoric needs to be recovered, it also needs to be exposed. This dual approach is necessary because rhetoric is both a mode of composition and interpretation. Herndl and Brown write, "Rhetorical critics determined how some texts succeed in particular situations and why. Unfortunately, rhetorical criticism cannot always dictate rhetorical practice. Rhetorical acts are embedded in their immediate context, and this context changes".[111] An understanding of rhetoric as dealing

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[109] McGee and Lyne, p. 383.

[110] Leff, p. 31.

[111] Carl G Herndl and Stuart C Brown, "Rhetorical Criticism and the Environment", in Herndl and Brown (1996), 3-20 at p. 10.

with persuasion and probability needs to be recovered; the way that persuasive strategies are used disingenuously needs to be exposed. It is part of the same project.

The recovery of rhetoric seems to be as much a recovery of terminology as anything else. Rhetoric has not ceased in practice; it just has ceased to be identified by that name. "Our "truth" of the moment is often only a myth that does not know it is one".[112] Without an understanding of rhetoric as persuasion it is increasingly easy to be duped into accepting probability as actuality. I am not suggesting that rhetors never try to pass off their arguments as truth; this is part of the suspension of disbelief. It is because of this sleight of hand that rhetoric as an analytic tool needs to be recovered.

Gusfield writes,

> The focus of the older rhetoric was deliberate design. The focus of the new rhetoric is on the production of an effect in an audience and can then include a less directed and conscious design. The older rhetoric itself contained a rhetoric of disapproval; it carried a connotation of unfair persuasion, of propaganda and commercial advertising. The new rhetoric is the study of argument and persuasion as a facet of human interaction, of reason as well as emotion.[113]

The interest in perlocutionary effect is important. The effect of a text on an audience is paramount in the consideration of the text. It informs its construction; it is its *raison d'etre*. But to say that the new rhetoric is less concerned with design, conscious or otherwise, is either misleading or problematic or both. Indeed, contemporary analytical techniques are easily co-opted into a rhetorical framework as will be shown in the next section. The rescue of rhetoric has more to do with a realisation of the social nature of text and the way in which text can influence social relations. However, the significance of emotion and reason for rhetoric that Gusfield notices, is also important. To say that emotion is involved is not to say that rhetoric is irrational as such. Rather, rhetoric appeals to this aspect of human nature. Further, this appeal can be accounted for analytically.

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[112] Botting, p. 70.

[113] Joseph Gusfield, "Listening for the Silences", in Brown (1979), 117-134, at p. 120.

The importance of the connection between social structure and rhetoric is noted by Cantrill. Our languages "speak of the society in which [we] live. Our discourses, in drawing upon current events and well-known examples, provide implicit reaffirmations or critiques of the social fabric of our lives".[114] We are subject to our social situation. The discourses we produce are ideologically motivated. This is not problematic; rather it is the site for rhetorical analysis and transformation. Killingsworth notes that "In addition to changing language and changing minds, the enterprise of rhetoric suggests that speakers and writers have the power to transform the site of discourse, the community itself".[115]

The recovery of rhetoric, then, is not a return to rhetoric in the sense of practising it. Rhetoric has always been a part of human interaction as persuasion is an essential part of human society. The recovery of rhetoric is rather involved with a realisation that analysis of discourse can give an insight into social conditions and ideologies.[116] Further, rhetoric can be used to transform these conditions. Rhetoric relies on the social. The commonplace, the enthymeme, the ratification of arguments by the audience are all intimate with social considerations.

In the case of cults, a rhetorical analysis of recruitment texts is particularly valuable. It allows us to understand how cults recruit members, and how they persuade people to accept their particular ideologies and world views. It also allows us to see what these ideologies are. Further, having disclosed the strategies and ideologies of cults, they can be evaluated with respect to other persuasive recruitment texts. Indeed, the general rescue of rhetoric allows us a particular demystification and thus rescue of cult discourse.

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[114] James G. Cantrill, "Gold, Yellowstone, and the Search for a Rhetorical Identity" in Herndl and Brown (1996), 166-194, at p. 167.

[115] Zita Ingham, "Landscape, Drama and Dissensus: The Rhetorical Education of Red Lodge, Montana" in Herndl and Brown (1996), 195-212 at p. 197.

[116] The recovery of rhetoric thus has much in common with ethnographic approaches to language. At least it is the case in so far as both projects seek to question underlying structures and authorities in order to come to a better understanding of society and social action.

RHETORICAL CANONS

The way to master a text is to take into account as many facets of it as is possible. I will now outline how I will be using the five canons of rhetoric in textual analysis and how I see contemporary discourse and text analysis fitting into this larger scheme. If the canons need to be described by a single term, it is undoubtedly pragmatics. Ferrara takes "pragmatics to refer to the systematic study of the relations between the linguistic properties of utterances and their properties as social action".[117]

The five rhetorical canons are memory, delivery, arrangement, invention and style. I will introduce them in the order in which they will be used analytically. My approach is generally a top down one in so far as I begin by considering the overall purpose of a text. It seems to me that it is impossible to talk meaningfully about syntactic and lexical choices without positioning this in a broader framework or purpose. When we talk about the purpose of a text, this does not necessarily equate to authorial intention. For some time this has been a problematic term as the text is the only evidence of intention.[118] Be this as it may, it does not seem impossible to identify the possible persuasive purposes of a text. Certainly there may be more than one purpose, but there will not be an infinite number of them. If we consider the context of the text; who has written it, who receives it and so on, we should be able to identify the possible purposes and perlocutionary effects. Analytically speaking, once this effect is identified, the text can be seen as enacting it through choices of delivery, arrangement, invention and style.

While the rhetorical canons have certainly been used before for composition, they do not appear to have been used analytically. Certainly they were intended to help a rhetor construct a speech. Here, however, they will be used to understand the constructedness of text. It is largely because of this difference in use that the canons have been modified in relation to their original forms. Further, taking into account other directions in text

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[117] Alessandro Ferrara, "Pragmatics" in van Dijk (1985), 137-157, at p. 139.

[118] William K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley, *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry*, (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1954)

analysis makes the canonical framework even more powerful. That these approaches can quite easily be subsumed in a more general and expansive frame is also evidence of the ongoing influence of rhetoric in textual studies, whether one is conscious of it or not. The rhetorical frame allows these approaches to be part of a symbiotic whole; something which their own presuppositions about text analysis might not always allow without foregrounding one particular aspect of text. For example, van Eemeren's pragma-dialetical theory of argument does take into consideration most aspects of text, but by its very name foregrounds argument.

Memory

In my 'top down' approach, I begin with the canon of memory. Memory's presence as a rhetorical canon was originally bound up in the oral character of rhetoric. Indeed, the traditional canons are more constructive parameters than interpretative ones. However, with some re-interpretation, they can be productively turned to the understanding of text after its production and dissemination. Memory was originally concerned with how an orator actually remembered a speech in order that it could be delivered to an audience. For Aristotle and Cicero, memory was written about in visual terms with parts of the speech being conceived in architectural, structural or other visual forms to aid in recollection.[119] In medieval times it became an ethical consideration. It is possible to interpret memory as an inventive choice, one that relates to reflection on one's own past life experiences and the inclusion of these in the persuasive text. In this way, memory would come close to persuasion by *ethos*. Indeed, the medieval association of memory with ethics is grounded in Aristotle's notion of reminiscing about taught lessons to improve the individual's moral state.[120] Using personal experience, however, is not a constant in suasion. Further, it seems more productive to hand the canon of memory to the audience. Thus 'memory' becomes not how the orator remembers the text to be

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[119] See Aristotle *De Anima* and Cicero *De Oratore*. Some contemporary rhetorics understand memory in connection with computer memory. See *Terms of Cultural Rhetorics*, www.engl.uic.edu/%7Esosnoski/cr/TERMS [accessed 4th May 1998]

[120] See *Terms of Cultural Rhetorics*.

delivered, but how the audience remembers the text that has been delivered. I mean specifically the perlocutionary effect on the listener. In this way it is akin to the strategies that van Dijk and others consider as shaping the whole text according to the underlying purpose of the text.

What is remembered by the reader, the perlocutionary effect, is constructed throughout the text. Sinclair writes,

> ...when the discourse function of a sentence is superseded by the next one, its linguistic properties are discarded, and only what it expresses is retained. It is no longer a linguistic entity, but a part of shared knowledge. If it contains words and phrases of 'point-to-point' reference, these are interpreted with reference to shared knowledge, not to previous text. [121]

The 'shared knowledge' that Sinclair mentions is part of the text worlds and frames that the reader constructs because of the text itself.[122]

We will see that to talk of perlocutionary effect only makes sense if there is some change in the mental state of the audience. It is not necessary to concern ourselves with the details of what happens in the brain or mind during this change, we merely need to accept that there is one. This change is brought about by the sum total of all the text effects. We do need a way of briefly capturing this sum total. This is the role of the canon of memory; of the perlocutionary effect. To understand memory I will examine perlocutionary effect, reader response theory and van Dijk and Kintsch's notion of strategy.

Van Dijk and Kintsch write,

> Earlier notions of strategy were often restricted to particular levels, such as syntactic analysis. We would like to extend the notion, first of all, from the sentence level to the discourse level. Second, we want to use it for processing

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[121]See John M. Sinclair, "Written Discourse Structure" in Sinclair et al (1993), 6-31, at p. 9.

[122] See Werth, 1999.

across several levels of the discourse input, as well as for both textual and contextual information and for both internal and external information.[123]

Strategies thus inform all kinds of discourse choices and makes sense of texts at macro and micro levels. The purpose of the text infuses every level of the text. The strategy is not like a rule, however. A strategy can operate with incomplete information; it is a property of a plan, specifically "that property ...that guarantees that the action sequence is carried out effectively and optimally, given the (known or assumed) circumstances of the action context. In other words, a strategy is a partial plan about the *way* a goal can or should be reached".[124] Van Dijk writes that a "macrostructure is a theoretical reconstruction of intuitive notions such as 'topic' or 'theme' of a discourse. It explains what is most relevant, important, or prominent in the semantic information of the discourse as a whole. At the same time, the macrostructure of a discourse defines its global coherence".[125]

Werth comments that it was because of the lack of explanatory power of lexical cohesion that van Dijk developed this notion of macrostructure. It controls "both the global and local coherence of a text."[126] Memory is thus a starting point and an ending point in analysis. What one considers to be the perlocutionary effect should be justifiable through examination of textual features at the 'bottom end' of the text. To take a top down approach does not mean that syntactic and lexical details will not be considered.[127] Rather, that these details will be considered against a backdrop of textual motivation and purpose.

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[123] Van Dijk and Kintsch 1983, p. 10.

[124] Teun A. van Dijk, *Prejudice in Discourse, An Analysis of Ethnic Prejudice in Cognition and Conversation*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1984), p. 115.

[125] 1985, p. 115.

[126] p. 125.

[127] Van Dijk writes that "Macrorules operate recursively". 1985, p. 117.

It is important to remember that the perlocutionary effect is not always transparent.[128] This is both because we cannot see into other minds (addresser or addressee) and because a text will not always profess its real intention. This is not necessarily deceptive. Mason writes, "Strategies of persuasion are not usually transparent. The perlocutionary act most often hides as it cannot be explicit to the audience and produce the intended effects".[129] We cannot always just read off the purpose of a text especially when it is produced by marginal discourse communities who use discourse conventions in ways slightly different to those we may be used to. To 'read off' the intention, we do in fact need to spend some time looking at the 'discourse community' which produces the text (this will be done in the section on delivery); what their values and aims are and hence what their position on texts generally is. This is merely to assert that the canons do not stand alone. In the case of religious cults, there is often a very specific hermeneutic program associated with the group. Often this is that the leader's interpretation of texts is literal, transparent and final. But it is only literal and transparent to the leader and has to be *given* to the rest of the group. Further, defining a 'discourse community' defines what is intelligible in it, as "any utterance carries the implicit claim that its assertions are truthful by some mutually assumed standard of truthfulness for the context" of the community.[130]

The impetus for this reinterpretation of the canon of memory is, naturally, Austin and Searle's speech act theory. The most valuable insight that speech act theory provides is the notion that words have effects, that there is a type of utterance which "is, or is part of,

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[128] Nor is it always successful. Henderson writes, "All rhetoric is tendentious; not all rhetoric, however, is equally, or predictably, or consistently effective." p. 14.

[129] Jeff Mason, "Rhetoric and the Perlocutionary Field", *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 27 (4) (1994), 410-414, p. 413.

[130] Paul Chilton, *Critical Discourse Moments and Critical Discourse Analysis: Towards a Methodology*, Working paper no 7, first annual conference on Discourse, Peace, Security and International Society, Ballyvaughn, Ireland, August 9-16 1987, University of California, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, 1988.

the doing of an action".[131] While a text is not exactly like an utterance, some of the same rules apply. A text is meaningless without a reader who has certain biases, vested interests and interpretative frames. A person may be spoken to in a patronising tone; but if this does not have the effect of patronising him/her (if this is not the perlocutionary effect), the intention is neutralised. It becomes irrelevant, as it is not realised. The perlocutionary effect is not the effect achieved in the illocutionary act, but the effect achieved by the illocutionary effect.[132]

Perlocutionary effect has not had the attention it perhaps deserves.[133] This may be because it has not been considered a proper subject of research for linguistics. Mason writes that "Speech-act analysis terminates when propositional content ceases to have a conventional bearing on success in communication. This is the very point from which rhetoric takes up the tale".[134] Kurzon writes that

> Perlocutionary acts have always been problematic, mainly because they may not be, and have not been, considered linguistic or pragmatic in essence; they are often seen as phenomena outside the framework of linguistic analysis. It may be argued that perlocutionary acts should be seen, even from a linguistic perspective, as a phenomena within the domain of sociolinguistics and social interaction...Another possibility is that the study of perlocutionary acts is part of social psychology...[135]

The problem with perlocutionary acts is what is to be included in their consequences, their perlocutionary effects. Austin proposes the 'perlocutionary object' and the 'perlocutionary sequel' in an attempt to solve this problem. The perlocutionary object is thus what is intended by the speaker, the sequel that which might occur without the

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[131] J.L. Austin, *How to do things With Words*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 10.

[132] Hugh C. White, (ed.), *Semeia 41 Speech Act Theory and Biblical Criticism*, (Decatur, GA: Scholars Press, 1988), p. 3.

[133] Yueguo Gu, "The Impasse of Perlocution", *Journal of Pragmatics* 20 (1993), 405-432.

[134] Mason, p. 412.

[135] Dennis Kurzon, "The speech act status of incitement: Perlocutionary acts revisited" *Journal of Pragmatics*, 29 (1998), 571-596, p. 572.

speaker intending it to.[136] Thus if we want to deal with perlocutionary acts, as such and as distinct from perlocutionary sequels, in speech act theory, Kurzon suggests that we have to limit perlocutionary acts to intended perlocutionary acts, that is, perlocutionary objects. "What is important is the speaker's goal, not the subsequent effect on the hearer".[137] This assumes that construing the intention of the speaker is less problematic than construing the effect on the hearer. This does not seem to be the case. As we are interested in the effect on the hearer, particularly whether they are persuaded or not, we will see perlocutionary effect in Gu's terms as he takes a different approach. He argues that perlocutionary acts should be considered as "verbal transactions".[138] Kurzon summarises, "To say that the speaker is fully responsible for a successful act of persuasion denies the hearer the status of an independent agent".[139] For the perlocutionary act to be successful there must be a "change in the hearer's mental attitude".[140] For Gu, then, perlocutionary effect is a matter for pragmatics.[141] A perlocutionary act is the combination of an illocutionary act and the perlocutionary consequences, a fusion of Austin's distinction.[142]

The reason for siding with Gu and the transactional model is due to inherent problems with any approach that springs from an identification of intention. Speech act theory

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[136] Austin, 1976, p. 118.

See Rosemarie Schmidt and Joseph F. Kess, *Television Advertising and Televangelism: Discourse Analysis of Persuasive Language*, Pragmatics and Beyond VII:5, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986), p. 16 who argue that one can "speak of perlocutionary intentions and perlocutionary effects of a speech act, but not of perlocutionary acts as such, since intentions and effects bear no consistent relationship to one another in a way that allows one to define the act".

[137] Kurzon, p. 582.

[138] Gu also calls it the rhetorical approach (1987). The perlocutionary effect also depends on invention as for the hearer to be effected, the hearer has to trust the speaker (Kurzon, p. 579). Thus there must be some kind of argument from *ethos*.

[139] p. 574.

[140] Kurzon, p. 574.

[141] Kurzon, p. 575.

[142] Gu, p. 425.

comes up against problems when dealing with the difference between message and meaning. Searle writes,

> the apparatus necessary to explain the indirect part of indirect speech acts includes a theory of speech acts, certain general principles of co-operative conversation (some of which have been discussed by Grice (1976)), and mutually shared factual background information of the speaker and hearer, together with an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences.[143]

Intentionality takes centre stage in these accounts. In literary interpretation, intention has been a fallacy[144] for some years now. Intentionality can not logically enter into interpretation of meaning in a strict one to one sense. As Wimsatt and Beardsley state,[145] the only place to find intentionality is in the text. If it is realised successfully there is no need to posit an intention apart from the text, but if it is not, there is simply no record of the intention, no way of establishing exactly what it is. The intention of a text is no more and no less than interpreted by the reader.

White picks up on these concerns.

> The status of underlying rules as constitutive is both the most powerful and the most problematic, ambivalent concept in speech act theory. In the one hand Searle holds that these rules can be followed unconsciously, even as phonetic rules operate with little or no conscious awareness of intentionality (Searle 1969: 41,42). On the other, he insists on the fundamental role played by intentionality in the production of illocutionary force: "In the performance of an illocutionary act in the literal utterance of a sentence, the speaker intends to produce a certain effect by means of getting the hearer to recognize his intention to produce that effect" (Searle 1969:45)...According to E.D. Hirsch this unresolved tension in speech act theory between intentionality and conventionality is simply another manifestation of the perennial conflict between the intuitionist and positivist poles of hermeneutics, which it has failed to overcome (Hirsch, 1976: 26).[146]

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[143] Joel R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 32.

[144] Wimsatt and Beardsley, 1954.

[145] Wimsatt and Beardsley, 1954.

[146] White, p. 12.

Even given the problems with intention, it does seem possible to construct some kind of intentionality when one considers where a text comes from, who has authored it and who the audience is. Douglas notes that there is a difference between

> intentionalism as a *theory* of meaning - which posits that a text's meaning has, in some relatively determinate sense, been "fixed" by its author(s) - and intentionalism as a *strategy* for gaining meaning - which encourages the consultation and examination of extratextual sources (diaries, letters, Minutes, etc.) for the purposes of "getting at" the meaning encoded in the text.[147]

The audience will, in taking up perlocutionary effects, also be alive to the production of the text. An audience's response is not unrelated to the production of the text. Indeed, to talk about perlocutionary effects merely in terms of intention seems to undermine the very power of the concept of perlocutionary effect.[148] Mason argues that "the scope and limits of perlocutionary action, particularly persuasion, are defined against the background of a perlocutionary field that introduced (as a *theory* of meaning) contingency into the speech situation".[149] Thus it is possible to have "the effect without the intention".[150] Further, he writes that if we understand the discourse community's conventions, "if we think of every group as possessing its own universality, then we will be able to find predictable perlocutionary conventions within those limitations"[151] even though there "are no formulas to capture the range of possible effects".[152] It is, however, acceptable to talk about intention as long as it is clear that intention is a textual concept (a theory for *attaining* meaning) rather than an authorial one.

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[147] Lawrence Douglas, "Constitutional Discourse and Its Discontents: An Essay on the Rhetoric of Judicial Review", in Sarat and Kearns: (1996), 225-260, p. 241

[148] Bruce Fraser, "Perlocutions and Pragmatics", Anna Wierzbicka Festival, Odense Denmark March 1999. Fraser concluded that to examine perlocutionary effects at all, one has to see them only as realisations of intention. Georgia Green, on the other hand, accepts that perlocutionary effects might be intentional or unintentional. See Green p. 65.

[149] Mason.

[150] Mason, p. 410-411.

[151] Mason, p. 413.

[152] Mason, p. 412.

Regardless of intention, one can analyse a text and, with consideration of the audience, predict a limited range of responses. For cult recruiting material this is not problematic at the general level. Either it works, and the audience member is recruited, or it does not and the member is not recruited.[153] It should be possible to explain both of these responses with reference to the text. If we examine the strategies the text exploits, we can explain how they might work. At the same time as explaining them, the potential persuasive 'trick' is exposed and diffused. It is not impossible to imagine possible readers for both results.

This concept of memory also takes notice of reader-response theory in so far as "one must take into account not only the actual text, but also, in equal measure, the action involved in responding to the text".[154] This theory shares a suspicion of reliance on intention and argues that the text has no meaningful existence until realised by a receiving community. It thus acknowledges the reader's complicity in creation of the text. This is also transactional as Bernard Shaw points out, in what could have been a comment on cults, "You have learnt something. That always feels at first as if you had lost something".[155]

Memory, then, is concerned with the effect of the text on the audience. I will return again to the perlocutionary effect to explain the difference between the perlocutionary effect and the post-perlocutionary effect. Essentially, this is the difference between 'persuasion that' and 'persuasion to'. As the post-perlocutionary effect relates directly to what is entailed by recruitment into a cult, it is appropriate to leave it until the linguistics of recruitment have been examined.

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[153] I accept the possibility that the audience member may not have made a clear decision after a single exposure.

[154] Wolfgang Iser, "The reading process: a phenomenological approach" pp. 212-228 in Lodge 1988 at p. 212.

[155] Iser 1988, p. 225.

Delivery

Consideration of the origin of discourse may also shed some light on the text and is possible under the remit of the second canon, delivery. Again, this was particularly important for orators. It was originally concerned with speed and tone, with voice and body language. Written texts perform these functions in variant, though equally observable ways. Some of these techniques certainly fall under style. I will leave syntactic and lexical features for that canon. In this thesis, then, I am taking 'delivery' in quite a physical sense. Under this canon, I will consider such questions as layout and actual physical distribution. This also takes on some sociological data as to how groups disseminate their literature. The question of layout is important not so much in itself, but in terms of how expectations about the text are set up and how these expectations are built on or undermined by the linguistic features of the text. I will not be exploring notions of visual grammar, however interesting and productive this may be.[156] However it is important to note the two functions of visual design that Kress and van Leeuwen identify. The first is the 'ideational' function, "a function of representing 'the world around and inside us'" the second is " an 'interpersonal' function, a function of enacting social interactions as social relations".[157] It is important to remember that while visual communication is always coded, it only "*seems* transparent because we know the code already, at least passively...".[158]

We only know the code already, passively or otherwise, if it is part of our experience. That is to say, we need to be part of the community that uses the codes that we are exposed to and expected to interpret. In terms of spoken language, we can invoke the notion of John Swales' discourse community.[159] While Swales does not explicitly

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[156] See Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, (London: Routledge, 1996)

[157] See p. 13. See also Halliday 1985a, 1985b, 1976.

[158] Kress and van Leeuwen, p. 32.

[159] John Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See also Greg Myers, *Writing Biology: Texts in the*

mention visual cues, as his model deals at least in part with epistemological resources, it is a simple matter to include layout and design codes as part of these resources. The concept of the 'discourse community' does not apply only to delivery, but it makes clear the parameters we need to consider in looking at text authorship and conventions specific to sub groups.

The notion of a 'discourse community' is a helpful one for the discussion of cult recruiting literature. It seems to me to be essential to understand the authoring environment of a text. Understanding a 'discourse community' cannot substitute for analysis of a text, but it may throw light on the significance of certain textual features such as layout, register and illustration that rely on 'in group' knowledge.

Swales' work on discourse communities[160] is my departure point for the discussion of cult communities as authors of discourse, but there are some qualifications I will make. The term 'discourse context' will eventually be used in later chapters in place of discourse communities as a way of looking at discourse communities from the outside. This is an extension of Swales work in so far as it deals with the juncture points between discourse communities as well as what is occurring within the community itself.

The term 'discourse community' is not one that Swales has coined, though he attempts to refine its use. He draws on Herzberg who notes that discourse "operates within conventions" and "that language use is a form of social behaviour, that discourse is a means of maintaining and extending the group's knowledge and of initiating new members into the group, and that discourse is epistemic or constitutive of the group's knowledge".[161] Swales does not see how this helps us actually *identify* discourse communities, however.

Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990)

[160] 1990.

[161] Swales, p. 21. This is not unlike Critical Discourse Analysis' approach to language.

Before proposing an alternative definition for discourse communities, he asks whether we might simply use the term 'speech community'. He concludes that this is not appropriate because 'speech' is not sufficient to account for written text. He argues that we need to separate sociolinguistic groupings from sociorhetorical ones and further that there is a basic difference between speech and discourse communities.[162] The basic difference he sees is that speech communities are "centripetal (they tend to absorb people into the general fabric), whereas discourse communities are centrifugal (they tend to separate people into occupational or speciality interest groups)".[163] Further, speech communities tend to attain members through "birth, accident or adoption" while discourse communities recruit through "persuasion, training or relevant qualification".[164]

It seems that religious cults have features of discourse *and* speech communities. Members of religious cults are sometimes persuaded, sometimes born into movements. In terms of discourse use, religious cults tend to be homogenous which would suggest centripetal forces at work. At the same time, cults tend to be hierarchical and thus centrifugal in this sense. It seems that cults are both discourse and speech communities according to the above definitions.

Swales outlines the features that he sees as necessary in identifying a group as a 'discourse community'. He offers six characteristics:

1. A discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals;
2. A discourse community has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members;
3. A discourse community uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback;
4. A discourse community utilizes and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims; [and]
5. In addition to owning genres, a discourse community has acquired some specific texts;

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[162] Swales, p. 24.

[163] Swales, p. 24.

[164] Swales, p. 24.

6. A discourse community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise.[165]

Religious cults are, it would seem, unproblematically discourse communities in Swales' sense. This is with the possible qualification of (2) and (3) in so far as some groups seem to want to minimise critical communications about the group, within the group (and without it as well). That is to say that one of the common goals of cults as a 'discourse community' is to have complete cohesion and homogeneity in terms of belief structure and world-view. Because of this, certain types of discourse are actively discouraged. This includes questioning the group's belief structure and world-view and critiquing the way in which this is disseminated.

Even accepting Swales' six criteria, there are still two problems. The first is how we actually recognise discourse communities and the second is how we come to know their discourse habits without becoming part of the community itself. Certainly it is not necessary to be a part of a religious cult to have some insight into how its discourse practices function. On the other hand, the way discourse practices are represented to the outside world may well differ significantly from the way in which discourse is actually conducted within the community. For this reason I have chosen to look at recruiting texts which are exactly aimed at non-members of the 'discourse community' with a view to getting them to join the community. As we will see, members often use the same texts.

Actually identifying religious cults as discourse communities does not seem to be problematic. They define themselves exactly in opposition to other groups and these particular discourse practices (usually through the interpretation of their key texts). This then picks up on Herzberg's notion of discourse in communities being epistemic and 'constitutive of the group's knowledge'.[166]

It seems to me, however, that the concept of a 'discourse community' does not go far enough, at least in the case of religious cults. It is also not entirely appropriate to the

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[165] Swales, pp. 24-27.

[166] Swales, p. 29.

concept of delivery in its present form. Cults do not necessarily see themselves as deviant and yet to the broader community, this notion of deviance is essential to understanding the very existence of the cult 'discourse community'. It seems to me that the broader context in which cults are situated needs to be considered. Anti-cultists, counter-cultists, sociologists and other academic investigators all shape the way in which particular cult discourse communities are understood and how they represent themselves as discourse communities. Internal practices of a 'discourse community' certainly help to identify an asserted identity of the group, outsiders do not necessarily view or understand the community in the same way as members. This especially the case when the asserted identity has to be put across to other discourse communities at the junctures of the discourse context.

Seeing discourse communities in their discourse context recuperates 'discourse community' into the notion of delivery as well as making sense of discourse communities in the world. If we focus our attention on the junctures between communities differences become apparent. Further, and significantly, the way in which communities communicate to each other, the way in which they deliver their views to others can be explained by this. In the analytical chapters, delivery will focus on the physical means of delivery and the way in which this primes expectations about groups and their views.

In the texts to be examined there are actually two audiences being addressed: members and non-members. This means that the texts are at least two layered. As we have seen in the discussion of commonplaces, words can have multiple meanings while maintaining a unified front. This is especially exploited in cult recruiting texts. This will discussed more in style as it is worked at the semantic level. But it has implications for the design of texts. Glossaries or footnotes may need to be included, for example, if large numbers of 'discourse community' specific terms are used. Billig writes that "Large numbers of adherents cannot be attracted if the specialist vocabulary and modes of thought of the

ideology are employed in the proselytizing propaganda".[167] Billig, following Almond, distinguishes between an esoteric and exoteric message in propaganda.[168]

> The esoteric, aimed at the non-initiated, will attempt to use the non-specialist discourse, concentrating [230] upon individual issues which highlight the failure of the existing 'system'...Once they have joined, they become exposed to the esoteric communications and the gap between the esoteric and the exoteric ways of thinking is partly responsible for the high turnover of members in such groups.[169]

In a very real sense, cults only exist in the context of a discourse context. Macdonnell notes that "meaning exists antagonistically: it comes from positions in struggle".[170] The groups that we might like to identify as cults would not identify themselves in this way, even though they would see themselves as discourse communities. The term 'cult' is, at least in part, a discoursal construct. It seems to me that if we are going to talk about these groups as cults, we need to take into account the context in which this name calling happens and is negotiated.[171] It is only in context that we can see ideological positions at work. Discourse communities do not exist in a vacuum. They speak to, at and around other communities. They package and deliver their discourse across these community boundaries.

Arrangement

The third canon to be examined is arrangement. This is also known as disposition and is concerned with the ordering of materials in an appropriate way. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca assert that order is important because "as the argument unfolds, it changes the situation of the audience...The order adopted is crucial precisely because the changes in

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[167] 1982, p. 229.

[168] 1982, p. 229.

[169] Billig, pp. 229-230.

[170] p. 47.

[171] Robert L. Brown and Carl G. Herndl "Beyond the Realm of Reason: Understanding the Extreme Environmental Rhetoric of the John Birch Society" in Herndl and Brown (1996), 213-235.

the audience are both effective and contingent".[172] Arrangement is concerned with the appropriate ordering of sections of text according to their relative strengths and weaknesses. In this way, describing argument requires a summary of the main arguments or 'moves' in the text. Contemporary views see arrangement as related to genre.[173] Essentially, it is about transformation.[174]

Indeed, arrangement also concerns the question of 'text' itself and how we recognise texts. Despite deductive and inductive approaches to this matter, it seems that a text is a text if we decide to treat it as one. In relation to power and persuasion, the involvement of the reader in actually constructing a text, constructing it *as* text, makes the reader at least partially complicit in the arguments that are being made. It means that the reader has a stake in the argument simply by virtue of the fact that he is a reader.

Narrative theory gives some insights into the way that texts, fictional and non-fictional, are constructed.[175] The term "narrative" is used variously across disciplines. It is used to analyse scientific and historical texts, to talk about metalanguages and epistemological foundations (such as discussions of the death of grand narratives) and also as shorthand for plot or action. Its normal sense is that which relates to literature, a narrative being a story. But even in this context it is not enough to say that a 'narrative' is a 'story'. Narratives perform more work than simply ordering. Aspects of narrative come under invention as they construct causal links. As we will see in later chapters, narratives are also constitutive of an individual's identity in the context of a 'discourse community'.

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[172] p. 491.

[173] Cicero said an oration should have seven parts. Eighteenth century rhetoricians saw invention and arrangement as related. See *Terms for Cultural Rhetorics*.

[174] See Elisabeth Gulich and Uta M. Quasthoff, "Narrative Analysis" in van Dijk (1985), 169-197. I do not mean to invoke associations of generative grammar.

[175] I will return to discussion of narrative in Chapter 6 dealing with The Children of God.

Toolan outlines the basic characteristics of narrative.[176] While he does not suggest that these are necessary or sufficient features, they do give a sense of the profile of narrative in the literary sense.

1. "A degree of artificial fabrication or constructedness not usually apparent in spontaneous conversation"

2. "A degree of prefabrication..."

3. "Narratives typically seem to have a 'trajectory'. They usually go somewhere, and are expected to go somewhere, with some sort of development and even a resolution, or conclusion, provided. We expect them to have beginnings, middles, and ends..."

4. "Narratives have to have a teller, and that teller, no matter how remote or 'invisible', is always important"

5. "Narratives are richly exploitative of that design feature of language called **displacement** (the ability of human language to be used to refer to things or events that are removed, in space or time, from either speaker or addressee)."[177]

Gill and Whedbee concur with Toolan, seeing stories as selections of reality rather than reflections of it.[178] Recent work in rhetoric points out exactly the constructed-ness of texts, no matter how naturalised or seamless.

Further, an understanding of narrative accounts for some of the peculiarities surrounding cults. Certainly their discourse is constructed, often with idiosyncratic vocabulary. Sometimes, however, the arguments that are made sound like fiction to the non-member. Narratives do have structures and persuasive purposes. This purpose dictates all the narrative choices that are made.

Toolan offers a 'minimalist' definition of narrative, "a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events".[179] This means causality is negotiated in narrative, which

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[176] He continues by discussing Propp and Barthes and acknowledging their influence. But this basic account is adequate for my purposes.

[177] Michael J Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction*, (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 4-5.

[178] Ann M. Gill, and Karen Whedbee, "Rhetoric" in van Dijk (1997), 157-184, at p. 160.

certainly has ramifications for argument and invention. The events selected are modified with respect to one another so that they connect and follow from each other. In the same way that we construct coherence and cohesion of texts if we accept that they are texts (either *a priori* or otherwise) we also construct narrative. That is, the reader is complicit in the construction of beginnings, middles and endings, in seeing a flow of events as motivated and following a trajectory rather than just being random. We assume that narratives follow these trajectories and we help to map them. It is an essential part of the reading process. Toolan writes that pieces of text don't form a narrative "unless we come to *perceive* a non-random connection. And by 'non-random connection' I mean a connectedness that is taken to be motivated and significant".[180] How we do this depends on what we expect from our narratives, what counts as non-random in our narrative conceptions.

What is interesting for the analysis of other kinds of writing apart from literary narrative is that they too are constructed. Scientific texts, to choose a well-worn example, are structured along very specific lines. What counts as non-random events has to be justified in a particular way using a particular metalanguage. Scientific notions of causality are well rehearsed but they are also often exactly what is at stake. What effects come from certain actions and what actions explain certain effects is exactly what is under investigation.

The non-random motivations that narrative has to exhibit to be worthy of the name (and not just to be disjointed sections of text) are seen by some writers as representative of a certain reality and of certain ways of knowing. The motivations have epistemological and ontological consequences. Branigan writes,

> *narrative is a perceptual activity that organizes data into a special pattern which represents and explains experience.* More specifically, narrative is a way of organizing spatial and temporal data into a cause-effect chain of events with a beginning, middle and end that embodies a judgement about the nature of the

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[179] Toolan, p. 7. Misia Landau, "Paradise Lost: The Theme of Terristriality in Human Evolution" in Nelson et al (1997), 98-132 at p. 111.

[180] Toolan, p. 7.

events as well as demonstrates how it is possible to know, and hence to narrate, the events.[181]

Here, Branigan is saying that narrative is a representational activity of a real or imagined series of events; indeed the events are also selected (along something like a paradigmatic axis). This temporal aspect of narrative seems constant and seems to be the reason that narrative is distinguished, for example, from description.[182]

Literary narrative theory also distinguishes between levels in a narrative thus remarking on its transformative qualities.[183] First there is the *fabula*, which is the action plan. This is the way that things actually happened, it is the reality template that informs the story. The story is the particular way of plotting the action. It is the particular representation of the *fabula* which is realised by the narrative text. If we apply this three part structure to science, the *fabula* is the world or that part of the world under investigation, a section of river for example. The story would be those things that were investigated in the river, water analysis, creature survey and also how it all interrelated. The narrative text would present this piece of riverbed in the way dictated by the story. It would use certain linguistic structures, certain textual division (method, results, discussion etc) and would encode linguistically the non-random relations that are picked out.

Note then, that transformation of our 'reality', our '*fabula*', happens twice.[184] We have no direct access to the *fabula*. It is an abstraction for the novelist and reader; it is reality for

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[181] Edward Branigan, *Narrative Comprehension and Film*, (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 3.

[182] Chatman contrasts narrative with description and argument. Seymour Chatman, *Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Film*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

[183] Susana Onega, and Jose Angel Garcia Landa (eds.) *Narratology*, (London: Longman, 1996), p. 7-8.

[184] See Toolan.

the scientist. Looking at the different possible expressions of story and text tell us something about the *fabula*. But this is the closest that we can come.[185]

When the conventions that support a particular kind of narration are exposed, the constructedness of the narrative, indeed its very status as "narrative" is also exposed. In Western culture we do not always set a large price on the ability of stories to tell us useful truths. To call science "narrative" is to threaten its primacy as a discourse, to undermine the authority it has claimed by naturalising its own narrative conventions.

Thus the term "narrative" is used to foreground this constructed representation of events, a performance and explanation of events in terms of causation. Some of the texts exploit particular understandings of narrative, a naive acceptance of a story perhaps or the belief that it is 'just' a story. Narratives are not ideologically innocent, however. This story-telling strategy is as much motivated by rhetorical purpose as the adoption of a formal register.

Halliday and Hasan's notion of cohesion, even though usually used at the sentence level, seems at first a possible answer to questions about the construction of texts and how it is that we even recognise them.[186] They state that cohesion is related to lexicon and grammar. "The potential for cohesion lies in the systematic resources of reference, ellipsis and so on that are built into the language itself".[187] They take into account the semantic, the grammatical and the overall structural aspects of text. A text is "realized" by sentences.[188] So the structure we are looking for is not the kind of structure we find in a grammatical sentence. But how exactly we can talk about such structure or even

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[185] The fabula seems akin to the abstract notion of intention. We posit its existence while knowing that it is completely inaccessible.

[186] Though we have already seen in 'Memory' that van Dijk at least considered lexical cohesion in particular insufficient to account for texture.

[187] M.A.K Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, (London: Longman, 1976), p. 5.

[188] Halliday and Hasan, p. 2.

recognise it is another matter. Cohesion is a semantic concept,[189] while structure is relational. If we follow Halliday and Hasan, we would expect to find a pre-structured text that only needs to be mapped. Unfortunately this is not the case.

The relations which in the end create cohesion are created by the reader. If a reader is confronted by something that "for external reasons OUGHT to be a text....he will go to enormous lengths to interpret it as complete and intelligible".[190] Even in charting cohesion, particularly lexical cohesion, "we have to use common sense".[191] There is nothing, apparently, inherent in the text. And yet Halliday and Hasan continue as if there was. For Hoey, lexical cohesion is the "dominant mode of creating texture"[192] that is, creating a text. He uses the metaphor of a net to describe the way lexical cohesion creates texture.[193] It is perhaps a way of explaining how we are able to construct texts. But this seems to be a separate claim from asserting that a text is a text if it conforms to certain cohesive profiles.

Towards the end of *Cohesion in English*, a particularly puzzling concept is raised. "The linguistic analysis of text is not an interpretation of that text; it is an explanation...The linguistic analysis of literature is not an interpretation of what the text means; it is an explanation of why and how it means what it does".[194] A reader has to work quite hard to make sense of this. The only conclusion seems to be that the reader is somehow prefigured. Analysis can only explain the meaning a reader has already received. This suggests to me that concepts of cohesion, explored in such detail, are in the end intended only as a vocabulary with which the reader can articulate the meaning of a text (that is the meaning that the reader constructed and derived) which has already been constructed.

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[189] Halliday and Hasan, p. 4.

[190] Halliday and Hasan, p. 54.

[191] Halliday and Hasan, p. 291.

[192] Michael Hoey, *Patterns of Lexis in Text*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 10.

[193] Hoey, 1991, p. 92.

[194] pp. 327-8.

Genre can also give us some insight into the importance of arrangement. What a definition of genre might actually be is more complicated than it may at first seem. Swales examines genre in relation to folklore, literature, linguistics and rhetoric.[195] Genre can be seen as a classificatory category, or as ideal types or forms which are followed to certain degrees.[196] These imply certain characteristic features which prime expectations and perhaps give insight into the cultural significance of a text. Bakhtin comments that we guess a genre from the outset of a text and "from the very beginning of [the text, we] sense the developing whole of the utterance".[197] Thus we can see genre as priming certain expectations about a text and thus being used for different communicative purposes.[198] If we accept that genres are realised by register we can say that, "[r]egisters impose constraints at the linguistic levels of vocabulary and syntax, whereas genre constraints operate at the level of discourse structure".[199] Jamieson agrees that genre determines "structure...vocabulary, syntax, argumentative modes, and narrative appeals".[200] Most important to remember, however, is that for genre to be a useful term in discourse analysis, it should be used to illuminate the way in which a text enacts its communicative purpose rather than just as a category of classification. To identify particular generic characteristics at work is only the beginning. How these interact with other textual features and purposes is what is at stake. For example, expectations generated by genre (in the way Bakhtin suggests) are used to evaluate a text. If these expectations are not fulfilled, the reader may have a negative reaction.[201]

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[195] Swales, p. 34.

[196] Swales, p. 34.

[197] M.M. Bakhtin, "The Problems of Speech Genres", in Bakhtin (1986) 60-102, at p. 78.

[198] Swales, p. 39.

[199] Swales, p. 41.

[200] Gill and Whedbee, p. 164.

[201] Gill and Whedbee, p. 164.

In arrangement, we are concerned with what counts as text and how the structure of a text furthers its aims. Structural elements prime expectations and work in conjunction with other aspects of the text, such as invention and style, to construct an argument.

Invention

The fourth canon is invention. It essentially deals with argument in logical or propositional terms. Thus it is more normally investigated under the auspices of argument theory. There are two aspects of invention. The first is the practical which concerns generating "effective material for the rhetor to use in a particular situation".[202] The second is the theoretical which concerns the "study of all possible means by which arguments or proofs can be discovered and developed",[203] and consequently the selection of which arguments and proofs to use. The persuasive purpose of the text will determine which arguments are appropriate. Selection of arguments, and of 'facts', always involves a suppression of 'inappropriate' arguments.[204]

All texts make these choices, even though they may be somewhat predetermined by conventions of the discipline and the text. Facts, commonplaces and enthymemes are the stuff of invention. The specific facts and commonplaces which are used, and indeed how they are placed and transformed in an argument depends on a broader strategy for "the very fact of selecting certain elements and presenting them to the audience, their importance and pertinence to the discussion are implied".[205]

Aristotle states that there are three main means of persuasion; *ethos, logos* and *pathos*. This is argument from character, 'logic' and emotion respectively. These have already been discussed under the more general discussion of rhetoric. Logos gets the most

[202] Sharon Crowley, *The Methodical Memory: Invention in Current-Traditional Rhetoric*, (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990), p. 2.

[203] Crowley, p. 2.

[204] See Consigny, p. 38.

[205] Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, p. 116. Indeed, this is Grice's principle of relevance.

attention from writers such as Thouless concerned with logical fallacies and pseudo-logical forms.[206] *Ethos* and *pathos*, however, are also persuasive choices that are made at the level of invention. A great deal of argument theory tends to focus on logical fallacies inherent in arguments. But not all arguments rely on *logos*. To examine it at the exclusion of all else one runs the risk of misunderstanding the purpose and indeed the effect of a text.

There is something of arrangement involved in invention; i.e. which premises come first, what is left out and the order in which the particular arguments are made. There are also elements of style creeping into invention; there will inevitably be some slippage between the canons. Against the background of all the possible points that can be made in support of an argument, invention is a paradigmatic choice. Just as with other paradigmatic choices, the choices that are made have significance, only in the context of all possible choices. Invention thus has syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. To come to terms with invention a paraphrased argument is usually put forward in the order in which it is given; but that order should also be interrogated for a full understanding of inventive choices.

The contemporary approach to invention is an investigation into argumentation. It incorporates logic, rhetoric and dialectic.[207] Van Eemeren follows Aristotle in distinguishing between the form and content of an argument.[208] Thus an argument may be of a valid logical form (syllogism for example) and yet be fallacious because of the truth status of its premises. The rhetorical equivalent of the syllogism is the enthymeme.[209] Something, a premise or a conclusion, is suppressed in the enthymemic form. What is missing is supplied by the audience, making them to some degree authors of the argument and thus responsible to some degree for its conclusions.

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[206] Robert H. Thouless, *Straight and Crooked Thinking*, (London: Pan Books, 1953)

[207] Van Eemeren in van Dijk vol. 1 at p. 210.

[208] Van Eemeren 1997, p. 210.

[209] Van Eemeren 1997, p. 213.

Modern work in argumentation has moved away from formal logic. Instead of premises and syllogisms, Toulmin has introduced the notion of 'grounds', 'warrants' and 'claims', the former two being akin to premises, the latter to conclusions.[210] He draws a distinction between the necessary and the probable; essentially between logic and rhetoric.[211] Blair and Johnson suggest that the premises of a cogent argument must be 'relevant', 'sufficient' and 'acceptable'.[212] This means that investigation of argument deals with more than form and comments on applicability of arguments to particular situations. It is a less abstract approach and takes into account the way an audience actually negotiates arguments. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst write, "By its very nature, argumentation always involves a pragmatic appeal to reasonableness, whether explicitly or implicitly".[213]

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's *New Rhetoric* has been an important influence in the area of argumentation. Similar in content to Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, it is an update of some work in the field. However, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst argue that the text does not answer the questions it poses because they do not "fully recognize that argumentation is primarily a form of language use, and must therefore be approached pragmatically".[214] This also means that the audience has to be taken into account. Kopperschmidt writes, "Any point of view has its own validity that is contentious, but its intersubjective

[210] Stephen Edleston Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. 98.

[211] 1958, p. 148. See also Stephen Edelston Toulmin, "Rationality and Reasonableness: From Propositions to Utterances", *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, 50 (2), (1996), 297–305, p. 303. "But by the 1990s, few philosophers regard deductive systems as self–validating; the question of their "soundness" is recognized as having as much to do less with their internal consistency than with their relevance to specific contexts. Issues about the *circumstances* in which arguments are presented, or about the *audience* to whom they are addressed – in a word "rhetorical" issues – have now displaced issues of formal validity as the prime concern of philosophy, even the philosophy of science".

[212] J. Anthony Blair and Ralph H. Johnson, *Logical Self-Defence*, (London: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1977), p. 7.

[213] See Verschueren et al 1995, p. 55.

[214] See Verschueren et al 1995, p. 55.

acceptance is the aim of the argumentative support".[215] Werth too sees the importance of the social nature of argument. He writes about abductive inference, which "is based on presumed connections rather than strict entailments. Abduction crucially relies on what is often called 'world knowledge'. It is a process of 'folk reasoning' based on incomplete and intuitive connections...".[216] Peirce also refers to the "art of abduction (as distinct from induction or deduction)", as the "art of creative hypothesis, of leaping ahead to hunches and checking back afterwards against the data" which sounds rather less rigorous and text based.[217] Nonetheless, this kind of perspective on argumentation takes into consideration how people actually behave in persuasive situations, rather than describing an 'ideal' logical behaviour.

Van Eemeren's own work in pragma-dialetical theory of argument also seeks to situate argumentation theory in a broader context of discourse.[218] This sees argumentation as interaction which addresses a difference of opinion. This seems to be broadening argument theory to cover all aspects of rhetorical persuasion. For my purposes at least, it is sufficient, at least analytically, to treat argument discretely.

Ducrot and Anscombre's 'radical argumentativism' is valuable in so far as it recognises the importance of linguistic cues in argumentation. While they maintain that "every piece of discourse contains a dialogue"[219] they also note the role of argumentative operators and argumentative connectors. Linguistic cues such as "but", "however" and "because"

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[215] Josef Kopperschmidt, "An Analysis of Argumentation", in van Dijk (1985) 159–167, p. 162.

[216] Werth 1999, p. 58.

[217] Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, Charles Hartshame and Paul Weiss (eds.), (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press, 1934), pghs 144-5, 171-3, 602-3.

[218] Frans H. van Eemeren, Rob Grootendorst, Sally Jackson, Scott Jacobs, "Argumentation", in van Dijk (1997a), 208–229, at p. 218.

[219] See Verschueren et al 1995 p. 58. Unable to source original as there appears to be no primary source in English translation. J.C. Anscombre, O. Ducrot, *L'argumentation dans la langue*, (Pierre Mardaga: coll. Philosophie et Language, 1983), p. 184

can give the appearance of an argument when according to any other standard, there is only assertion.[220]

Pathos, or argument that exploits emotion, has not been the subject of a great deal of attention. Schmidt and Kess, however, have paid it some attention in relation to television advertising and televangelism.[221] They note the connection between *pathos* and other persuasive techniques. "People with a high level of personal involvement in a topic tend to pay closer attention and base their decision primarily on such factors as the number and quality of arguments presented in the message" whereas those who do not rely on "such features as source expertise and likability more than the logical merit of number of supporting arguments (Chaiken 1980)".[222] Thus a personal stake may actually mitigate the effect of arguments that are intended to elicit emotional responses. This may seem counter-intuitive, especially when personal involvement is often expressed exactly through the expression of personal emotion. These different approaches can perhaps be accounted for if we understand that a personal involvement will usually entail a strong interest in a particular conclusion as well as an interest in seeing this conclusion reached in defensible terms. Kats and Miller argue for a re-instatement of emotions into decision making processes.[223] Emotions "motivate and underlie all human knowledge and behaviour, and thus any attempt to ignore, suppress, or exclude them in the decision making process can result only in misunderstanding between parties to the decision".[224] Despite this, they are not normally considered appropriate in 'serious' decision-making processes.

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[220] Though assertion can also be seen as kind of argument, the epideictic in particular. It seeks to "please and affirm the beliefs of a group already sure of its position[]" at p. 225 in Brown and Herndl.
See also Kopperschmidt, p. 162.

[221] Schmidt and Kess.

[222] Schmidt and Kess, pp. 18-19.

[223] Steven B. Kats and Carolyn R. Miller "The Low-Level Radioactive Waste Siting Controversy in North Carolina: Towards a Rhetorical Model of Risk Communication" in Herndl and Brown (1996), 111-140, at p. 131.

Ethos is accounted for by work on sincerity and textual selves.[225] Advances in communicative media present challenges and advantages for the presentation of self. Public character can be constructed over a period of time instead of a single oration. Further, various genres, such as the informal and formal interview, news report and television debates offer varied forums for the construction of self in the public arena. Celebrities and politicians have their private lives on show. Thus there is intertextuality at work in the interplay between genres and media.

Invention is more than logic. The way in which arguments are made varies from impassioned assertion to logical assertions. To understand invention, *ethos, pathos* and *logos* must be taken into account in all texts. Further, recognising how these tools are exploited tells the reader something about the substantive aspects of arguments being made. Regardless of the fact that the chosen texts have been selected because they foreground one of these three strategies, they do not occur in isolation. In partnership, however, they are analytically powerful.

Style

The last canon is style. Naive approaches to style see it as merely ornamental, as the use of tropes and figurative language. Aristotle says that the style should be 'clear' and 'appropriate',[226] but that begs the question as to what the style needs to be clear about or appropriate to. Certainly this can be answered with reference to the persuasive purpose and examination of the other canons. The arguments of invention are realised in words and a stylistic choice is always made regardless of how neutral it may seem to be. Indeed, a 'neutral' style is often simply a style congruent with the choices made at the other canonical levels. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca assert, "There is no neutral choice – but there is a choice that appears neutral, and this can serve as a starting point for the study of

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[224] Kats and Miller, p. 131.

[225] See Martin Montgomery, "DJ Talk", *Media, Culture and Society*, 8 (1986), 421-440 and Irving Goffman, *Forms of Talk*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) respectively.

[226] At p. 218.

modifications for the purpose of argument. What term is neutral clearly depends on the environment".[227] Further, language always constructs reality. There is no neutral text. This is the case even for critical analysis. Potter and Wetherell remark, "Much of social interaction is based around dealings with events and people which are experienced only in terms of specific linguistic versions".[228]

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) deals to a great extent with what, in canonical terms, would be considered style. The stylistic analysis in the chapters which follow exploits the insights of CDA. At the same time, I do not completely agree with all the implications of the theory. What follows is an account of CDA coupled with the reasons for my disagreement.

Critical Discourse Analysis, like many textual theories, relies on the distinction between the meaning and the message. The principles of CDA are based on this division and more generally the notion that language is not opaque. Lillian points out that CDA is "not one homogenous theory; rather, it is a collection of theories and practices all grounded in a basic commitment to revealing the underlying power dynamics at work in texts". [229] In "Critical Discourse Analysis",[230] Gunther Kress outlines the principles of CDA. At the heart of CDA are two claims about language; it is social and it is contextual.

Before discussing these claims, however, it is essential to understand that CDA is a political theory. Nevertheless, Kress claims, it is "properly scientific, perhaps all the more

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[227] p. 149. See also Paul Georg Meyer "Some Observations on the Signalling Structure in Technical Discourse" pp. 8-14 in Monaghan. "It is...not sufficient for a description of discourse structure to state the relevant items and their relationships. What is indispensable is a functional interpretation of the formal side of discourse structure" p. 10. Paul Georg Meyer, "Some Observations on the Signalling Structure in Technical Discourse" in Monaghan (1987), 8-14

[228] Jonathon Potter and Margaret Wetherell, *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*, (London: Sage Publications, 1987), p. 34.

[229] Donna L. Lillian, "Review of texts and Practices: Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard". *Word.* 49 (1) (1998), 109-113, at p. 110

so for being aware of its own political, ideological, and ethical stance".[231] It seems to me, however, that stating explicitly that an activity is political is quite different from taking this into account in actual practice. CDA appears to allow no deviation from its political agenda. This is at odds with its aim to end ideological domination and oppression.[232] In similar vein, CDA calls for an ethical understanding of discourse analysis but never actually articulates an ethical program.

For practitioners of CDA, "Language is first and foremost a type of social practice", only one of the many *"social practices of representation and signification"*.[233] It is certainly more transparent (if there can be degrees of such things) than music, layout, gesture and so forth. Kress describes this in terms of it being the most "fully described, the most heavily theorized, and possibly the most fully articulated semiotic system".[234] This is a necessary effect of language being part of everyday communication. If we want to communicate meaning to someone we are far more likely to compose a sentence than a sonata.

Language is also a social artefact. It is worth examining some of the implications of this. Because we use language all the time and generally have no difficulty in understanding (that is, interpreting) meaning, we may suppose that we can never be fooled by language; that we can always get to meaning. Secondly, because we are constantly exposed to linguistic events, we do not tend to analyse these events in any great detail. We do not have the time for the sort of critical vigilance that we might like to have. This is as it

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[230] Gunther Kress, "Critical Discourse Analysis". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 11 (1990), 84-99.

[231] Kress 1990, p. 85.

[232] Lilian remarks that "one need not be a socialist or take a socialist stance in order to employ the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis" p. 111. But the politics of the method does seem to be intrinsic to it. Widdowson writes, "It [CDA] carries conviction because it espouses just causes and this is disarming, of course: it conditions the reader into acceptance" (150). H.G. Widdowson, "Review Article, The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis", *Applied Linguistics*, 19(1) (1998), 136-151.

[233] Kress 1990, p. 85.

should be. Thus we make certain judgements about the authenticity of a medium and its message rather quickly. Thirdly, the particular non-transparency of language in the context of written material poses further difficulties. One cannot ask a text questions. It may be that ambiguities are resolved later in a text, but it is also possible that someone can read a text and simply not understand it.

The claims that language is both social and contextual derive at least in part from Halliday's work on text. Fairclough is explicit about this,

> A multifunctional view of text is therefore essential. I have followed systemic linguistics (Halliday 1978) in assuming that language in texts always simultaneously functions ideationally in the representation of experience and the world, interpersonally in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole (a text, precisely) and tying texts to situational contexts (e.g. through situational deixis).[235]

These claims are realised quite specifically in CDA as expressions of power relations. Both production and reception of text are subject to an individual's situation in a power structure.[236] Thus the ideational and interpersonal aspects of language serve power and ideology.

CDA stresses that because of this power matrix, we do not each have access to 'the language system' as such. Further (seemingly) because of this power structure, there are *"never arbitrary conjuncts of form and meaning"*.[237] This is a strong assertion and bears some examination. It bespeaks a prioritising of, and a firm belief in, intention. For CDA it seems that every choice is significant and every choice expresses some intention, specifically, one of power. Further, theoretically at least, these choices are analysable in

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[234] Kress 1990, p. 86.

[235] Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language*, (London: Longman, 1995a), p. 6.

[236] Fairclough 1995a, p. 86.

[237] Kress 1990, p. 86.

themselves. This seems to contradict the fundamental CDA claim that language is not completely transparent.

The power dimension of language flows from the fact that language is social and representative of the world. Language as a social artefact means that "[t]exts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction".[238] The person who decides on the representation of the world that will be used has the upper hand in the social interaction. Georgia Green focuses rather on the interpreter of representation. In the CDA model, one sees the reader as at the mercy of the text; but the reader is not this passive. Green sees the task of the discourse-interpreter as "(a) to understand what the speaker has said, that is, to construct a mental model of the situation which the speaker is indicating exists; and (b) to evaluate that model and use it to update his own model of the world".[239] The first step can easily be mistaken as the interpreter may not understand exactly what the speaker wishes to indicate exists. It is also possible that the conventions and beliefs that the speaker takes for granted are either not accepted by the interpreter or rejected as unsuitable. This forestalls any evaluation of the model and certainly any incorporation of the model into the interpreter's world. Similarly, if the evaluation of the model is a negative one, it will not be incorporated into the interpreter's model of the world. It must be remembered that a reader can accept the text, resist it or even impose a deviant reading, even though the reading "is constrained by the semiotic patterns of the text".[240]

At the same time as saying that language is only accessible once it has been analysed, and that analysis can take place in a systematic way, Kress says that CDA also wants to point our possibilities of "real freedom of action".[241] This does seem theoretically at odds with

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[238] Fairclough 1995a, p. 6.

[239] Georgia M. Green, *Pragmatics and Natural language Understanding*, (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), p. 5.

[240] Glenn F. Stillar, *Analyzing Everyday Texts: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Perspectives*, (London: Sage, 1998), p. 112-3.

[241] Kress 1990, p. 87.

what seems to be a non-freedom of interpretation. "CDA does not paint a picture of unremitting determinism" says Kress, as "theoretically it cannot do so".[242] This statement is not enough to modify the theoretical constraints which seem exactly to determine locutionary and perlouctionary effect. Further, the choice that Kress is commenting on is not interpretative choice, but authorial choice. This axis of choice does not seem to be as significant as Kress would like to maintain or at least not in the way he suggests.

We all make choices when we speak. "The requirement to make *a* selection is obligatory; the *kind* of selection made is relatively less so".[243] Surely this is a separate question from motivation. That is to say, do speakers necessarily mean by their choices what CDA analyses as being results of these choices?

Fairclough sees the role of representation as something more than just representation; something that is always ideologically based (at this point ideology is not a pejorative word).

> A more indirect way of attacking ideological critique is to use the concept of ideology in a neutral way, without is critical edge (Thompson 1998), as virtually synonymous with 'worldview', so that any group has a particular ideology corresponding to interests and position in social life. .... In my view, **particular** representations and constructions of the world are instrumental (partly in discourse) and important in reproducing domination, they do call for investigation and critique, and the force and specificity of the concept of ideology has come from its deployment in the critique of these **particular** processes.....In tying ideology to social relations of power, I am alluding to asymmetrical relations of power, to domination.[244]

Ideology seems to be cast as the evil element in all of this because it has been implicated in the critiques of the 'particular' processes and representations of the world that reproduce domination. Fairclough seems to be admitting that only some ideologies, only some representations reproduce domination. But then the CDA project labels all these dominating representations ideologies. The suggestion is that there is something

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[242] Kress 1990, p. 87.

[243] Kress 1990, p. 87.

[244] Fairclough 1995a, p. 17, my emphasis.

dominating about representation itself. From this it would follow that all representations are dominating; I think this is neither true nor useful. Certainly all representations are constructs, as the insights of narrative theory shows. It seems that the implicit ethical project of CDA needs to be made more explicit if the theory can answer even basic critiques.

Certainly some ideologies are dominating but I do not think it is because they are ideologies, that is, representations. If we look again at the two steps that Green gives for the interpreter we may come nearer the way in which ideologies may dominate. Green says that the model being proposed, the ideology being represented, needs to be understood. Secondly it needs to be evaluated and then used to modify a world view one already has; one's existing ideology.[245] The crucial question is whether the evaluation is a positive one and thus whether it will be used to modify an existing ideology. What is never explicitly discussed is how we identify domination and oppression in terms of language use. Certainly it happens, but how it is identified rather than simply identifying 'known' enemies is not clear.

The evaluation of a representation depends on how a representation is presented. Thus, potentially, the same ideology may be presented in a number of ways; some that do not reproduce domination and some that do. CDA's recognition that discourses always deal in representation is an important one. That they largely ignore the critical role of the interpreter, which Green acknowledges, seems to account for the notion that ideology is always dominating.

How then do we evaluate these representations? Fairclough suggests one use notions of truth and well-groundedness.

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[245] Ideology, though, seems to be treated as always a negative thing. Van Dijk writes, "each social group or formation that exercises a form of power or domination over other groups could be associated with an ideology that would specifically function as a means to legitimate or conceal such power" and yet "also those groups who resist such domination should have an ideology in order to organize their social practices" as though ideologies are always consciously constructed. Teun A. van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, (London: Sage, 1998), p. 182.

In claiming that a discursive event works ideologically, one is not in the first instance claiming that it is false, or claiming a privileged position from which judgement of truth and falsity can be made. One is claiming that it contributes to the reproduction of relations of power. On this view of ideological analysis, attacks on ideological critique because of its supposed privileged truth claims (referred to above) miss their target. But critical (discourse) analysis cannot remain indifferent to questions of truth, be it matters of omissions or falsifications for persuasive purposes (Herman and Chomsky 1988, Norris 1992), or of falsifying ideological representations. Many ideologies are evaluations (*e.g. women are less intelligent than men*) for which well-groundedness rather than truth is at issue. Of course, discourse analysis cannot *per se* judge the truth or well-groundedness of a proposition, but then critical discourse analysis is just one method to be used within wider critical projects. Judgements of truth and well-groundedness are not just a prerogative arrogantly claimed by intellectuals, they are a constant and necessary part of social life for everyone, including Foucauldians (Dews 1988).[246]

It seems to me that Fairclough is now suggesting that truth (and well-groundedness, which he seems to treat as a synonym) rather than patterns of domination, should be what we are paying attention to. I find it difficult to understand how Fairclough can write about ideology 'in a neutral way'[247] and then posit 'truth' as a relevant term in discourse analysis. Not only that, but truth and well-groundedness are being treated as at least partial synonyms. The use of 'truth' in this way actually reproduces domination.

The topic of truth is one relevant to discourse analysis but not in the way that Fairclough suggests. He seems to be aspiring to a dialectic model[248] when we are working with one that is rhetorical. Meaning is negotiated, even with a silent audience. Trust, complicity and good opinion must be won. If we are talking about representations it does not seem possible to talk about 'truth' in a final and determinate way. Rorty, for example, argues

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[246] Fairclough 1995a, p. 18.

[247] 1995a, p. 17.

[248] See Weaver 1953.

for a definition of "truth" as "unforced agreement".[249] As a pragmatist, he wants to replace objectivity with solidarity and community.[250]

I am not suggesting that there are no facts at all. But Fairclough moves from saying that different ideologies produce different representations of the world to talking about truth (and presumably true representations of the world). I think Fairclough would be on far safer ground if he stood with his patterns of domination model and left truth out of the picture. Even a true representation can be an oppressive one. It seems to me that if Fairclough wants to claim language is radically social, a 'social practice', then he forfeits any claim to 'truth'. We can certainly talk about false representations of the world i.e. that it is flat, and thus that some representations are not 'well grounded', but the mere fact that we are talking about re-presentations means we cannot talk about a singular truth. There is no external observer to validate such a concept.

CDA draws on a number of other theories. Fowler notes its links with literary studies (presumably the close reading of the new critics).[251] However Widdowson queries whether the toolkit that CDA practitioners assert exists actually does. According to Widdowson, CDA researchers co-opt into service any grammatical or semantic theory that may be useful.[252] This is not problematic and it certainly is important in terms of canonical style. CDA wishes to describe language features and there are plenty of satisfactory ways to do this. It is hardly fair to suggest that they invent a new grammatical metalanguage. Nonetheless, Widdowson has a point. I suggest that if there is a 'toolkit' of the kind Widdowson interrogates, it is an ideological one; one that CDA seems reluctant to admit is ideological.

The attention CDA pays to grammar, construction and the general paradigmatic nature of language is welcome. Under style, one pays attention to the paradigmatic and

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[249] Richard Rorty, "Science as Solidarity" in Nelson et al (1987), 38–52, at p. 42.

[250] Rorty, p. 45.

[251] Widdowson, p. 137

[252] Widdowson, p. 137.

syntagmatic aspects of language. Lexical and grammatical choices do signal attitudes in a text. Yet, to understand stylistic choices, they have to be seen in conjunction with all other aspects of construction and interpretation. Further, to posit ideological oppression without an understanding of all aspects of a text, is premature. All language presents a point of view, be it that of a cult or a critic. To deny this is somewhat disingenuous and, more significantly, undermines the validity of any terms of enquiry posited.

It is important to identify these concerns with CDA as it would seem to be an obvious choice for the examination of cult recruiting language. It is a valuable approach in many ways. It does not make negative distinctions between written and spoken texts or 'high' and 'low' language, for example.[253] Heather comments, "The focus in CDA is often on so-called *discursive practices* which may – according to context – be interpreted as defining underlying structures and practices as well as the actual language usage to which the latter give birth".[254] CDA does take into account the producing structures of discourse, the receiving parties and the text itself. But, apart from the ideological issues outlined above, there doe not appear to be an overarching structure.[255] The rhetorical framework I have outlined has the advantage of taking into account all aspects of text in a structured manner. It requires analysis to engage with text and allows it to take advantage of a wide variety of textual approaches.

Texts, like situations and people, are varied. We meet familiarity and novelty and cannot reliably predict which is coming next. Experience is essential in dealing in such situations. Not only individual experience, but also that common to cultural groups, and people generally and that which is encoded linguistically. In summary, I share Sinclair's view that

> we should trust the text. We should be open to what it may tell us. We must not impose our ideas on it, except perhaps just to get started. We should apply only

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[253] See Noel Heather, *Religious Language and Critical Discourse Analysis*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 18.

[254] Heather, p. 18.

[255] Widdowson 1998, pp. 137-8.

loose and flexible frameworks until we see what the preliminary results are in order to accommodate the new information that will come from the text. We should expect that we will encounter unusual phenomena; we should accept that a large part of our linguistic behaviour is subliminal, and therefore we may find a lot of surprises. We should search for models that are specially appropriate to the study of texts and discourse.[256]

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[256] John M. Sinclair, "Trust the Text" in Coulthard (1994), 12-25, p. 25.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE CHURCH OF SCIENTOLOGY

"Remembering is not the negative of forgetting. Remembering is a form of forgetting".[1]

Testaments Betrayed, Milan Kundera

Scientology is a high profile cult. Its celebrity members and litigious nature keeps it in the press. When one thinks of 'cults', one often thinks first of Scientology. While it is known as the *Church* of Scientology, it is not religious in a prototypical sense or indeed in a legal sense.[2] Scientologists practice Dianetics, which is a therapy developed by L. Ron Hubbard. The movement has been the subject of sociological investigations[3] as well as exposés by ex-members.[4] In this chapter I will be examining two texts of the Church of Scientology. The first is a speech, "The Story of Dianetics and Scientology" (hereafter "The Story") given by the founder, L. Ron Hubbard. The second, which I will deal with in less detail, is *Dianetics,* one of the introductory and foundation texts of the movements, also authored by L. Ron Hubbard.

The two texts are very different, but at the same time they are, in their own ways, typical of the texts that Scientology produces. "The Story" performs a number of tasks. It outlines a basic history of the movement, gives a story of Hubbard's life and enunciates some of the major themes and concerns of the movement. Even though it seems to be loosely structured, it is actually carefully ordered and potentially highly effective in terms of argument structure. It puts across complex attitudes of the movement and creates a feeling of solidarity between the speaker and the audience. *Dianetics,* perhaps because it is a written text, is more impersonal in style. It is a more traditionally institutional

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[1] Milan Kundera, *The Art of the Novel,* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 128.

[2] See for example Sarah Boseley, "Behind the Babble" *The Guardian,* 21 September 1994, p. 12.

[3] Roy Wallis, *The Road to Total Freedom: A Sociological Analysis of Scientology,* (London: Heinemann, 1976)

[4] Jon Atack, *A Piece of Blue Sky,* (1990) [accessed 29th June 1998] http://www.cs.cmu.edu/~dst/Library/Shelf/atack/index.html.

statement of belief, even though the movement's doctrines are seen as scientifically verifiable rather than a matter for faith alone. Indeed, the topos of science is a prevailing one in the movement and especially in this text. At the same time, there are some important fissures which need to be explored in terms of the presentation of this scientific topos.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Church of Scientology is an administrative re-casting of a school of therapy which began life as Dianetics. Now the two terms are used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, however, the Church of Scientology practices Dianetics. L. Ron Hubbard always mentions the two together. The sociologist Roy Wallis has written considerably on the sociological aspects of Scientology. He describes its transition from 'cult' to 'sect': "...in the course of its development Scientology has undergone a transformation from a loose, almost anarchic group of enthusiasts for a lay psychotherapy, Dianetics, to a tightly controlled and rigorously disciplined following for a quasi-religious movement, Scientology".[5]

Wallis' terminology is not that used in the rest of this thesis. Rather, the term "cult" is used in place of Wallis' "sect". He holds with Glock and Stark's definition of "cult" as something defined by its content of belief, in particular the deviant nature of these beliefs. The transition to 'sect', as Wallis sees it, is not a transformation of belief but of organisation.

> The transition from cult to sect, therefore, involves the arrogation of authority.... This centralization of authority is typically legitimized by a claim to a unique revelation which locates some source or sources of authority concerning doctrinal innovation and interpretation beyond the individual member or practitioner, usually in the person of the revelator himself.[6]

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[5] Wallis 1976, p. 5.
[6] Wallis 1976, p. 17.

Dianetics was originally a therapy. It was not seen as the only path to 'salvation' even though it might contribute to some higher purpose or enlightenment. Its professed purpose was to improve one's functioning in the world. There was no central authority and individuals and groups were quite at liberty to experiment with other therapies and ideas. While Hubbard was credited with being the founder of the therapy, he was by no means considered omniscient at this point.[7]

This all changed when Hubbard decided to take over the organisation after an absence.

> First, he generated very rapidly numerous new techniques. The practitioner, wishing to satisfy a clientele which desired the best and therefore the newest techniques, was forced to keep abreast of developments. He was thus rendered more dependent upon the organization. Second, Hubbard sought to standardize practice. Only certain techniques might be used, and used only in the precise manner established by the organization. From the diffuse skills required in Dianetics auditing, processing with the E-meter particularly took the form of stereotyped delivery of standardized commands and acknowledgements. The potential charisma of the practitioner was thus considerably restricted as his role was changed from that of an intuitive therapist to that of a machine-operative who had simply to determine the appropriate process, deliver the commands from lists prepared by Hubbard, and observe needle action on the E-meter. Auditing became a semi-skilled occupation. Skill depended not on tacit professional knowledge of the auditor but on his ability precisely to duplicate the auditing technique established by Hubbard. Training was directed to this end of securing exact duplication of technique. ...The practice of Scientology was considerably de-personalized by these measures.[8]

Thus the movement changed considerably from one where authority and knowledge came from the grass roots and was disseminated between groups or by way of the organisation, to one where all directives, all knowledge, and all power came only from L. Ron Hubbard. Hubbard had founded Dianetics but originally left it to others to run. When he returned to take control he created the Church of Scientology out of Dianetics.

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[7] Wallis 1976, pp. 75-76.

[8] Wallis 1976, p. 123.

It is not my purpose to detail the evolution of the church.[9] The important aspect of this reorganisation is that L. Ron Hubbard consciously styled himself as leader and made organisation and all practical changes to facilitate this. He created the movement to be entirely dependent on himself, his decisions and his words. It is remarkable in some respects that the movement is now able to continue in his absence. But because of audio recordings and his numerous writings, his words live on. The availability of audio technology and material to the movement and its members is central to this. A large global organisation like Scientology would not have had access to Hubbard at all levels even when he was alive. The wealth of material he left gives him a virtual and stable existence.

It is also important to point out that Scientology, despite its full name "the Church of Scientology" does not see itself as a religion. Rather, it sees itself as a 'science of living', as a toolkit that enables people to operate more successfully and happily in the world. It asserts that it does not require other religious beliefs to be renounced. Further, it asserts that no 'belief' is required as one can see through results that this way of doing things actually works.[10]

"THE STORY OF DIANETICS AND SCIENTOLOGY"

"The Story" is a speech of 55 minutes given by L. Ron Hubbard in 1958. It was sourced on the movement's official internet site as an audio file. It was taped and transcribed. The

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[9] Wallis' 1976 work gives an excellent account of the movement's history and structure.

[10] This was explicitly stated in information letters that the movement posted to me after an internet inquiry. See also Vibeke Steffen, "Individualism and Welfare - Alcoholics Anonymous and the Minnesota Model in Denmark", *Nordisk Alkoholtidskrift*, 11 (1994a) 13-20: English Supplement. Like Scientology, "AA works with a spiritual practice that stresses religious acts like prayer and meditation while no specific inner faith is required. Contrary to the established Christian organizations AA prefers action to faith, like a popular AA slogan puts it "Fake it until you make it"". p. 17.

transcription is not a narrow one. Pauses, applause and emphasis have been marked,[11] but these are not central to the analysis. It has been treated as a written text, though some issues of orality will be mentioned.

Memory

We have already seen that the notions of perlocutionary effects, intentions and post-perlocutionary effects are problematic. Nonetheless we can read "The Story" in three ways and as having three effects. To say that the text has three effects is not to say that it was badly conceived or executed; quite the contrary. An individual may not take up all three effects, indeed they might not take up any of them. Some readings are more convincing analytically in so far as they take more of the text into consideration, but for an actual audience member, who does not have the luxury of sustained examination of transcripts, all are possible.

The first, and declared, purpose of this text is to tell the story of Scientology. If we take it at its word, we can read the text as being about the discovery and generation of the principles upon which Scientology is built; as the biography of the movement. If this is the case, it is not a particularly successful text in so far as it does not tell one what one ordinarily expects to hear. It does not tell one how the movement is organised or even explicitly what it is about. Only very general remarks are made about the movement (as we will see in the section 'invention'). It is radically different in form and style from Wallis' account of the history of the movement, for example. Wallis includes dates, mentions specific actors and outlines political and ideological changes in the movement. If this is the kind of text the audience is actually expecting, it is reasonable to say that they will be disappointed.

The second way of reading the text is more satisfying. If this text is a story (in the normal sense of being topic explicit) about anything, it is the story of L. Ron Hubbard's life. This

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[11] See Appendix II. In the broad transcription, pauses are marked with ellipsis points, laughter by [laughter] with numbers indicating approximate length in seconds, inaudible

is not such a large leap from the declared purpose of the text in so far as the stories of L. Ron Hubbard and of Scientology are closely bound, as he is the founder of Dianetics and Scientology. But while the text is general about the movement, it is very specific about parts of L. Ron Hubbard's life. That is not to say that this is the *true* story of L. Ron Hubbard's life, but the detail in the text is largely realised in anecdotes about his life as well as comments he makes about the world in general based on these vignettes. The chronological progression is also based on his life. It starts with his childhood and moves successively through his life events.

In effect, this is a self-portrait realised through a conventional linear narrative. It is the story of the life of L. Ron Hubbard, an autobiography. Yet, the selection of events seems to be dictated by their relevance to the development of Dianetics and Scientology, thus suggesting that Scientology is his life's work, that is, the purpose of his life. Ochs and Capps write, "Personal narrative simultaneously is born out of experience and gives shape to experience. In this sense, narrative and self are inseparable".[12] L. Ron Hubbard is presenting himself as founder of the movement and this shapes the telling of his own life; this is an autobiography with a specific motivation that is directed towards the movement. In this sense, then, it is perhaps the story of Scientology too.

This self portrait is painted so that the audience forms a good opinion of L. Ron Hubbard. Ostensibly, one is persuaded that L. Ron Hubbard is a worthy, intelligent, interesting, upstanding fellow. If we consider the consequence of this, that is, the post-perlocutionary effect, it is reasonable to assume that the 'intention' is for the audience to be persuaded that Dianetics and Scientology is a worthy, interesting movement. As a result of this, one might expect the audience to investigate Dianetics and Scientology in more detail. Just as one might read a friend's publication because of the personal relationship, one may pursue Dianetics and Scientology because of a personal relationship set up by this speech. Establishing the good name of L. Ron Hubbard guarantees the good name of the movement.

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material is marked [??] and vocal emphasis marked by underlining.

Telling the story of Scientology in terms of the story of L. Ron Hubbard lets an audience know that the two are indivisible. This strategy implies, though does not anywhere state, the importance of L. Ron Hubbard to the movement. It is an importance that does not need to be stated. The fact that he has the authority to tell the story and that the story is largely about him signals that he is essential to the movement. L. Ron Hubbard is not the founder in the sense that he started work that others continue to develop and improve upon, in the sense that one might say Einstein is the founder of modern physics. Rather, he is the founder in the sense that he delivered the package of the movement to the world, complete, perfect and unable to be improved upon or, indeed, modified.

To secure a good opinion in relation to L. Ron Hubbard a number of other perlocutionary effects are used at a lower level. These effects combine to persuade us that L. Ron Hubbard is worthy and further that there is some connection between him and the audience. I will examine this is more detail later, but one example from the opening should suffice at this point. This beginning is crucial to the text and performs a number of roles. L. Ron Hubbard asks the audience if they would like to hear something about the history of the movement.

> [applause]
>
> Thank you thank you very much
>
> I'd like to tell you something of the story of Dianetics and Scientology the things I've never confided to anyone before. Would you like to hear that?
>
> [applause] (lines 1-5)

The applause that the audience gives in response to this question is an affirmative answer. This is despite the fact that the question is not a real question. The audience cannot ask for something else. Still, the applause response forms a relationship between speaker and audience. This act establishes intimacy with the audience and also implicates them in the story that will be told. The transaction upon which depends the success of a perlocutionary effect, has begun. From now on, L. Ron Hubbard is telling the audience

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[12] Ochs and Capps, p. 20.

something it 'asked' to hear. At this stage, it is important to see it in relationship to the personality that L. Ron Hubbard is projecting. Lee Smith, drawing on Goffman, writes that

> the success of [a] performance lies in the performer's ability to convince the audience that they are not only experiencing the privilege of hearing a text, but also are gaining added access to the heart and mind of the author of the text, an author who is surrendering himself or herself to the current occasion for the benefit of the audience...success depends on the speaker's creation of what Goffman calls the "illusion" that s/he is being responsive to the audience and the occasion.[13]

The important point to make about this opening in relation to memory is that this is undoubtedly a speech act in the terms of Austin and Searle. This is because L. Ron Hubbard has, by speaking and soliciting a reaction, actually done something (for which he receives something, applause, in return).

Hubbard cannot say that he is a good person without risking damage to his character. But it is the effect that his opening lines have. At the very opening of the speech, then, L. Ron Hubbard presents himself in a positive light, without having to say anything explicitly positive. He also begins work on a relationship with the audience, which continues at the levels of invention and style.

We can read this text in a third way, however, as another kind of story of Scientology. This text presents where the movement 'comes from' in so far as it presents some of the major underpinnings, and the *ethos* of the movement; the radical antagonism to psychology[14] for example. It also represents the main concern of the movement, the understanding and improvement of the human mind. The representation that is put forth (whether one considers it to be of the movement or of L. Ron Hubbard) is to show, or enact, for the audience, a way of being. In a sense it demonstrates what it is (supposed to

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[13] Frances Lee Smith, "The Pulpit and Woman's Place: Gender and the Framing of the 'Exegetical Self' in Sermon Performances" in Tannen (1993), 146-175, at p. 150.

[14] Hubbard seems to use 'psychiatry' and 'psychology' interchangeably. Unless quoted in context, I will use 'psychology' to include the antagonism towards both.

be) like to be a member of the movement. Ochs and Capps remark, "Adherence to a dominant narrative is also community-building in that it presumes that each member ascribes to a common story".[15] Further, "Institutionalized master storylines prevail in educational, military, religious, legal, and medical settings".[16] These kinds of text, personal stories from L. Ron Hubbard, are staples of the movement. They enact and demonstrate the language games of the movement and thus the forms of life that one should adhere to in order to be a functioning member.[17] I will now move on to consider how these readings are realised structurally and stylistically in the text.

Delivery

As has been noted, this text was found on the internet on the official homepage of the movement, downloaded, taped and transcribed.[18] It is an audio recording, with no visual images accompanying it. The delivery of this text is unusual in terms of cult texts, though routine for the movement. To find cult texts on an internet site is quite normal. Most of the texts that I have looked at have been sourced in this way. Presumably this prevalence is because of the relative economy of distributing material to a large number and wide variety of people. This kind of forum is advantageous in providing continuity for group members spread about the world and also for presenting a unified image to potential members and to the general public.

What is unusual is to have such a lengthy speech available on such a website. Audio material of any kind is not normally found on cult sites. "The Story" is only one of a number of audio texts available on the site and though it is certainly the longest, it is also

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[15] p. 32.

[16] Ochs and Capps, p. 33.

[17] See Anthony Holiday, *Moral Powers: Normative Necessity in Language and History*, (London: Routlegde, 1988), p. 149. "In imagining a language, we are imagining speakers of that language, and the more fine-grained our imaginings becomes, the more they will take account of the changing cultural, religious, economic and political institutions which belong to the speakers".

[18] www.scientology.org

one of the easiest to understand.[19] The other excerpts are exactly that, selections taken from longer speeches. Unlike the other texts, "The Story" is long, complete and has a low level of movement-specific vocabulary.[20] Making sense of some the other texts out of context and as a non-Scientologist is quite difficult.[21]

Using audio texts as pedagogical tools is routine in Scientology, however. As a Scientologist, one moves through specifically ordered and determined levels.[22] At each level one receives a specific set of course materials. These may include audio tapes of L. Ron Hubbard making certain speeches. All teaching is done strictly in relation to these packages.

Because this is an oral text, it is possible to talk about delivery in terms of rhetoric as oratory. While we cannot see L. Ron Hubbard as he is speaking, we do hear his voice. Not surprisingly, members of the group often remark on L. Ron Hubbard's great talents as an orator. This is not uncommon in cults generally. Jim Jones, David Koresh and Reverend Moon are all often credited as having intoxicating voices. In *Crazy for God*, Edwards writes of Moon, "He really spoke with the authority of a Messiah, I thought. What conviction! I was both frightened and impressed by each audacious announcement".[23] An ex-School of Economic Science (SES) member echoes this:

> I have clear memories of an overwhelmingly powerful personality - deep brown eyes of an extraordinarily compelling nature, a velvet voice with a depthless

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[19] There are about 3,000 taped lectures available from Scientology according to www.scientology.org

[20] Other audio texts talk about 'going upscale', 'overstimulating', 'being three feet back of your head', 'operating conditions' and the 'eight dynamics'.

[21] See Appendices III-XII.

[22] See David V. Barrett, *Sects, 'Cults' and Alternative Religions: a world survey and sourcebook*, (London: Blandford, 1996), p. 255. "More, perhaps, than any other religious or semi-religious organization, there is a spiritual career path in Scientology."

[23] Edwards, p. 84.

quality which could reassure and offer wisdom and love (how one longed for his approval!) or slash to the bone with alarming unpredictability.[24]

But what does it mean to speak with "the authority of a Messiah"?[25] How is a voice "velvet" and "depthless" at the same time? These recruits are attributing qualities to the voice of a person that hardly seem possible. Spells *may* be cast, though, by discourse strategies such as self-representation.

L. Ron Hubbard's speaking style is more than competent, however. He manages a style that is at once conversational and assured, spontaneous and structured. He uses enough hesitations, 'uhm', 'ah' and so on, to indicate that this is not a script learnt in minute detail and delivered. He sometimes laughs at his own jokes, seems to make anecdotal diversions and manages to vary tone and speed for emphasis. For example, in "The Story", until towards the end (line 353 where Scientology is compared with Buddhism) every time "Dianetics and Scientology" are mentioned, it is done in an undertone, as though they were not relevant to the story, as though L. Ron Hubbard is distancing himself from his role in their development. This mode of speaking, of 'fresh talk'[26], allows us to see Hubbard as sincere. In fresh talk, as the term suggests, "the text is formulated by the animator from moment to moment, or at least from clause to clause".[27] Scannell writes, "If a person's behaviour is perceived by others as a performance, it will be judged to be insincere, for sincerity presupposes, as its general condition, the absence of performance."[28] Yet it "might be noted that fresh talk itself is something of an illusion of itself, never being as fresh as it seems".[29]

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[24] Peter Hounam and Andrew Hogg, *Secret Cult*, (London: Lion, 1985), p. 13.

[25] Edwards was not even referring to Moon's speaking, but to a transcribed speech!

[26] Goffman, p. 171.

[27] Goffman, p. 171.

[28] Scannel 1996 cited in Montgomery, p. 9.

[29] Goffman, p. 172.

This kind of oral text "is always available for others than those directly named as addressees".[30] Indeed, anyone who listens is potentially an addressee. At the same time, given that this is an oral text, and one in which the addressee is addressed as 'you' it is not clear who the addressee is in specific terms. The author, the speaker, in such circumstances, is not aware of individual audiences or individuals in the audience. Clark, describing overhearers as of two kinds, remarks that, "*Bystanders* are those who are openly present but not part of the conversation. *Eavesdroppers* are those who listen in without the speaker's awareness. There are in reality several varieties of overhearers in between".[31] It seems that it isn't so much that there are 'several varieties in between' but rather people who are indeterminate in technical terms. Many addressees of this text are not part of the conversation, and so may seem to be eavesdroppers. But Hubbard must know, or at least the movement must, that all manner of people will listen to a file which is placed on the web. Thus they are somehow in the speaker's (or movement's) awareness. Indeed, the lecture was taped, presumably to be replayed to later audiences. This suggests that the addressees are bystanders. Determining what a particular addressee may be in this situation seems to depend more on the situation of replay. If the experience is institutional, in so far as a member or representative plays the speech, one is a bystander. If one is experiencing the text in the privacy of one's own internet home, one is, under existing terminology, an eavesdropper. However, it is arguable that the audience is an intermediate category, perhaps 'eaves-stander' as they are listen in with the awareness of the speaker (in the way described) but are not part of the conversation.

Publicly available texts are the way in which discourse communities make themselves known to the outside world. Whether or not the representation a 'discourse community' gives is actually what life in the community is like, is irrelevant for the purposes of recruitment. However, for the discourse analyst, understanding something of the

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[30] Montgomery 1986 p. 427.

[31] Herbert H. Clark, *Using Language*, (Chicago: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 14.

'discourse community' may give an insight into the way that texts are used to represent and persuade.

Arrangement

As has been mentioned, "The Story" is structured as an autobiography. It is this choice of genre, with the topic choices that necessarily accompany the form, that reveals at least one of the purposes of the speech. The indivisibility of the life of L. Ron Hubbard from the history of the movement which he founded has already been mentioned. Biographies of the founders of cults are often extremely important texts for movements. The lives of Mary Baker Eddy (Christian Science) and Sun Moon (Unification Church) are important in the same kind of way that L. Ron Hubbard's is. These biographies are the archetypal proof of the veracity of the movement, proof of its principles and illustrative of an ideal. With the right kind of representation, these founders are deified.

L. Ron Hubbard telling his own story makes this process of deification more implicit than otherwise might be the case. For example, if one is praising another (Aristotle's display genre[32]), one can be far more effusive than when one is speaking about oneself. Aristotle (and the whole rhetorical tradition) recognises and describes argument from character, *ethos*.

> Proofs from character are produced, whenever the speech is given in such a way as to render the speaker worthy of credence - we more readily and sooner believe reasonable men on all matters in general and absolutely on questions where precision is impossible and two views can be maintained. But this effect too must come about in the course of the speech, not through the speaker's being believed in advance to be of a certain character.[33]

As has been mentioned, there are two issues here. Firstly, the character of the speaker is established at the same time as the argument that will be warranted by this good character is also made. Secondly, note Aristotle's descriptive approach to the whole issue of

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[32] p. 104.

[33] Aristotle, (1356a); p. 74.

rhetorical persuasion. He recognises that we do conflate good character with good argument; he does not, however, point out that this is problematic and potentially deceptive. A wicked person skilled in rhetoric can represent himself as a saint.[34]

In a small community, or in the context of a sustained rhetorical event such as an election campaign, character is established through actions,[35] commentary and prolonged speech events. In the case of a single text, trust in character needs to be established in the very text that it will be used to support. This may seem paradoxical. Goffman's frame theory, however, explains how it is possible. Lee Smith writes,

> From a sociolinguistic perspective, credibility is closely affiliated with what Erving Goffman calls the 'textual self'. In "The Lecture"[36], Goffman identifies the textual self of a speaker as 'the sense of the person that seems to stand behind the textual statements made *and which incidentally gives these statements authority*'.[37]

At no point does the speaker say explicitly, 'I'm a good guy, you can trust me.' Rather, this textual self has to be realised in other textual moves. Further, the creation of a textual self, employing argument from *ethos*, does not require that oneself be the subject material. It seems that even when arguments are being made in different ways, from *logos* or *pathos* for example, the textual self has to guarantee these strategies in a certain way. By this I mean that we expect and respond to textual selves regardless of the type of argument, but we expect certain kinds of textual selves according to the argument.[38] An obvious example is that we expect someone arguing from *logos* to appear to be intelligent and rigorous; someone arguing from *pathos* to be somehow morally worthy and so on.

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[34] This is certainly Plato's objection to rhetoric, as we have seen. It is of course this possibility that leads to condemnations of rhetoric and the use of *ethos*, especially by Sim (1992), p. 90.

[35] Despite Aristotle stating that this character has to be created in the text, character can be negotiated over longer periods and different situations. Certainly it has to be sustained and supported in speech events, especially those which rely on character, but good character is sometimes established prior to a particular speech or text.

[36] p. 173.

[37] Lee Smith, at p. 147, original emphasis.

That is to say, there is nothing that ties the notion of the textual self to arguments from *ethos*.

A textual self of some kind is always present in a text, so in effect every argument is, at least in part, one from *ethos*. In fact, every argument can be seen to have aspects of all three forms of persuasion, *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. One of the three may be foregrounded by a particular persuasive strategy that is adopted, but all will be present in some measure, even by their neutrality. In "The Story", what informs *ethos* also informs topical invention, so *ethos* is foregrounded.

Hubbard's life only serves as a departure point for "The Story". We know that a narrative does not have the uncertainty of real life. The autobiography form allows L. Ron Hubbard to present himself as congruent, reasonable and human. The form provides many strategic advantages. As the speaker is the best authority on his own life, there is a great deal of latitude in terms of assertions and interpretations of life events. The implicit modality of a personal opinion is uncertain, because all experience is subjective. Thus we expect the transformation from 'reality' to 'narrative' that narrative theory describes. Further, we will see in the section on style that L. Ron Hubbard does not always give his assertions a modality of certainty. This naturally works quite well for the textual self, as slightly uncertain modality suggests, in this case, humility. Further, personal opinion is not only allowed in this kind of text; it is expected, perhaps even required. How it is presented will influence the way a persona is perceived, but without it, it is not really an autobiography at all. Because of the form, personal opinion will have far greater weight than it would in other forms and forums.

We know that the self of reality is not necessarily the textual self (in Goffman's sense or more generally). Contemporary understandings of identity see the self as fluid, subjective

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[38] Even scientists have textual selves.

and contextual.[39] In L. Ron Hubbard's case this fluidity is expressed by presenting the self as the sum of various facets of the one man. To the Scientologists he is poet, philosopher, sportsman, scientist, musician.[40] In short, there is an L. Ron Hubbard for every occasion. This is advantageous for the movement as the variety of L. Ron Hubbards potentially appeals to a variety of people. Further, because these are facets of personality rather than a shifting identity, one achieves variety together with stability. This variety is captured in the episodic structure of the text.

Work on narrative, particularly on life stories, points out some of the advantages of this form. Steffen writes that "personal narratives not only play a central role as an internal form of communication in [a movement], but they also constitute the primary formal presentation of [the movement] to the world outside".[41] But even more fundamentally than this, narratives are basic to representation. "Personal narratives are ways of expressing experience, and as reality can only manifest itself to us as experience, narratives are fundamental to human existence".[42] Further, personal narratives are a fusion of elements. "In a life story, levels of life as lived (experience), and life as told (expression) are inseparable parts of each other".[43] Thus the objective and the subjective are blended together. The individual necessarily interprets his own life. At the same time, those listening to the narrative draw on their own personal narratives in coming to terms with other examples.[44]

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[39] See, for example, Barbara J. Socor, "The Self and its Constructions: A Narrative Faith in the Postmodern World" www.iona.edu /academic/ arts_sci /orgs/ narrative/ SOCOR.HTM.

[40] See www.scientology.org

[41] Vibeke Steffen, "Life Stories and Shared Experience", *Social Science and Medicine*, 1 (1997), 99-111, p. 105. Steffen is writing specifically about Alcoholics Anonymous, but the same is true of Scientology.

[42] Steffen 1997, p. 104.

[43] Steffen 1997, p. 104.

[44] "Experience structures expressions, in that we understand other people and their expressions on the basis of our own experience and self-understanding. But expressions

As founder of the movement, L. Ron Hubbard's autobiography has a privileged position. Steffen writes about the founder of Alcoholic Anonymous (AA), but she could easily be describing Hubbard. "The story has gained the air of timelessness and generality that characterizes myth. The purpose of telling this story is not to explain to the listener the specific events in [the founder's] life story, but to bring forth an understanding of the general meaning of his experience".[45]

The autobiographical form gives a natural and easy chronological structure. "The chronological dimension offers narrators a vehicle for imposing order on otherwise disconnected experiences. That is, chronology provides a coherence that is reassuring".[46] Thus chronology creates the non-random connection between events required by 'narratives' This coherence is often more apparent than real, however. The cohesive and coherent structure is threatened by another one of its features; its episodic nature. Hoey writes,

> Winter see [sic] all clauses (and other stretches of language) as potentially related to each other in two main ways: they may be sequenced or matched (or both). Sequences clauses are logically and/or temporally ordered, and apart from the repetition necessary to maintain continuity of topic need not contain much in the way of repetition devices. If clauses or other stretches of language are matched, on the other hand, the focus is on where they differ or on what they have in common as information, and this requires that there be some basis on which to make such a comparison.[47]

It is worth being clear about what I mean when I describe a text as 'episodic'. For in a sense to say that a text is episodic is to say that it is a narrative, as narratives are "connected events",[48] even though "non–randomly connected events".[49] By connected,

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also structure experience, in that dominant narratives of a historical era define and illuminate inner experience..." Steffen 1997, p. 104.

[45] 1997, p. 109

[46] Ochs and Capps, p. 24.

[47] Hoey 1991, p. 17.

[48] Michael J. Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction,* (London: Routledge, London, 1988), p. 7.

Toolan means "a connectedness that is motivated and significant".[50] Events can be motivated and significant in all manner of ways. For episodic texts, I suggest that the motivation is a macro level connection in a thematic way. Van Dijk and Kintsch suggest some examples of episode change marking.

> Examples of topic change markers at the beginnings of new episodes are:
> 1. Change of possible world...
> 2. Change of time or period...
> 3. Change of place...
> 4. Introduction of new participants...
> 5. Full noun phrase reintroduction of old participants
> 6. Change of perspective or point of view
> 7. Different predicate range (change of frame or script)
>
> The general strategy, thus, is that if some sentence no longer can be subsumed under a current macroproposition, a new macroproposition will be set up, of which the change markers are the respective partial expressions.[51]

I suggest that to better understand the notion of a 'macroproposition' we understand them as 'themes', related to an overarching 'subject'. I intend 'theme' and 'subject' in this understanding to be drawn from musical rather than from linguistic terminology. Understanding episodic texts in terms of subject and themes accounts for the way in which episodes can recur, or be interrupted or suspended or self–contained. It also allows us to see that episodic texts are not necessarily narratives or vice versa. I will return to this shortly. Landau observes, "Telling a story does not consist simply in adding episodes to one another. It consists in creating relations between events, in configurations".[52] It is possible that the only relation between episodes is their relation to a single macroproposition, or subject. This does not create a narrative, but it does create an episodic text. On the other hand, episodes may also be related in so far as the

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[49] Toolan, p. 7.

[50] Toolan, p. 7.

[51] p. 204.

[52] See Landau, p. 111.

macropropositions (or themes) which they develop are also linked to each other, either temporally (by conjunctions) or thematically (by an overarching macroproposition, the 'subject').

Commenting on time with respect to episodes, Branigan writes, "by organizing a larger number of fragments according to, say, principles which create a catalogue or an episode, new global and hierarchical structures of time will appear. In general, this means that several time schemes will be appropriate simultaneously when we read".[53]

We can understand the overall purpose of the text as the 'subject' and the premises which support it as 'themes' subordinate to, drawn from or based on the 'subject'. Thus while the individual themes may or may not be related to each other, they all articulate an aspect of the subject or support it in some way. An episodic text, then, can be defined as a text which is a series of articulated and developed themes united by a subject.

The subject captures the point of the text. Unlike a subject in musical compositions, however, it may or may not be articulated explicitly. The themes are derived from material in the subject, as they are in music. The episodes of a fugue, for example, "are nearly always based upon figures in the Subject or Counter-Subject [answer to the Subject], and...often consist of a sequential treatment of such figures".[54] If we understand macropropositions in musical terms, it is easier to understand how episodes can recur, be interrupted and so on. Musical themes can appear, disappear, undergo transposition, inversion, repetition and various other formal manipulations and substantive embellishments. Thus "the coherence of the whole is created *solely* by the unity of a few things (and motifs) which are developed in variations" in addition to their relationship to the subject.[55]

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[53] Branigan, p. 227.

[54] Stewart MacPherson, *Form in Music*, (London: Joseph Williams, 1915), p. 210. The subject – counter-subject interaction can also be related to the notion that argument is dialogic in Ducrot and Anscombre's understanding, for example.

[55] Milan Kundera, *The Art of the Novel*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 83.

L. Ron Hubbard makes great use of temporal ordering to achieve cohesion, to link his themes. Use of the discourse markers "well", "so" and "anyway" facilitates chronological progression even in the absence of a continuity of real topic. For example, at lines 61-67, Hubbard moves back to the main story of his life after a joke about his maths skills,

> My father was an officer in the navy and he moved me from here to there ...and I don't think to this day that I've ever had a course in short division
>
> [laughter 3.5]......
>
> It's quite remarkable it's sometimes called to my attention by my banker... that my arithmetic [laughter 3]......
>
> But anyway, here we have a picture of a uh young man who was uh being moved around and seeing new and strange things and talking to interesting and new and strange people

Sinclair remarks that these words are "interactive signals" which give coherence to the text[56] and indeed suggest a relationship between speaker and hearer, even in a non-interactive speech such as this. Schiffrin argues that "well" is a "response marker" "which anchors its user in an interaction when an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with prior coherence options".[57] Coherence is suggested through the use of the conclusions and through the re-iterative use of thematic material. For example, Hubbard attacks Freud but concludes the section by praising him as a "great humanitarian".

> Up to the point where... I was pretty sure that Freud didn't know what he was talking about [laughter 2.5] But on this very impressionable background ...I found... at least... that somebody had a hope that something could be done in the field of the human mind. And I think that was Freud's great contribution ...that something could be done about the mind...Now that doesn't mean, that doesn't mean of course ...absolutely and accurately that something will be done about the mind it just means that there is a hope that something could be done. And I believe Freud really deserves a great niche in history just for that [??]. regardless of what he thought could be done with the mind or how he thought it could be done he was really the first man that stood up and said ... there was hope for it ...without whips.. clubs.. strait jackets and the rest of the paraphernalia by which certain strata of this universe have attempted to quote cure unquote insanity.

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[56] John M. Sinclair, "Written Discourse Structure" in Sinclair et al (1993), 5-31.

[57] Deborah Schiffrin, *Discourse Markers*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 102-103.

> Now there was a great humanitarian... that he concentrated so thoroughly on sex was simply I believe a symptom of his own times. (lines 27-38)

Attacks against psychologists in general and on their science in particular are a constant throughout the story. Indeed, it begins with comments on Freud. The cohesion is real but coherence here is often directly attributable to the autobiographical form. The cohesion does have the effect of a clear development of events, that is, a plot.[58]

Sometimes, there is no coherence at all. For example, when Hubbard says, "And that's in effect what the first book on Dianetics says" (line 84), what exactly this summation line is summarising is not clear. This is what precedes it.

> The only people broadly who I have ever done the Indian rope trick brightly boldly and successfully has been a group of psychiatrists [laughter 6]

> You You find by the way that psychiatrist of the United States are of uh two opinions...... two opinions. One that Dianetics and Scientology uh uh they're very bad, [??] for the business very bad very bad. And that uh it's regrettable that Hubbard is crazy because he's a wonderful psychotherapist. [laughter 1]... Anything that happens in Dianetics or Scientology is because Hubbard is such an expert psychotherapist you see that the subject itself has nothing to do with it. Any time you tell a profession ...broadly...any time you tell a profession... that uh ...anybody can do their job ......they're trouble.[laughter 3] (lines 76-83)

Does the first book on Dianetics talk about Hubbard's ability with the Indian rope trick? Or the fact that Dianetics and Scientology is bad for business? It is hard to see how this can be the case. Yet because this is such a clear summarising statement, one is likely to accept it as actually having summarised something. It is a signpost signifying nothing except apparent structure. As a move, it suggests cohesion as it occurs between two episodes of autobiographic information, but there is nothing immediately preceding this summation to which it could apply.

We recognise this text as a text because it is a familiar genre, a life story. The freedom of this form has been mentioned, though it should be more or less chronological and as in

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[58] "The proclivity to organize experience in terms of plots is characteristically human, a point that has recently garnered the attention of cognitive psychologists". Ochs and Capps, p. 26.

narratives generally, we should be able to discern some connection between the successive events. The text is actually highly structured with its use of anecdotes, complicating action and coda.

All the seemingly random anecdotes, during the complicating period of war and without it, are told for a specific purpose. This becomes apparent when a slight repair is made. It is a background repair which Schiffrin defines as a "subordinate [aside] which provide[s] information to modify and/or supplement hearer's understanding of surrounding material".[59] What distinguishes a background from a replacement repair is that after a background repair the speaker returns to the prior discourse.[60] We see this in the following.

> I studied the endocrine system and studied this and studied that and rigged up a few experiments of one kind or the other wrecked a whole research project by the way... There was a doctor with the improbable name of Yankiwitz [laughter 1.5] (lines 225-7)
>
> And that was a very significant series of experiments which are unfortunately not totally available to us they're probably still on file in a <u>folder</u> with a great big question mark on it in the navy department in Washington DC because it was a failed project as far as Yankiwitz was concerned.[Hubbard laughs]...
>
> Now if this was <u>first broad test</u> of it all ...<u>thought</u> was <u>boss</u> ...<u>thought</u> was <u>king</u> ......<u>thought</u> could change <u>structure</u> but matter could not <u>really</u> change matter but thought could change it... Isn't this fascinating. (lines 246-51)

At line 226, Hubbard repairs with a "by the way" into the anecdote about the sabotaged tests. He had already started to say that he had "rigged up a few experiments" (225), but this is given more significance by the interrupting story. He repairs to the Yankiwitz anecdote as though it was an afterthought, when in fact, it is essential for the credibility of his experiments. In this way, it is unlike either a background or a replacement repair as both the aside and the previous discourse are essential to the point made after the repair.[61]

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[59] Schiffrin, p. 300.

[60] Schiffrin, p. 300.

[61] The repair can also be understood as 'bracketing' in Goffman's sense. See Goffman, pp. 178-9.

Anecdotes express what is at once individual and of wider significance. Steffen writes,

> The anecdote as a genre is characterized by abstracting events from their historical context and presenting them as allegories. Anecdotes have the quality of preserving their authenticity as individual experience while at the same time claiming validity beyond their specific context...Anecdotes are often told as small pedagogical tales with an implicit moral, and may function as discreet efforts to adjust or even correct other life stories in a more appropriate direction.[62]

Katz concurs, stating that "One of the reasons that anecdotal presentations are the common currency of teaching is that stories are good agents for transferring the incondensable complexity of the world".[63] Anecdotes live in parallel versions.[64] More generally, they "form the substance of daily human life".[65]

We see more lower level structure in L. Ron Hubbard's speeches in Excerpt number 2,[66] where the balanced, parallel statements used cannot be completely spontaneous. "Wherever man strives, wherever he works, whatever he does, the good he does, outweighs the evil" (lines 1-5). In "The Story" too, despite the use of the fluid form of autobiography, there is structure. In the beginning this is merely temporal, but towards the end (line 366 ff.), stylistic (a shift to 'we') and topical changes (seeing Scientology in historical context) indicate a climax which is managed and resolved into a satisfying and applause-provoking finish. The use of "we" and the comparison with Buddhism is clear in the following lines.

> We owe a great deal then to the past, we owe a great deal to our present civilisation, we owe a great deal to those forces which have made it possible for us to have enough leisure to <u>think</u> enough thoughts and to <u>organise</u> enough and to <u>write</u> enough to <u>do</u> what what we can do <u>today</u> and Sir Thomas Siddharta is the first person who said you can be clear... All he told you however was all you had to do was conceive mind essence ...you just conceive mind essence you have it...

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[62] Steffen 1997, p. 107.

[63] Michael Jay Katz, "Anecdotal Understandings", *Four Quarters*, 7 (1) (1993), 53-58, p. 57.

[64] Katz, p. 58.

[65] Katz, p. 58.

[66] See Appendix III.

ask those who have tried ...his goal comes true today in Scientology it's not a new goal... but we can do it ...we can do it we can make good many of the promises which have been made...(lines 381-7)

We have already noted that the speech is structured along episodic and anecdotal lines. This is not surprising given the form of the narrative. But there is an alternation between the telling of life events and generalisations and judgements being made about these experiences. General information is also added to these personal experiences in order to illustrate a point. These generalisations and summation points structure the life story episodes exactly into relevant episodes. The anecdotes are being used to support other comments. This manner of structuring also foregrounds the fact that the story is not being told for its own sake but for the more general points. The episodes thus serve as examples, as proof for arguments.[67] For example, an anecdote about a lost file is used to display Hubbard's supernatural abilities or at least supreme good fortune.

My office in Washington got turned upside down just a few weeks ago when I suddenly found out that the name and address of one of them had been lost.... And there must have been something psychic about it all because at the end of the week this person wrote into me not having written me for some years told me that they were fine living a very successful life everything was going along beautifully giving me a full report on the case and so forth and even my office started to look at me peculiarly [laughter 3]......(lines 286-291)

Labov and Waletzky, note that "storytelling has at least a twofold function: referential (reference to 'event constellation'), and evaluative, a 'function of personal interest determined by a stimulus in the social context in which the narrative occurs'".[68] Ricoeur concurs, noting that every narrative "combines two dimensions in various proportions, one chronological and the other nonchronological". The first is the "episodic dimension, which characterizes the story as made out of events" and the second is "the

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[67] This will be further discussed in "Invention". For an excellent account of anecdotes and modes of story telling used as justification for legal judgments see Bernard S. Jackson, "Narrative Theories and Legal Discourse" in Nash (1990), pp. 23-50.

[68] W. Labov and J. Waletzky, "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience" in J. Helm (1967), 12-44.

configurational dimension, according to which the plot construes significant wholes out of scattered events".[69]

The complicating action points out the structure by interrupting it.[70] Hubbard says,

> And they all would have had this [definite study on survival] a lot sooner and it all would have done much more neatly and there wouldn't have been so many lives on the line if at about that time a fellow by the name of Hitler who had been <u>mad</u> since 1933 and had been <u>screaming</u> since 1933, we all heard him [laughter 1.5] but somebody decided to take him <u>seriously</u> and I don't know who first took him seriously but it was a <u>mistake</u>......
>
> And the next thing you know why we were all involved in the common war which incidentally now has been totally undone and has to be done all over again but that's the way wars are...(lines 155-161)

The war, presumably World War II, is seen as a hindrance to the efforts of Hubbard's study, one which eventually leads to 'Clears'.[71] The period of the war is not left out, however. Indeed, it was because of World War II that Hubbard was able to study at Oak Knoll Medical library, examine men on board his ship and so on. Thus Hubbard turns an interruption of his work into an asset; he continues despite the difficulties.

There is one more structural feature that deserves comment, however. At the end of the speech, there is what could be considered a coda as it brings the text back to the audience. It is a way of delivering the story, the fruits of the text and indeed of L. Ron Hubbard's life, back to the movement and to the people involved in that movement. Bringing the audience in at this point implicates them in the entire tale and corresponds to, and balances, the opening speech act which asked if the audience wanted to hear the story. We see this in the closing lines.

> I can't say to you grandly that we have <u>totally</u> gotten it all wrapped up how we will never hit any vagaries of any kind that we will not hit any rough spots in the

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[69] Paul Ricoeur, "Narrative Time" in Mitchell (1980), 165-186.

[70] See Ochs and Capps, p. 27.

[71] A 'clear' in Scientology is someone who through auditing has cleared all engrams in the reactive mind. An engram is a kind of repressed experience; the reactive mind the uncritical part of the mind, analogous to Freud's subconscious.

road that from here on it's all smooth out but I will tell you today ...that we can individual by individual achieve this goal of clear and I can tell you that it's well worth achieving and it can be achieved properly and man can achieve these goals today of freedom for himself and his people from Scientology providing he works hard ...providing he works sincerely... and providing he keeps this show on the road. Thank you. (lines 392-7)

Understanding the structure in this way contributes to reading the text as the story of Scientology in the sense that the text illustrates the general underpinnings of the movement. The life episodes serve as departure points for more general assertions about the world, the mind and human existence. These are episodes from Hubbard's life and in a sense the generalisations belong only to him; they constitute his personal philosophy. His personal philosophy is indeed the philosophy of the movement. But this philosophy is not always seamless or logically presented as we will see in the following section.

Invention

There are two aspects to invention in any text; the selection of topoi and how they are deployed in a particular argument. We have already noted that this is an autobiographical text and that it is used to persuade the audience that L. Ron Hubbard is a good person, the founder of a good movement. This will influence both aspects of invention. I will examine a number of topoi in this section, their relevance and how they are realised in the text. I will begin with Hubbard's representation of self, progressing to his attitudes to psychology, science of the mind and science generally, and the balance he maintains between the traditional and the innovatory in his exploitation of the science topos.

As we have discussed, to construct a successful argument from *ethos*, Hubbard has to present himself in a positive light. Because this story is being told by Hubbard, he cannot simply assert that this is the case. He works his portrait of self largely through anecdotal implication. Because of this, the audience has to go some way in painting the portrait and is thus at least partly complicit in the final work and its implications. As in enthymemes something is suppressed, in this case the conclusion.

Part of this representation that Hubbard is asking the audience to construct is involved with his creation of a relationship with the audience. The formation of a relationship with

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the audience at the beginning of the speech has been discussed. This is strengthened almost immediately. Hubbard re-invents the traditional "once upon a time" story opening.

> Well the start of this story is probably a long long time ago and those of you who don't believe in past lives will not be offended because we won't go that far back. We'll just take this lifetime (lines 6-7).

Because of the use of humour, this is an inclusive, rather than an exclusive, gesture. Scientology does in fact believe in past lives. Thus the lines have something of the 'in-joke' about them which includes members. At the same time, the explicit understanding includes those who don't hold the same beliefs as members of the movement. There is no absolute textual indication of where Hubbard personally stands.[72] This inclusive gesture indicates that (perhaps because of the accepting applause) Hubbard has accepted the audience as 'one of us' regardless of whether certain members actually are. It certainly also signals that humour is acceptable.[73]

The relationship formed with the audience allows Hubbard to exploit an 'us/them' structure in relation to psychiatrists. Psychiatry and psychology are the main targets of most Scientology disapproval. Once this structure is set up, it is possible to imply good things about oneself by saying bad things about the other.[74] Logically, this can be problematic, but rhetorically it is effective. At one point, for example, Hubbard pokes fun at psychology's hesitation in relation to making assertions, contrasting this with the way "we" do it.

> we ... don't pull it off the way the professors used to which is just to this effect we don't pull it off on the basis of uh well uh we think or we suppose or possibly or maybe... if you looked at the situation ...you might discover that some portion of it possibly... we think ...might become... of course you shouldn't be too rash

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[72] Though the use of "Those of you" suggests an exclusive 'you', as opposed to "those of us".

[73] Montgomery writes that "Applause is at face value an obvious and very public way for an audience to show their approval" 1999, p. 21.

[74] See Teun A. van Dijk, "What is Political Discourse Analysis?", *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 11 (1997b), 11–52.

about it ...understood in some way perhaps if enough millions are poured into the research in the next 15 or 20 thousand years ...(lines 321-5)

Because these groups are already considered to be the 'other' in that Hubbard takes strong exception to their views and practices, the implication is that Scientology is not like them in the least. The direct implication is that Scientology offers certainty all the time. Indeed, this is stated in other texts of the movement.[75] Further, Wallis writes that "Certainty is sanity for the Scientologist".[76]

Before Hubbard can fully exploit the audience, however, he has to prove himself as a good person, as he has chosen to construct an argument based on *ethos*. This positive self-representation warrants positive conclusions about the movement generally. We see in the first anecdote an example of Hubbard telling the audience something about himself through associating himself with someone he can make positive assertions about. This first anecdote is about a naval Commander called Thompson who took Hubbard under his wing and introduced him to philosophy of the mind. Thompson is described as an eccentric character; an explorer of the mind and of the world, someone considered crazy by the establishment.

> He was a very great man, an explorer, and this man was responsible for a great many discoveries out through the world, but he was also interested in the human mind, and his name was, as I said Thompson, he was commander of the United States navy and his enemies called him crazy Thompson and his friends called him snake Thompson [laugh 3.5]...(lines 9-12)

Here, the argument is one of association. While the comparison is not explicitly pointed out, we are expected to recognise similarities between Hubbard and Thompson. Further, the fact that such a fantastic character as Thompson should take an interest in the young Hubbard suggests that he is also a fantastic character.

> but he [Thompson] was a personal friend of Sigmund Freud's ...He had no boys of his own and when he saw me, a defenseless character, [laugh 5] and there was

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[75] See L. Ron Hubbard, *Dianetics*, (Sydney: New Era, 1992), p. 157. "In short and in brief, psychosomatic ills can now be cured. All of them."

[76] 1976, p. 109.

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nothing to do on a big transport on a very long cruise he started to work me over.(lines 15-17)

This strategy of association is often used in the text to manage a balance between Hubbard as successful, talented and intelligent and Hubbard as a normal person, though a resourceful one. Hubbard presents himself as a man apart from other men in a variety of ways. One of these is by recounting his material success in the world. The implication is that there is no reason to spend his energies on Scientology apart from a genuine passion for it. His success in the world absolves him of ulterior motives in the founding of the movement and warrants his goodness. In lines 86-87 he describes his study of the mind as "a light hobby" that "didn't occupy very much of things". He was at the time a successful fiction writer and life was "going along wonderfully" (line 88). Beginning at line 139, he tells us again of his worldly success. He was writing "more successfully", writing films, associating with actresses and well-endowed with "apartments and ...stuff" (line 144). At the same time, he "was hiding behind the horrible secret" (line 141) that he was trying to understand the mind.

This material success and glamorous lifestyle is attributed to his talents as a writer, so it is not seen as undeserved. At the same time, this structure mirrors the life stories of such figures as Augustine and Buddha[77] who came from materially successful backgrounds. Like them, Hubbard turns his back on material life for a more worthy purpose (in his case) of Scientology. This material success comes later too in relation to Scientology with the success of the first book on Scientology (lines 302 ff.) which was "sweepingly, catastrophically successful".

Hubbard does not dwell on this material success, however, as this is merely a precursor for more important matters. Its discussion serves to introduce other parts of his life: the beginning of college (line 88-9), his 'horrible secret' of being interested in the mind (141) and the early organisational difficulties of Scientology (315 ff.). Even in the wake of such success he tells himself "yeah don't be overconfident son" (314). This success serves as foil for his humility.

Hubbard presents himself as intelligent and curious to an uncommon degree. Right at the start we are told that the 12 year old Hubbard not only completely grasped, but almost completely dismissed Freud (line 27). Hubbard also recounts his discoveries about the universal recognition of poetry measurable by scientific instruments, a discovery that its as once scientific and aesthetic (lines 89 ff.). His constant association of himself with books serves to subtly re-inforce this suggestion. He studied at the Library of Congress (line 24), studied psychology (line 116), studied at the Oak Knoll Hospital library (line 219) and of course wrote in various genres successfully from film scripts to fiction and Scientology best-sellers. He is also an "expert psychotherapist" according even to other psychotherapists (lines 80-2). Given his disparagement of psychology, it is not surprising that he presents this in free indirect speech. In this way, he maintains control over the words without owning them as his own.

We saw briefly in Wallis' account that the leader of a 'sect' (or in our terms 'cult') is often regarded as omniscient. Hubbard's placement of himself in relation to this is not explicit. "[W]e're trying hard" he says "and the people who are in this the people who are working in this do a lot more things right than they do things wrong" (line 339). This implies that the work continues, but later on he says that the goal of 'Clear', of being completely 'able' as it were, is possible. He is a little enigmatic about this. "I can tell you that it's [i.e. being Clear] well worth achieving and it can be achieved properly and that man can achieve these goals today of freedom for himself and his people" (line 395). Presumably Hubbard "can tell you" because he himself is 'Clear' and free. But he never actually says this in this speech.[78] This is actually a reverse of a scalar implicature. The importance of maintaining a positive representation of self, by not being proud for example, mitigates the assumption that one makes as strong an assertion as one truthfully can (i.e. the application of scalar implicature).

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[77] In fact, Hubbard believes that he is Buddha's reincarnation.

[78] Moon adopts a similar strategy of implying that he is the Messiah but never actually stating it.

At the same time as presenting himself as successful and talented, Hubbard also portrays himself as a bit of a rascal. He is often self-deprecating saying that after a night drinking he "was awful stupid" (line 134). His 'rascal side' emerges when recounting his drinking of bath tub gin with gangsters (line 133), his impersonation of a doctor to study in the Oak Knoll library (lines 219 ff.), sabotage of experiments (lines 226 ff.) and his impersonation of a swami (line 278). He also depicts a certain naivety especially in relation to work in the field of the mind. He says, "I thought that everybody had the answer to this but I was the stupid one...that I was the only fellow who was left out in the cold" (lines 69-71). It "never never" occurred to him "that somewhere there wasn't the total answer" (lines 68-69).

This notion, that there is not but should be a total answer available, allows Hubbard a space for innovation, especially in relation to the study of the mind. But this space alone is not enough and Hubbard has to dispose of psychology. In this topic we see the text as telling the story of Scientology in an ideological rather than a chronological way in so far as it expresses some of the essential 'beliefs' of the movement.

The science of the mind is introduced as a topic in the first anecdote about Commander Thompson. At this point, Freud is dismissed as not knowing "what he was talking about" (lines 27-28). But that he worked in the field of the mind at all is some recommendation; "he was the first man that stood up and said...there was a hope for" something to be done with the mind (line 33). This slight approval of Freud, that at least he thought "that something could be done about the mind" (line 32) is somewhat of a disclaimer. Van Dijk writes that the disclaimer is "a semantic move that aims at avoiding a bad impression when saying negative things about Others".[79]

Despite his dismissal of Freud at the age of 12, however, Hubbard uses Freud and psychoanalysis in his later treatment of patients (line 243). It is not surprising that Hubbard wants to distance himself from Freud early on in the story of Dianetics and Scientology. Wallis writes:

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[79] 1997b, p. 32.

Hubbard's notion of the Analytical and Reactive Mind parallels the Freudian conception of the Conscious and Unconscious Mind, and the process of engram formation is analogical to the mechanism of repression.[80]

This dismissal of Freud is a prelude to a dismissal of psychology and psychiatry generally. At college Hubbard discovers that "none of it [psychology] proves any understanding" (lines 121-2). The psychologists are also somewhat vindicated however, because "what those professors was telling me was [sic] true in their own minds" (line 125) though of course not true in an absolute sense.[81] This treatment of Freud and psychology presents Hubbard as a generous mind. He asserts that they are wrong but he does not apportion blame for this; though there is blame in so far as the psychologists do not admit that Hubbard is right. Hubbard asserts that Freud was obsessed with sex merely because he was the product of his time (line 38) and the psychologists really did believe what they were teaching.

Psychology is not acknowledged as an authentic threat to Scientology. At the same time, Hubbard does spend a great deal of time dismissing it. It has to be dismissed so Hubbard can clear a space for his own work, and because it is a threat to Scientology. Psychology is also a scientific therapy that arguably makes people more able, and it has the advantage of being seen as legitimate and trustworthy, in part because of its academic credentials. Scientology is trying to lay claim to ground that psychology already occupies. Rhetorically, Hubbard is trying to evict them. At lines 347-350 he says:

> But they used to get ...humorous on the subject in the United States when Dianetics and Scientology was mentioned... after a while they became very serious when it was mentioned ......after a short time they would get shouting angry when it was mentioned ...and now the powers that be just cry a little bit [laughter 3.5]......

Hubbard can afford to dismiss psychiatrists because they apparently admit Hubbard's own expertise in *their* area.

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[80] Roy Wallis, *Salvation and Protest: Studies of Social and Religious Movements*, (London: Frances Pinter Ltd., 1979), p. 31.

You You find by the way that psychiatrist of the United States are of uh two opinions...... two opinions. One that Dianetics and Scientology uh uh they're very bad, [??] for the business very bad very bad. And that uh it's regrettable that Hubbard is crazy.because he's a wonderful psychotherapist. [laughter 1]... Anything that happens in Dianetics or Scientology is because Hubbard is such an expert psychotherapist. (lines 78-80)

The contention between Scientology and psychology is a personal one for Hubbard. He pits himself personally, as well as in his role as advocate of Scientology, against this establishment. Not unexpectedly, he often gets the better of his enemy through his cunning.

Hubbard tells of how he managed to get hold of the results of his routine psychiatric assessment in the military by feigning a toothache. Patients were apparently given their entire medical file to take across for any medical consultation. He gets hold of the report and hides himself to read it.

This almost indecipherable scrawl goes on for almost two long arduous pages. And I waded through these terrific technical terms and read it all very carefully and got to the last paragraph and it said, I mean there were words in there that long [expansive gesture?] and the page was only that wide [less expansive gesture?]

[laughter]

I got to the end and it said in short this officer has no neurotic or psychotic tendencies of any kind whatsoever [laughter] (lines 208-214)

The point of the episode is that even by the convoluted standards of psychology, Hubbard is completely sane. This allows him a safe position from which to describe the report as "indecipherable scrawl". Further, he implies that psychiatrists are bad scientists and writers; certainly his humorous disparagement of their language suggests this. It is interesting that he does not question their ability to pronounce upon his sanity, however.

Still, psychology is the enemy. Hubbard creates an "us/them" opposition without needing to be aggressive about it. The use of spatial deixis when talking about the length of the

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[81] Ironically, in another text Hubbard asserts that what is true for an individual is true

words in the above lines (208-214) is one way of invoking community, because of its humour. It also performs the same kind of work as pronouns of solidarity. Montgomery remarks that "assuming a common visual field...implies a form of co-presence".[82] The use of humour (which will be discussed in style) also allows him to make this opposition. In fact, it is a perceptive strategy as it allows him to be 'bigger' than his slandering opponents. The dismissal of psychology, however, gives him a space in which to develop Scientology.

Curiously, although the science of the mind is introduced early as a topic, not much detail is given as to what it involves in Scientological terms. Hubbard does mention that the common denominator in all men is survival (line 152) but the implications of this for therapy are not discussed. He mentions experiments involving the beginnings of Scientology (lines 234-35) but does not tell us exactly what they involve. The biggest clue about the operation of Scientology is given at the end of the dismissal of Freud.

> And it would all break down to the fact that thing which you mustn't communicate is that which is wrong.

> Actually that's all I ever got out of Freudian analysis the fact that if people remembered things they occasionally got well. (lines 56-59)

But this is not really a conclusion, in the sense that it doesn't follow from what precedes it. Hubbard had not been talking about forgotten things remembered, but about "hidden things" being what is wrong with any given society.

He does, however, tell us that Scientology works, and grounds this in his personal experience and experiential evidence. We see this when he talks about the goal of Clear being well worth attaining.

> that we can individual by individual achieve this goal of clear and I can tell you that it's well worth achieving and it <u>can</u> be achieved properly and man <u>can</u> achieve these goals today of freedom for himself and his people from Scientology providing he works hard ... (lines 394-396).

(Excerpt number 5, Appendix VI)

[82] 1986, p. 429.

As mentioned, presumably he can assure that the goal is well worth attaining because he has attained it.

Despite the dismissal of psychology, Hubbard does not dismiss science generally. Rather, he makes a distinction between true and false science. We will see this distinction again in the Children of God and Jehovah's Witnesses' material. He subscribes to the conventions of empirical investigation, experimentation and drawing conclusions on the basis of this. It is not the general methodology of psychology that Hubbard takes issue with, but the particular way it is worked out. Scientology actually relies heavily on scientific language; the very name of the movement suggests this. At the same time, we are never given any data that prove the points Hubbard is making. We are told that experiments have been undertaken, that 'human series' exist, that 'Clears' resulted. But Hubbard is silent with respect to the particulars of these.

In one anecdote, Hubbard recounts an experiment to determine recognition of poetry. The purpose of the story is again to disparage psychologists, but his account of the experiment is interesting in itself. He claims to have recorded the curve of poetry on some kind of scientific instrument. This certainly sets Hubbard up as scientific and aesthetic at once. Unfortunately, exactly what the instrument was that registered the same curve for all poetry is inaudible.

> When I got to college I made a <u>certain series</u> of <u>tests</u> and <u>experiments</u> and found out that <u>poetry</u> of all things seemed to be poetry in every language …to everybody else… A very peculiar thing… Why is it that poetry is that musical rhythm which communicates; why should it communicate. You read somebody a poem in Japanese, he can't speak Japanese, he says, ah hah he says, that's poetry. Why should he understand poetry in Japanese… Similarly you read somebody almost any poetry of uh some of the more modern poets in any other language and you'll find out that they agree that this thing is poetry… This puzzled me… What is in the brain …the head, the make-up of man that makes him that makes him recognise poetry… So I tested it all out on a [??] very elaborate <u>physical experiments</u>. And found that poems in Japanese which I spoke at the time and have forgotten since… poems in English I got a hold of an Indian student got him to come over and recite some Indian poetry all made the same curve on a [??] And I said isn't this wonderful, we have discovered something in the aesthetic of language which records on a physical instrument and isn't this beautiful. And the people who'd know all about it over there is the psychology department had better

know that you can test all this on a [??]..and that's when I fell off the cliff. (lines 88-102).

The hypothesis of the 'experiment', that we can recognise poetry even in foreign languages, is compelling. The justification for why this is so is the curve from the scientific instrument. This serves as a warrant for the conclusion because we trust scientific instruments even when we don't know what they are. Why the same curve is made is never actually answered and we are left with "isn't that wonderful". The point is to show psychiatrists as unscientific, lacking in curiosity and unappreciative of beauty. The apparently proved hypothesis, that poetry is recognisable in all languages even if one does not know the language, is highly suspect. But because this is a taped lecture there is no opportunity to interrogate the 'experiment' or even to know what sort of scientific apparatus Hubbard is referring to. Further, this description doesn't provide any understanding either.

The summation to this anecdote, as with other anecdotes, is what is essential to it in terms of effect.

> I went over for the first time to the psychology department and found out for the first time in my life that there isn't ...anybody who knows all about it on earth... That was a shock to me... You see I'd never seen a mystic ...do anything but practice with confidence... And I had never seen an engineer express anything but confidence and knowledge in his subject when he was building rail road bridges... And I was used to a world where men were expert... where they were positive... where they could get results make an effect and knew their business... (lines 104-109)

At this point, confidence and knowledge are equated. This is the telos of the entire anecdote. Hubbard asserts that he who has knowledge acts with confidence; thus he who acts with confidence must have knowledge. Of course this is not logically the case; but without making the first conclusion explicit, the second is easier to accept. This is the enthymeme at work. Hubbard merely says, in his idealistic prose, "I have never seen...". The implication of course is that Hubbard, acting and speaking with such confidence, has such knowledge. It is **his** confidence that warrants **our** confidence in his knowledge. Thus the audience is told exactly how to interpret Hubbard's self-confidence.

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Given this reliance on science, which is much more apparent in *Dianetics*, the number of logical errors in Hubbard's anecdotes which supposedly describe his experiments is surprising. When talking about an experimental series that Hubbard sabotaged, his conclusions simply are not supported by the information he gives in the anecdote. Ex POWs were being treated with testosterone by a doctor called Yankiwitz. What exactly was wrong with them is not made clear. Cunningly, Hubbard gives some of these men (Freudian) therapy and they get well. His conclusion is that thought influences matter, even though we are not told whether these ailments which were being treated were physical or mental. Notice that there is at no point a claim that the therapy improved any physical condition. More interestingly, Yankiwitz never claimed, though this claim seems somehow imputed, that the drug treatment would work. Indeed he says, "Good heavens, something has gone wrong with these records........Some of these fellows are getting well" (line 237-8). This is in direct contrast to the aim imputed to Yankiwitz by Hubbard that the doctor was trying to 'fix them up with testosterone and other endocrine compounds' (lines 229-30). The vagueness of the illness and the recovery makes Hubbard's actual results seem plausible but not very interesting, nor, certainly, warrants for his conclusions.

He makes a similar logical mistake in an anecdote about intelligence and IQ. This part of the text is a general disparagement of psychology.

> In other words, here was a segment of human knowledge which was letting us all down. And at that moment I got very interested. It wasn't my ignorance [??]. I studied hard before I found out that what those professors were telling me was true in their own minds that there was no hope for it that you could never change anybody that people with an IQ retained that IQ forever and they'd had it that stupid people remained stupid and unable people remained unable people and clever people were all crazy [laughter] and it was the degree of stuckness that they had on this subject that changed the human mind that particularly annoyed me. How stuck could anyone get. I say, but look, I know when I go to class to take an examination, by the way it was prohibition in those days, and of course there was much more drinking done and I used to occasionally go out with some of my friends who were mostly newspaper reporters and so on and we'd have a few drinks of bath tub gin brought in by the very best gangsters. And the next morning I knew for sure that I was awful stupid.

But I told them look, if you can take a few drinks on the night before and become stupid the next morning, haven't you changed your intelligence. And they said that has nothing to do with it. [laughter...] (lines 123-137)

Here, the psychologists are excused their error to some degree as it "was true in their own minds", though they are still wrong. They become an object of pity rather than of derision. Hubbard, on the other hand, is a man of the world, flouting prohibition and drinking gin with gangsters and reporters.

Seeing the transcript, the faults of this argument are clear. Hubbard is using "stupid" very specifically as an inability to function at a particular time (rather than a general trait or potential); a use that will not stretch to the notion of "intelligence" generally. But by presenting the psychologists as saying that there is no hope for people to improve, Hubbard appeals to the audience's sense of justice and autonomy as self-determining individuals. The statement that improvement is impossible is represented as a form of oppression and condescension; psychologists are the oppressors and the audience the oppressed. L. Ron Hubbard implies that he is merely revealing the way things really are.

The use of science as a topic is an appeal to the new, and one that positions Scientology as innovatory and unprecedented. But Hubbard also positions Scientology in relation to tradition, to give it a connection with historically significant events. This occurs to some degree in the way in which world events impinge on Hubbard's own life, and thus on the 'life' of Scientology. The war interrupts Hubbard just as he makes his breakthrough discovery about survival, for example (line 152). But this historical positioning is exemplified by the discussion towards the end of the text of Siddharta. Even though Hubbard's dismissal of Freud can be seen as historical positioning in so far as it is setting out Scientology's position in relation to psychoanalysis, the comparison with Buddhism is much more positive and expansive.

The treatment of Siddharta is completely different from that of Freud. Perhaps this is because Buddhism is not really in competition with Scientology in the way that

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psychology is.[83] Hubbard speaks at the end of the text about Buddhism by way of saying that some movements have achieved more than Scientology. Siddharta is elevated as a great man, one who brought "civilisation to 450 million people who before that had known only barbarism" (line 361). But Scientology is "in no such category" (line 367). Scientology has only been able to move forward because of "50,000 years of thinking men" (line 371). Scientology is then grounding itself in a spiritual, civilising tradition rather than associating itself with the misguided science of psychiatry and psychology.

With this single piece of praise, Hubbard associates Scientology with Buddhism, taking advantage of its spiritual basis, its long history, its widespread membership, its exotic flavour and its 'civilising influence'. When one humbles oneself and one's enterprises in the face of something that is built up in such a positive light, the benefits are two fold. One creates not only a positive association, but also a connected positive representation of self, without having to explicitly assert it.

These alliances that Hubbard is trying to forge and the distances he is trying to create are realised again at the level of style. These arguments, topical inventions, have to be realised at a lexical and syntactic level. Hubbard's relationship building with the audience and his disaffection for psychology inform these choices.

Style

The style of this text is determined by the form of the text, that it is a life story. We expect, and indeed find, a high incidence of the first person pronoun.[84] But this is not the only way that Hubbard refers to himself. Further, agency is sometimes relinquished either through the choice of verb or through mitigating modality. Despite Scientology being

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[83] Perhaps it is also because Hubbard believed that he was a re-incarnation of Buddha. Further, Wallis notes that Hubbard based some of his theories in Freud. "Hubbard's notion of the Analytical and Reactive Mind parallels the Freudian conception of the Conscious and Unconscious Mind, and the process of engram formation is analogical to the mechanism of repression". 1979, p. 31.

[84] See Appendix I.

right all the time,[85] in the interests of maintaining a credible textual self, Hubbard cannot be emphatic about this. We have already seen that the text consists of several anecdotes. These are kept in a single narrative through the use of temporal conjunctives[86] and other examples of 'fresh talk'. Hubbard's is not just any life, indeed for any life to make it into text we expect to find that it is not just *any* life. His textual style reflects his experience. Invented lexemes mirror the inventive accomplishments of his own life. Humour is also used to promote a likeable textual self which in turn indirectly supports Hubbard's arguments.

The use of pronouns in this text is essential in establishing the figure of Hubbard, in establishing his relationship with the audience and Scientology's relationship to psychology. Naturally, because this is an autobiography, there is a predominance of the use of "I". The first person is used throughout the text alternating with a generic "you" (see lines 22 and 57 for example). By 'generic you' I mean that it is used in the same way one might use 'one'; "You have to wait..." (line 22). It is not addressed to the audience in the way of a second person pronoun. At the same time, it is directed to the audience in so far as it is generally inclusive.

Indeed the use of "you" in this text is not straightforward to negotiate. "Jakobsen calls the 1PPs [first person pronouns] and 2PPs [second person pronouns] 'shifters' (*embrayeurs*), since their referents are not fixed or stable, but shift according to the situation, as participants take turns to speak".[87] Thus, according to Jakobsen, "you" is always a shifter. But in this instance, "you" does not shift because of conversational turn taking, it shifts according to the actual addressee. The speaker remains the same. The text also remains the same to its various audiences by virtue of the fact that it is an audio-recording. This effects, paradoxically, a kind of mass intimacy. The text is intended for all who hear it. But this intention may post-date the actual speech making. The fact that it is disseminated

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[85] See *Dianetics*.

[86] See Halliday and Hasan, p. 238.

[87] Katie Wales, *Personal Pronouns in Present-day English*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 51.

generally, evinces this intention. When we hear the text, the story has been confided already, but it is accepted afresh as the audience is new. This has the effect of eavesdropping over time; and yet the audience is still directly addressed. Eavesdropping presupposes a third party[88] which is not present in this instance.

Within one of the anecdotes, Hubbard refers to himself in the third person.

> I didn't sleep much that night [laughter 2.5] next morning after breakfast I said to myself uh...... Hubbard ...think...[laughter 1.5]. So I thought for a while and all of a sudden realised that I had better cook up a toothache and get a dental appointment and have all of my records be given to me so I could take them over to the dental clinic. (lines 200-3)

Even though there is only a single example, it does serve to show that Hubbard is self-aware. It can be read as Hubbard making fun of himself,[89] but part of it is certainly also Hubbard being aware of his own role in the narrative. To refer to himself in the third person too often runs the risk of revealing the constructedness of the narrative, but a single example has a positive rather than a negative effect as it shows that he has to make reflective effort.

The use of "I" changes towards the end of text to "we" (at line 311). This is actually an explicit formation of the implicit inclusion of the generic 'you' used earlier. But the use of "we" marks the transition point between the present and the future, the work that is being done in Scientology and the work that remains to be done: "Now from those beginnings which are actually not very dramatic... until now... we've taken an enormous jump forward" (lines 311-2). The notion that there is still work to be done draws the audience into this role of the "we". "We're trying hard" he says at line 339 again creating a very appealing role for the implied reader. Further, the "we" is opposed to psychology (lines 343-50). This creates a solidarity as the "we" "encodes group membership, and

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[88] See, Wales, 1996, p. 54.
[89] See more general discussion of humour below.

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identification with a group".[90] It also manages to avoid Hubbard presenting as egocentric.[91]

The use of "we" joins members of the group together uniting them with each other, with the movement, and with the leader of the movement. After being drawn into this "we", the "I" is never quite the same. Unification into a "we" also allows opposition to a "they".

Bound up with the use of pronouns, especially the first person, is the concept of agency. Hubbard presents himself as someone who is in control of his own life. He studies, is a successful writer, travels widely and so on. But he often uses the verb "found" to describe a particular situation in his life. "I found myself down in Hollywood" (line 139), "I found myself in Asia" (line 71). Usually the use of "found" is to do with a discovery of some kind (for example lines 89 and 124). But here the effect is actually to mitigate his agency in the particular situation. Even though he is in the agent position, the effect of the verb is that he did not have complete control over that. This helps construct a textual self that is admirable but not arrogant.

We see the textual implications of the textual self in the way psychology is contrasted with Scientology through the use of modals. While psychology is wrong, it is never asserted with the same certainty that Scientology is right. This opposition creates an implicit "them". From line 321, Hubbard describes the way professors approach problems that Scientology also concerns itself with, as seen above.

> we ... don't pull it off the way the professors used to which is just to this effect we don't pull it off on the basis of uh well uh we <u>think</u> or we suppose or possibly or maybe... if you looked at the situation ...you might discover that some portion of it possibly... we think ...might become... of course you shouldn't be too <u>rash</u> about it ...understood in some way perhaps if enough millions are poured into the research in the next 15 or 20 thousand years ...(lines 321-5)

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[90] See Martin Rojo, "The Politics of Gender", *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 11 (1997), 231–254, p. 247.

[91] See Wales, p. 63.

Hubbard says that Scientology doesn't work like this. But Hubbard himself is not always completely sure. In line 150 he says, "I had a pretty good idea" thus not a completely perfect idea. If we also take into account the devices of implication that Hubbard uses to insinuate his own complete knowledge, the opposition between uncertainty and certainty becomes less certain.

We see this most clearly in lines 56-9, previously quoted above.

> And it would all break down to the fact that thing which you mustn't communicate is what is wrong......

> Actually that's all I ever got out of Freudian analysis beyond the fact that if people remembered things they occasionally got well......

We have a "fact" that if people remember things, which is an expression of complete certainty; but it is a fact of uncertainty because they only "occasionally got well".

In fact, Hubbard only ever seems to be absolutely certain about uncertainty. But this works in a positive way, as he uses 'never' in relation to undesirable things. We see this at line 68 "it never occurred to me, never never occurred to me... that somewhere there wasn't the total answer... this was not something I knew"; at lines 105-107 he says, "You see I'd never seen a mystic ...do anything but practice with confidence... And I had never seen an engineer express anything but confidence and knowledge in his subject" and again at lines 252-3, "do we go on studying the brain no. ...no...never....never it would only be thought". This is safe certainty, because it is negatively expressed.

The use of temporal conjunctives to structure the narrative has already been discussed in 'arrangement'. As stylistic choices in this domain they are also effective and continue the creation of the textual self as one who is relaxed and able to speak spontaneously and fluently. Among the conjunctives that Hubbard uses are "well" and "moving along".[92] Not only do they serve to move the story along and to link evaluative and summation passages with anecdotal texts, they also strike a certain tone or register that is appropriate

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[92] See Schiffrin, pp. 228 ff.

to the text. These words are examples of both fresh talk and the use of linguistic cues[93] to give the appearance of argument and cohesion. To say that these 'discourse markers' are evidence of fresh talk is merely to point out that they are normal conversational ways of linking events and assertions together. They are not the kind of 'discourse marker' one would expect to find in a proof or in a technical description of cause and effect. They are doing the same work, however, but in a very unobtrusive way.

Further paradigmatic lexical choices enact the strategies that have already been examined at the level of arrangement and invention. We see word choice playing an important part in the formation of relationship with the audience in the first speech act, which has already been examined under 'memory'.

> [applause]
>
> Thank you thank you very much
>
> I'd like to tell you something of the story of Dianetics and Scientology the things I've never confided to anyone before. Would you like to hear that?
>
> [applause] (lines 1-5)

The choice of "never" rather than "not" in "things I've never confided to anyone" is significant. In denotative and modal terms the two are equivalent, but the use of "never" stresses the importance of the revelation. Presumably the audience is gathered exactly because they do want to hear L. Ron Hubbard and what he has to say about Dianetics and Scientology. Still, the use of "confide" tells the audience that this is an unprecedented disclosure. The use of "confide" also signals that the revelation is personally Hubbard's. The following are things that only Hubbard has access to and knowledge of. Further, this is not information that he discloses to everyone.

Lexical choices also facilitate cohesion, even in the absence of significant coherence. Certain words seem to serve as fulcrum points for change of topic. For example in lines

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[93] See Verschueren et al 1985, p. 58.

76-9, Hubbard jumps from talking about his ability to perform the Indian rope trick to general comments about the attitude of psychiatrists to Scientology.

> The only people broadly who I have ever done the Indian rope trick brightly boldly and successfully has been a group of psychiatrists [laughter 6]

> You you find by the way that psychiatrists of the United States are of uh two opinions (lines 76-9)

The transition is possible exactly because the repetition of "psychiatrist" and because the change of topic is signalled as an aside with "by the way".

Lexical cohesion of this kind allows Hubbard to digress and to return to a main thread of argument. In this way, he is able to make generalisations while alternating them with episodes from his life. In line 113 he says, "Well I got interested enough" while talking about the science of the mind and the shortcomings in work at that time. He then goes on to talk about psychology examinations that he took for fellow students. At line 123 he returns to the subject of the mind. He links the two parts together through lexical cohesion.[94] He says, "And at that moment I got very interested" (lines 123-4). The intensifier "very" (which is stressed) continues the subject of the science of the mind that had temporarily been dropped and also gives a sense of progression. He is not only interested, he is "very interested".

A similar announcement and return to topic is executed over a much larger section of text. At line 152 Hubbard states that the common denominator of human life is "survival". At this point in Hubbard's work and life, the war intervenes. For the next 70 lines, until line 211, Hubbard recounts his experiences during the war and his subsequent discharge. At line 215 he says, "I've evidently survived". This picks up the topic of survival again and indeed of Hubbard's work which the war had interrupted. He continues then to speak about his study and experiments at Oak Knoll.

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[94] Halliday and Hasan remark that lexical cohesion "regularly leaps over a number of sentences to pick up an element that has not figured in the intervening text", p. 16.

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We know that Scientology sees itself as innovatory. The 'discovery' of the commonality of 'survival' is part of this.[95] But it is further evidenced by the use of novel vocabulary. This text has remarkably little Scientology terminology, of which there is a great deal, but there are some indications that this movement has its own language. The term "stupidity button" (line 319) is certainly an uncommon collocation. But most of these new words are nominalisations: eatingness (line 41), thinkingness (line 119), wantingess (line 329), unknowingness (line 319), overwhelmingness (line 354) and stuckness (line 128).[96] Nominalisation suggests reality and precision. This is then associated with Scientology.[97] Fowler writes that nominalisation leads potentially to mystification and reification.[98] The terms which Scientology creates thus have a reality, as things, that they may or may not actually have. Nominalisations also omit subjects and objects,[99] suggesting that these conditions are inevitable facts, rather than situations over which individuals have control. *Prima facie* this is ironic as Scientology asserts that individuals do have control. Employing these nominalisations, however, gives the movement temporary control over the situation, a control which can be graciously handed back to the individual.

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[95] Though many understand this as a fundamental part of Darwin's work.

[96] See Wallis 1976, p. 231.

"Hubbard has invented several hundred neologisms, for example: 'Randomity', 'itsa', 'opterm', 'midruds', 'expanded gita', 'disenturbulate' and 'as-isness'. In his writings and those of his followers, verbs and adjectives are often employed as nouns ('a withhold', 'a static') and nouns transformed into verbs ('squirrelling', 'short sessioning'). Prepositions are used in unfamiliar ways ('at cause'), and numerous contractions and acronyms are employed ('MEST', 'D of P', "Exec Sec', 'Qual', 'Org'). The net effect of this extensive reorganization of the English language is to render Scientological conversation and internal documentation all but unintelligible to the uninitiated."

[97] "...storylines promulgated by defence intellectuals use statistics, technical terms, and impersonalization to authorize and sanitize the stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons". Ochs and Capps, p. 33.

[98] Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: discourse and ideology in the press*, (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 80.

[99] Fowler 1991, p. 80. See also Norman Fairclough, *New Labour, New Language*, (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 54. This is also, then, impersonal see Ochs and Capps, p. 33.

The innovatory lexemes are not always novel words as such. There are also words used in novel ways; "how <u>stuck</u> can anyone get" (line 129), the fundamental notion of a "Clear" (line 285) and Hubbard's 'processing' of people (lines 184 and 295), for example. Some words are simply used in new and specific ways. "Clear" is the obvious example of this, though it has been transformed into a noun and in this way is a nominalisation; it is not one created through the affixion of a suffix as with the other terms. "Re-stimulate" also appears to have a particular meaning for the movement as "everybody re-stimulates into a roaring psychosis" at line 346.

We have already seen the way in which pronouns construct relationships within the text between Hubbard and the audience and between Scientology and psychology. The lexical choices which are made to describe psychology, however, also illustrate the attitude that Hubbard has towards them. The profession are "trouble" (line 84) but only because when "you tell a profession...broadly...any time you tell a profession ...that uh...anybody can do their job...they're trouble" (lines 83-4). This shifts the antagonism onto the psychiatrists; Scientology is merely defending itself.

The lexical choices in lines 208 and following, examined above, capture the attitude to psychology that Hubbard is presenting in this text. He is reading his psychological report and says, "This almost indecipherable scrawl goes on for two long arduous pages...and I waded through these terrific technical terms you know read it all very carefully and got onto the last paragraph and it said...I mean there were words in there that long and the page the page was only that wide" (lines 208-211). Of course, Hubbard can understand these "terrific technical terms" because he is an "expert psychotherapist" (lines 81-2). This almost incomprehensible writing is even more reprehensible, and Hubbard in a good position to comment, because Hubbard himself is an expert writer.[100]

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[100] Further, in *Dianetics* we find that Hubbard disapproves of polysyllabic words; see p. 3.

Hubbard's use of humour in this text is essential to building and maintaining a relationship with the audience and obscuring issues of control.[101] We have already seen that the opening speech act uses humour in an inclusive way, despite the in-joke of "past lives". But the use of humour is a constant in the text. The very next anecdote is about a cat called Psycho for example.

> ...What impressed me, he had a cat by the name of Psycho [laughter 4]
>
> This cat had a crooked tail which is enough to impress any young man (laughter 1.5) and the cat would do tricks...And the first thing he did to me was to teach me to train cats...But it takes so long and it requires such tremendous patience that to this day I have never trained a cat. [laughter 1.5]
>
> You have to wait .....for the cat to do something and then you applaud it. But waiting for a cat to do something whose name is Psycho...[laughter] (lines 18-23)

The use of humour contributes to the portrait that Hubbard paints of himself. It also softens the attack on psychology as the attacks are usually made in a humorous way. At the end of the anecdote about poetry curves, Hubbard uses the device of free indirect speech and mimics the psychiatrists. Their question, "Why did you do that?" is delivered in an almost imbecilic voice which predictably, provokes laughter from the audience (lines 111-2).

While the dismissal of psychology is a constant in Scientology, the way this and other ideological values are realised is not. In some texts, this is achieved by having a representative of the movement, rather than Hubbard, speak. This allows far more explicit praising of L. Ron Hubbard than is possible when he speaks or writes in the first person. The strategy of *Dianetics* is in part bound up with the somewhat distant, academic register that Hubbard adopts.

DIANETICS - NOT THE SAME STORY AT ALL

When one contacts or is contacted by the movement, *Dianetics* is generally the first thing one is encouraged to read. It outlines some of the thinking and theory behind the

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[101] *Dianetics* tells us that "its end is always laughter"; see p. 2.

movement but does not describe in detail what is involved in being a member of the group. The strategies of *Dianetics* differ markedly from those of "The Story". I shall briefly outline some of the major differences, though I shall not deal with the text exhaustively.

Memory

This text attempts to recruit members into the movement by recruiting them into the ideology of theory and Dianetics. It is an introductory text to the movement.[102] It is supposed to be informative and sets out the basics of the therapy that is Dianetics, as well as some of the main values of the movement. In the latter sense it does not differ from "The Story", as it sets out some of the main underpinnings of the movement; the study of the mind and the dismissal of psychology. The intended effect of this text is far more to point out that Dianetics is never wrong. This is what it means to be recruited to the Dianetics world-view. The arguments that are put forward are intended to do this in their appeal to scientific method and rigour. The warrants for the arguments are unquestioned in so far as they are expressed in a scientific register. The perlocutionary effect is that the reader is persuaded that Dianetics is the correct theory of the human mind. Because of this, the reader is supposed to be persuaded to join the movement. The recruitment into the movement comes about through a recruitment to a world view. This text seeks to inform the reader about the movement in such an appealing way that they will be recruited to the world view and thus to the movement.

Delivery

This is a written text and it is parasitic on certain academic and popular conventions of writing, as we will see in the next section. We know from "The Story" that this is a best-seller (line 324). The cover art and design suggest this. A volcano of colour and gold attracts the eye in a way that a best-selling novel is intended to do. It includes what look

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[102] On all occasions that I have approached the movement, whether in person or through email, I have been encouraged first of all to read this text.

like reviews of the text but are actually witnessing texts for the movement.[103] The testimonies praise the content of the text, but implicitly at least also commend the movement as a whole. The book is sold by the movement itself in its offices, through its free publications and internet sites and also in selected book stores. It costs about the same as a book of similar size and paper quality.

In the text itself, the most striking features in terms of delivery is the way in which the text is broken up into parts and chapters along with the extensive use of footnotes. Certainly all manner of texts divide themselves into parts and chapters, but footnotes are generally a feature of academic texts. The specific function of footnotes will be discussed in invention. We will see, however, that this priming of academic conventions is realised in a stylistic manner as well.

Arrangement

Again, the arrangement of this text relies on academic conventions. Chapters, front matter and appendices are all included. The institutional voice, with no use of the first person, is also reminiscent of academic writing style. The implied reader position is an appealing one as it suggests that the reader is able to cope with sophisticated texts.

Invention

As I have said, I will not be dealing in detail with this text, but there are a few points which should be made. Like "The Story", this text relies on an implicit faith in scientific method. Experiments are mentioned, the resultant data apparently proving the assertions that the text makes. We are often simply told "This is scientific fact".[104] However, none of these experiments are ever presented or explained. It is not only the method that the reader is expected to take on trust, but also the specific application of method in relation

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[103] See discussion of witnessing in Chapter 7.

[104] p. 236. Many years ago I saw various Scientology publications which present charts with unlabelled axes. Unfortunately, I do not have these publications as they are only given to members.

to this subject material. We are also given spurious 'scientific' axioms such as "Only things which are poorly known become more complex the longer one works on them".[105] Like "The Story", it is also anecdotal. Case histories are given, but there is not enough information provided to be sure that this information is accurate or part of a rigorous set of data. The stories present more as anecdotes than data. Even though anecdotes and data perform the same work in an argument sense, the anecdotes in *Dianetics* are presented as though they are hard data, whereas the anecdotes in "The Story" are presented only as anecdotes.

We know by now that Hubbard rejects Freud. Yet in this text, the theory of Dianetics that he outlines sounds very much like Freud's own theory.[106] Certainly there has been terminological change, but the basic structure seems to be the same.[107] At the same time, the author is adamant that this therapy is different. This technique of denial reassures the reader that this in fact new and also flatters him/her that s/he would have noticed the similarities in the first place.[108]

The flattering of the reader is attempted at the start of the text. The reader is told that s/he will read things s/he always knew were true.[109] At the same time this is balanced by assertions that the text is complete and correct; the reader is subject to the wisdom of the text. This is most clear in the front matter of the text.

Indeed, the most interesting feature of this lengthy text is a section which is not even part of the text proper. At the beginning of the book, there is a section on how to read the text. It is explicit direction about how to interpret the text that follows. It is presented as an "Important Note" and it is the first substantial piece of text in the book. It spells out how

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[105] p. 5.

[106] See Wallis 1979, p. 31.

[107] See Wallis, 1976.

[108] See for example the distinguishing of hypnotism from *Dianetics* therapy trance at p. 284.

[109] See p. 2.

the text should be interpreted. It can do this because of the assertion that "*The only reason a person gives up a study or becomes confused or unable to learn is because he or she has gone past a word that was not understood*".[110] This assertion sets the scene for the rest of this note. If it is accepted, the whole note probably will be. Already Scientology has all the answers. The *only* reason for ceasing a course of study or confusion about a subject, it asserts, is lexical misunderstanding. "Every subject you have taken up and abandoned had its words which you failed to get defined".[111] The modality of certainty here is in direct contrast to that examined above in "The Story". This is because of the difference between textual selves as will be seen below.

This singularity continues. The reader is told that definitions of words will be given, but only "the meaning that the word has as it is used in the text".[112] The assumption, indeed the assertion, here is that there is a single textual meaning which can be arrived at through the adding together of prescribed word meanings. These are not always neutral. A Scientologist will 'clear' the term 'Ginsberg' as 'a poet who took drugs'.[113] Wallis writes,

> 'Word-clearing' currently forms an important part of the lower level courses.....The student learns to observe in the text or to elicit from the [233] instructor, cues as to what will constitute an acceptable interpretation. The process of 'word clearing' therefore leads to a further suspension of the individual's critical faculty, or to its inhibition, and to the ready acceptance of Hubbard's formulations as intrinsically meaningful.[114]

The single textual meaning comes from a unified textual intention. It is up to the reader to construct it. Further, the suggestion is that if the text is not understood, it is the fault of the reader and not ever of the writer, his expression or style. The writer is a perfect master of the language and the reader a decoding receptacle.

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[110] p. viii.

[111] p. viii.

[112] p. ix.

[113] Scientology meeting, Canberra Australia, 2nd March 1996.

[114] Wallis 1976, pp. 232-3.

Style and invention merge significantly here, as style is a topic that is used. The text actually makes reference to its own compositional intentions. Hubbard writes, "This volume has made no effort to use resounding or thunderous phrases, frowning polysyllables or professorial detachment".[115] This disclaimer is immediately falsified. Hubbard writes, "when we call a cold a cold it is not a catarrhal disorder of the respiratory tract".[116] As in "The Story" we see Hubbard apparently coming down from his learned position to communicate with "several strata of life and professions".[117]

The use of footnotes is also extensive, though they are used to give definitions of words rather than to add any real information. At the same time, the way that definitions are offered suggest that marginal, interesting information is being presented. For example, a footnote glossing Shakespeare reads "William Shakespeare (1564-1616), English poet and dramatist of the Elizabethan period (1558-1603), the most widely known author in all English literature"[118] which begs the question as to why this information needs to be included in a footnote. However, it is more usual that the definitions given narrow down the meanings of words, subtracting possibilities rather than suggesting them. For example, 'caustic' is glossed as "severely critical or sarcastic"[119] which is undoubtedly one of its meanings, but not the full story. This is a fairly innocent example, but the point is the same; these glosses are used to restrict meaning and to encourage a very specific interpretation by the reader. The use of footnotes lends the text an extra authority, contrary to White's comments on them that "to be housed in the cellar is to be stripped of validity, of recognition and of power".[120]

The text itself is not innocent, however, in relation to the effects it hopes eventually to produce. On the basis of unproved facts, it makes assertions about how the world should

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[115] p. 3.

[116] p. 3.

[117] p. 3.

[118] p. 184.

[119] p. 486.

be. "Someday there will, perhaps, exist a much more sentient law that only the unaberrated can marry and bear children"[121] which suggests a Scientological master race, because Scientology 'clears' people. This continues, "Perhaps at some distant date only the unaberrated person will be granted civil rights before law".[122] This raises particular questions again of agency and responsibility. The text asserts that the individual is responsible for his own aberration and at the same time that s/he is not. Aberration is the result of things done to a person.[123] Because a Dianetics auditor[124] knows Dianetics, the person has to surrender to the auditor.[125] At the same time, the text suggests that an individual should be punished, denied rights before the law, because of their 'aberrations', something over which they have no control.

Style

Not surprisingly, the style of this text exploits conventionalised views of academic writing, despite the disclaimers in the front matter. Long sentences, esoteric words and conceptual complexity make this text look like a scientific treatise of some kind. We have already examined the significance of footnotes in invention. Purely as a stylistic feature, however, they contribute to the simulation of an academic text and thus contribute to the text's register.

Register is realised at the level of vocabulary and syntax.[126] The differences between *Dianetics* and "The Story" are marked. We have already seen the use of the first person in "The Story". The only time the authorship is acknowledged is in editorial notes initialled by 'L. Ron Hubbard'. The first person 'I' is not used at all. The distinction

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[120] White, p. 85.

[121] p. 430.

[122] p. 557.

[123] p. 535.

[124] An 'auditor' is the Dianetics equivalent of a therapist.

[125] p. 549.

[126] Swales, p. 41

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between the two texts enacts the very different strategies of these texts. In "The Story", we were encouraged to consider Scientology because of a relationship that L. Ron Hubbard built up with the audience. The text has a personal voice, regardless of how constructed this personal voice is. *Dianetics*, on the other hand, presents an institutional voice; a mode of text presentation which obscures the individual responsible for the text. Strictly speaking, however, this is not terminologically correct. Lindegren Lerman writes that the institutional voice is "the discourse of one who speaks in a dual role, as an individual, who also represents (as the journalists do) or personifies (as the President may) an institution".[127] That means that the voice of L. Ron Hubbard in "The Story" is actually the institutional one. Perhaps we can distinguish between the two by saying that the dual role, the role that L. Ron Hubbard takes on in "The Story", is the institutional voice (following Lerman) and that the impersonal voice of *Dianetics* is an *institutionalised* voice.

Who is in control of *Dianetics* 'journey',[128] however, is not at all clear. The "adventure is yours"[129] and yet "this handbook will tell you...about yourself and your family and friends".[130] We see this lack of agency in the scientific 'data' that is given. "Cells....are evidenced to record pain",[131] obscuring how this fact is known at all. This is routine for scientific texts, but when no proof is offered, no experiments documented, the lack of agency means that there is no person to ask as no one is obviously responsible.

The question of agency is a pertinent one for Dianetics and Scientology and indeed for all cults. We saw in "The Story" that L. Ron Hubbard established a relationship with the audience to bring them into a 'we'; that he used nominalisations to maintain control over processes. We see the same balance of agency issues here. The reader has to be free

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[127] Claire Lindegren Lerman, "Media Analysis of a Presidential Speech: Impersonal Identity Forms in Discourse" in van Dijk (1985), 185-215, at p. 185.

[128] p. 1.

[129] p. 1.

[130] pp. 2-3.

[131] p. 184.

enough to surrender to the wisdom of Dianetics but not free enough to question it. This is the paradoxical situation of freely giving up one's freedom. We will see in our examination of other texts, and of terms such as 'brainwashing' that this is crucial to the entire cult debate.

Questions of brainwashing aside, at least for the moment, the Church of Scientology is textually sophisticated. They have a range of strategies from improvised speech to apparently well researched and evidenced text. Both kinds of texts are present at various stages of membership, not only at the recruiting stage. This broad textual profile may also suggest to the potential member that the movement is well rounded and developed. The textual face of the 'discourse community' is the face that is seen at discourse junctures. Whether it is a persona or the reality is beside the point. Indeed, all representations are incomplete in some way, all present a particular 'face'. Rhetorical analysis, however, allows us to see that the face is constructed, that arguments are not as decisive as they may seem, and that all remembering and recounting involves some form of forgetting.

CONCLUSION

I have not openly dealt with recruitment at this stage. It will be undertaken in more detail later. The way in which the texts already examined, and those to be examined, function in the recruitment process is directly related to their perlocutionary effects. In very general terms, texts create a positive view of the movement and a safe place from which to view the movement as a possible part of one's life. In "The Story" this is done by an argument which relies on *ethos*. *Dianetics* is a text built on the appeal of *logos*, as is the text analysed in the next chapter. Recruitment is a post-perlocutionary effect which is subsequent to the perlocutionary effect of 'persuading that'.

In later chapters, I will argue that recruitment involves creating a desire in the potential recruit. It is a unique desire in so far as only the creator of it, the movement, can satisfy it. To create such a desire one has to in part reshape a recruit's sense of self. This in turn is accomplished through the shaping of a recruit's world view such that it is 'in line' with that of the movement. Changing a world view involves learning something new. It is an ideational change. Like remembering, learning often involves forgetting something.

Hubbard tells his audience that they will discover things they "always knew were so".[132] Yet Dianetics as a therapy is firmly grounded in the notion that people forget traumatic experiences, and that these must be remembered if one is to become more 'able'. To accept "The Story of Dianetics and Scientology" one certainly has to learn something new, but this also involves 'letting go' of ideas and beliefs one already had about the world.

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[132] *Dianetics*, p. 2.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

"Wir machen uns Bilder der Tatsachen"[1]

Wittgenstein

We have seen how L. Ron Hubbard uses strategies of association to create a relationship with the audience. Telling his own life story he indirectly illustrates the major underpinnings of the movement that he founded. In this chapter, we see a very different kind of persuasive strategy. Unlike Hubbard's argument from *ethos*, the Jehovah's Witnesses rely on an understanding of logical argument. *Logos* does not involve strict logic as we have seen from contemporary work in rhetoric and argument theory. Rather the reader is primed to accept arguments because of the appearance of logic. Discourse markers signal arguments here, rather than the chronology they signalled in Hubbard's speech.[2] In this way the strategies here have more in common with *Dianetics* than "The Story". This persuasive technique is predictable from what we know about the movement. Ex–members and scholars describe the conversion to the Jehovah's Witnesses as more rational than irrational.

BACKGROUND

The Jehovah's Witnesses[3] was founded by Charles Taze Russell in 1869 when he began a Bible study routine which caused him to question his faith in Adventism. It was not actually until 1931 when Joseph Franklin Rutherford took over the group that it became known as the Jehovah's Witnesses. Russell was involved in editing religious periodicals, eventually establishing his own, *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence*. This has since been renamed *Watchtower* and, with a circulation of 10 million, it is distributed internationally through missions in 214 countries. The Jehovah's Witnesses is

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[1] "We fashion representations of facts for ourselves".

[2] See for example Kopperschmidt, p. 162.

[3] At least the group which came to be known as such.

a Christian based movement in so far as the Bible is its primary text. At the same time, the Witnesses claim that Christianity is in error and they deny the Trinity, "the personality of the Holy Spirit, the deity of Jesus, his bodily resurrection, his visible return, and the reality of hell".[4] Most people are familiar with the Witnesses' refusal to have blood transfusions which has led to much (successful) litigation on the grounds of religious freedom.[5] Even though their prediction for the end of the world in 1914 was not fulfilled,[6] the movement has continued to grow. The re-interpretation of predictions within the movement has been a source of much external criticism. Interestingly, the way in which the failed prophecy was eventually dealt with was to redefine the meaning of the prophecy, that is, of the words of prophecy.[7]

Though the Bible is the movement's primary text, it is not the only sacred text. Russell's *Studies in the Scripture*, a Bible study text, is in many ways more important than Scripture itself. Russell maintains that the Studies contain the "light of Scriptures" and that if one does not use them, if one only consults the Bible, one will go into darkness within two years.[8] Presumably darkness means beliefs which do not cohere with the Jehovah's Witnesses. The movement is not directly descended from Russell, however. After his death, a struggle for power took place in which Rutherford took over the existing legal entity "but the pattern of Russell's control [was] completely altered by Rutherford".[9] It became a hierarchical theocracy and thus, the group became a cult under

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[4] Dan'l Markham, *The Cultic Phenomenon*, (Herts: Lion, 1987), p. 75.

[5] Though at the same time there has been some restriction of this especially with respect to minors. See *Prince v. Masachussetts* 321 US 158 (1944) and *People (ex rel. Wallace) v. Labrenz* 104 NE 2d 769 (II 1952)

[6] Markham, p. 75.

[7] Specifically, "generation" was redefined as "the peoples of earth who see the sign of Christ's presence but fail to mend their ways". The prophecy was that in 1914, the current generation would live to see Armageddon.

[8] *The Watchtower*, Sept 15, 1910.

[9] Rogerson, p. 39

Rutherford's leadership, in much the same way as the Church of Scientology was re-organised by L. Ron Hubbard.[10]

Jehovah's Witnesses' literature appeals to knowledge and implementation of knowledge as the path to salvation. It presents itself as an intellectual movement which offers an intellectual enlightenment rather than a spiritual one. This is effected by the Bible study courses that the movement provides. This 'intellectual' approach leads to confusion about why anyone would join this religion at all in so far as *prima facie* there is no spiritual element. While I will not address that question specifically here, it is worth examining an assessment of this approach. J.A. Beckford, whose work about the Jehovah's Witnesses is much endorsed in subsequent literature, writes,

> First and foremost we must report the virtual absence of anything which closely resembles the phenomenon of religious conversion as it is customarily understood. Jehovah's Witness converts certainly experience no sudden conviction that they have miraculously received God's grace nor that they have attained an immediate assurance of salvation. In fact, very few Witnesses can isolate a particular moment in time as a decisive turning point in their religious or spiritual development: Certainly none could remember having an overwhelming religious experience.[11]

What exactly 'religious conversion' or 'customarily understood' is supposed to mean is apparently obvious though certainly not related to conversion through the intellect. The alleged absence of an "overwhelming religious experience" is also rather dubious. Using terms like these presupposes that one is converted to a religion in a particular kind of way; one that is somehow supernatural and inexplicable and yet self-evident to the observer. Grizzuti, an ex-Jehovah's Witness, does concur somewhat with Beckford's analysis, however, writing that it "is a contractual, not an ecstatic religion".[12]

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[10] It is also interesting that Rutherford's speaking voice is often commented on by followers. "His voice was an excellent one for public speaking, occasionally reaching a low-pitched fortissimo that deeply thrilled his audience" Rogerson, p. 53.

[11] James A. Beckford, *The Trumpet of Prophecy: a sociological study of Jehovah's Witnesses*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), p. 90 (my emphasis).

[12] Grizzuti Harrison, p. 13.

Botting gives a more even-handed assessment of the conversion.

> For many, the conversion is a smooth transition form a state of doctrinal ignorance maintained through affiliation with another Christian group to one of relative enlightenment accompanied by a feeling of having come to a 'knowledge of "the Truth"'. For some, this sense of enlightenment is heightened by an awareness that their own feelings concerning what is perceived to be wrong with other religions has been justified - that they themselves were right all along.[13]

From this point of view, the 'non-religious conversion', even though still 'rational' in so far as the conversion involves knowledge rather than faith, sounds more acceptable than Beckford's account suggests.

It is perhaps not surprising that the mode of conversion into the movement seems unusual to the casual observer with preconceptions about 'religion'. This is partly because the Jehovah's Witnesses are a world-rejecting movement. They count on a negative interpretation of world events.[14] There is a sense of urgency about their project. The notion that we are living in the last days is stressed and can be seen as either a threat or positive motivation to join the group. Once a negative interpretation of the current state of the world is secure, it is turned into a call for action.[15] If things are so bad, and you agree that they are that way, you should do something about it; that is, join the movement. Further, if one is not on the side of God (i.e. the Jehovah's Witnesses), then one is on the side of Satan.

As mentioned, the Bible is the central text of the movement but it is not allowed to stand without the Jehovah's Witnesses' Bible study materials. The pamphlet under examination here is an example of such study material. It is claimed that these secondary materials contain the Bible's essence, which may be missed if one only consults the Bible. Thus textual authority and interpretation are locked in battle. On the one hand, Biblical quotations are used to reinforce the message of the movement. It is touted as a Book for

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[13] Botting, p. 76.

[14] The Scientologists also do this especially in face to face interaction.·

[15] This is implicit in the reports about the terrible state of the world in *Awake!* and *The Watchtower*.

All People. On the other hand, it is in reality an incomplete revelation and something that people cannot understand properly without strict guidance.

A BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE

The Jehovah's Witnesses are a well known and well established religious group. It is unlikely that they would be considered by the general populace to be a cult, though neither would they necessarily be considered a mainstream religion. They consider themselves part of the religious establishment and as having passed through the phase of 'new religious movement'.[16] They are aggressive proselytisers, however, and the strategies that they use in their literature are typical of this approach.

In this chapter I will examine the arguments in the pamphlet "A Book for All People".[17] It is a booklet which ostensibly outlines the reasons why one should read the Bible. This devolves into an argument as to why one should take up the Jehovah's Witnesses' Bible study course.[18] The reader is told that the Jehovah's Witnesses "have a program for topical Bible study".[19] A number of features figure in the persuasive attempts of this booklet. Exploitation of modality, anticipation of objections, particular argument structures and reliance on the authority of the Bible are all used to build the argument for consideration. Yet what "consideration" means is exactly what is at stake. Accepting the pamphlet's final definition of "consideration", a particular way of reading the Bible, is in effect a surrender of interpretative autonomy, a rejection of any critical consideration. To accept this definition of "consideration" is to freely give up one's freedom to consider the Bible in a critical way. To accept this definition of "consideration" is also to accept a particular view of Biblical interpretation, namely that there is no such thing.

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[16] Personal conversation with Jehovah's Witness representative at INFORM (London School of Economics) Winter seminar 1999.

[17] See Appendix XIV.

[18] In the final section, it is suggested that the curious reader select a "reliable translation in modern-day language, such as the New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures" (30). Not surprisingly, this is published by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society.

[19] p. 30.

Interpretation implies a latitude that is not allowed in the Jehovah's Witnesses' dealings with the Bible. Ultimately for the Jehovah's Witnesses, Biblical texts are transparent and do not admit *interpretation*. All that exists is *exposition* of the Bible and the only exposition (in contradistinction to all other interpretations) is that of the Jehovah's Witnesses'. Thus in order to understand this exposition, it is helpful to know something about the movement.

Memory

As in "The Story", the stated purpose of this text is not its real purpose. It purports to give reasons for examining the Bible when in actual fact this motive is secondary to the promotion of the movement. As with L. Ron Hubbard's portraiture, arguments about consideration of the Bible are strategies for the real persuasive telos; a good opinion of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Just as L. Ron Hubbard presented himself through implicit comparisons, the Jehovah's Witnesses position themselves as earnest and plain. Just as "The Story" professes one goal while enacting another, "A Book for All People" purports to be arguing for 'consideration' of the Bible as though this was a benign and straightforward operation.

The perlocutionary effect of this pamphlet rests exactly on the meaning of 'consider'. The imperative to consider the Bible occurs at various stages in the text with various reasons as to why one should do this. In the beginning, the use of 'consideration' is used as something as a disclaimer. The text asserts that it does not require 'commitment' only 'consideration'. We are told that the brochure "is not designed to impose religious views or beliefs on [us], but is intended to show that this historically influential book, the Bible, is worthy of [our] consideration".[20] But the way in which consideration is used in the argument, results in consideration entailing a particular kind of commitment. Consideration of the Bible is transformed into belief in the Bible in the particular way that the Jehovah's Witnesses demand.

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[20] p. 3.

This perlocutionary effect seems to logically involve a post-perlocutionary effect. If one is persuaded *that* one should 'consider' the Bible, with all the particular semantics that the movement attached to this, then one will be persuaded *to* consider the Bible. If this is the case, then the early stages of recruitment will have commenced. Certainly it is possible that one will consider the Bible without the ideological underpinnings that the Jehovah's Witnesses attach to the term.

As with most cult literature, there are two audiences being addressed here; members and non-members. Pamphlets such as this are considered Bible study materials by group members and are used in group study sessions. Details and references given are further researched in the Bible and implications of assertions are discussed. This is what Bible study means. For the non-member, the way in which the text is used will vary according to their reception of the arguments. They may take all assertions at face value, reject them immediately or subject them to the kind of study that members would, that is, in conjunction with Bible consultation. The text itself, as ever, does not preclude these various approaches. It is both a recruiting text and a text which facilitates the routine activities of the 'discourse community'.

Delivery

There are two aspects of delivery in respect of this pamphlet and the Jehovah's Witnesses generally. The first is how the text is physically delivered, in terms of how it is distributed among potential members. The second is the way in which the text is actually presented in terms of layout and design.

The Jehovah's Witnesses reproduce, as their name suggests, predominantly through witnessing. Proselytising is an essential component of membership. One is not truly a Jehovah's Witness if one is not spreading the word and attempting to persuade others to join the movement. Indeed, the movement is largely financed by the sale of periodicals as well as voluntary tithing. The 'witnessing', in particular selling the periodicals and, more generally, spreading Jehovah's word, is doctrinal. Rogerson writes that "no Bible student was entirely [52] sincere unless he felt it was his duty to disseminate the truth. In practice

this means walking from door to door trying to sell Watchtower magazines and other Society literature".[21]

The major witnessing tools that are used are periodicals, primarily *The Watchtower*[22], an obviously religious publication, and *Awake!*, which has a slightly different emphasis. While *The Watchtower* foregrounds its religious ideology, *Awake!* focuses on current issues albeit with an implicit ideological bias. Contemporary social problems such as teenage depression and the breakdown of the family are examined. The cause of these problems is generally painted as a departure from good living, as defined by the Jehovah's Witnesses. Thus the solution is to learn what good living means by joining the Jehovah's Witnesses. I will consider how these periodicals in effect prime the reader for the sorts of arguments encountered in *A Book for All People* (one of the many pamphlets published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society). At the very least, the texts enact the same kinds of textual strategies. In this way there is a kind of intertextuality at work. There is also progression in terms of the order in which materials are encountered.

The Jehovah's Witnesses also publish their own translation of the Bible and various books for study and dissemination. Botting remarks that the task of the Society is "symbol management, or more specifically symbol manipulation, which includes reiterating and reaffirming for the community the continued veracity of specific symbols and the quiet shelving of others considered to be outdated".[23] Indeed, Rogerson considers these Bible study sessions as little more than "indoctrination".[24] A more sympathetic person would probably call it 'education' however.

When Russell started the group, in the late 19th century, disseminating information through the post was a standard way of delivering this kind of religious information. If we follow Wallis in the authoritarian implications of the transition to cult, the Jehovah's

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[21] Rogerson, pp. 51-2.

[22] This periodical has a circulation of over 10 million; Botting, p. 8.

[23] Botting, p. 94.

[24] Rogerson, p. 128.

Witnesses did not start off as a cult. Under Russell it was a "fairly gentle, loosely controlled network of Bible study groups, with travelling ministers to spread the word and colporteurs to sell the magazine".[25] In 1919 Judge Rutherford took over the movement in what Allan suggests was some kind of coup. Allan argues that the transformation of the movement was a product of the post-war boom and changes associated with this, especially changes in advertising. Thus proselytising and witnessing are modelled exactly on advertising of products.[26]

The Bible courses perfectly suit this changed movement. The onus is on the individual to study; all the movement need do is provide the information, the religious product. Those 'witnessing' for the movement are often no more than distributors and salesmen, as they can practice in a solitary way. "After this initial indoctrination, the baptized person is usually considered to be 'on his own' and is left to glean his information from the five weekly meetings".[27] Group meetings become like user groups, as Bible study is undertaken by and large in private. Rutherford styled himself as a kind of religious entrepreneur. He took the template of the business world and adapted it to the religious product resulting in the distribution of vast quantities of literature.

As well as these mass distribution channels, much literature is distributed personally; one person knocks on the door of another person. Indeed, this is more and more the case.[28] Personal contact is involved and a personal relationship of sorts established. We saw L. Ron Hubbard establishing similar kinds of relationships with the audience in "The Story". At the same time, the Jehovah's Witnesses' texts do seem to present an institutionalised voice, rather than a personal one, even with this member-to-potential member contact.

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[25] John Allan, *Shopping for a God: Fringe Religions Today*, (Leicester: Intervarsity Press, 1986), p. 44.

[26] Allan, p. 54.

[27] Botting, p. 78.

[28] See Rogerson, pp. 51-2.

The other aspect of delivery, the actual presentation of these texts, is also curious. *The Watchtower* and especially *Awake!* mimic certain mainstream publishing conventions resembling something like a Reader's Digest.[29] The religious ideology of *Awake!* is not always clear and certainly not obviously Jehovah's Witnesses, though one may quickly come to the conclusion that this is a Christian group of some kind because of the stance it takes on such issues as abortion and they way in which Biblical quotations are used as evidence.[30] Artwork in *Awake!* tends to be photo-library material. The more pronounced the religious message, however, the more stylised and less realistic the pictures become; indeed, they become illustrations rather than photos. Thus in the book *You Can Live Forever in Paradise on Earth*, illustrations are stylised representations of an Edenic earth, with bright colours and attractive people of various races interacting with each other and with placid animals.[31]

Another notable feature in terms of layout delivery of *A Book for All People* is the use of in text windows and boxes of the kind which contain small, interesting, salient pieces of information or pertinent quotations related to the article. The opening paragraphs, centred and italicised in the manner of a subheading or summary, are used in a similar way. They allow the casual reader to quickly glean some information and allows the committed member to know immediately what is salient. In this way, it mimics the conventions of popular magazines. At the same time, the typically academic feature of footnotes is also used. The combination of these two features can be read in two ways: (1) as a hedge, combining features of popular and serious literature in an attempt to appeal to a broad range of readers or (2) to mimic instructional textbooks, especially of the kind produced

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[29] By this I mean that is resembles Reader's Digest both in layout and the kinds of subjects it deals with (with the exception of the religious references).

[30] See for example *Awake!* September 8, 1998 p. 10.

[31] See Kress and van Leeuwen. Even tigers are portrayed as tame and friendly in Jehovah's Witnesses' publications.

for high school students in the United States.[32] Either way, the text presents itself *prima facie* as both accessible and rigorous. Further, to a lay person, these features suggest an intellectual approach, without making comprehension arduous. Patricia White suggests that "the patterns of contact set up as the structure of reading carry meaning - and demands for action - to the reader".[33]

Awake! and *The Watchtower* are essentially collections of articles, just like any other periodical. Similarly, "A Book for All People" is constructed in the same way as a periodical, the only difference being that there is a common overall topic: consideration of the Bible. It might as well be a special edition of one of the other periodicals.[34] It is broken into article like sections which are self contained, vary in length and focus and are placed strategically in so far as they contribute to a sustained, single, argument.

Arrangement

The arrangement of this text continues the forms set up in delivery. In this section, the episodic nature of the text, which allows a sustained argument as well as discrete hypotheses, will be investigated. Part of this structure is the tactic of arguing from the alternative. This is potentially very successful, but also potentially dangerous as it is confusing. But the use of topic paragraphs, questions at summary points and footnotes serve to focus the reader's attention and keep the text orderly. The discussion of these features necessarily involves some examination of content.

As has been mentioned, the text is arranged as though it constituted articles in a periodical. This allows the reader to dip into the text, reading sections of interest and

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[32] This is a purely personal observation based on physics textbooks I used as a high school student. The British and Australian textbooks did not have text windows and sidebars summarising information in the way that American examples did.

[33] At p. 81. Kress and van Leeuwen's notions of visual grammar would read footnotes, at the bottom of the page, as relating to the real as opposed to the ideal.

[34] Indeed, the October 15th 1998 edition of *The Watchtower* was dedicated to the question of Bible relevance to modern life.

passing over others. It is written in such a way that the sections are independent. However, the full effect of the argument is only achieved if all sections are taken together in sequence. The structure of the argument is in the form of mini-hypotheses all contributing to the main hypothesis, the consideration of the Bible. In this sense it is episodic, though not in the way that L. Ron Hubbard's Story is. The episodes are controlled by a progressive argument, the consideration of the Bible, rather than by chronology. The subject is 'consideration of the Bible' and the themes articulated support this by being variations on the subject. Unlike "The Story", the sections are related only in so far as they relate to the subject, the overarching macroproposition. The lexical cohesion of 'consider' does, however, link them.

The argument is not progressive in so far as it is linear, rather it is cumulative and circumstantial. It is as though the weight of example will be enough to push the required conclusion into the mind of the reader. Indeed, in the final page we are told "The collective force of all the evidence presented here establishes clearly that the Bible is accurate and authentic".[35] The sections of the pamphlet each take up another reason as to why the Bible should be considered; because it is consistent with scientific discovery, with archaeology, with historical events and so on. The meaning of 'consideration' is increasingly modified to require a specific commitment and the certainty of facts continually mitigated to a final point of faith. It is this which determines the structure of the text.

Within the episodic articles, the text often argues from the alternative which can be both confusing and disorienting. We will see in the section on invention how this form of argument works and how assertions are also mitigated through the use of modals. Thus while the text is not always linear, it is persistent. These arguments and examples all serve a single goal; to bring the stated and the actual purposes together. The actual purpose, to accept that the Bible should be given the sort of consideration that only the Jehovah's Witnesses can give, is not the stated purpose. What is at stake is the meaning

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[35] p. 30.

of 'consideration'. The pamphlet begins as though 'consideration' means passing attention. It is used at the summation of every mini-hypothesis, though, and its meaning is strengthened along the way.

Along with the strengthening of 'consideration' comes a strengthening of a particular relationship of the Jehovah's Witnesses with the Bible. The movement is not mentioned at all in the beginning,[36] but increasingly becomes a presence in the text. The Jehovah's Witnesses are mentioned for the first time as resisting warfare during World War II, thus witnessing the ministry.[37] This is the only time in the pamphlet that a religious group of any kind is explicitly mentioned. This is a relatively subtle introduction of the movement and comes with the usual disclaimers. Just as the pamphlet claimed that its purpose is not to convert, it claims that the Witnesses do not think "they are better than others, but ...[that] they are motivated by the power of the Bible's message" (and therefore implicitly better).[38] The text is not initially presented as being authored by the Jehovah's Witnesses. Certainly from the general topic we know that it is a Christian text, but exactly what kind of text is not clear from the start. It does become clear in the final page when their Bible study plan is specifically recommended.[39]

Just as the first episode sets up explicit expectations about the following sections, the topic paragraphs, which are sometimes anecdotes, also direct the text that follows setting out the issues that will be dealt with. They are orienting tools for the reader. In the section "A Book that is Misinterpreted", the opening paragraph defines what are considered the relevant topics for discussion and the terms in which these topics will be discussed. This is akin to an introduction in an article or essay which prohibits the raising of any other issues and creates a position from which the writer can proceed.

> "The doctrine of the double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun is false, and entirely contrary to Holy Scripture." So states the Congregation of the

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[36] They are first mentioned as a group at page 25 in relation to their refusal to bear arms.

[37] p. 25.

[38] p. 25.

[39] p. 30.

Index of the Roman Catholic Church in a decree in 1616. Does the Bible really disagree with scientific facts? Or has it just been misinterpreted?[40]

The false evaluation of earthly rotation is attributed to the Catholic Church. Even though the Jehovah's Witnesses were non-existent at the time, they are distanced from this error. Interestingly, the statement does not directly state that the doctrine is false *because* it contradicts Scripture, which is stated in the body of the text. The statement also implicitly suggests that the lines between science and religion were at this point clear cut. This is not the case. Empirical science was not always held in the esteem it is today; the church was not always considered incapable of pronouncing on such 'scientific' matters.

The questions that are posed in this introductory paragraph direct the arguments that follow. The question, it seems, is whether the Bible disagrees with scientific facts or whether it has only been misinterpreted, rather than admitting the possibility that the Bible simply has nothing relevant to say on the matter. There is a clear bifurcation here between disagreement and interpretation. From this we know already what the section will say. Any 'apparent' disagreement is merely misinterpretation. The problem is that for the Jehovah's Witnesses, interpretation is not something that happens; the Bible, it seems, is somehow transparent. If interpretation is allowed for individuals, they may come to the wrong conclusions. Thus all interpretation is misinterpretation. The Jehovah's Witnesses appear to have the code necessary to decipher the Bible but it is not seen as decipherment or interpretation. They, somehow, are not prone to error as everyone else is. It is claimed, for example, that fundamentalists misinterpret the Bible when they insist that the world was created in six 24 hour days.[41] The word translated as "day" can apparently mean "a long time". But the Jehovah's Witnesses elsewhere interpret this very specifically as a year.[42] One can only assume, because of the

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[40] p. 4.

[41] p. 5.

[42] See "Creationism" in Jehovah's Witnesses dictionary.

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bifurcation, that the Jehovah's Witnesses are not "fundamentalists [who] misinterpret the Bible".[43]

The use of questions at summation points, rather than distancing the reader from interpretation, implicates the reader in the construction of the text as well as providing signposting and thus structure in the text itself. Questions are also used to anticipate the readers' queries, creating a kind of dialogue precisely in the way that Ducrot and Anscombre's 'radical argumentativism' would suggest. In other Jehovah's Witnesses' publications questions are used extensively. In the book *You Can Live Forever in Paradise on Earth* all the footnotes are questions which are intended to act as summation and comprehension prompts; this is what Bible study means.[44] Like the footnotes in *Dianetics*, they serve to direct the reading and interpretation of the text. These footnotes are characteristic of Jehovah's Witnesses' Bible study materials.[45] They are not present in this pamphlet, perhaps because it is a recruiting tool, although this is also a Bible study text in every other respect. Botting notes that "The rhetorical question is a major linguistic tool used by the Witnesses. So ingrained is its use that even casual conversation around the dinner table is permeated with self-answered questions".[46]

The use of particular footnotes is not always clear, however, and they provide a thread that can sometimes be used to unravel the fabric of the text. A footnote in the section on distribution casts an interesting light on the value of the claim that the Bible is the most widely circulated of all texts. "The next most widely distributed publication is thought to be the red-covered booklet *Quotations From the Works of Mao Tse-tung*".[47] Notice that

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[43] p. 5.

[44] These types of footnotes are also included in *The Watchtower*. The questions included in footnotes in these other publications are incorporated into the text in "A Book For All People".

[45] See any edition of "The Watchtower" or *You Can Live in Paradise on Earth*.

[46] Botting p. 88. "For philosophers like C.S. Peirce (1931) and Bakhtin (e.g. 1981) all thinking, like speaking, is dialogical, anticipating a response from another, if only ourselves". Wales, p. 72.

[47] p. 6.

the modality of this assertion is only probable, "thought to be". Exactly why this piece of information is included is not clear. It appears to be for the sake of 'completeness' suggesting that the article is unbiased by mentioning other publications. Yet this text is a mere "booklet" only "thought to be" widely distributed. Ironically, it strengthens the notion that distribution does not equal readership or, more importantly, significance. The 'little red book' is certainly mandatory in terms of ownership and probably also in terms of it being read and known. But it is distributed so widely as part of a political practice rather than because of its inherent virtues or value that possessors may attach to it. It is possible, however, that the footnote is included in order to draw on a fear of communism, both in terms of its proliferation and deviance. Given the way in which the argument is structured here (that high distribution means a text is worthy) the footnote works against the grounds of the argument. It is not the only curious inclusion, however, as we will see in some of the topic choices and arguments.

Invention

Invention always involves the choice of topics, and the way in which they are presented. In the following, I will outline some of the strategies and topics used in "A Book for All People". As is often the case, the choice of topic and its presentation is often tightly bound, that is, the choice of topic will often determine the arguments which flow from it. The reasons which are supposed to warrant conclusions in this pamphlet often presuppose the very conclusion they are supposed to support. This circularity results in compensatory argument forms including suppressed premises, enthymemes, and arguing from the alternative.

I will begin by outlining some of the formal inventive features, including the forestalling of objections, anecdotal evidence, illustration and example, arguing from the alternative, enthymemic reasoning and the use of commonplaces. The simplification of complex issues and the representation of author as intelligent authority are both formal and substantial in their effects. Persecution of the movement, the good character of its associates, science and the Bible itself are topics that the text also uses. We will see in

style that some of the inventive assertions are no more than repetitive statements transformed into the style of argument.

Despite the simplification of complex issues and complicated argument strategies to obscure these, this text relies almost exclusively for its persuasive purpose on knowledge and facts. It presents primarily as an argument from *logos*; though towards the end some *pathos* is involved. This *pathos* is initially worked in through the admiration of other people; scribes and missionaries and in particular their good character. The working of *pathos*, however, relies on the same enthymemic structures that *logos* exploits. Finally, a good opinion is presented of the movement itself, though in a manner which does not explicitly suggest that the movement is the author.

Forestalling objections

In line with not foregrounding the movement as the author, the text does not begin with any proclamations about the movement. Rather, we are told that this is not a proselytising document. Forestalling objections as to the purpose of the text in the text itself is a commonly used tool in persuasive literature. The same technique is used by L. Ron Hubbard when he tells the audience that he is going to tell the story of his life in so far as he turns the event into a personal rather than a doctrinal one. This technique can be seen as a kind of anti-warning. Schmidt and Kess write that subjects warned about potentially misleading information before being exposed to it, are more likely to resist it.[48] If the warning is given afterwards, resistance is not increased. The presence of this disclaimer may possibly reduce resistance. Given at the beginning of the text it is potentially flattering the audience. When the disclaimer comes from the author, rather than from an outside agent, it is more likely to be interpreted as honesty than as preceding manipulation. Further, the only thing in the text that might be construed as a warning, the indication that the Jehovah's Witnesses are the authors, comes only at the end of the text and thus too late in Schmidt and Kess's terms.

With the disclaimer, suspicions are quelled before they are aroused. "It [the brochure] is not designed to impose religious views or beliefs on you, but it is intended to show that this historically influential book, the Bible, is worthy of your consideration".[49] The idea that all that is at stake is for us to consider the Bible is misleading. But when a specific intention is spelt out so clearly, it makes it harder to question. In fact we will find, in the arguments for considering the Bible, that we will be asked to make quite specific value and moral judgements. The premise is that the Bible is a book which should be read for all sorts of reasons, not just religious. But as the brochure progresses, it becomes very clear that positive "consideration" of the Bible cannot be separated from approval of its content and approval of its morality. In order to obscure this motive until the very end, the Bible is considered as a cultural artefact, a scientific treatise, a linguistic miracle and an archaeological document. But, the argument goes, if it can be relied on and verified in these ways, then surely it is also a morally trustworthy text. Indeed, as will be examined, using the good characters of scribes and translators as evidence for the veracity of the Bible allows this transition.

The admission and deferral of religious persuasion does two things. Firstly, it relaxes the guard of the reader: this is not a religious pamphlet, rather it is an informative one. The learned and various reasons that we are given for considering the Bible support this strategy. We are asked to look at the Bible as data, as if content can be separated from form, a text from its place in history.[50] Secondly, it actively creates the kind of reader who will be susceptible to the chosen arguments relating to science, archaeology and so

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[48] p. 20. This increased resistance is not necessarily significant, however. See, for example, Daniel D. Lovil, and Allan B. Padderud, "Video Disclaimers in Television Advertising: Are They Effective?", *Journal of Communication*, 31 (2) (1981), 72–77.

[49] p. 3.

[50] This strategy is taken a step further in *Awake!*, a publication obviously designed purely for recruiting purposes because of its implicit ideology. A bulk of the publication is informative content about cities and places. Once credibility has been established in this way, a religious article is placed at the end. The religious ideology is often, naturally, implicit in the other 'informative' articles. Yet just as often the articles seem to have no relation to the religious ideology at stake; a piece on the building of Brasilia for example.

forth. This implied reader position encourages the reader to feel respected as an educated logical person who would be aware of potential manipulation. The reader feels as though s/he expected to be subject to a religious conversion attempt (whether or not it was expected); one that was mystical and unscientific and therefore dubious. The foregrounding of this allows the persuasive strategy to proceed unimpeded. The reader is flattered and put into a certain perspective, that is, someone who is critical and observant. The text is shaping the way the reader views him/herself and thus how s/he will receive the text that follows. This implied reader position also means that facts and assertions presented later on are less likely to be interrogated, but rather, taken at face value.

Anecdotes

In the same way that an implied reader is created, an implied author is also created, primarily through the use of introductory anecdotes. Discussion of the use of anecdotes perhaps properly belongs with elements of style. It is appropriate to consider them under invention, however, because they set up frames of reference for the text generally. These are not schemas, or frames or even commonplaces; they function more like illustrations. They are positioning strategies which determine how the arguments that follow will be conducted and how the author will be understood. The first section, "A Book to Be Read" begins with an anecdote.

> "The Bible is not to be taken seriously." So said a university professor to a plainspoken young woman.
> "Have you ever read the Bible?" she asked.
> Taken aback, the professor had to admit that he had not.
> "How can you voice a strong conviction about a book that you have never read?"
> She had a point. He decided to read the Bible and then form an opinion about it.[51]

In this rather innocuous looking anecdote, values which are intended to inform the remainder of the booklet are enunciated. The situation is a confrontational one, the professor *"had* to admit" as though forced by a strong opponent. But the opponent is "[a] plainspoken young woman", stereotypically in no position to challenge the words of the learned, male professor. This young woman takes control of the representation of the

conflict. She calls his proposition a "strong conviction", giving his words an intense personal investment which may or may not be actual. This encounter opens a space for a small 'plainspoken' pamphlet to say something about a book; the Bible. This 'confrontation' also recalls the kind of confrontation the plainspoken Jesus had with the learned men in his lifetime. We will see in the discussion of style that the kind of transformations to which the young woman subjects the professor's words is something the Jehovah's Witnesses are adept at. The implied author is created through the strategy of association. The Jehovah's Witnesses, by championing the cause of the young woman, are representing themselves as plainspoken, not in a position of social authority and yet not afraid to challenge it.

The championing of good character and association of the movement with it continues throughout the text. This strategy is realised through the use of illustrations and examples. In the section on translation for example[52] we are told about specific people who translate the Bible under adverse political and intellectual conditions. These examples are to prove that the translators are people of good character which in turn proves that the Bible is worthy of consideration. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca make a distinction between illustration and example which may help explain this strategy.

> Whereas an example is designed to establish a rule, the role of illustration is to strengthen adherence to a known and accepted rule, by providing particular instances which clarify the general statement, show the import of this statement by calling attention to its various possible applications, and increase its presence to the consciousness. Though there may be situations where it would be hard to say what is the function of a particular case cited in the course of argumentation, the suggested distinction between illustration and example seems to us nonetheless important and meaningful, for, as they have different functions, different criteria will be used in their selection. While an example must be beyond question, an illustration need not be, as adherence to the rule does not depend on it. On the other hand, it should strike the imagination forcibly so as to win attention.[53]

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[51] p. 3.

[52] pp. 10-12.

[53] p. 357.

Thus the information given in the text seems to be partly illustration, partly example. That people translated the Bible is probably beyond question, thus typical of the example; but the cases are intended to strike the imagination as an illustration should. It seems that the dual nature is being used to both establish a rule, as for an example, and to make the rule look as though it was already established, as for an illustration. The evidence that the text offers is new to the reader but presented as a rule, that is, that good character ensures accuracy, when that is what it sets out to prove.[54] Thus these cases perform a rhetorical function in two ways which seems to take advantage of the strengths of both while cancelling out their respective weaknesses.

Arguing from the Alternative

The use of evidence that at the same time has the effect of illustration and example is a powerful technique. Another argument strategy, arguing from the alternative also attempts to multiply strengths and minimise weaknesses. It is not as difficult to deconstruct, however. We see in the section on the transmission of the Bible through the ages ("How Did the Book Survive")[55] arguments from good character used with the strategy of arguing from the alternative in action. Even though we are told that the copyists did make mistakes,[56] their accuracy is asserted.

> The professional copyists were very devoted. They had a profound reverence for the words they copied. They were also meticulous...Such diligent effort ensured a high degree of accuracy.[57]

It seems that the copyists' devotion is of more importance than their diligence, as it comes first. Indeed, in this argument, devotion entails diligence. In order to reframe the argument for accuracy, the accuracy ("ensured" in the previous sentence) is called into

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[54] This is reminiscent of the Scientology claim that in *Dianetics* one will confirm truths one always knew were so.

[55] pp. 7-9

[56] "Did copyists' mistakes over the centuries drastically change the text of the Bible? The evidence says no." p. 7.

[57] p. 7.

question. "Nevertheless, the copyists were not infallible".[58] This is followed by another structuring question, "Is there any evidence that, despite centuries of recopying, the Bible text has survived in reliable form?" which is a rephrasing of the previous one, "Did copyists' mistakes over the centuries drastically change the text of the Bible?".

The Dead Sea scrolls are used as evidence for the reliability of Bible transmission. A single example, from one chapter of Isaiah, is then used to show the relatively minor changes in the text. After citing various academics on the accuracy of texts, and a claim about textual dating being accurate to the half century, the argument is again tempered with "nevertheless". "Nevertheless, they [the copyists] did make mistakes". Why an argument that is apparently so strong needs to be tempered and rephrased three times is not clear. This may well have the effect of the reader being impressed with the author's thoroughness, scepticism and even-handedness. The strategy recalls the continuous back-stepping of the kind: "In the first place I wasn't there, in the second place I didn't break it, in the third place it was broken already". The argument structure either completely works to allay the doubts of the reader at every questioning turn (as long as one can remember one's question) or completely fails, a victim of its own thoroughness.

The final rephrasing of the argument states that although copyists may make mistakes, they are very unlikely to all make the same mistakes. This may well be. Suppose, though, that some mistakes are transmitted through the ages; not all copyists through history had the benefit of the "original text", even if there was such a thing. We were told in the first phrasing of the argument that the originals surely perished. Even though there is no evidence for a singular original text, its existence, at some point, is assumed. If it is *probable*, as the argument suggests, that not all the same mistakes were made and that the original can be reconstructed, it is also *possible* that this is not the case. But the text seems to assert that because of men, the Bible is not indeed subject to exactly the kind of alteration that men normally cause. Despite mistakes and despite the passage of time, it is asserted that we can know the original text of the Bible. Surely this is a matter for faith in

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[58] p. 7.

the face of possibility, rather than for knowledge in the face of fact. But this possibility, that it is faith that holds this rhetoric together, is not considered until much later.

Suppressed premises

Arguing from the alternative can be more complicated than convincing. But defending a singular position is not always unproblematic in this text either. As has been stated, "A Book for All People" is primarily an argument from *logos*, that is to say, it attempts to convince by offering cogent arguments. Premises are not always made explicit, though, especially when they may be harmful to an argument. One of the best examples of this is the wide distribution of the Bible being used to support the conclusion that it is a great book.[59] This is tantamount to saying that a best-seller is necessarily also a classic work. It is also worth remembering that such statistics of sale and distribution can be easily distorted. "Each year, some 60 million copies of the entire Bible or portions of it are distributed". On reflection, this means that every piece of paper with a Bible quotation can fall under these statistics, but *prima facie* it is an impressive claim (even though not a reasonable warrant). Distribution, however, does not amount to readership (even if the Bible is a book to be "read"). This is implicit in the first paragraph which deals with the number of books in existence throughout time, books that are unread are "in effect, dead". The only claims made in the actual text of this section is that the Bible "is by far the most widely circulated book on earth" and "the most widely translated book in history" not, in fact, the most widely read, or indeed, the most purchased. The conclusions that are made, that it has "universal appeal' and is the "best-selling...book in all human history", are far from supported by these claims.

The same suppressed premises are present in arguments about translation. A translation, like a composition, is not necessarily read. Yet the conclusion is made that the wide translation and distribution of the Bible testifies "to the Bible's universal appeal". "Distribution" is suddenly transformed into "selling"; suddenly two people are actively involved in each act of dissemination rather than just one. This transformation means that

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[59] p. 6.

the acceptance of the Bible as the most widely distributed book leads directly to the acceptance of the Bible as the highest-selling book. "Surely the best-selling and most widely translated book in all human history is worthy of your consideration".[60] The premises which would be necessary for this conclusion are not stated; let alone proven.

Let me make these premises explicit. 1. High sales means that a book is true or worthy of attention. In addition, presumably one only buys things that are worth buying. 2. Distribution equals use. There is the further suggestion that distribution also equals demand. 3. From this implication of demand we move to the assumption that distribution comes at a price to the consumer, a price they are willing to pay. Thus distribution is equated with sales, and in turn with demand.

At some level the reader has to realise these premises, otherwise the argument would not make sense. This is the enthymeme at work; an argument with suppressed premises or conclusion. As Paine notes, "An enthymemic argument presents a truncated or abbreviated syllogism...The enthymemic form does not ...necessarily entail a falsehood; rather what is omitted is implied".[61] The strategic advantage of using this form of argument is that it makes the reader complicit in the argument. As the reader has to supply the missing portions s/he is in part also authoring the text. The impetus to supply the missing portion helps to make the reader feel as though s/he is discovering his own truths.[62] Even though the enthymemic form does "not necessarily entail a falsehood" it is possible that it does.[63] In the claims about the Bible's distribution, it seems likely that the suppressed premises are false. It is likely because they are stronger than the expressed premises. Were they true, surely they would be used explicitly in the argument, according to scalar implicature.

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[60] p. 6.

[61] Robert Paine (ed.), *Politically Speaking: Cross Cultural Studies of Rhetoric*, Social and Economic Papers no 10, (Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981), p. 13.

[62] Harré, in van Dijk, p. 131.

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We see evidence of missing portions in the discussion of scribes making copies of the Bible.

> Whether you feel that the Bible is the word of God or not, perhaps you would agree that the kinds of self-sacrificing spirit displayed by those devoted translators is all too rare in today's world. Is not a book that inspires such unselfishness worth investigating?[64]

This ties the preceding argument from example and anecdote into a logical sequence, into a general conclusion. The suppressed premise is of course that a "self-sacrificing spirit", being "unselfish" is always a good thing, regardless of what the sacrifices are in aid of. The "all too rare in today's world" prepares the ground for arguments about contemporary spiritual bankruptcy. The use of "feel" instead of 'believe' or 'think' in the first clause contrasts with the cognitive "agree" in the second. The implication is that doubts are merely feelings and consideration is serious thought.

Commonplaces

The commonplace that 'sacrifice is always a good thing' is not the only one used in this text. The idea that the Bible is "A Practical Book for Modern Living",[65] for example, presupposes an unchanging human nature in which "basic human needs have remained the same". The "guidance" cited from the Bible is neither too detailed nor very controversial in the examples given. By and large, Western cultural norms are enforced. Unusually, perhaps, it mentions that in "extreme circumstance" divorce is permissible. It does not state what these circumstances are, but does give a Biblical citation. The verses referred to state that men can divorce their wife for infidelity; there is not a corollary for women. This omission can easily be understood in the light of women's inferior place in the movement.[66] It would hardly be appealing to women to be told in a recruiting

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[63] Of course the form can also be used for economy or to avoid raising issues which may, expressed explicitly, be harmful to the overall argument.

[64] p. 13.

[65] pp. 22-27.

[66] Rogerson, p. 144. See also Grizutti at p. 58. If Jehovah's Witnesses' women are raped, they are guilty of adultery and fornication.

pamphlet that they are, in respect of the movement, not treated as men's equals. Thus this is not made explicit. Other controversial articles of belief for Jehovah's Witnesses such as the refusal of blood transfusions are not mentioned either.

Other commonplaces exploited in the text have already been examined. The idea that high sales of a product testifies to its worthiness is one example.[67] One often exploited commonplace is the notion that good people do not do bad things, or even make mistakes. Certainly, an underlying commonplace for the movement is that God is consistent and good. This is not made explicit, as it is for example in the texts of the Children of God, but it does inform Biblical interpretation to a degree. In this way, it informs most of the arguments in the text. As God is good, so are his human agents, as are their efforts.

Simplification and intelligence

Employing enthymemes and trading on apparent commonplaces are not the only ways of suppressing details. In this text we see what is essentially a simplification of complex issues.[68] We know that "information is never pure but always comes shaped, selected and intended in some way".[69] Here, information is intended to be less than it presents itself to be. To return again to the section "How Did the Book Survive" arguments are rephrased again and again in an attempt to be either reasonable or thorough. Whether or not copyists are infallible or not is presently beside the point. The acceptability of this claim is mitigated by the cursory understanding of textual history and reconstruction employed. While it may be remarkable that only small changes have occurred (those we know about) these may not be insignificant, especially if we don't know about them. Further,

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[67] Wookey comments on the obsession of some Christians with accumulation of wealth. "So-called Christian teachers are totally unashamed in their appeals for money, and declarations that all people who follow God truly should be wealthy". Stephen Wookey, *When a Church Becomes a Cult*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1996), p. 22.

[68] All these tactics are examples of confirmation bias, that is, ignoring contradictory (or complicating) facts.

[69] Kats and Miller, p. 132.

the inherent difficulties of translation are not addressed. Polysemy, culturally specific metaphors, constructions and indeed lexicon complicate this apparently simple argument.[70]

The very short section, "What The Book Contains", details the books that comprise the Old and New Testaments. There is perhaps an implication that one needs this information to even begin to understand the Bible; thus one may be exonerated from past ignorance of the Bible if one didn't know how to locate things in it. This section is curious in that it is the kind of information one would expect to find at the beginning of the text, not half way through. Its general effect, however, is to create a good impression of the author as someone who knows things and thus as someone who can be trusted. At the same time, important issues about the textual history of the Bible are obscured at other points in the text. It is suggested, for example, that the Gospels were actually written by the people they are named after.[71]

The representation of the intelligence of the author is more apparent in the breadth of subject areas that the text explores, however superficially this is done. Science, linguistics and history are used in the attempt to persuade the reader to consider the Bible. Archaeology is also used. In the section "Can this Book be Trusted"[72] information is presented which compares the Bible with other works of history. Evidence from within the earth and within the Bible itself is presented.

The first argument deals with the reality of David, the shepherd who became King of Israel.[73] The frequency of his name in the Bible is given, for no apparent reason other than perhaps to suggest that he is an important Biblical figure. In turn, if one could prove that he was real, it would be an important discovery. Apparently, a basalt stone with the

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[70] See pp. 10-13.
[71] pp. 16-17.
[72] pp. 14-17.
[73] pp. 14-16.

words "House of David" and "King of Israel" carved in it was found.[74] It was the first time reference to the name of David has been found outside the Bible.[75] They were also written without word separators, said to be a mark of familiarity of an expression.[76] This is all understood as attesting to David's reality. There are some issues omitted, however, The accuracy of carbon dating is not questioned; further the relationship between "House of David" and "King of Israel" in the text is not discussed. The use of word breaks in the rest of the text is not mentioned either. It may be that the entire text had no breaks in it, making the absence of breaks in the relevant expressions rather less significant.

More material of similar kind is given. Cities and battles depicted in the Bible are said to be supported by archaeological evidence.[77] Certainly one might say that the portrayal of historical events can happen incidentally even in the most untrustworthy of books in respect of empirical truth; novels for example.

Persecution

The demonstration of knowledge, regardless of how incomplete or simplified, is certainly a strategy to encourage trust in and admiration of the author. The traditional persecution - us/them script is also worked up in this text, though not as venomously as in Scientology. The author is presented as putting forward views that have been persecuted but finally vindicated. In the section on archaeology "Can This Book Be Trusted?", one is told that there are 'critics' of the notion that the Bible presents historically accurate information.[78] But archaeological evidence 'confirms' the accuracy of the Bible, it is 'vindicated' in this way.[79] In the section on translation, "A Book that 'Speaks' Living Languages" we are

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[74] p. 14.

[75] p. 14.

[76] p. 14.

[77] p. 15.

[78] p. 14.

[79] p. 15.

told that dedicated translators faced opposition from "the authorities" in England,[80] Burmese officials,[81] and Chinese law.[82] All these persecutors are relatively generic. The movement shows itself able to stand up to persecuting opposition, but it does not specifically identify it.[83]

Portraying persecution is in essence an argument from *ethos*. Other arguments are made in this way, specifically, arguments about the trustworthiness of the Bible because of the trustworthiness of its writers and translators. It is worth examining this again as it is a somewhat circular argument. If the Bible is a good book, we can trust its writers; if we can trust its writers we can trust it. The argument wants to claim more than this, even though it cannot.

> Such frank, open reporting indicates a sincere concern for the truth. Since the Bible writers were willing to report unfavourable information about their loved ones, their people, and even themselves, is there no good reason to trust their writings?[84]

It implies that only good people will say bad things about their loved ones and themselves. This is a commonplace which would state that only honest people would say bad things. Obviously this is not necessarily the case.

Good character

The argument from credibility of the writer is further developed. It is not difficult to see why this is the case and how the use of "trust" will be exploited. "Trusting" the facts of an account is one thing; trusting the moral teachings it gives is quite another. The good character of the authors of the Bible is consistently stressed exactly to allow this semantic pivot.

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[80] p. 10.

[81] p. 12.

[82] p. 12.

[83] This is in stark contrast to the vilification of psychologists by the Church of Scientology.

[84] p. 16.

The section about copyists relies on evidence which is archaeological.[85] Hand-written copies of the Bible have been passed down through the ages, perishing and being replaced. Has this resulted in drastic change to the Bible? "The evidence says no". The evidence, and this is the unreasonable argument mentioned, is based in the character of the copyists. They were "devoted", reverent and "diligent". Further, the etymology of the word "copyist" tells is that their role is one of "counting and recording". Apparently, "Such diligent effort ensured a high degree of accuracy". This is nothing more than bold assertion. Diligence does not ensure accuracy; though it may encourage it.

As mentioned, the good character of all these actors in the history of the Bible, its writers and copyists and even the people depicted by it, is presupposed when this exactly what is at issue. The good character of this cast is used as proof for the character of the Bible, for its truth and accuracy; good men don't lie. But it is the presumed good opinion of the Bible that invests them with good character in the first place. There is a trinity of good here, stable but empty. The commonplace that God is by definition good informs the character of the Bible in addition to those responsible for it.

The missionary project is also considered an "unselfish" one. "Is not a book that inspires such unselfishness worth investigating?".[86] The self, it seems, would only be put aside for a worthy cause. This argument again rests on the idea that the Bible is worthy because the men who sacrificed for it were good and worthy. But their goodness is in turn guaranteed by that of the Bible. Thus these commonplaces are invented as arguments in their own right when they are merely assertions.

Although the trinity of good of God, the Bible and its propagators is used extensively, other arguments are made in support of the Bible. These are also problematic. But they do reiterate the concerns with inventing intellectually and morally sound arguments. The first substantive topos that is taken up, science, is a popular one for cults. We have already seen how it is used in Scientology. The question at stake initially in this text is

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[85] pp. 7-9.
[86] p. 13.

whether the Bible is unscientific. This is again an example of an appeal to a logical educated reader; a rather appealing reader position. It is also a traditional rhetorical technique: anticipate the strongest argument from the opposition and dispose of it quickly. This shows the author as reasonable and reasoned and will also weaken the other side as it takes away the power of the strongest oppositional argument. It is interesting that in fact Jehovah's Witnesses consider science to be the enemy of religion. They distinguish between 'useful' science and 'useless' science, such as evolution.[87] To admit this at the recruitment stage would certainly be to alienate a potential convert.[88] At this stage, interpretation of the Bible is being reconciled with science.

At the first introduction of science, the Bible and science are reconciled by asserting that the Bible is not literal. Any apparent incompatibilities between science and Biblical texts are simply errors of interpretation. This mode of interpretation will be discussed presently. At the second mention of science, later on in the booklet, the position has radically changed.

The second scientific section "Does this Book Agree with Science"[89] certainly exploits the same implications about the reader as the earlier scientific passage, that is, that the reader is educated and well versed in these controversies. But this time, the Bible is said to be literal and not merely misrepresented. Somehow, it is suggested, Bible writers shunned the scientific theories of their day, such "unscientific misconceptions", but pre-empted contemporary discoveries. The use of "unscientific misconceptions" is curious, something like a double negative and certainly doubly damning. Further, when science is an anachronism, it is difficult to attribute these men with either conceptions or misconceptions.

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[87] Botting, p. 114.

[88] While it is not necessarily 'doctrine' for the Jehovah's Witness, generally a group that 'knows' it (and only it) has the truth, will see many means as justified if the ends is conversion to that truth.

[89] pp. 18-21.

On the question of the shape of the earth Isaiah is quoted, "There is One who is dwelling about the circle of the earth" (40:22) supposedly referring to the orbit of planets and the roundness of the earth. The possibility that this might be figurative is not considered, as it might have been in the first section. Further, if the statement is scientifically correct then "One", the divine, should be dwelling somewhere about the circle of the earth, that is, physically verifiable. Other religions and cultures are cited as claiming that the world was flat, perhaps as a foil for the forward thinking proto-Christians. Isaiah is portrayed as a free-thinking, forward thinker as he "avoided the common myths about the earth" and "penned a statement that was not threatened by the advances of scientific discovery".[90]

The question of what "supports" the earth in space is also considered. Early science considered that there must be some stuff that held the planets in space. The Book of Job states that the earth hangs "upon nothing" (26:7), but in the Biblical context it is an exclamation about the power of God rather than a literal statement. Be that as it may, one of the following verses asserts that it is the breath of God that brings fair skies (26: 13) rather than high and low pressure systems. This verse is not referred to.

The Bible is also credited with an understanding of modern hygiene. Biblical material is read as evincing an understanding of modern sanitation techniques and quarantine. "A person suspected of having a communicable disease was quarantined (Leviticus 13:1-5)" is cited as proof of this. This in turn is cited as proof of the longevity of the Israelites. Taboos, notions of ritual purification are ignored. The idea that an illness was evidence of spiritual transgression is not mentioned. Neither are cultural practices of segregating women who are menstruating exactly because they are "unclean" (Leviticus 12, 15:19).

Interpretation of Bible

Most of the arguments in the text, even in relation to science, are at one level impossible to challenge. This is because they rest on particular interpretations of the Bible that Jehovah's Witnesses put forth. We have seen that the Jehovah's Witnesses are not always

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[90] p. 19.

consistent in Biblical interpretation; sometimes it is literal, sometimes it is not. The point is that if a particular interpretation defines the movement, if it is part of their articles of faith, it cannot be challenged within the context of that movement.

The crux of the first argument, about whether the Bible is scientific or not, rests on the assumption that the Bible is not literal. This is important because this assumption is reversed in later arguments. So "Actually, it was the theologians' interpretation of the Bible – not the Bible itself – that put unreasonable constraints on science".[91] This then lays the blame for the Spanish Inquisition at the feet of theologians and their (erroneous) interpretation of the Bible. The Bible is acquitted of any charges of being unscientific. Scripture is quoted, as we have just seen for the second scientific section, for very specific arguments. How it is possible to assert that there is a difference between interpretation of the Bible and the Bible itself will be examined shortly.

First, it is worth examining a particular section of text, "A Book of Prophecy",[92] to see the approach to Biblical interpretation. The section on prophecy again relies on the character of prophets and works from the assumption that they were "true prophets".[93] A single specific prophecy made about Babylon is discussed. Isaiah prophesied that Babylon would be "swept with the broom of annihilation" (Isaiah 13: 19; 14: 22, 23). He also prophesied that it would never be inhabited after its downfall. This is clearly said not to be the case, but this is not acknowledged as a contradiction of the prophecy.

The obvious objection to prophecy, that the text was written after the event, is countered with another argument from character. It is a strategy with which some believe the Jehovah's Witnesses themselves should be particularly familiar. When their prophecies for Armageddon are not fulfilled, they were reinterpreted.

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[91] p. 5.

[92] pp. 27-29

[93] p. 28.

Often when they try to find the modern counterpart of a symbol they are looking at what has already happened. It appears as though they look around for a modern peg on which to hang the prophecy. Hoekema calls this 'rear view exegesis'.[94]

Bound up in this mode of interpretation is viewing historical events in purely theological terms.[95]

The apparently "sober", rigorous and faultless predictions of Isaiah are contrasted with the "hazy or sensational predictions of modern-day soothsayers",[96] certainly a hazy, sensational image, only permissible because of its lack of specificity as none of the latter are examined. The single, dubious example is used as the basis for an assertion about the ultimate authorship of the Bible. "Many people see in the fulfilment of its prophecies an indication that the Bible must be from a source higher than man".[97] The non-specific 'many people' is obscured by the force of 'must'. How the logical leap from a (questionably) accurate prophecy to a divine authorship is made is not spelt out. It is easy to see how a belief in divine authorship informs the interpretation of prophecy in the Bible and in the world.

The attitude to prophecy, and in fact to scripture generally, is typically Millerian. William Miller insisted that '"scripture must be its own expositor" and one must not rely upon human creeds and the "traditions of men" in arriving at the truth'.[98] For prophecy particularly, "although the biblical prophets used figures of speech and symbolic language to convey their message, the historical fulfilment of their words was always literal and exact".[99] Thus "if certain prophecies did not come to pass, then the Bible

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[94] Rogerson, p. 119.

[95] Grizutti, p. 16.

[96] p. 29.

[97] p. 29.

[98] James D. Tabor and Eugene V. Gallagher, *Why Waco: Cults and the Battle for Religious Freedom in America*, (London: University of California Press, 1995), at p. 45.

[99] Tabor, p. 45.

would be shown to be a 'lie'".[100] Interpretation both of reality and text can reconcile any differences, however, and avoid any Biblical 'lies'. While the writers of prophecies may have written before the prophesied event, their words are only interpreted after.

The Jehovah's Witnesses' interpretative approach to the Bible has been criticised from many quarters. Walter Martin would question its orthodoxy, though more because of the conclusions that the Jehovah's Witnesses come to than for their methods of explication. If the Bible is a sacred text and if the Studies in Scripture are an aid rather than a further revelation, interpretative strategies should be defensible. It has been suggested that doctrine is chosen before interpretation; the evidence found *a posteriori* to support it. Rogerson comments that the Witnesses treat the Bible like a crossword.[101] "Kurt Hutten, for instance, calls this selection procedure 'knight-jump exegesis', likening it to the knight's move in chess - it is not straightforward and ignores obstacles by leaping over them".[102]

We have seen how the Bible is alternately metaphorical and literal to suit an argument. Largely, it is literal, however, as "...the Witnesses are quite happy to quote texts from all parts of the Bible and accept them at their face value".[103] The overriding constraint seems to be of internal harmony;[104] that everything in the Bible is explained by their theology and that everything in the theology is explained (or at least supported) by Scripture. This is more a disposition, a decision that all will cohere, rather than something that is proven. It is clear in "How Did the Book Survive?" for example, that the Jehovah's Witnesses believe there is a singular original Biblical text which can (or has) been established.

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[100] Tabor, p. 45.

[101] Rogerson, p. 123.

[102] Rogerson, p. 123.

[103] Rogerson, p. 122.

[104] Rogerson, p. 119.

The most interesting form of argument, and arguably the least satisfying, is the move from logic to faith. Most of the text relies on arguments that look logical, assertions that look as though they should be trusted because of this. Towards the end, the argument strategy takes an about face. "A statement that is unprovable is not necessarily untrue".[105] Neither, though, is it logically true. This proposition is used to progress from the logically probable to the intuitively true. "But some truths are unprovable because no evidence has been preserved, the evidence is obscure or undiscovered, or scientific capabilities are insufficient to arrive at an uncontested conclusion".[106] The structure of this statement is "some truths are unprovable because x, x, or they are simply unprovable". The first two reasons are identical; the third restates the conclusion. Notice that "truth" is taken for granted. It is not "some *things* are unprovable" but "some *truths*". When the text asks us to "weigh what the Bible says with an open mind" it is asking us to consider it as truth.

This is a logical statement of the ultimate superfluity of logic in matters of faith. This solves any problems that may have been detected in the persuasive arguments which have been used so far. The persistent arguments, then, are part of the process of attempting to sublimate persuasion into truth. It is, after all, a logical possibility. How logically possible it seems depends, of course, on the quality of the persuasion. The cumulative proof of arguments is used as a kind of springboard into the unprovable; as a reasonable basis for an act of faith.

The arguments here vacillate from the scientifically unprovable (for example, Noah's flood, unprovable because of lost evidence) to that which is not subject to proof at all (the spirit realm for example). This tactic, following the 'unprovable does not mean untrue' path is quite unlike that followed to this point. This is the final backstep. If one is already convinced that one should consider the Bible as the Jehovah's Witnesses suggest, this

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[105] p. 21.

[106] p. 21.

will be the ultimate in thoroughness and humility. If one is not yet convinced, it may well open up a reasonable doubt which encourages one to 'consider'.

While the immediately preceding section claims that the Bible includes "sanitary regulations that were far ahead of their time", now it is granted that the "Bible is not a science textbook". "It is, however, a book of truth".[107] The juxtaposition of these statements suggests that these are assertions that need no justification. The premises are something like 1) The Bible is not a science textbook 2) Things which are not science textbooks can also be true 3) Therefore the Bible is a book of truth. Now the possibility that the Bible may be true, a logical possibility at best in the terms of these premises, is suddenly put forward as an assertion, with "however" added for rhetorical strength. The prior arguments about the integrity of the authors are also raised again.

The scientific discussion of the provable and the unprovable can be seen as a structural pivot for the move into moral and religious issues. It is easy to see where this argument will go beyond the bounds of this booklet. First, fairly well accepted norms of human behaviour will be shown to be advocated by the Bible. This will admit the Bible as a moral guide. Then all other judgements in it will be given the same positive value.

Style

The stylistic choices that are made in this text support the wider aims of this text which have already been discussed. The use of transformations supports the inventive choices made. Assertions are rephrased and couched in way that makes them look like arguments when in fact they are mere manipulations of language. But the responsibility for arguments is not taken on by an individual. Rather, the Bible is presented as being an active presence in the history of the world by placing it in the agent position. The modal choices that are made in the text are strictly defensible, but they also allow a sympathetic reader to infer a great deal more than is asserted.

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[107] p. 21.

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The move from the probable to the true is essential to the persuasive purpose of this text. This move involves semantic manipulation, a positive position for the implied reader as well as inventive choices. From the argument being basically one that is couched in logical terms, these are discarded, by an exposition of the logical limits of logic, to allow a leap into faith.

Transformations

The use of stylistic choices and transformations in this text creates arguments where otherwise there might be none. The best example of this is at the end of the section "The World's Most Widely Distributed Book".[108] It actually contradicts itself and relies purely on strength of assertion to carry it.

> Statistics alone may not provide a compelling reason for you to examine the Bible. Nevertheless, the circulation and translation figures are impressive, testifying to the Bible's universal appeal. Surely the best-selling and most widely translated book in all human history is worthy of your consideration.

If we rephrase this we are presented with: "Statistics might not be reason for you to consider the Bible. Nevertheless, these figures are big, proving the Bible's appeal. Surely this is reason for you to consider the Bible". Embedded in this are a number of arguments and semantic exploits. The shift in modality accommodates the statements made as they become more certain. In the first sentence we have at best probability, "may"; the second is plain assertion "are" and the final assertion with an emphatic "Surely". The use of "nevertheless" usually signals to the reader a change of tack. Here, it signals nothing but a change of tune, and modality. "Statistics" are transformed into "impressive figures" but these terms refer to the same thing. The conclusion that we are asked to accept seems modest in relation to the premises; consider the Bible. Its modesty perhaps obscures the outrageous transformation in the second sentence.

In a way, this transformation is a kind of invention and may seem to belong to discussion of enthymemes and suppressed premises. But the lexical choices here make these

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[108] p. 6.

sentences into an argument when in fact there is no argument at all. Certainly the transformation is inventive, mimicking the language of statements following logically from one another, but there is no real argument apart from the assertion of commonplaces. The trappings of a particular genre, logical argumentation, are used in an attempt to pass the content off as logical.[109]

Agency

Lexical and syntactic choices invent and support arguments. Interpretation of the Bible as a topic of invention has already been discussed. How it is possible to maintain that there can be misinterpretations of the Bible at the same time as saying that the Bible does not need to be interpreted is possible because of stylistic choices, specifically transitivity choices. The Bible is positioned as agent and cast in different roles almost as a person might be;[110] scientist, linguist and so on. This is again exploited in the scientific argument. "Actually, it was the theologians' interpretation of the Bible - not the Bible itself - that put unreasonable constraints on science"[111] as though the Bible exists independently of any interpretation, as though it could be credited with intention "itself".[112] These transitivity choices are ideologically significant.[113] In this case, the Bible's agency ratifies and stands behind the position that the Jehovah's Witnesses take.

We see the agency of the Bible presented at the expense of human agency in the section about distribution of the Bible. Printing, distribution and translation of the Bible text are managed by unmentioned agents. This is done to promote the personification of the Bible

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[109] See Verschueren et al 1985, p. 58.

[110] In fact this is exactly what Dianetics and Scientology do with L. Ron Hubbard.

[111] p. 5.

[112] It is actually surprising that God is not promoted as Biblical author. Even in His absence, however, it is possible to see the Bible as being his agent or missive in the world. This perhaps explains in doctrinal terms the strategy of placing the Bible as an agent.

[113] Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: discourse and ideology in the press*, (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 71.

in so far as it is treated as an autonomous agent. An analogy made at the start of this section[114] pre-empts this move. "In some respects" we are told, "books are like people. They appear on the scene, may grow in popularity, and - except for a handful of classics - become old and die." The comparison is implicitly very specific. All people die; thus if books are exactly like people they will also all die. The longevity and prevalence of the Bible suggest that the Bible is immune to death; much like Jesus or God. The agency of the Bible is only briefly exploited here as it "crossed national boundaries and transcended racial and ethnic barriers".[115] There is also personification by association. In the section, "A Book that "Speaks" Living Languages" the personification is made explicit as the Bible has learnt to speak and therefore survived. The Bible is portrayed, despite human help, to have a life of its own. The certainty of this is not assumed at the outset, however.

Modality

Despite the bold assertions that are made in relation to the Bible and the people responsible for its continued existence, the pamphlet's argument begins in rather weak terms in terms of the modality of its propositions. The Bible is described as *"probably* the most influential collection of books in human history" (my emphasis). This assertion is easy to accept because it is so weak. "Probably" is not "certainly". The use of a bland quantifier, such as 'probably' or 'likely' is often transformed into certainty by the time the conclusion is reached, however. Thouless points out that this is made possible by the omission of "all".[116] If we say "frogs are green", the "all" is implied or understood, but the proposition is still defensible.

Modality is more apparent in argument structures, in the move between the probable and the true, between the general and the particular than it is lexically.

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[114] p. 6.

[115] As though it is a freedom fighter or an epidemic.

[116] p. 28.

Probable to true; general to particular

The move from the probable to the true in the second scientific section, "Does This Book Agree With Science" has already been discussed. What is probable is asserted to be true. The technique of equating the probable with the true often relies on closed questions, usually extreme, specific statements or tautologies; from which generalised conclusions are drawn. It appears to be a common tactic among religious movements. A radio show, "The White Horse Inn",[117] from an evangelical American Christian group, uses the same logic to devastating effect. They begin by asking if you consider that at least some crimes should go punished. Understood by this are heinous physical crimes against other humans punished by secular law. For punishment, one can also substitute penalty in this case. Now certainly we can all conceive of a crime which we think should have an accompanying penalty; crimes against children for example. So the answer to this question is certainly "Yes". But there is no room for qualification. There is no consideration of degree of crime or type of penalty; merely a "Yes". The speaker continues by asking if we can conceive of a single case where punishment is appropriate then why is it not appropriate in our own case? Of course the implications of punishment have been radically altered to mean not secular punishment but divine punishment. Because the only possible answer to the first question was "yes" the only possible answer to the second question is "yes". It would be hypocritical to answer otherwise. This is a good example of semantic manipulation interacting with argument structure. One wonders in the first place how a conclusion can be reached from a single premise. Further, the semantic shift involves a shift from the literal to the figurative. Secular earthly punishment is not the same as divine punishment but the terms are used as though they were equivalent. The crimes we conceive of in answering the first question are not the same as those we conceive of in the second instance. But again, they are treated as equal.

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[117] www.alliancenet.org/radio/whi/whi.html [accessed 24th April 1998]. The show was from a tape that the organisation sent out when I requested it through an internet form.

The move from the general to the particular in "A Book for All People" is managed smoothly.[118] From the Bible being a "book for all people" it becomes "a book for you".[119] This is also a move from the abstract to the personal. From being asked to consider the Bible generally one is asked to consider, that is study, a "reliable translation", in particular one produced by the Watchtower society. We see this already in the first section. "Perhaps after reading what is published herein, you will agree that – whether a person is religious or not – that Bible is, at the very least, a book to be read".[120] The switch between the personal "you" and the general "a person" evinces the strategy of moving from the general to the particular.

We can see the two main publications of the Jehovah's Witnesses as priming materials for the strategies used in their Bible study pamphlets. Two strategies are particularly apparent; the move from the general to the particular and (usually at the same time) the move from probability to certainty. This priming is in effect intertextuality at work.

Awake! is the first publication that one might be exposed to. As has been mentioned, it has a varied content, ranging from social problems to current events. In the edition examined here, the social problem is the focus of the issue. The first deals issue with youth suicide.[121] The problem is said to be caused by hopelessness and feelings of loneliness. The world is responsible for hopelessness; the Bible promises a "better world system".[122] All suicide attempts are apparently calls for help (as though they were not serious attempts) and the family is responsible for this.[123]

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[118] We see the transition between the general and particular in advertising too. See Eliza Kitis, "Ads – Part of Our Lives: Linguistic Awareness of Powerful Advertising", *Word and Image*, 13 (3) (1997), 304–313, p. 309.

[119] p. 30

[120] p. 3

[121] September 8, 1998.

[122] p. 10.

[123] Though one of the indications listed for suicide risk is membership of cults.

The move from general to particular is here a move from abstract to personal. "Poor parenting is tantamount to rejection of the child. As a result, your son or daughter may develop a negative self-image and poor social skills".[124] Assertions about the importance of family transform into a potential accusation.

This priming can be seen as establishing commonplaces; conventions and values that can later be exploited. The most common of these is the acceptability of the Bible in determining modern values of living. These commonplaces in effect create a possible world, one that the reader is happy to be associated with. This world is the utopia, the paradise on earth, that the Jehovah's Witnesses see as inevitable and imminent.

Semantic manipulation

The move from the general to the particular can also be seen as a form of semantic manipulation. What is generally (as opposed to universally) true is not necessarily specifically true; the particular case must be argued. Semantic manipulation is a particularly effective, though deceptive, argument strategy. We have already seen that the meaning of 'consideration' is central to the argument of this text. Shades of meaning of other words are also exploited, however, and made to seem stronger than they actually are. In the first section we are told that the Bible has been a most influential book. But the exact meaning of "influential" is not clear. Hitler was also "influential", but that does not mean that one should devote one's life to the emulation of his. In this case, of course, arguments proceed from the assumption that "influential" has a positive value component. This is confirmed by the claim that the Bible has influenced "some of the world's greatest art, literature and music". Again this is easy to accept as the "greatest art, literature and music" has not been specified and the use of "some" has the same effect as "probably" in the first assertion, that is, of weakening the statement to little more than a platitude.

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[124] p. 8.

If we were in doubt as to the value status of words in the opening passage such as "influence" these are resolved by the following contrasting paragraph in which we are told that "at the same time there has been scepticism about the Bible". If all the value connotations of the words previously used were under question, they are no longer. This juxtaposition clearly suggests that all the preceding value judgements were positive. Yet it is a safe juxtaposition to make. The construction "has been scepticism" could be read as meaning that there is no longer scepticism. The next statement refers to people "who have definite opinions about it [the Bible] although they have personally never read it". Because of its proximity, "these people" who have not read the Bible are linked directly with the scepticism which there "has been". The implication is that sceptics have never in fact read the Bible. In fact, they have "*personally* never read it" (my emphasis) as though someone else might be able to read it for them.[125]

Indeed there seems to be some misunderstanding, or at least idiosyncratic use, of the verb "read". First the curious construction "personally read" and then the final assertion of this section, "the Bible is, at the very least, a book to be read". The lack of any explicit deontic verb here makes the claim a very weak one indeed, as suggested by the preceding qualifier "at the very least". If taken literally, one might even argue that the claim is so weak that it is tautologous. One reads books, books are to be read in the same way that one eats chocolate, chocolate is to be eaten. Under normal circumstances one reads books, rather than sleeping in them. Of course, deontics are added later. Further, it is unlikely that one would understand "read" in this vacuous sense. One is more likely to imply a "should" than not. But this basic literal meaning makes the statement defensible and thus acceptable; even although other meanings of the statement are likely to be accepted.

This semantic manipulation is used to facilitate the move from the probable to the certain. We see this most obviously in the final section.

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[125] Of course the Bible can be read *to* someone.

The collective force of all the evidence presented here established clearly that the Bible is accurate and authentic. We have already considered how its practical counsel can help us to live meaningful and happy lives today. Since its answers about the present are satisfying, surely its answers about the past and its prophesies about the future are deserving careful consideration.[126]

From the professed aims that the Bible is worth considering we move to a conclusion that is much more than that. Thouless identifies this use of the same word "in different senses in different parts of the same argument" as the "most obvious piece of crooked thinking".[127] Finally, the person who should consider the Bible, should consider it in conjunction with the Jehovah's Witnesses study aids. The overt suggestion is that the Bible is worth further consideration. So having considered the Bible by reading the pamphlet, or perhaps even reading the Bible, one is told that this is not enough, even though this was the sole professed purpose of the booklet.

Implied reader

It is possible that the imperative to consider will be taken up, however. This is due in part to the appealing position that the implied reader is encouraged to occupy. The vagueness of some of the claims made about the Bible and its influence facilitate this. At the beginning of the text we are told that the Bible has "influenced some of the world's greatest art, literature and music".[128] Certainly, these sorts of assertions imply a "cultured" reader, one who is in fact familiar with great art, literature and music; but of course examples are not given. The implication, perhaps, is that if you have to ask, you don't know. Not illustrating these statements with examples also establishes (real or apparent) common ground. This begins to create a relationship between text and reader, one that is largely based on shared knowledge and opinions; commonplaces. Whether or not one has knowledge of great art, this argument works.

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[126] p. 30.

[127] Thouless, p. 88.

[128] p. 3.

I specified that these omissions begin to create a relationship between *text* and reader rather than *author* and reader. The voice of this text is an unidentified one. If one asks for authority of the voice it can only be grounded in content or in the institution from which it emanates. This re-inforces the text as being intellectual and rational rather than personally or affectively persuasive. This is further evinced in absence of human agents. We are told of the Bible that "it has been extolled for its literary style", that its effect on people's lives has been "profound" and that "Some have even risked death just to read it". The agents and experiencers of these supposed facts are curiously absent or unspecified; "some". This has two effects: firstly, it forestalls any great objections to the assertions as they are not specific enough to attack; secondly, it gives the impression that there is no end to the Bible's sphere of influence, "some people" easily being rendered by a sympathetic mind to 'everybody'.

CONCLUSION

The continual shift between the probable and the certain, between 'some' and 'all', is congruent with the main concern of the text. It is the balance between faith and proof which is at issue in "A Book for All People". It begins by trying to prove that one should consider the Bible but then admits that some truths are unprovable. The type of conversion that the new Jehovah's Witness undergoes also suggests that proof (or apparent proof) is essential. Thus attaining knowledge is essential to membership even though this knowledge is not always highly regarded by the outside world. Rogerson regards the Witnesses as living in an "intellectual 'twilight zone'" where in non-theological areas especially "ideas at best mirror popular misconception, at worst they are completely nonsensical".[129] Certainly some of the arguments in "A Book for All People" are far from convincing when subjected to any scrutiny.

Paradoxically, it seems that knowledge and faith are intimate. Russell did have this to say about the predictions for Armageddon, "We have never claimed that they [the time calculations] were *knowledge*, nor based upon indisputable evidence, facts, knowledge,

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our claim has always been that they are based on *faith...*".[130] Presumably this was after the non-fateful date.

Because knowledge, which is really doctrine, comes from the Watchtower Society, the Jehovah's Witness places faith in the Society before all else. "The Governing Body of the Organization of Jehovah's Witnesses claims divine right when it comes to legislating what is right or wrong in terms of the interpretation of Scripture, without the stricture of infallibility".[131] Here, the 'stricture of infallibility' means that the Governing Body can change its mind with no adverse effects. Botting's examination of the movement is based on a comparison with the social organisation depicted in Orwell's *1984*. It would be surprising if the theocratic movement bore no resemblance to Orwell's ultra fascist state. Botting particularly points out the way in which language is used to manipulate people. "The linguistic peculiarities of the Witnesses serve to define and support their world-view - their apprehended reality. When threatened by dissonant messages from the broader culture, they may retreat into their own intellectual world where the standard definitions and the rules of formal logic have no power".[132] The movement has its own vocabulary. This is documented in dictionaries which are freely available.[133] They encourage others to read it. The Jehovah's Witnesses make no secret of the fact that their world-view differs greatly from that generally held.

The movement stresses unity above all else.[134] It is thus not surprising that they hold such tight reins over doctrinal issues, especially when it is this knowledge (presented as discovered rather than revealed) which has brought the group about in the first place.

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[129] Rogerson, p. 116.

[130] Quoted in Rogerson, p. 29.

[131] Botting, p. 69.

[132] Botting, p. 89.

[133] See www.eccs.umich.edu/~lnewton/glossary [accessed 15th June 1998]

[134] Botting p. xxvii.

This pamphlet lacks defensible substantive arguments. It is only apparently logical and coherent because of argument structures, common themes and semantic manipulation. Premises are presented as bland and generally acceptable (because the claims they make are so weak and qualified) but these premises are strengthened in unforeseen ways by the time it comes to the conclusion. It is important to look not only at spurious argument structure, but how it is that these arguments work. The simplest reason is that they look like logical, structured arguments. If close scrutiny is not exercised (this is a pamphlet after all which is not even *trying* to convert readers) everything can sound quite reasonable. Hardly anything that could be identified as ostensibly religious is mentioned. But a wide range of subjects with which the normal reader is probably not familiar, let alone an expert, are used as vehicles for an argument which is cumulative rather than strictly linear.

The manipulation of grammar and semantics is also important to the final effect. The removal of agents, the introduction and then discarding of weakening terms such as "some" and "probably" make the arguments difficult to pin down and very difficult to object to. Any questions that are asked are closed and because of semantic manipulation only have one answer. The continual modification and strengthening of such terms as "influence" in the movement from premise to conclusion takes advantage of semantic context. Between the introduction and recapitulation of these terms, the context is changed so that a more specific interpretation of the term is required. It looks as though one is agreeing to something rather inoffensive. But the final effect is far more powerful.

I am not suggesting that every person who reads this pamphlet will embark on a Bible study course. But to do so would not be a difficult choice to make. Much work has to be done in introducing facts and information not included in the text to thoroughly discount many of the arguments made. In its own terms the text is coherent. But it is these terms which must be placed under investigation.

CHAPTER SIX - CHILDREN OF GOD

"What, me worry?"

Alfred E. Neuwman[1]

Science and religion have long been sparring partners. We have already seen that this is the case with respect to both Scientology and the Jehovah's Witnesses. In Christian movements, evolution and Creationism in particular often come head to head. This is not only an argument for theologians and members of congregations. The debate has also presented itself in the political and educational sphere in the question of curriculum design and ultimately, freedom of religion within institutional education. The debate is ongoing because of the incommensurability of many of the conventions of science and religion. The standards by which scientific truth and acceptability appear to be judged are not those of religious matters. This simply means that their rhetorical structures differ. In this chapter I will be examining a Children of God Text, "The Big Lie", which puts a case for Creationism by dismissing evolution and trying to negotiate these 'conventional' impasses. Because of the way in which Berg attributes the doctrine of evolution to Satan and Creationism to God, he need not worry that Christians will agree with his arguments.

BACKGROUND

The Children of God was founded in 1968 by David Berg, later called Moses or Mo or even 'dad'. Originally, Berg was merely an evangelical preacher, though it was not long before he proclaimed himself a prophet and the group stood apart from any traditional religion. After his death, his wife Maria took on the leadership of the church. It is not clear that the Family (as it has been called since 1978) is a world-rejecting movement in the millienalist way that the Children of God were. The Family is a group allegedly

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[1] David Berg also happens to be the name of a famous cartoonist on MAD magazine. Neuwman is the 'mascot' of the magazine.

distinct, though directly descended, from the Children of God, doctrinal and organisational changes appear to have been minimal. Some of the more controversial sexual practices, such as 'flirty fishing'[2], have been abandoned, however. I will begin with what is common to both the Children of God and the re-formed Family, moving on to outline some of the controversies surrounding the Children of God.

There have been some changes involved in the reformation of the movement into The Family, though this tends more to be through discarding practices than anything else. Like the Children of God, The Family is an Evangelical Christian movement living in small communes of sizes anywhere from four to thirty five voting members (over 16 years of age).[3] They believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible, the Trinity[4], and salvation through Christ's crucifixion.[5] "As Charismatic Christians they believe in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the gifts of the Spirit, including healing, prophecy and speaking in tongues".[6] They believe that we are living in the last days, that troubled times are upon us and that Christ will shortly return. Berg made specific predictions about earthquakes in the US and even organised the "Great Escape" with members moving to other countries.[7]

Barrett reports that the group has no overt quarrel with other denominations,[8] but the status of Berg as prophet coupled with some of their more infamous outreach practices suggests that other denominations may well have quarrels with them. The status of Berg

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[2] Flirty fishing (or FF-ing) was a form of outreach used by the Children of God. It usually involved young women using their sexuality to 'hook' new members. The press called them "Hookers for Jesus" while Berg called them "God's Whores". See Barrett p. 113.

[3] Barrett, p. 115.

[4] Religioustolerance.org states that there is no belief in the Trinity. www.Religoustolerance.org [accessed 6th June 1998].

[5] Barrett, p. 114.

[6] Barrett, p. 114.

[7] Religioustolerance.org

[8] p. 114.

as prophet, doctrines of free-love and contact with the spirit world[9] all suggest that the movement is hardly orthodox. They base their belief on the Bible, using Berg's writings as secondary texts. Which of these is accepted in the case of conflict is not clear.[10] The Family profess to minister "largely to the unchurched: individuals who cannot - or will not - be attracted to mainstream Christian denominations".[11] This is not surprising given the way in which the group departs from traditional Christian doctrine, by interpreting divine love as more *eros* than *agape*, for example.

The Family are a witnessing movement, distributing literature ('litnessing'), books and other material in return for donation. Because those not in the movement are considered servants of Satan ('systemites')[12] it is acceptable to tell lies about what donations are for. Its recruitment tactics of love-bombing are familiar because they are common to other well known groups such as the Unification Church (The Moonies). They are also renowned for being the first group to have specific and organised attacks launched upon it in the form of FREECOG.[13] This anti-cult group was formed by concerned parents of group members in San Diego in 1971 but now concerns itself with other movements as well as the Children of God/Family.

The differences between the Children of God and The Family include the latter playing down of *eros* and having a restructured administration. It was in 1978 that the Children of God (COG) movement was formally dissolved by Berg and a new movement formed, The Family.[14] The Family set out to be less structured than the Children of God in an

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[9] Religioustolerance.org

[10] Religioustolerance.org.

[11] Scott in Barrett, p. 112.

[12] Ronald Enroth, *Youth, Brainwashing and the Extremist Cults*, (Exeter: The Pater Noster Press, 1977), p. 40.

[13] When first formed, they were known as "The Parents' Committee to Free Our Sons and Daughters from the Children of God Organization". Enroth, p. 190.

[14] Barrett, p. 113.

effort to discourage authoritarian leadership.[15] At the same time, there is a central authority, 'World Services', to which household communities give 10% of their income.[16] This centralisation suggests a hierarchy of some kind which would tend to result in a certain homogeneity of the communities. It also suggests at least some of the authority structure which typifies 'cults'.[17]

The Children of God were controversial because of their attitudes to sex (within the communities as well). Sexual enjoyment was seen as a focus of life. They believed, for example, that Jesus had sexual relations with Mary and Martha.[18] Marriage, in the movement, simply meant two people having sexual relations. Initially, a member (a 'babe' for three months) was not allowed to 'date'. After this three month period, leadership and God would be consulted if a member wanted to start a relationship, a 'marriage'. Berg had at least two wives for a time, though because of the lack of conventional marriage ceremony in the case of his second wife, it is not clear whether this is polygamy[19] or adultery or simply non-monogamy.

1976 saw the introduction of the doctrine of flirty fishing, though it was discontinued in 1987 because of adverse public reactions and the sexual health of the community.[20] It involved young women of the movement using sex as a form of religious outreach based on Matthew 4:19, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men".[21] Because this flirting was to bring people to God, it was considered acceptable. Indeed, a Mo letter, "In Deceivers Yet True" states, "…the Lord allowed His people to deceive their enemies".[22]

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[15] Barrett, p. 113.

[16] Barrett, p. 116.

[17] Though Wallis uses 'sects' for these groups, the term that has been used in this thesis is 'cult'.

[18] Religioustolerance.org

[19] Religioustolerance.org

[20] Religioustolerance.org

[21] Religioustolerance.org

[22] Religioustolerance.org

Sexuality is seen as a gift from God and thus something which can be legitimately used to secure members. This practice is perhaps less disturbing than the cartoons in Children of God literature which depicts this and other aspects of the sexy religion.[23] One picture shows naked, voluptuous, long haired women sitting on large fish hooks being lowered into the deep, and another a naked woman nailed onto a cross, her wounds dripping with blood.[24]

These graphic images are not part of the present analysis. The text which I will be examining is one of a much larger collection of texts called the "Mo Letters". There are in excess of 2,500 of these letters.[25] They are sent out to all branches of the movement and were standard reading material for all members.[26] In this they serve to introduce members to Mo and also to give the group an individual corpus of readings. They thus provide a unique text for the movement and because of this a way for members from different communities to speak to each other. Reading of non-group materials is discouraged, so the Mo letters are recreational reading too. These letters are the way in which the particular beliefs of the movement are articulated and disseminated. The letters are also available to the general public, not only through litnessing but also over the internet.

Though I have chosen this text partly because of its use of emotion as persuasive, it is important to note that using emotion as a rhetorical technique cannot occur in the absence of other techniques, such as arguments from character. That emotion is consciously used in these texts is evinced by both the evocation and the enactment of emotion in the texts. The preponderance of exclamation marks is prima facie evidence for this! The topics with which the letters deal are often to do with emotion ("Hallelujah for Happiness", "The Elixir of Love", "Our Declaration of Love", "Be So Happy", "Look of Love") and it seems to be a general preoccupation of the movement and its texts.

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[23] Enroth, p. 43.

[24] I was lucky enough to see this literature briefly at the Catalyst collection in London.

[25] Religioustolerance.org

Memory

The purpose of this text is to persuade the reader that the world was created by God and did not 'simply' evolve. As such, there does not even *seem* to be a veiled attempt to recruit the reader into the movement. Indeed, the movement is not mentioned by name at all.[27] This text could be produced by any Christian movement with an interest in discussing the apparent conflicts between science and Scripture.[28] The particular strategies it uses, however, have implications for what would count as a coherent and convincing narrative were one persuaded by this text. If one is persuaded by the text, one's world-view would align with the movement, making recruitment into the movement a 'natural' next step. The textual strategies encode the world-view of the movement, its beliefs and what it means to be a member. This is the case whether the particular reader is a member or not. Though, as we will see, the major premises of the argument do require at least sympathy with Christianity.

Certainly as this document is produced by a particular group with members which it recruits from time to time, we can posit a post-perlocutionary effect. As ever, this effect will be forming a good opinion of the group because of the text (the initial perlocutionary effect), with this perhaps positively influencing a decision to join the group (the subsequent post-perlocutionary effect).

One might well argue that one finds all manner of texts agreeable though this does not lead one to joining that 'discourse community' in an active way. One may find a particular newspaper that expresses views one agrees with, but that does not entail joining the staff of the newspaper. One may, however, continue to buy the paper, or recommend

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[26] Enroth, p. 43.

[27] Of course, as this was found on the internet on the movement's homepage, authorship is known. See www.thefamily.org

[28] See http://www.carm.org/devolve.htm [accessed 10th October 2000] Appendix XVI.

it to others. But to compare a newspaper to a religious movement is not a fair analogy. As has been mentioned, it is important to consider something of the authoring 'discourse community' when looking for post-perlocutionary effects. It is necessary to do this because while all texts have a purpose of some kind, specific texts have specific kinds of purposes. Though they may work in similar ways, their ends may be very different. While advertisers and newspapers may persuade us that something is the case, even eventually to buy their publication regularly, they do not ask for large commitments of time or money.[29] The persuasion or influence that they exert will usually only extend to buying the product or newspaper. At that point, the persuasive text has done its job.

In the case of certain other groups, what is entailed by commitment is rather different. The polarisation that occurs so frequently in cult texts, for example, suggests the kind of action that should be taken. If one is not an active member of the group, one is the group's enemy; in the case of the Family, a 'systemite'. This is not compatible with approving of the texts that the group produces.[30] Though this text is not calling for a direct kind of commitment, the kind of 'discourse community' that produces the text may urge such a commitment nonetheless. Thus we will see in this text that if one does not believe in Creationism, one is a false Christian.

As with all publicly available texts from movements, this text has potentially two audiences: members and non-members. It is not clear whether there is any difference between the texts that are delivered to the members and to outsiders. In this situation, one can only assume that there is no difference. While there is no evidence for this, if there was a difference it is more likely to be in the total number of letters released to the public rather than changes in the texts individually. Yet some letters do express extreme points

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[29] Further, once the newspaper has been bought, the newspaper has 'done its work'. Newspapers tell their advertisers that sales does equal readership (just as the Jehovah's Witnesses assert).

[30] This is not the case with published material which argues for a consideration of Christianity generally. Material disseminated by student Christian movements is often of this kind. It is often produced by a non-denominational organisation.

of view which at least suggests that they have not been edited.[31] A hierarchy of access to texts is typical of cults, as has been noted with Scientology, for example.

Delivery

As has been noted, this text is one of a number of 'Mo letters'. These letters were initially distributed only to members of the movement. They provide a way of exposing members to the same doctrine and giving them a common point of contact, even if they have never personally met each other. The letters can be viewed as a kind of discourse canon; they provide the basis of affiliation in the 'discourse community'. Now, the letters are also available to the wider community through the internet. Discourse community contact with the outside world thus occurs. The most significant feature of the delivery of this text is the mimicking of oral speech conventions. This allows the reader to identify the voice of Mo with that of that text.

The Family is a world-rejecting movement. They consider the world to have departed from a divine plan and that when their movement has prevailed, or after a millenialist transformation (or both), order will be restored. Like the Unification Church (The Moonies), the Family recruit with the help of 'love-bombing' techniques. Love, and emotion generally, are the major forms of persuasion; the 'exit costs'[32] are deprivation of this love. This is not only deprivation of the love of the group but ultimately of the love of God as the leader is in direct contact with the Divine. This tends to make the movements authoritarian.[33] This is because contact with the divine is mediated by the leader. Because of this, we should expect to see clear oppositional lines drawn between an 'us' and a 'them' and also the use of emotion in persuading members of the beliefs of the group.

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[31] For example, "Sex Works". Appendix XVI.

[32] Exit costs are the losses a member experiences when leaving a movement. This deprivation is usually non-material, but can include the loss of possessions held for the individual by the group.

[33] Wallis 1984, p. 30.

The emotion, essential to the strategies of this text, is at least in part created by the use of features of spoken discourse. The letters, though written, mimic the conventions of speech.[34] This is achieved in three ways. Firstly, capitals are used to indicate emphasis, roughly translating vocal emphasis. For example in paragraph 3, "And if you know anything about evolution at all, you know it has NEVER been PROVEN to be either a truth or a fact, much less the foundation or the basis of other truths!". The first sentence or clause is also in capitals. For example in paragraph 4, "NOW WHEN I TALK ABOUT EVOLUTION, I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT OR MINIMISING THE TRUE SCIENCE OF TRUE BIOLOGY, which can be PROVEN--how plants grow & animals propagate & multiply etc.". This seems to be structural covering roughly the first line rather than emphatic, though why this is required given that each paragraph is numbered, is not at all clear. Because of the use of capitals for emphasis, the use of these other capitals is rather oppressive. Further, the 'first-line' capitals detract from the effect of the 'vocal emphasis' capitals.

The second way in which the written speech mimics the conventions of spoken speech is through the use of exclamation marks. These, like capitals, are used so much that their effect is lessened unless the text is read as verging on the hysterical. Evans writes, "Some writers grace the most mundane statements with exclamations, presumably in an effort to make them seem profound and important...what happens...is a kind of inflation: exclamation marks...become worthless if too many are printed."[35] They serve to identify the writing as idiosyncratically Berg's rather than anyone else's, but rather than injecting real variation into the text, Berg exclaims at almost every opportunity! Finally, some lexical choices are highly atypical for written speech. "Bunk", "nincompoop", "idiotic" are hardly typical choices for conventional written arguments about evolution in particular and science in general. These choices also contribute to the exploitation of emotion as they are highly value laden. At the same time, it is not only oral strategies and

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[34] Indeed, the Bible itself speaks. Further, it is the word of God. In paragraph 59 Berg writes, "God repeats it".

[35] Richard Evans, "Dots...dashes - and exclamation marks!" *Law Institute Journal*, 67 (6) (1993), 529.

conventions that are drawn on. Extensive use of quotation, the citing of written authority and the grounding of the argument ultimately in the written text of the Bible means that this text is firmly grounded in the conventions of literacy.

Arrangement

There are two main areas to explore in the area of arrangement. The first is the physical numbering of the paragraphs. This form appears to capitalise on associations with Biblical presentation. The second, and less obvious feature, is the exploitation of the claim/response structure. It is significant that evolution cannot be explicitly identified as a threat, though the way it is dealt with makes it clear that it is a danger to the movement's ideology. The discussion of the claim/response structure covers material that would usually be included in invention. But because of the way this structure organises the text, that there is an implicit rather than an explicit claim, it is dealt with here.

The paragraphs of this text are numbered, and yet the prose follows on from paragraph to paragraph in a relatively fluid way. These are not points in the sense that they stand alone or could be re-organised into just any other order.

It would seem that the numbers are used as a citation reference point for members. In this way they take on a role similar to chapter and verse numbers in the Bible. Thus they have a function within the 'discourse community' as to how the text is put to use but no immediate function in the way the text is understood. If the numbering is used in this way, it also serves by implication to place the letters on the same level as the Bible. Further, in discourse community talk, Mo's words can be cited with precision and authority with reference to this system of numbering. Indeed, the letters themselves have citation numbers; "The Big Lie" is referenced with GP 736 4/77.

This text takes issue with the concept of evolution. The general arrangement of this piece is a 'claim/denial' structure rather than a 'problem/solution' pattern.[36] Berg asserts that

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[36] Michael Hoey, "Signalling in Discourse: a functional analysis of a common discourse pattern in written and spoken English" in Coulthard (1994), 26-35. However, "[u]nder the

evolution is false, a denial of the implicit claim being that it is true. That the claim is not explicit does not invalidate the claim/denial pattern.

> One important point about this list of possibilities is that the Claim element is as optional as the rest. It no more defines the pattern than any other element, in marked contrast to the Sequence patterns we have been considering elsewhere.[37]

In this case, what might be seen as arrangement is very closely tied to invention. Arrangement will always be dictated to some degree by the arguments given. Here, how the text is arranged in terms of the claim/denial structure is only discernible if one considers the particular arguments which are made. Hoey writes, "The pattern can as readily start at Denial. The explanation for this lies in the Matching nature of the pattern; Matching relations are neither tied to a particular order nor is there need for a trigger".[38]

It is worth examining how exactly the implicit claim/denial structure is realised. It is primarily done in the forms of explicit or implicit questions along particular thematic lines. The thematic lines determine the 'loading' of the questions. For Hoey, the use of questions is pertinent as an argument strategy: looking at their use is an analytic tool. He writes that "each structural function can be isolated by means of the projection of the discourse into question-answer dialogue...".[39] Claims are questions; denials are their corresponding answers. Essentially the questions in this text are concerned with which story one should believe; that of evolution or that of the Bible. As Christians, the choice is a clear one. We will see in invention that an us/them opposition furthers Berg's cause.

The basic issue in the text is, naturally, the conflict between Scripture and evolution. Any conflict between the two is presented as being due to claims made by evolution; claims that the Bible denies (rather than raising). Claims are posed as questions. "BUT WHAT ABOUT THESE RADIO-ACTIVE DATING METHODS THAT THEY USE to try to

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right circumstances Claim-Denial may associate with Problem-Solution patterns also."
Michael Hoey, *Textual Interaction: An Introduction to Written Discourse Analysis*,
(London: Routledge, 2001), p. 183.

[37] Hoey, 2001, p. 180.

[38] Hoey, 2001, p. 181.

prove the Earth & Mankind are so many million or billion years old, contrary to the Bible?" (pgh. 77). Carbon 14 dating is taken to task here. Carbon dating relies on the assumption that levels of this isotope have been more or less constant throughout history (pgh. 78). Berg argues that this cannot possibly be the case as the world was once covered in a thick water vapour which would have affected the amount of Carbon 14 in the atmosphere. Berg *knows* that this water vapour was there because of the Noah flood. To rain for 40 days and 40 nights, there must have been such a layer, he argues. Further "THE FACT THAT THESE "WATERS ABOVE THE FIRMAMENT" DID SHIELD THE EARTH FROM THESE C-14 FORMING COSMIC RAYS IS MADE APPARENT IN THE SCRIPTURE" because afterwards, life expectancy shortened (pgh. 80). The Bible thus stands in for scientific proof.

The problems of mutations, absent transitional forms (pghs. 14-17), sterile hybrids, missing fossils, and missing links are all apparently thrown up by evolutionary theory. All these problems are solved through an appeal to Creationism. Evolution, though it has been demoted to mere story, is still judged by 'literal', that is scientific, standards.

The Bible can compete on the same ground as evolutionary narrative because evolution's status as science is systemically questioned; it is merely a story. But it isn't a good story; it leaves too many questions in the reader's mind. At paragraph 66 Berg asks "IF PALEONTOLOGY SAYS THE WORLD IS SIX BILLION YEARS OLD, & THE BIBLE SAYS THE WORLD IS ONLY SIX THOUSAND YEARS OLD, WHICH ARE YOU GOING TO BELIEVE?". This question can be asked because it has been established that evolution is a religion, as we will see. It is a question that can be answered only in favour of the Bible because evolution is a false religion. This same question is rephrased in paragraph 84, "either you believe what God's Book says, or you're going to take what some liar says!" The argument is already decided by the premises that you either believe a true God or a liar. The 'vocal emphasis' capitals help to further the argument.

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[39] Hoey 1994, p. 44.

The narrative competition is thus not a real competition as it requires the veracity of the very text it seeks to prove. Berg's argument, when stripped down, is that evolution can't possibly be right because it is in conflict with a literal interpretation of Genesis.

In the first part of this text we have been told that evolution is a false religion. Berg writes, "I mean, it takes more FAITH to believe this incredible, fictitious, fairy tale of Man's origins than it does to accept God's simple, beautiful, inspired explanation in His Word" (pgh. 57). Nonetheless, Berg finds it necessary to continue to examine evolution in order that it can be a question to his answer. An answer to a question is strategically stronger than an assertion. This strategy gives the appearance of disposing of the opposition's arguments.

> 60. AND GOD FORMED MAN OUT OF WHAT? -- Previous forms? Apes? Beasts? Birds? "And the Lord God formed Man of the DUST of the ground & breathed into his nostrils the BREATH OF LIFE; & Man became a LIVING SOUL" -- Gen. 2:7

So even though it may take faith to believe in Creation, at least it is a faith that is rewarded with a clear picture of how man came about.

Invention

As has been mentioned, *pathos* is important in this text. The evocation of emotion, however, is largely negative, focussing on a negative representation of the devil in contradistinction to the goodness of God and Mo. The text needs Mo's anger to keep it going because it is essentially about the competition of narratives. To understand how narrative contributes to this argument, the significance and implications of narrative understanding will be reviewed. The strategies that are used to allow the competition between evolution and Creationism include a distinction between science and religion, between true and false science, the reduction of complex issues to simple ones and the use of (often false) bifurcations.

The kind of emotion evoked in this piece is primarily negative. To provide emotional force, the devil is credited with coming up with evolutionary theory. It is the "BIG LIE" which must be *believed* rather than *known*. It cannot be proven. It is an act of faith that is

anti-God and therefore false. But the Devil is credited with some ingenuity. He "WAS SMART WITH EVOLUTION", (pgh. 2) "THAT WAS HIS GREATEST LIE & most diabolically clever piece of teaching" (pgh. 89). But if this flawed evolution is the best trick he can come up with, he is not much of a power; those who are taken in, not very clever. The divine *creates* while the devil *forges frauds*. In most of the text, the devil's work is done for him by scientists who subscribe to evolutionary theory. This evil action is certainly cause for fear and anger especially because of the extent to which it has infiltrated mainstream society. Mo also uses speech conventions to deride evolution with interjections such as "Ha!"(pgh. 35).

Teaching of evolutionary theory is not just evil (as evolution is authored by the devil) but worse because it is a "compulsory religion in today's hallowed halls of higher learning" (pgh. 5). It has become a "sacred cow" (pgh. 32). Presumably the success and academy acceptance of evolution, of the devil's teaching, is supposed to incite feelings of outrage and injustice in Christians. It is also certainly grounds for the rejection of the world, a rejection that the group encourages. Berg also suggests that scientists are wilfully deceiving the rest of the world when it comes to evolutionary theory.[40]

The devil's hold on and presence in these institutions and man's belief in evolution is also evidence that we are living in the last days. Humans have departed from divine order. This realisation gives rise to a complex of emotion. Presumably, this millenialist world-rejecting movement considers living in the last days as vindication of their belief system. Added to this is the positive anticipatory joy at meeting the divine. At the same

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[40] See paragraph 32.

32. YOU WILL NOTICE THAT THE EVOLUTIONISTS HAVE CHOSEN SOME VERY LONG & DIFFICULT-TO-PRONOUNCE NAMES for their "missing links," the foundation stones, or bones, on which their faith is built. Doing this sort of thing envelops it all with a shroud of MYSTERY & even puts a little SUPERSTITIOUS AWE into the minds of the average laymen. Like many other religious authorities, the high priests of the "sacred cow" of false-science have done this to give credence to their faith & to gain reverence for themselves!

time, the degeneration of the world in the last days is at least a transitory victory for the devil, and thus objectionable to the group.

The reverence which the members have for Mo further infuses this piece with emotion. Evolution, especially because Mo attributes authorship of it to the devil, is in direct competition with the movement and with the authorship of the Bible by God (with whom Berg has a direct personal relationship in the terms of the group). Thus Berg sets himself against the devil; he fights on behalf of the true divine.

As stated, the argument needs emotion to keep it going because this is a battle of narratives. The emotion (or emotional impetus, rather) is supplied by the way in which the battle is constructed. There is a dual movement of topoi; of evolution from positive to negative regard and consequent elevation of the Bible. This relationship exploits the general associations of upward directions with good and downward with bad. Evolution is characterised as bad as it moves down towards disorder and death, it is detrimental and its prevalence signals that we are in the last days. Evolution is associated with things being on a downhill slide. Because of the opposition set up between evolution and Creation narratives, the Bible can only profit from any arguments against evolution. Thus, as evolution moves down (on a scale of good to bad, as it were), Creationism moves up. It is a dynamic, value laden, interdependent relationship.

We have already discussed the importance of narrative in understanding persuasive texts and rhetoric more generally. The re-visiting of narrative is important because Berg's text uses narrative as a particular strategy. Unlike the other texts examined, he is explicit about the fact that certain discourses, evolution in particular, are narratives. Berg, however, does not use 'narrative' in the sense that will be discussed presently, though we can understand his strategies with this particular understanding of narrative. Berg never refers to 'narratives' but to 'stories'. Both narratives and stories are composed, at least to some degree, along conventionalised lines. Berg, however, is interested in the distinction between fact and fiction. He asserts that evolution is a mere fictional story; while the Bible is fact at least (or indeed) because it is a better story. The way he distinguishes

between factual and fictional stories, though, relies on notions of coherence, explanatory power and aesthetics.[41]

Fisher writes about the importance of narrative in human communication and knowledge.

> Whatever form of communication a person may use, the result will always be an interpretation of some aspect of the world that is historically and culturally grounded and shaped by a fallible human being. There is, in other words, no form of human communication that presents uncontested truths, including this one. Thus, when I use the term narration, I have in mind not the specific individuated forms of genre that we call narrative, but a conceptual frame that would account for the "stories" we tell each other - whether such "stories" are in the form of argumentation, narration, exposition, or esthetic writings and performance.[42]

Fisher wants to conceptualise all forms of knowledge representation as narratives, as "stories". In this particular case, it is a very productive view point. All narratives have certain conventions. What counts as a significant event in a narrative or story, what constitutes beginning, middle and end, and what constitutes a narrative 'fact', are all dictated by conventions particular to a narrative type.

Fisher has developed a "narrative paradigm...a philosophical representation designed to formalize the structure of a component of experience and to direct understanding and inquiry into the nature and functions of the experience... of human communication".[43] His paradigm has five presuppositions which I will deal with in turn.

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[41] Blommaert's work on asylum seekers' narratives notes that their accounts are subjected to the same standards. The appropriateness of this is questioned. See Jan Blommaert, "Analzying African Asylum Seekers' Stories: Scratching the Surface", http://africana.rug.ac.be/texts/research-publications/publictionas_on-line/asylum_seekers.htm, 2000. "The rules of evidence [in evaluating asylum seekers' narratives] stress textual consistency, linearity, logic, rationality and factuality; they require considerable attention to details; they rely on written language as the basic and most lasting format of declaring 'truth'; in short, they are highly culture-specific and reflect local ideologies of language, literacy and communication". p. 2.

[42] Walter R. Fisher, "Narration, Reason, and Community" in Herndl Brown (1996), 199-217 at p. 205.

[43] Fisher, p. 206.

1. Humans are essentially storytellers.

This initial presupposition is unfortunate in that it appears to assert the very thing the presuppositions may be expected to prove. We can accept, I think, that humans produce texts, variously and for various reasons. We write letters, reports, histories and novels, we create explanations, self-portraits, and analyses. In the present context, the narratives of science and of religion are at stake. Conceiving of science as a narrative, as one kind of representation of the world as opposed to *the* representation of the world, is a way of thinking that has become more prevalent. What counts as a scientific narrative is highly constrained and delineated in detail. We can begin to see science not so much as a singular view of the world (in that it is unilaterally true) but a singular *way* of viewing the world. This, of course, is not how Berg views it, even though it is not clear exactly what he does understand as science. He takes an understanding of science for granted.

Religious texts are generally accepted as stories or myths, at least in so far as they are not expected to be scientifically rigorous.[44] We do not expect our deities to be scientific. We expect religion to appeal to the experiential aspects of being human, to address problems such as pain and evil. If God as author of the Bible is a storyteller; it is not so surprising that man, made in his own image, is too.

2. The definitive modes of human decision and action are good reasons, which vary in form among situations, genre, and media of communication [and]

3. The production and use of good reasons are ruled by matters of history, culture, and character along with the specific constraints of time and place of presentation.

What constitutes a good reason, and thus a good justification for action, alters depending on the situation (and the type of situation; genre). When we give accounts of our lives to each other, we have an awareness of what constitutes a good reason and are thus more

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[44] Of course, conceiving of all representation as narrative threatens the stability of this delineation between story/myth and fact.

likely to offer these as explanations. These reasons are thus tied up in the conventions that shape particular stories.

In scientific discourse, for example, a good reason for positing a particular model of the atom is not that the scientist had a dream or has a hunch. On the other hand, a composer can justifiably choose a musical theme or a musical title for such reasons. In the context of an evangelical Christian movement like the Family, God is a personality that is dynamic, powerful and thoroughly good. Because of this, as soon as evolution is attributed to the devil, the argument is essentially over. The rest of this Mo letter provides members buttressing material to counter their own doubts and those of non-members they may be trying to recruit. Indeed, he writes, "THIS MIGHT AT LEAST CLARIFY THE ISSUES IN YOUR OWN MINDS & GIVE YOU A LITTLE MORE EFFECTIVE AMMUNITION to fire back at them [those who believe in evolution] in defense of the truth" (pgh. 31). According to Fisher, such notions of 'truth' as singular and final are problematic.

4. Rationality is grounded in the nature of the persons as narrative beings, in their inherent awareness of narrative coherence - whether or not a story hangs together - and narrative fidelity - whether or not the stories they experience ring true to the stories they know or believe to be true.

For Fisher, coherence has three components; structural or argumentative coherence, material coherence and charactero-logical coherence.[45] Regardless of how coherence is theorised, what is at stake is that what counts as coherence in any given text is dependent on the particular kind of narrative. For example, in the Bible, the agency of God ensures coherence (at least for some groups like the Jehovah's Witnesses), and thus what appear to be textual difficulties are the mysterious workings of the divine that the human mind could not possibly understand. In a scientific explanation, on the other hand, the same mystery is a liability and 'proof' that the explanation is not right.

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[45] Fisher, p. 207.

Fisher writes, "The ultimate authority for the belief in the narrative nature of human beings, however, is experiential".[46] Further, it is our experience of telling and being told stories that prepares us to identify a 'good' story. In so far as someone is able to judge the reliability of a story in various genres, that person can be said to be literate in the conventions of that genre. Our experience tells us what is a likely story, thus what is likely to be a true story. This is the case not only because things happen to us but also because of the stories we hear. It is perhaps because of this that anecdote is an acceptable form of argument, at least this is implicit in Fisher's appeal to experience for authority.

5. The world as we live it is a series of stories that must be chosen among in order for us to live life in a process of continual re-creation.

We choose the narratives we tell based on the situations we find ourselves in. If we are late to meet a friend, we probably give a different explanation of the lateness than if we had been late to a job interview. These narratives are how we represent ourselves to the world and the world to ourselves and each other. The choices we make about the stories we tell are highly conventionalised.

We can read this Mo letter as a complex of narratives. The narrative structures that adhere to science and religion are assumed and, because they are never foregrounded as either assumptions or conventions, are never questioned. The specific evolution narrative is foregrounded, however. The narrative camps to which it could belong are stable in the text; even though Berg demotes evolution from science to fairy tale, from fact to false religious text.

For Berg, the description 'scientific' in relation to evolution comes to mean a story that is coherent in its various details and therefore true.[47] Thus while evolution is not 'scientific' because it does not have this coherence, the Creation story is (given a belief in the divine

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[46] p. 205.

[47]"Scientific" is never defined. It is, however, only used in relation to 'true science'. See paragraph 6. If it is used about evolution, it is placed under question in quotation marks. See paragraph 40.

author). At the same time, exactly what 'true science' means is left aside, apart from the claim that it can be proven. How something proves itself scientifically is not made clear; one must assume that this is obvious. Berg's piece asserts that the Creation narrative is simply not as problematic or as complicated as evolution. Creation also solves the problems of evolution. If evolution is unacceptable because it can't be proven, Creation is acceptable for exactly the same reason. But because of its divine author, the coherence due to this and because it is a good story, it must be true. Conventions of religious texts do not call for proof, but for faith. This is apparently taken for granted.

We can read Berg's piece as articulating a number of strategies in a more or less linear way, although they are not executed according to a linear order. There is another level of transformation such that the various strategies are developed in parallel and thus present at most stages of the argument. Berg **first** portrays evolution as a false religion and as no more than a fairy tale. In support of this portrayal, Berg **secondly** distinguishes evolution from true science. He does this explicitly.[48] **Thirdly**, he maintains the authority of 'true science' by using it in the attack on evolution. He rescues scientific structures such as the use of data and proof and the problem/solution structure. **Fourthly**, Berg argues that Creation proves that evolution is false. Because of these strategies, evolution is problematised along scientific and narrative lines. By this I mean that evolution is not a science, nor, according to Berg, even a good story. Thus, the Creation story and evolution compete as narratives. But because evolution is not a science, the Bible is never directly in competition with science. In fact, the Creation story solves some of the problems raised by evolution. In essence, the text is an assertion about the truth of the Bible.

The **first** part of the strategy is to discredit evolution, to portray it as a fairy tale and a false religion. This strategy runs throughout the piece and is the main argument of the piece. It is a complex strategy which asserts that evolution is no more than a story, one authored by the devil. Because of its author, it is a false religion, one that requires an

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[48] See paragraph 3. "THIS DOCTRINE OF DELUSION HAS BECOME THE GENERAL THEME OF MODERN SO-CALLED SCIENCE, which is therefore no longer TRUE science, but pure, imaginary, evolutionary BUNK!"

unbelief in God. Because Berg asserts that evolution is a false religion, there must be a real religion, a true 'story' that explains how humans came to be on earth. From the beginning an oppositional us/them structure is set up between evolution and Creation. This oppositional relationship extends to those who believe in evolution ('them') and those who believe in the Creation story ('us').

Evolution is a story cooked up by the devil. It is the devil's work, a false religion because he is the anti-divine, which is brought into the world by various deluded individuals. The assertion that the devil authored evolution occurs at the beginning and the end of the piece.[49] At these same points, Hitler is referred to. In the beginning, Hitler is quoted as saying that if one tells a lie, one should make it a big one. This is also the strategy with which the devil is credited in his authorship of evolution. At the end of the piece, Hitler's eugenics is seen as informed by an understanding of evolutionary theory. Hitler is therefore an explicit incarnation of the devil while scientists are merely devil worshippers. Asserting that the devil is the author of evolution turns what is usually a debate between science and religion into a strictly religious affair. This has two distinct advantages. The first has to do with the incommensurability of science and religion generally. Because the way in which they construct narratives differs at a fundamental level, it is difficult for either side to win an argument. Religious narratives typically rely on faith and an intuitive understanding of truth. Scientific narratives rely on rational and empirical proof. Saying that evolution is the work of the devil levels the playing field. We are only dealing with religious discourse. The second advantage is, naturally, that the conclusion is presupposed by this levelling. The devil is by definition evil, God is by definition good. Although we go through the motions of battle,[50] the victor is predetermined by the definition of terms.

Hitler's association with evolution is made explicit at the end, whereas to begin with he was just associated with lie conspiracies (pgh. 1). "HITLER OBVIOUSLY WAS A

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[49] See paragraphs 2 and 104.

[50] Much like Milton in *Paradise Lost*.

FIRM BELIEVER IN EVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY" (pgh. 94). This is a way of getting the evils of evolution into everyday affairs; it is applied evolution. More importantly, its application is evil. Evolution is cited as being used in support of "MASS MURDERS & POLITICAL PURGES" (pgh. 94). Further, evolution "is largely responsible for MANY of the WOES & the ILLS that the World is suffering today, including selfishness of economy, confusion of government, horrible mishandling of crimes & all the rest of it -- one grand, great, awful mess, due to what?" (pgh. 95). Evolution is thus an agent of evil. This is possible in part because of the nondescript agents of evolution ("they cooked up EVOLUTION" (pgh. 92)).[51]

The characterisation of evolution as a mere story is also played out throughout the narrative. The basis for this characterisation is that evolution has never been proven (pghs. 3, 5, 65, 89). It is "pure, imaginary bunk" (pgh. 3), a "wild fictitious fairy tale" (pgh. 4), a "BIG, RIDICULOUS, IDIOTIC LIE, FABRICATED FRAMEWORK OF FICTION CALLED EVOLUTION" (pgh. 25). The emphasis here is dual. Firstly, this can't be (a) true (story) because it hasn't been proven. Secondly, it can't be a good story because even if it were true it wouldn't be beneficial. This second emphasis relies on the assumption that evolution makes things better, that it is teleologically oriented towards the good.

To claim that evolution is not beneficial, it is made synonymous with, reduced to, mutation, whether by radiation or scientific intervention. The beneficial assumption of evolution is somehow attributed to Darwin in pg. 5 even in his denial of it. "'NOR can be PROVE that the SUPPOSED changes are BENEFICIAL, which is the GROUNDWORK of the theory'" (pgh. 5). Mutation is "HARMFUL" (pgh. 22) and has never produced a new species (pgh. 21). It results in "pitiful victims" (pgh. 23), "deformities, damage and death" (pgh. 23) and "cruelly deformed babies" (pgh. 23). Further, mutation is read as being accidental; there is no agent controlling it. The situation is compared with an

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[51] One can read evolution as a kind of solution; a 'solution' to the 'problem' of evil. The solution is that the devil and his agents cause evil. This compels a belief in a divine power that can combat this evil.

accidental change in the mechanism of a watch, "it is very unlikely that a watch will be improved by the accident" (pgh. 22).

For Berg's argument to work, he needs to affirm the existence of the conventions of science while still being able to vilify evolution. This is done in the **second** part of the strategy by distinguishing evolution from real science.[52] As evolution is generally considered scientific, if Berg wants to salvage any credibility for science at all, he has to distinguish between evolution and other science. If he does not do this, all science is a mere story and thus evolution can be considered no better or worse than all science. Berg wants to maintain the conventions of science as he uses these to damn evolution.

Berg segments evolution off from real science. "TRUE science" is distinguished from evolution's "pure, imaginary bunk" (pgh. 3). True science can be "proven" (pgh. 4) unlike evolution. This division is asserted again at paragraph 65 in the specific case of geology. "NOW WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT TRUE SCIENCE, the science of TRUE GEOLOGY, which is not guesswork but actual facts...That is the literal true science of geology" (pgh. 65). In the same way that evolution is set off against true religion, it is also set off against science. Evolution has a foot in both camps, it is associated with both science and narrative, but it is also in a no man's land as it fails to measure up to the conventions of either.

In the **third** part of the strategy, Berg uses 'true' science as an argument against evolution. Berg never questions that scientific truths and facts exist. He needs to maintain that they do exist in order to assert that they are absent in the case of evolutionary theory. Berg uses the language of science to attack evolution, indeed, he cites other scientific texts to do this.[53] For example, in paragraph 10 he cites the second law of thermodynamics, entropy, to prove that processes tend to disorder left to themselves, not to the creation of more order or more species. The particular wording of this also paves

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[52] It has already been noted that the Jehovah's Witnesses distinguish useful from useless science. Naturally, for Mo evolution is useless science. See Botting, p. 114.

[53] See paragraphs 12, 13, 19, 22, 24, 28, 35, 39, 47, 51.

the way for a divine involvement. "ALL processes (left to themselves) go toward a greater state of DISORDER" (pgh. 10). The parenthetical "left to themselves" compels divine intervention. Further, the decline of mankind because of the last days is supported by this scientific law and thus given more than doctrinal credence.[54] It is worth noting that Berg's representation of science's laws, in denying evolution, is connected with the overall claim/denial structure. Hoey comments, "not only is text a site of interaction between author and reader, but it may be where the writer records earlier interactions, or fictionally represents interactions, involving one or more participants other than [187] the writer and the reader themselves".[55] Further, Berg representing scientific voices as participants in his text is indicative of the 'authoritative' power he has over both his text and his movement.

The **fourth** and final part of the strategy is to introduce the Bible Creation story as a solution to the problems that evolution presents, both in scientific and narrative terms. In Berg's account, the Bible is at times a literal representation of history, at times metaphorical.[56] The Bible never has to be more than a story. It is never claimed that the Bible is scientific, but it is suggested in the way the Creation story solves some of the problems 'created' by evolutionary theory and offers competing proof.[57] Because of the oppositional structure (you either believe evolution or the Bible), the ground that evolution loses (its status as a science) is automatically awarded to the Creation narrative (without it claiming to be anything but a divine explanation).

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[54] See paragraph 52, "Man today has devolved & degenerated--& that's why you can see some people running around TODAY looking like missing links, because of degeneration & sin & devolution!"

[55] Hoey, 2001, p. 186-7.

[56] See paragraphs 67 and following.

We have already seen this dual approach to the Bible in the Jehovah's Witnesses "A Book for All People".

[57] For example, proving the fallibility of carbon dating because of Noah's flood in paragraphs 77 -83. This argument is circular in so far as it presupposes the veracity of the claim for Creationism (as it presupposes the truth of the Bible) when this is what is at stake.

The segmentation of evolution from real science means that the Bible is never directly challenged by the objective, logical standards of 'real science'. Because of this, it ascends into the place left by evolution. There is a remarkable amount of common ground between evolution and Creation in Berg's account. I will examine only the question of instantaneous creation of life and the mystery of this. "AT THE CORE OF EVOLUTIONARY THEORY IS THE BIG ASSUMPTION THAT LIFE SOMEHOW AROSE FROM NON-LIFE" (pgh. 10) which seems to be exactly the same assumption at the core of Creationism. The only difference is the presence of God. Berg continues, "by pure CHANCE the right chemicals happened to be in the right place, in the right arrangement, at the right time, under the right conditions, & by some mysterious, unknown, electro-chemical process -- POOF -- life created ITSELF!" (pgh. 10). Again, this implies the importance of God's agency in the Creation process. The next clause is also important, as: "This assumption is completely contrary to a universally accepted & proven law of science,..." (pgh. 10).

Let us compare this with the Creation version. "'SO GOD CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE, IN THE IMAGE OF GOD CREATED HE HIM; MALE AND FEMALE CREATED HE THEM" -- Gen 1:27' (pgh. 59) "'And the Lord God formed Man of DUST of the ground, & breathed into his nostrils the BREATH OF LIFE; & Man became a LIVING SOUL." -- Gen 2:7'. Apparently this isn't mysterious at all. God just shaped some dust up and breathed into it and man was created. We could say the same things about this account as Berg does about evolution. Creationism, just like evolution, assumes that somehow life arose from non-life; of course that 'somehow' is through God. Mystery is strictly a divine attribute; a narrative does not suffer because it is mysterious if God is involved. Mystery in science, on the other hand, is not a good thing. The above account of evolution, of the mystery of life springing from non-life, is problematic because it is not fully explained along scientific lines. If the divine is involved, this is explanation enough.

The instantaneous development of life in the evolutionary account is seen as impossible, even though it requires only the simplest life form to result. Life of any kind spontaneously appearing can only be considered accidental and therefore highly unlikely.

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(Whether or not it is probable statistically after a certain length of time and in such a large universe is not discussed). This emphasis on the impossibility of accidents further necessitates the presence of God as prime mover. "Professor of Biology EDWIN CONKLIN has said: "The probability of life originating from accident is comparable to the probability of the unabridged dictionary resulting from an explosion in a printing shop!" (pgh. 11). In the case of creationism, however, nothing is impossible because of the involvement of God.

> 70. "WELL." THEY SAY. "COULDN'T THOSE SIX DAYS OF CREATION IN GENESIS CHAPTER ONE HAVE BEEN EONS, AGES?" I don't know what in the World is the matter with these people! If they believe in God at all, why do they seem to think God had to have so much time to make the World? My God is big enough to create the whole UNIVERSE! You think He couldn't have done it in six 24-hour days? He could have done it in SIX MINUTES!

The important assumption here is "If [you] believe in God at all...". Yet, for this 'discourse community', it should hardly be an 'if' at all. The emphasis that Berg puts on the power of and belief in God, seeing evolution as the devil's work, the very fact that this piece has to be written at all, suggests that belief in God is not all it should be even in The Family. It suggests that members should be ashamed of any doubts that they do have.

The instantaneous creation of the world by God is supported by contemporary science; even though evolution, which begins with instantaneous creation, is impossible.

> 71. AS DOCTOR ALBERT EINSTEIN SAID IN ONE OF HIS LAST STATEMENTS, which is not very widely publicised by our dear "truth" seeking evolutionists. "Now that we know these principles of NUCLEAR FISSION & FUSION, we NOW realise that the Earth as we know it could have come into existence in a Moment of time." --BOOM! -- Just like that!

One would have thought, though, that God didn't need fission or fusion. Indeed, this statement actually supports non-interventionist accounts of the creation of the world (such as the Big Bang theory or indeed evolution). If Berg's argument succeeds at all, it is not because he has proved that Creation is right. Rather, it is because evolution is a bad story, in that it is an incoherent and undesirable reality, and Creation a good one.

In this piece, as in L. Ron Hubbard's Story and the Jehovah's Witnesses pamphlet, a certain understanding of the way in which science is conducted is assumed and affirmed. Science is portrayed as being logical, objective and rational. Science is seen as a way of representing the world that differs from other discourses. It is not a story, myth or narrative but a fact. These assumptions rely on a Platonic view of the world and rationalist/empiricist ontologies. As has been discussed, work in the philosophy of science questions this view of science and instead emphasises the importance of persuasion and negotiation in the very construction of facts.

The convention, or perhaps article of faith, that allows Berg to characterise science as a religion is the idea that science is in fact logical and rational in a way that ordinary language and scholarship is not. Brown writes:

> Contrary to many of its advocates, science is not just objective knowledge gleaned from logic and observation. No synthesis [5] could ever be achieved, no models postulated, no paradigms established or advanced, if science relied wholly upon logic and observation. Model-building requires inductive leaps that exploit the power of metaphor. Such models are themselves metaphors of their domains of application, guiding the choice of experiments and the interpretation of data in a realm of thought that is outside the literal world.[58]

Science cannot claim to be anything other than a narrative, a particular way of representing the world. This, however, can only be seen as a shortcoming if it was supposed to be something else. In segmenting off "true science", Berg maintains that science, true science, is objective. In doing so, evolution as 'fairy tale', 'story' or even 'narrative' is pejorative rather than merely descriptive.

Characterising evolution as a fairy tale, a false religion, is actually quite a difficult tactic. The way in which science is treated in the argument is crucial for this strategy. Generally (as has been stated) evolution is considered scientific. As has also been mentioned, Berg contrasts evolution with real science, science that can be proven. The reiterative

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[58] Carl G. Herndl and Stuart C Brown, "Rhetorical Criticism and the Environment", in Herndl and Brown (1996), 3-20, pp. 5-6.

argument, from various angles, that evolution cannot be proven suggests the difficulty of the position Berg has placed evolution in.

If evolution is no more than a fairy tale, a false religion, it has no need to prove itself. The criticism that evolution cannot be proven only hits its mark if evolution is still characterised as a science. Implicit in this piece is the claim that evolutionary theory has been falsely presented as the kind of science that Berg calls 'true science', that it is indeed merely masquerading as science. It is, however, a logically difficult position to maintain (that evolution is masquerading as science) when its "founding fathers" are "confessing" that evolution is only a belief.

Style

The stylistic choices continue the work done in invention. Lexical choices, especially in so far as words are emotionally loaded, are used to facilitate the distinction between true and false science, and between the false religion of evolution and the real religion of Christianity. "Scientistic" rhetoric, discussed below, is also used to make arguments appear to be arguments, when they may not be. A modality of certainty in relation to Mo's views further bolsters the position of Creationism. This assault on evolution continues by making it appear agentless and by representing God as the prime mover in the coming about of life. As we have seen, the distinction between 'us' and 'them' is also important to this text. The destination is made with the help of pronouns and through the relationship that Mo attempts to build with the audience.

We see the importance of lexical choices most clearly in the distinction made between true and false science, that is, between real science and evolution. The details of evolution become "blah, blah, blah!" (pgh. 2), it is "imaginary, evolutionary BUNK!" (pgh. 3), a "wild fictitious FAIRY TALE" (pgh. 4). Evolution is associated with diminutives. Charles Darwin becomes "Charlie" (pgh. 8). Evolution is seen as a false idol, compared to the golden calf of Ezekiel 32:4. Here it is the implications of evolution that are criticised, the hypothesised ancestors of man. Again, it is not primates that are foregrounded in this diminution, but "the little tadpole & little bit of jelly, little wriggle-tail & the four footed creatures & creeping things" (pgh. 9). Palaeontology is also directly

associated with evolution and thus maligned. Palaeontologists and evolutionists work together, "lying is their BUSINESS" (pgh. 63). Palaeontologists are geologists gone astray practising "pure fabrication and guesswork" (pgh. 65) This suggests a professional, demonic conspiracy. In a sense, Berg is forcing science to defend, even though it has no voice in this text, a more extreme position than that which it actually puts forth.[59]

True science, on the other hand, can be "PROVEN" (pgh. 4). "TRUE GEOLOGY" is "what [we] really know about the rocks and what [we] really know about the earth" (pgh. 65) even though what we 'really' do know is never examined. The validity of true science is taken for granted. We see the differences between the false and the true science in the use of the word "chemicals". For evolution, "LIFE is ...a mere physical arrangement of chemicals!" (pgh. 11) whereas the cell (the domain of true science) is "a complex, self-operating chemical factory" (pgh. 12). The former use capitalises on the negative associations of chemicals (as additives in food for example); the latter on chemicals as the tools of science and the ingredients of life.

The conventional scientific problem/solution structure is also maintained. This is done specifically so that Creation can be a solution to the problems of evolution. More than just a solution, God's plan is "simple, beautiful, inspired" (pgh. 57) and thus triumphs on aesthetic grounds as well. Further, evolution is a solution to the "problem of evil", as it is "largely responsible" for evil in the world (pgh. 95).

That Berg sees evolution as a false religion has already been examined in invention. How this is achieved is partly to do with lexical choices, in short, the language of religion is used to talk about evolution. It is a "doctrine of delusion" (pgh. 3), "It has to be BELIEVED, therefore it's a FAITH, therefore it's a RELIGION!" (pgh. 5). More than this, it is a "compulsory religion" a "false faith" with "high priests" (pgh. 5). The advocates of evolution are thus portrayed as clergy of a false faith. Darwin is the "high priest & founding father" (pgh. 5), Huxley is his "ARDENT APOSTLE & DEDICATED DISCIPLE (pgh. 6). The Darwinian centennial is seen as a religious service, with

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[59] See Thouless, p. 39.

Huxley's grandson giving a "sermon" to his "congregation" (pgh. 8). The founding fathers *confess* that it is only a belief, as opposed to truth (pgh. 5). Their admission of the uncertainty of their science is transformed with religious language into a kind of recantation. They "admitted" (pgh. 12) they were wrong, as though forced to do so. It is a "RELIGION OF UNBELIEF IN GOD" (pgh. 7) and thus heretical. Further, this is the religion of the devil. It is "hellish" (pgh. 23), "fiendish" (pgh. 29), authored by the devil (pgh. 88) specifically to undermine belief in God. Thus it is not a neutral myth, but one with a specific evil purpose. Further it is morally corrupt and unclean. Berg writes,

> ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT USUALLY LIKE TO SOIL OUR FINGERS OR POLLUTE OUR MIND WITH THE DIRTY LIES OF THE DIRTY LIARS... (pgh. 30)

Certainly, the characterisation of evolution as a false religion means that a true religion has to have God in it. The opposition set up between the false religion of evolution and real religion means that evolution's competitor, the Creation story, is right by definition. According to this piece, one cannot be a true Christian and also believe in evolution. Further, the only options are 'with us' or 'against us'. "Now either you believe that, either you believe what God's book says, or you're going to take what some liar says!" (pgh. 84).

These lexical choices need not be as significant as they are. Terms like 'confess' and 'believe' are often used in the absence of any talk about religion. But because of the assertion that evolution is a false faith, the religious connotations of these terms are foregrounded. The point is driven home by particularly religious terminology like 'congregation' and 'disciple'. Naturally, in the case of evolution, the negative aspects of these terms, unquestioning acceptance of doctrine, are emphasised. For the right side, for those on the side of God, this vocabulary is not used, though there is an explicit appeal for "faith".[60] The faith in Creation is less arduous, however, as "it takes more FAITH to

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[60] See paragraph 105 for example, "STAND UP FOR THE TRUTH & FIGHT FOR YOUR FAITH".

believe this incredible, fictitious, fairy tale of Man's origins [i.e. evolution] than it does to accept God's simple, beautiful, inspired explanation in His Word!" (pgh. 57).

The mounting of arguments is facilitated by the use of logical language. Harré makes a distinction between "scientific rhetoric" which is "the terminology and the general form of the discourse is the way it is because of certain features of the activities of the community of scientists" and "scientistic rhetoric" which uses the forms of scientific rhetoric without the corresponding scientific activities.[61] Using scientistic rhetoric makes claims to "a place in a moral order, claims which by no means have been established beyond reasonable doubt".[62] In paragraph 5, Mo writes, "THERE IS NO PROOF FOR EVOLUTION! It has to be BELIEVED, therefore it's a FAITH, therefore it's a RELIGION!". Just because something has to be believed does not mean that it is a religion, at least not as we would normally think of it. The use of the logical connective "therefore" allows the assertion to progress and seem logical, indeed inevitable.

The use of narratives, the battle lines that are drawn between the devil and God, between believers and non-believers is compelling. It works on the imagination. Indeed, appeals are made to the imagination Berg asks, "CAN YOU IMAGINE A DICTIONARY, A CHEMICAL FACTORY, OR NEW YORK CITY COMING INTO EXISTENCE BY ITSELF -- poof - without ANY assistance from an intelligent designer, planner or creator" (pgh. 13). The answer, obviously, is no. But can we "imagine" how God created the world out of nothing in six days? Probably not. By appealing to the imagination in matters of human matter, dictionaries, factories and cities, Berg draws on human experience. This argument is not followed through from the divine side, however. This is because creation of the world, and God, is something that is exactly beyond human experience.

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[61] Rom Harré, "Situational Rhetoric and Self-Representation" in Forgas (1985), 175-188 at p. 180.

[62] Harré 1985, at p. 181.

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Berg also uses "never", an adverb of (extreme) degree. This expresses a modality of certainty. We see this modality in assertions about the impossibility of evolution. Note that this is not implausibility, but impossibility. The theory is dismissed out of hand; there is no possibility of redemptive proof.

> WE NEVER HEARD YET & THEY NEVER PROVED YET THAT ANY DOG EVER BECAME A CAT OR A CAT A DOG!...THEY CAN'T POSSIBLY GET OUT OF THAT KIND. They may vary WITHIN their kind or specie [sic], but they'll never change into another! It's IMPOSSIBLE! (pgh. 16) [63]

One of the recurring lexical themes, which serves to give the text both coherence and persuasive force, is the use of "big". Evolution is the "big lie"; it is underpinned by "big assumptions" (pghs. 10 and 82). That there are big assumptions underlying the big lie makes sense. This lexical coherence provides firm foundation for the superlatives that have been examined. Given that the lie is "big" and that it was authored by the devil, one wonders if there is not some implicit redemption for readers who formerly believed evolution. To say that the fraud is so large and evil and authored by the devil himself provides some reason for prior deception. To be deceived by the devil because of a lack of knowledge is bad, but it is understandable as long as one recants.

But even given this attack with both diminutives and negative superlatives, the most damning aspect of evolution is that it is agentless. As with the Jehovah's Witnesses, the transitivity choices here support the position being taken.[64] The promulgation of evolution is certainly motivated by specific human individuals and ultimately the devil, but the process itself is only that, a process. It is "blind, unguided CHANCE" (pgh. 21). This devolves into a specifically moral argument. As there is no agent for evolution, there is no creator and "if there's no PLANNER then there's no PLAN! If there's no RULER then there are no RULES! If there's no JUDGE then there's no JUDGEMENT! If there's no GOD, then there's no RIGHT OR WRONG!" (pgh. 93). This notion is re-asserted in

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[63] See also paragraph 21: "NO! NONE OF THE MANY THOUSANDS OF SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS WITH MUTATIONS HAVE EVER PRODUCED A NEW "KIND" OR SPECIES OF ANIMAL OR PLANT -- NEVER!"

[64] Fowler 1996, p. 71.

the Conclusion. "GOD IS THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN GIVE MEANING TO THE UNIVERSE" (pgh. 102). This in turn explains the moral depravities of the last days. Further, the notion that only God can give meaning relies again on narrative conventions of making sense and generating meaning. Yet, the argument is ultimately completely circular. "AND DO YOU KNOW WHAT GOD'S GREATEST CREDENTIALS ARE, THE GENUINE PROOF OF HIS AUTHORITY? -- HIS CREATION!!" (pgh. 90). It too is an act of faith. But it is a justified act of faith because it is faith in God and not in the devil.

The exploitation of an us/them opposition has already been discussed in invention. Stylistic choices support and further this device. In the same way that evolution and Creation are the only choices (in this text at least) in understanding how life came about, one either believes the Bible or not; one is with the truth or against it. Thus, "if you don't like the TRUTH, you've only got one alternative & that's a LIE!" (pgh. 99). "If you can't believe EVERY word of it, then you can't believe ANY of it" (pgh. 86). Those who don't believe in Creation are "systemites".[65] They are "deceived & compromising weak-faithed Christians" (pgh. 68). Presumably it is the weak-faithed Christians' fault that they are deceived. Further value judgements are made by pointing out that the 'up' position is faith in the Bible and the 'down' position faith in evolution. One can either bring one's faith "UP to the level of the BIBLE" or "drag God's Word DOWN to the damnable level of Man's foolish wisdom & vain theories" (pgh. 67).[66]

There is a value judgement attached to aligning oneself with Mo and the movement too. Just as L. Ron Hubbard created a particular relationship with the audience, there is evidence of a similar strategy at work in Berg's text. It is not as prevalent as in "The Story", however. The opposition between the false science of evolution and the true story of Creation is one way of facilitation this relationship. But the use of pronouns is the source of two kinds of solidarity. Berg often uses "we" when one might expect him to use

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[65] This is a particular form of abuse within the movement.
[66] See generally Lakoff and Johnson, 1980.

"I".[67] This has three possible motivations. The first is that he wishes to include the reader in the statements that he is making. The second is that he is referring to unknown supporters. The third is that he is speaking of himself, though using a plural form. There is only one piece of direct evidence for this last view. In paragraph 30 he writes,

> 30. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT USUALLY LIKE TO SOIL OUR FINGERS OR POLLUTE OUR MIND WITH THE DIRTY LIES OF THE DIRTY LIARS, it might be helpful to some of you if we at least balance the scales with the truth while pointing out a few of the ridiculous boners & fallacies of the theory of "the ascent of Man," which is currently taught as Gospel truth & historical fact by most of today's so-called "educators".

The "our mind" of the second line may be a reference to Berg's own mind or to a collective consciousness of the group. While the effort to balance the scales can be seen as a co-operative project, one that "we" do, it is also for the benefit of "you" rather than "us". Thus, while Berg allows consensus and co-operation in his own project through the use of "we" and "our" he also makes a distinction between himself (or the authoring "we") and those who do not know the complete truth, "you". The use of "we" signals both shared authority, to pronounce on matters of evolution and Creation, and solidarity, that "we" all hold the same opinions.[68]

The position of the reader is two-fold. Indeed, the persuasive intention seems to be that the reader choose the appropriate position; that which joins in with Berg's "we". To do otherwise is to be associated with the devil and evil. This, of course, presupposes that one accepts the divisions that Berg sets up between evolution and Creationism, between false and real faith. That this acceptance will occur is far from certain or predictable.

CONCLUSION

The strategy that Berg uses in this piece is a risky one because it is subject to logical deconstruction. It is circular, it merely makes assertions and then elaborates on them to

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[67] See paragraphs 16, 31, 55, 99 and 104.

[68] See Rojo, p. 247.

create a convincing rhetorical text. What it sets out to prove is implicit in the claims that underlie the controversy. Certainly Berg attempts to use science to dismiss evolution, citing other scientific principles in its dismissal. We see the same strategy in The Christian Apologetics and Research Ministry (CARM), "The Odds are Against Evolution".[69] Here, though, the argument is not complicated by the specific introduction of the Bible. This text relies on statistical improbabilities, presenting the reader with very large numbers. They conclude,

> ...evolutionists maintain that the spontaneous formation of life on the earth is a fact. How can they believe that? It seems to me they have less evidence to go on than we Christians do in believing in Jesus.[70]

But the evidence that we have for believing in Jesus is not made explicit. The strategies here are pretty much the same, however, though not as elaborated as in "The Big Lie". There is an appeal to a real science, statistics, in prosecution of the false science of evolution. The final sentence, just quoted, also suggests that evolution is a false religion, something that is believed. This text too relies on the impossibility of humans conceptualising large numbers. "The odds of a single cell possessing non-harmful mutations of five specific (functionally related) genes is the product of their separate probabilities. In other words, the probability is 1 in 10^8 x 10^8 x 10^8 x 10^8 x 10^8, or 1 in 10^{40}." Yet the ability to conceive of and accept Creation is not seen as problematic.

The rhetorical choices that texts make signal characteristics of the 'discourse community' which produces them. Texts produce and re-produce these communities. The risks that Berg takes in this text, without exposing them as risks, gestures towards the peripheral status of the group. The oppositions that Berg sets up suggests that the group itself is at least ideologically belligerent, regardless of the assertion that it has no quarrels with other groups. One can discern a great deal about discourse communities from the texts which they produce and the way in which they deliver them. Most important are the discrepancies between what is said and what is more likely to be the case.

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[69] See www.carm.org/evolution/evodds.htm. Appendix XVI.

[70] p. 3.

Generally the texts that have been analysed so far attempt to reduce the perceived risk of joining the particular movement. This is part of the recruitment process, as will be discussed in the following chapter. It is not only cults that feel that perceived risk should be minimised, however. Recruitment into any movement or world-view is a decision that involves psychological and or behavioural change. Part of successful recruitment is the comfort of the recruit in undergoing change. We will also see in following chapters why cults are particularly interested in minimising risk perception.

CHAPTER SEVEN - IS CULT LANGUAGE DISTINCTIVE?

"It's what you don't see that sells you"

Donald D. Hook[1]

In considering whether cults have a distinctive way of recruiting their members in terms of the way they use language, two things need to be done. The first is to ascertain whether the cult discourses so far examined have anything in common in their use of persuasive language and also to determine whether this is distinctive to cults. In this chapter I will show that while there are some discourse features common to the texts so far examined, these features are by no means exclusive to cult discourse. Indeed, we need only look to the cult discourse context, which will be defined shortly, to find exactly the same features. The interactions of discourse within the cult context can be understood as a kind of language contact. I will conclude by examining the hypothesis that persuasive language flouts Grice's co-operative principle exactly for persuasive purposes.

While cults are certainly discourse communities (as discussed above), this concept does not seem to go far enough in explaining the position of cults in Western society. To do this fully it seems necessary to talk about a discourse context rather than just discourse communities. It is impossible to be completely impartial about ideological discourses, especially when the discourses involved come into conflict with the dominant ideology. It is important to try and ascertain whether there is anything distinctive about the cult discourse and that which motivates its strategies. It seems that it is necessary to expand our context of enquiry to do this. In order to do this I have developed the notion of a discourse context which incorporates Swales' notion of a 'discourse community' but focuses on the notion that discourse communities interact with each other. Discourse is given in response to discourse. For example, the cult discourse context includes, but is

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[1] Donald D. Hook, "Spitzer and Key Revisited: the artfulness of advertising", *Language and Style*, 19 (20) (1986), 184–195, p. 190.

not limited to, the discourses produced by cults, anti-cult movements, counter cult movements, academics working in the area and so on. To properly understand a 'discourse community', its position in a wider discourse context needs to be taken into account. In this chapter, I will be doing this by comparing features of anti-cult texts to the cult texts already analysed. In terms of recruiting materials, cult groups pay no explicit attention to the efforts of anti-cult movements. However, strategies such as disclaimers and claim/denial structures indicate that these anti-cult arguments are being borne in mind by cults. Anti-cult movements, on the other hand, rely on a very specific understanding of what a cult is. Indeed, it is this understanding that they create and disseminate through these discourse practices; it is their discourse activity and their defining feature.

The value of thinking about a cult discourse context, rather than just particular cult discourse communities, lies in seeing the differences and similarities between treatment of discourse topics. After considering a discourse context in relation to its persuasive strategies, the next step is to look outside the discourse context, to other contexts, to ascertain whether characteristic practices are distinctive. This will be done briefly in the next chapter. At the moment it is important to bear in mind that although cults and anti-cult groups are part of the same discourse context, there is a polarisation here. Anti-cult groups flow with the currents of the dominant ideology; cults work against them.

The texts so far examined exhibit a number of features. Though there have only been a small number of texts subjected to detailed analysis, I will now attempt to draw some general conclusions about the features of cult texts. While there will be some variation between the three, some of this may well be explained by Wallis' tripartite division of cults into world-affirming, world-accommodating and world-rejecting. The kind of variation that this division accounts for generally occurs at the content level. Scientology offers ways in which to improve one's standing in the world, for example, by promising that members will be better students, workers and partners. This is in line with their world-affirming character. The Jehovah's Witnesses, being a world accommodating movement, offer advice about how to live a good life in the world as it is, despite the world's many failings from their point of view. At the same time, some of the persuasive

strategies are the same. The salient question here is whether these strategies are particular to cults, to the cult discourse context or to persuasive texts generally.

To typify cult language, we should look at all aspects of the text, the linguistic features as well as topical choices. In the interests of continuity, I propose to do this under the rubric of the five rhetorical canons used so far. At the same time I will briefly compare cult texts with texts from counter and anti cult groups and from the Bible to see if they exhibit the same features.

Natural Semantic Metalanguage

In addition to rhetorical canons which have been articulated, Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) will also be used to frame the recruiting script proposed in this chapter and to articulate the semantics of 'cult' in the following chapter. The role of NSM is one of articulation rather than of interpretation. With NSM, the interpretation must come first; the primitives are (merely) used to articulate that meaning clearly. It is in this sense a metalanguage, though one carved out of natural language. Certainly there are philosophical underpinnings of the theory, but they should not impinge on the interpretative process in a sense that would be damaging. Indeed, it should remove prejudice and bias if only by making it clear.

As will become clear, NSM shares many of the philosophical underpinnings already mentioned in the discussion of rhetoric. It does not, however, prescribe what sort of texts should be interpreted, or which features should be sought out. I think this is an advantage. Certainly we all have bias; I hope to make mine clear in the framing of my hypothesis. But a metalanguage need not (and I think indeed should not) in any way dictate these aims. The metalanguage, because of functional constraints, may show the aims as invalid or weak; but this should only happen in the working out of the analysis; not prior to it.

At the same time there is one extremely important difference between Wierzbicka's approach to meaning and the rhetorical tradition. Rhetoric purports that there are no solid foundations, none that are non-negotiable in the social sphere. Wierzbicka's concept of universals is slightly different. It asserts that the semantic primitives are both basic and

universal. Thus, for semantic analysis, they provide a solid foundation for talking about meaning. At the same time, the primitives are social in so far as they are linguistic. But there is no negotiation of their status as universals; rather, it is a question for continuing empirical investigation. As has already been mentioned, however, they can only explicate and perhaps encourage analysis. They cannot by themselves provide a clear view of the world. The notion of the semantic invariant[2] shows how this is the case. Wierzbicka writes, "words do have meanings, and ...these meanings can be articulated".[3] Further, "It is the purpose of a definition to capture the invariable aspects of a word's use, that is, its semantic invariant".[4]

To understand the concept of the semantic invariant let us take an example of a pertinent primitive. Cults, as we have seen, associate themselves with the 'good'. "Good" is a semantic primitive in Wierzbicka's system.[5] But 'good' *seems* to mean different things in collocation with different words. A 'good knife' does not have the same attributes as a 'good fork'. But the 'good' is constant. While NSM states that the primitives cannot be more simply defined, as they are *primitive*, in the case of cutlery, we know that a good knife is one that cuts well, or butters bread well, while a good fork is well suited to moving food from plate to mouth.

There are three principles which underlie Wierzbicka's NSM which are relevant to the following explication of 'cult'. The first derives from the work of C. S. Peirce. It is "a sign cannot be reduced or analysed into any combination of things which are not themselves signs".[6] This is "incompatible with reference-based or denotation based developments in 'formal semantics' and any attempts to account for meaning in terms of

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[2] See Anna Wierzbicka, *Semantics: Primes and Universals,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 24.

[3] p. 24.

[4] p. 240.

[5] See Wierzbicka 1996, p. 51 ff.

[6] Cliff Goddard, "NSM Semantic Theory and Semantic Universals", in C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka (1994), 7-29, p. 7.

neurophysiological facts".[7] This means that in describing the meaning of words, more words must be used.

The second is that "any complex meaning can be decomposed into a combination of discrete other meanings, without circularity and without residue".[8] This stands in opposition to theories such as prototype analysis which insist that human thinking and meaning is 'fuzzy'.[9]

The second principle is relevant to this dissertation in so far as a single **meaning** is 'decomposed' into 'a combination of discrete other **meanings**'. Thus, we should not expect an analysis of a concept to result in the decomposition of a complex meaning into another single meaning. It might be necessary to unravel complex meanings into a collection of simpler ones.

The final principle is that there are semantic primitives which have a basic syntax "whereby they combine to form 'simple propositions'".[10] Semantic primitives have two defining characteristics. They are the most basic words in a language; they cannot be decomposed into simpler terms. Wierzbicka's primitives are also universal; that is that a word or morpheme which simply expresses the meaning of the primitive is found in every language. This, of course, is a matter for empirical investigation. Wierzbicka tests potential primitives by trying to decompose them into simpler forms. If this is not possible, the candidate is set aside as a primitive. The search for and use of primitives is a systematic endeavour in so far as candidates undergo empirical testing. Its overall aim is also logical. If we accept that signs can only be reduced to signs, but still want to discuss meaning, it makes sense for our discussion to be in the simplest terms we can find. Rather than create a linguistic/mathematical metalanguage which may only succeed in alienating

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[7] Goddard, p. 7.

[8] Goddard, p. 8.

[9] Goddard, p. 8.

[10] Goddard, p. 8.

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us even more from the terms of our discussion, it makes sense to take advantage of the simple terms we all use and understand immediately.

The derivation of universal syntax (as opposed to basic syntax) also has an empirical basis. If a certain combination of primitives is not available in all languages, it is not allowed in NSM. Thus in English we can say, 'I feel something about this', a statement which is acceptable in so far as it is composed of primitives, but the syntax 'feel about' is not universal and therefore not available in NSM.

NSM provides a *tertium comparationis*, a common measure.[11] The primitives free us from "ethnocentrism".[12] Wierzbicka writes,

> What is new in the present theory is the assumption that an effective metalanguage for the description and comparison of meanings can be found in the common core of natural language, and that it can be, so to speak, carved out of them. Incorporating this assumption, the NSM theory combines the philosophical and logical tradition in the study of meaning with a typological approach to the study of language, and with broadly based empirical cross-linguistic investigations.[13]

A further advantage of NSM is that the primitives can "be understood without further explanation"[14] once one has become comfortable with them and with the notion of NSM scripts. While Wierzbicka is primarily interested in cross-linguistic comparison, NSM has also been used to explicate English terms.[15] Certainly cults can be considered to have a different language from 'mainstream' society, but these differences do not impact at the level of semantic primitives.

Naturally, there have been some critiques of Wierzbicka's theories. Freidrich, for example, argues that Wierzbicka conflates language and culture, "in the sense of claiming

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[11] Wierzbicka 1996, p. 22.

[12] Wierzbicka 1996, p. 22.

[13] Wierzbicka 1996, p. 23.

[14] Wierzbicka 1996, p. 23.

[15] See Anna Wierzbicka, *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

that something is true for the latter of these sets [culture and psychology] because it is true of the former [language]".[16] He writes this in relation to a particular example of variant names in Russian for those with whom one is intimate. He asks, "Are we to suppose that the Russian male, with a dozen ways of addressing his Catherine (Katenka etc.) feels and exhibits vastly more shades of emotion, affect and sensitivity than does his American counterpart when making love, building a family, or talking about movies with his one-name Mary?".[17] Perhaps not. But neither does Wierzbicka claim this. The absence of lexemes does not mean that the American, following Freidrich's example, does not experience these nuances, merely that there is not a ready made vocabulary for them. Whether this proves, or indeed is supposed to prove, that "Russian interpersonal emotions and languages are more nuanced than those of American English" is perhaps a separate question. Indeed, it would seem that the proliferation of intimate names suggests exactly that the language is more nuanced, at least in that particular field. Whether the culture is more sensitive to these issues depends rather on whether one accepts the thesis that important concepts are given corresponding weight in the lexicon.

Connor-Linton also has some reservations about the NSM project. His main objection is that the method behind the construction of scripts is not clear.[18] This is a salient criticism and one that is difficult to answer. Wierzbicka maintains that any formulations are open to amendment and criticism, but this does not make clear how one accepts or rejects amendments, and indeed how the initial formulation was arrived at. It seems that there is always a gap of this kind involved in interpretative work; were there not there would be no reason to embark on it at all. Even semantics is, at least in part, a rhetorical discipline. But this does not answer the question.

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[16] Paul Freidrich, Review "Anna Wierzbicka, *Semantics, culture and cognition: Universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations*", *Language in Society*, 24 (1) (1995), 111-113, p. 113.

[17] Freidrich, p. 113.

[18] Jeff Connor-Linton, Review "Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction", *American Anthropologist*, 95 (1993), 210-211, p. 210.

If there is an answer in this particular case it seems to be bound up in the metalanguage itself. To decompose texts or meanings into NSM is to attempt to explicate, with a very limited lexicon, what a certain text or statement means. Meaning has always to be meaning to someone and in this case it will always be the producer of an explication regardless of any input received from informants. I suggest, though I cannot prove, that the very act of working with this limited metalanguage forces a clarity and precision of thought that may not otherwise be present.

In all interpretative attempts, interpretation is first presupposed and then explicated. Regardless of the range and rigour of analytical tools available, they can't *do* the analysis. They are a way of articulating interpretations. We can find these explications more or less convincing in the same way that we can be more or less convinced by a particular text.

The explications that NSM provides, and indeed the primitives themselves, are subject to constant scrutiny. As yet undiscovered linguistic evidence may well come to light which questions the inclusion of some terms and encourages the consideration of others. It is empirical work. But it is based on description of languages which people speak and, as a result, which change. As will be clear from the foregoing discussion about rhetoric and analysis at the textual level, examination of the semantics of single lexical items is only a part of the approach.

Even though there is a difference in analytical perspective between the word and text level there are some commonalities in certain approaches. The primitives are bound up with human experience in very specific and fundamental ways. Indeed, to survey a list of them,[19] we see terms describing rudimentary human life, physical, emotional and cognitive aspects. Cognitive linguistics is also bound up with human experience, though not in such a lexically specific way.

Similarly, Werth comments on his own Cognitive Discourse Grammar which "essentially requires ... for language to be viewed as *a phenomenon intimately bound up with human*

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[19] See Appendix XXI.

experience. This is the fundamental principle of Cognitive linguistics" but it takes its "basic data to be **discourses** rather than **sentences** [or indeed lexemes], and it takes these to reflect certain **cognitive** rather than **abstract** systems".[20] At this point it is not appropriate to dwell on detailed similarities. It is sufficient to point out general trends which are common. What is interesting, however, is that these similarities are present in two very different areas of analysis; at the semantic and lexical level as well as at the discourse and text level.[21]

MEMORY

In this section, I will examine some of the general strategies used by the cult texts examined for persuasive purposes. The perlocutionary effect is a way of situating and understanding subsequent discourse practices. The meaning of memory in the analysis has already been discussed. This aspect of the analysis identifies what it is that the audience remembers, what the perlocutionary effect is. At this point I would like to re-iterate my position on the post-perlocutionary effect. The essential difference between the perlocutionary effect and the post-perlocutionary effect is the difference between persuading that and persuading to respectively. Theorising this difference will help us to understand how apparently drastic commitments can be made by members of cult movements.

Memory is the perlocutionary effect on the reader. Following Gu, I understand the perlocutionary effect as necessarily involving both author and reader. While the concept of intention is problematic generally, as has been discussed, intention can be contingently attributed to the author on the basis of textual information. Thus intention is part of a strategy rather than a theory.[22] While all these groups are attempting to persuade people to join their groups, which is what groups very often do, the way in which this is done reveals something about the nature of the group.

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[20] 1999, p. 51.

[21] See Werth 1999 on fractals and chaos theory, pp. 336 ff.

What is constant in terms of memory in these texts is that they attempt to persuade the text's receiver to join the movement. Persuading the receiver to join the movement involves a persuasion to accept the world-view of the movement. This is not surprising given that these are recruiting texts. For Scientology this is the notion that science properly understood is a solution to problems of the mind. For the Jehovah's Witnesses, the world is one which is imperfect and requires members to follow Jehovah to restore the world to its proper state. This is not a strategy exclusive to cult texts, however. Persuasive texts often seek to effect a change in the way the world is viewed, from seeing reality from the point of view of a particular political position to accepting that a certain brand of make-up really does make one more beautiful. It may seem extreme to suggest that an advertisement for face powder or foundation changes one's world-view. I am not suggesting that assertions about make-up completely comprise one's world-view, merely that they contribute to it. It seems to be the case that the world-view of a cult does encompass many if not all aspects of a world-view. Indeed, this is the general anti-cult view and leads to charges of brainwashing. Indeed, some cults have routines for everything from how to sleep and cook to how to conduct relationships.[23] Nonetheless, if there is a difference between the world-view of the cult and that encouraged by advertising, it seems to me a difference of *degree* rather than of *kind*.

Hook, for example, remarks that advertising language is not unique, "in fact it is rather old–fashioned and commonplace".[24] Indeed, we can include advertising under our rubric of recruiting language. Kitis concurs in seeing advertising as rhetorical. "Advertising, in a way, is an art of persuasion and as such it should fall under the rubric of rhetoric".[25] Advertisements attempt to convert their audiences to a particular world-view. Hook notes, "good advertising is nothing more than the active association of one's good with

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[22] See Douglas, p. 241.

[23] Notably the Heaven's Gate movement.

[24] p. 185.

[25] p. 304.

an acquisitive complex already existing at the unconscious level".[26] This is reminiscent of ex–members noting that 'something was missing' in their lives. However, Hook notes that sometimes a desire has to be created.[27]

Cult recruiting literature is not always only used for recruiting purposes. As has been mentioned, the audiences of the texts examined are usually a mixture of members and potential members. The same may be said for persuasive texts that political parties use to encourage support, for example. By and large the same material will be presented to those who already support the movement as to those whom one would like to convert.[28] All three texts examined are staple texts of their respective movements and are used by those who are already members of the group. This may suggest that the crucial aspects of recruitment into cults are not only textual but also interpersonal. Thus, it is the way in which these texts are presented and handled *as much as* the texts themselves that encourages people to join. At the same time, texts are produced by cults that appear to be for recruitment purposes only. These tend to be introductory fliers rather than sustained discourse. The Church of Scientology, for example, produces fliers with a picture of Albert Einstein on them telling the reader that we don't use our full brain capacity and asking the reader whether they would like to improve their IQ.[29] It is also possible that the use of staple texts in the recruitment process is evidence for the idea that recruitment is ongoing. In other words, membership is an ongoing renewal of affiliation. Certainly in mainstream religions staple texts and passages are revisited again and again. Recitation and reading of these texts, the Bible for example, is a way of expressing affiliation as well as nurturing faith.

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[26] p. 185. See also Kitis, p. 304. "It is widely acknowledged that advertisers aim at seducing prospective 'victims' so that they create a market for their products or services".

[27] p. 185.

[28] I personally had this experience upon joining a political party as an undergraduate in Australia. Political parties also exploit heavily the us/them distinction with much sophistication. See Andreas H Jucker, "Persuasion by Inference: Analysis of a party political broadcast", *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 11 (1997), 121–137.

[29] Unfortunately I have been unable to locate a copy of this.

There appears to be a recruiting script which applies to cults, commercial advertisements and employment recruiting texts. Work on scripts and frames is varied and versatile.[30] Essentially frames are constructs that allow people to understand experience by relating it to known patterns. Schank and Abelson describe scripts in terms of episodes, "when enough of them [episodes] are alike they are remembered in terms of a standardized generalized episode which we will call a script".[31] Fillmore's work has already been discussed in relation to commonplaces. Werth writes, "A linguistic expression, such as a word (and the bulk of Fillmore's work has been at the lexical level), will evoke the whole range of experience which that item is normally involved in".[32] Very basically the recruiting script involves presenting something to the reader as both appealing and essential and then presenting the self (the company, the movement of the cult) as the sole provider of this service. This explains the modality and certainty and the frequent claims to uniqueness, as in "an oil free texture along with unique self-adjusting "auto-focus" pigments".[33] The reader has to be presented with what at least seems like a good reason for taking up the perlocutionary gauntlet. The good reason has to overcome the reader's resistance, their perception of risk. In the case of expensive French make-up, its claims that it gives a "perfect complexion" and makes life "more beautiful" try to counteract the expense of the product. Hoffman writes,

> To induce the reader to cooperate, the writer must win the reader's trust and convince the reader that the goal/change to be made is worth whatever risk is involved. He must make the reader see that he has influence only if the reader

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[30] See, for example, A. Triandafyllidou and A. Fotiou, "Sustainability and Modernity in the European Union: A Frame Theory Approach to Policy-Making" *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 3, no 1, www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/3/1/2.html [accessed 16th December 2000]

[31] p. 19.

[32] p. 43.

[33] Clarins advertisement in *Red*, March 2001. This advertisement is for a foundation, not a camera as 'auto-focus' may suggest. See Appendix XVIII.

cooperates and that there are areas where cooperation can reasonably and safely occur.[34]

At the same time, a virtue can be made of risk. That which is offered can be represented as so appealing that it is worth great risk. We saw this type of strategy in the Jehovah's Witnesses text especially with the narrative about the risks that translators of the Bible took. The clear implication is that the Bible is worth this risk. One can also regard the social practices of some groups, such as the love-bombing of the Unification Church, as facilitating a lowering of perceived risk. Cults are commonly thought of as offering unique and exclusive solutions. This is seen as defining characteristic of them. It is not, however. To begin with, not all groups designated as cults claim an exclusive knowledge. Some Asian groups, such as New Kadampa Buddhism, which may be called cults because of their different behaviour and belief, do not claim unique revelation. While many cults do claim to have exclusive solutions, this is not of itself a defining character of cults. Most religions represent themselves as having the only answer. Islam, Christianity and Judaism all claim to have unique access to a unique God. In the commercial field too, products are represented as being the only, or best, solution to a certain problem. In the field of advertising, however, the audience is likely to be suspicious of these claims and accept them as part of the common script of advertising language. But the claim of being unique is still present.

The representation of the appealing product, or lifestyle, or choice of whatever kind, has also to be seen against a broader ideological background. This ideological background is the world-view of the movement. If it is different from the dominant ideology, as it is with cults, it needs also to be presented in a non-threatening way. This is usually also done through cues of desirability such as alliance with the good, promise of good outcomes or assurance of emotional well-being. The use of disclaimers is part of this strategy. Minimisation of risk can also be performed by implicating and appropriating desirable aspects of the dominant ideology. For Scientology, the claims that are initially

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[34] Eleanor M. Hoffman, "Toward an Idealistic Rhetoric" in Brown and Steinmann (1979), 179-189, at p. 180.

made are that the movement will help one to be more successful and functioning in the world. They claim to be able to increase IQ, memory, concentration, material and social success, in short, to make the able more able. These commodities are desirable in the context of the dominant ideology and thus the movement is a world-affirming one.

The Family use a slightly different strategy but one that is still dependent on the values of the dominant ideology. In "The Big Lie", populist understandings of science are exploited to vilify evolutionary theory. As they are a world-rejecting movement but appealing to people in the 'world', they have to rely on the logic of their enemies, that is, the logic of scientific discourse, to eventually overcome them. The Jehovah's Witnesses present the possibility of paradise on earth, the coming of Jehovah's Kingdom to the terrestrial world. This is articulated in imperatives to live good lives according to Jehovah's word. They are a world-accommodating movement and so accept the reality of the world, but hope to see the world transformed in a positive way.

It is important to remember that this recruiting script applies to other kinds of 'recruiting' even if we don't think of it in this way. In simple terms advertising recruits us to a world-view, even if this is partial in so far as it may only extend to seeing ourselves in relation to a particular product. Bruthiaux writes that advertisers "must first persuade unidentifiable readers to notice their text [and product] among a proliferation of competing offers. Then they must convince readers of the superiority of their wares over those of their competitors".[35] Recruiting into the world-view of the advertiser differs only in degree from recruitment into the cult milieu. Both rely on an attractive implied reader position.

> However, persuading readers to notice and then purchase a product from among those offered by myriad competitors requires that the product be made to appear distinctive and exceptionally attractive. This is done by appealing to an intangible but powerful sense of self–image in the reader...This strategy amounts to a subliminal display of linguistic sophistication by the writer, thus flattering the

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[35] Paul Bruthiaux, "In a nutshell: persuasion in the spatially constrained language of advertising", *Language and Communication*, 20 (2000), 297–310, p. 299.

reader by association and increasing the chance of successful persuasion by referring less to content than to self–image and sense of status.[36]

Indeed, Bruthiaux sees all language as like advertising language.

> ...individual language users can be seen as advertisers, competing with each other in eloquence and persuasive skill in order to draw attention to themselves, to obtain status from their audience, and to reflect some of that status onto those who choose to associate with them. Thus from an evolutionary perspective, language as a whole may be considered an 'advertising device'.[37]

To outline this recruiting script, I will use NSM. I do this because it is not a linear script, like the very familiar restaurant script of Schank.[38] NSM is also appropriate because it is composed of primitives and thus non-specific about how these elements are satisfied.[39] The "I" will represent the voice of the movement, the "you" the potential recruit. There are some differences between the script that one would use for advertising and that one would use of cults. Initially, the 'person' of section 2 would be a product. Further, the risk minimisation articulated in sections 5 to 7 are not as important in advertising products. As they are expensive products, however, there is perhaps some management of risk in so far as outlaying vast amounts of money is seen as an activity fraught with risks.

1. I say to you:
1.1   I am not like other people
1.2   I have something
1.3   I know something
1.4   This is a good thing
2. I want you to think:
2.1   This person is not like other people
2.2   This person knows things

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[36] Bruthiaux, p. 307.

[37] p. 309.

[38] Though Schank was concerned with AI and memory modelling, his work has been picked up by linguists in the Fillmore tradition.

[39] We will see in the next chapter how recruiting techniques, even in large corporations, do not differ.

2.3   This person has things.

2.4   These are good things.

3. I say something because of this.

4. I want you to think:

4.1   I want this good thing.

5. I don't want you to think:

5.1   Something bad will happen to me because of this.

6. I say something because of this.

7. I say:

7.1   You are a good person

7.2   You can have this thing.

7.3   Bad things will not happen to you because of this.

Anti-cult groups have similar aims to cults. They are also seeking to recruit members but not so much to a group as to a world-view. The difference is one of practice rather than of language. Having joined the anti-cult group, it is not thought of as common to join with other members and participate in common, ritual activities. In a cult, membership entails the participation in certain activities and ways of life. But in persuasive terms, the same actions are taken, especially when one considers affiliative discourse activity. The difference, and this is a matter for sociological investigation, lies in what is entailed by a commitment to a particular world-view. Anti-cult groups also seek to minimise any risk associated with joining their particular ideological standpoint. Specifically this is done by emphasising the risks associated with cults. Certainly anti-cultists assert that their view is correct and that opposing views are not. Like cults, they present unique and exclusive solutions.

Info-Cult is a cult information group based in Canada.[40] Portraying themselves as an information provider they suggest that their account of cults is unbiased. This is not the case. We saw in examination of the Jehovah's Witnesses' text that information is never just that. Info-cult's information is not only information either. They have a number of

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[40] The material here is included in Appendix XIX.

sections in their web-page, ranging from what to do if you are thinking about joining a group to what to do if you suspect that a loved one is involved in a dangerous group. They emphasise the danger of cults in one of the introductory sections, "What is a Cult?" Cults "exploit...members", cause "psychological, financial and physical harm", dictate "behavior, thoughts and emotions" and turn the recruit into a "loyal, obedient and subservient member". In other words, they brainwash. In this way, Info-Cult draws on the ex-member account paradigm. We see here generalisations about cults which promote fear rather than giving useful definitions of 'cult'. These scare tactics are not unlike those that Berg uses against those who promote evolution. These strategies attempt to persuade the reader that joining a cult is so fraught with risks, so dangerous and so destructive that it is not only something to be avoided, but something to fight against.

The perlocutionary effect of all these texts, cult and anti-cult, is one of persuasion. The question then is whether it is 'persuasion to' or 'persuasion that'. The answer is that it is both. Initially, if one can separate the effects temporally, it is certainly a 'persuasion that'. One is persuaded that a certain way of seeing the world is valid. The nature of the 'discourse community', however, can entail a certain commitment from the 'persuasion that'. The persuasion that something is the case then entails a persuasion to do something. In the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses' text, for example, 'persuasion that' the Bible should be read entails a 'persuasion to' take up a certain mode of reading and study, one that is only available if one is a member of the movement.

The 'persuasion that' is the warrant for the 'persuasion to'. In terms of argument, if the 'persuasion that' is reasonable and plausible, the 'persuasion to' will follow. If one accepts that the 'persuasion that' modifies the world-view of the potential recruit, it is much easier to understand the commitments which members make to the movement. In the context of the initial persuasion, these apparently drastic or perverse commitments become reasonable. We see the same link between 'persuasion that' and 'persuasion to' in commercial advertisements. If one is 'persuaded that' a certain soap powder washes clothes better or preserves their colour or makes them whiter, one may well be 'persuaded to' buy that product. Here the commitment ends. The nature of the commitment that differs; but how the commitment is made is essentially the same.

The kind of commitment made is what influences charges of brainwashing in cults. While the term is not generally used, as even anti-cultists prefer to use terms such as 'mind control'[41] there is value in confronting the semantics of the term.[42] If there is a commitment which is at odds with what is considered 'normal' then 'brainwashing' is said to have occurred. Put this way, this charge seems to be no more than an expression of bewilderment at some cult activities. It does not seem possible that a 'normal' person could be persuaded to partake in these activities.

The 'persuasion to' is what I call the post-perlocutionary effect. If the perlocutionary effect is the 'persuasion that' and this is the warrant for the 'persuasion to' then it seems reasonable to call the latter the post-perlocutionary effect. The reason that the two are not grouped together under a single term is that there may be a significant perlocutionary effect and still an absence of any post-perlocutionary effect.

Certainly in both the cases of cults and expensive French foundations there is no necessary connection between 'persuasion that' and 'persuasion to'. One may well be 'persuaded that' a foundation actually is 'unique' but not be persuaded to buy it because of cost, or because one does not wear foundations. In the same way, one may well be persuaded that the Children of God are correct in their views on evolution without being persuaded to join the movement. This may be because one is already committed to a particular religious community, or because other aspects of one's life take precedence over the sort of commitment required. There is a connection between the two types of persuasion, however, at least in so far as the 'persuasion that' primes the recipient of text to be more open to a 'persuasion to' do something. Indeed, it is possible to argue that if one is 'persuaded that' but not 'persuaded to', it is actually the case that one has not been properly 'persuaded that' (because this nature of the 'persuasion that' necessarily entails a 'persuasion to'). This is question of what one is 'persuaded that', rather than whether it

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[41] See Hassan.

[42] See Zablocki 1997.

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occurs as such. This is particularly the case for cults, given that their world-view involves a rejection of other world-view, this argument is even more persuasive.

DELIVERY

I have understood delivery as the way in which a text is delivered to its readers. This includes layout and the media of delivery. While there is variation among the texts examined, not least because one is a speech and the others written texts, there are some commonalities. The most salient of these is the reliance on established forms of text construction. Blommaert stresses the importance of the shape of discourse and how shape can indexically convey meaning.[43] Further, shape can prime certain expectations that can be exploited in the invention and style of the text.

Obviously, all the texts are publicly available; they could not hope to be successful recruiting tools if they were not. Yet they rely on very different forms of delivery. L. Ron Hubbard delivers a speech, the Children of God exploit the conventions of speech and the Jehovah's Witnesses exploit the conventions of both academic and popular writing. There is nothing that strikes a reader as typically religious in the delivery of these texts, as one might expect, though the Children of God text has stereotypic features of sermonic delivery because of its extreme terms of abuse for evolutionists and their explicit association with the devil.[44]

What is a common feature in the delivery of the texts is that they all, to some extent, rely on established and accepted forms of presentation. This reliance on established forms is certainly also present in the invention of arguments, as will be discussed in the following section. It is perhaps not surprising that cults use persuasive language in much the same

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[43] See Blommaert 2000 and Jan Blommaert, "Investigating Narrative Inequality: Home Narratives of African Asylum seekers in Belgium", FWO Research group on Language, Power and Identity, LPI Working paper nr 1, Gent 1999. http://bank.rug.ac.be/lpi.

[44] Weaver has argued that rhetoric, and indeed all language, is sermonic in so far as it attempts "to persuade an audience to accept or reject particular attitudes toward the world, particular 'values.'" Richard M. Weaver, "Language is Sermonic" in Johannesen et al (1970), 201-225, pp. 207-8.

way, though perhaps to different ends, than their fellow establishment persuaders. However it is surprising that their delivery is not more inventive. One would think, that with an original solution to problems, with an exclusive truth, a group might seek to distinguish itself from its 'competitors' through striking delivery. But it is perhaps exactly this exclusivity that inhibits originality of delivery. If one is marketing a new soft drink that is actually much like all the others, the only way to differentiate oneself may be to embark on a radical promotion campaign. When a product is already very different, it has in actual fact no real competitors. To be radical in this instance might actually undermine the actual difference. Indeed, as has been discussed, to depart from established forms may well increase the perception of associated risk.[45]

Herndl and Brown have a complex understanding of the way in which deviant groups appropriate mainstream discourse practices.[46] This can extend to all five canons but it certainly applies to delivery. They begin by remarking on the interaction of discourses.

> Our rhetorics, in a sense, are interdependent. Our knowledge, and theirs, become powerful only in relation to each other. When two contrasting kinds of knowledge-power are deployed, they consolidate group identities and social positions....And this process of defining public selves operates everywhere knowledge is deployed, everywhere we present our views of the world to the world.[47]

They discuss the strategies of the John Birch society, a right wing group opposed to environmentalism. The society uses scientific discourse style and the "forms and format of the consensus press new magazines".[48] The authors see this as a reversal of Bourdieu's "strategy of condescension" which occurs when a powerful group adopts the discourse style of a "marginal or disenfranchised group".[49] This creates a link between the

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[45] We see this in television advertisements for Dr Pepper. The current catch-phrase is "what's the worst that could happen?".

[46] Brown and Herndl.

[47] p. 214.

[48] p. 225.

[49] p. 225.

disenfranchised but also re-inforces "the power of [the] privileged language".[50] Brown and Herndl conclude that in "the case of the John Birch society writer, when he adopts the language and styles of the mainstream press he recognizes the cultural power of the dominant press and simultaneously marks his own habitus as marginal".[51] In the case of cults, the same thing happens. It can perhaps be called a strategy of aspiration. By using the forms of the dominant ideology in the delivery of texts, cults forge a link with the establishment but at the same time mark themselves off as different. However, this differentiation is not always immediately apparent. There is little if anything in the Jehovah's Witnesses text which would be considered as radically extreme. The difference of the Children of God's perspective is not one that would be necessarily attributed to cults. Any deviant beliefs expressed by L. Ron Hubbard are more implicit than obvious.

Yet to enter into discussion about strategies of condescension or aspiration requires that there is a perceived or actual difference in terms of discourse value.[52] We will come back to this in the next chapter. At this point the salient question to ask is why these groups execute strategies of aspiration? The obvious answer is that this is the only way that their discourse can have currency and the opportunity to persuade can be taken up at all. When one is a member of the group, linguistic differences become apparent. Cults, like many kinds of discourse communities, have their own ways of speaking. The Jehovah's Witnesses even have their own dictionary.[53] But at the interface between discourse communities, these groups are forced to coin a discourse which is not completely their own simply because other people need to understand it.

The exploitation of prestigious discourse resources, whether expertly exploited or not, is indicative of the position of cults in society. We do not have to look to society to see the esteem in which cults are held, it is demonstrated by cults' own discourse practices.

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[50] p. 225.

[51] p. 225.

[52] See William Labov, "Logic of Non-Standard English" in Frederick Williams (1970), 153-189.

[53] See www.eecs.umich.edu/~lnewton/glossary/

Further, to say that it is a strategy of *aspiration* to use established forms entails that these forms should not be used by these groups. They are trespassers on discourse property which is not their own.

The delivery of anti-cult texts is also parasitic on established sources of authority. Hassan in *Combatting Cult Mind Control*, for example, relies heavily on psychological and sociological theories. He can do this without it being seen as a strategy of aspiration because he stands with the dominant ideology in his pejoration of cults. Hassan is not particularly scientific in his analysis, but in the cult discourse context (which includes anti-cult discourse) his discourse choices are not seen as aspirant. At the same time, even these ex-member discourses are not thoroughly mainstream. One can deduce this from simple aspects of delivery such as the publishers that are used. Vanity press and small publishing houses allied with Christian action groups are common publishers of ex-member accounts. Yet the media more often than not reproduces the terms of these accounts.[54] Significantly, however, Hassan's ideological standpoint means that his discourse practices, *vis a vis* established forms, is not immediately seen as aspirant. Further, they only come to be viewed as aspirant if one questions his ideological stance.

ARRANGEMENT

The arrangement of the texts examined is constant in a number of ways. Episodic structures and claim/denial structures (sometimes implicit) are often present in cult texts. In this section I will also mention witnessing texts. Although their salient features do not all fall under arrangement, there is a constant structure to them which makes it an appropriate subject for this canon. The comparison of witnessing texts from different movements, both cult and anti-cult, is productive because of observable similarities in terms of arrangement. It is particularly significant because examination of witnessing texts shows how narrative is constructed idiosyncratically within movements as well as showing how narrative activity is constitutive of group membership and even more

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[54] For example, on a recent search of news articles on cults, the only time "cult" is used is to report alleged crimes of leaders and movements.

fundamentally, of identity. Further, as they have not been explicitly dealt with before, it seems appropriate to deal with their salient characteristics together.

The most important constant in terms of arrangement is the episodic nature of cult texts. The episodes do not fragment the narrative because of the relationship of themes to subject: for L. Ron Hubbard the chronology and representation of his life, for the Jehovah's Witnesses a central hypothesis of consideration and for the Children of God an argument for the dismissal of evolution. The episodic nature of the texts suggests that the issue being dealt with has been dealt with from all possible angles. This is most obviously the case for the Jehovah's Witnesses' text as it covers a variety of academic perspectives. This suggests the ultimate authority of the group in the matters on which they choose to speak. Without this overarching structure, which ultimately gives coherence to the episodes, the episodes may well be seen as fragments rather than as perspectives.

Kundera comments on this kind of structure in *The Art of the Novel*. While he is writing specifically about novels, the points that he makes are applicable to the texts under consideration here. Commenting on one of his novels he notes, "the coherence of the whole is created *solely* by the unity of a few things (and motifs) which are developed in variations".[55] Like Hubbard, he also uses asides, though he calls them 'digressions'. "Digression means: abandoning the story for a moment".[56] For Kundera's texts, as for all our texts, the episodes are kept together by themes; and the perlocutionary effect.

Anti-cult texts also use texts in so far as they attempt to cover the issue from all angles. Their subject is that they are anti-cult; the subordinate themes vary from personal account to psychological theory. Info-cult, for example has numerous sections such as 'What is a cult?', 'Cult Recruitment'. 'Cultic Thinking' and 'Manipulation Techniques'. Hassan also looks at cults from a personal as well as a psychological and a sociological aspect. Hassan uses a personal account of his experiences and thus argues against cults on the basis of harm to specific individuals, based on the harm he sees as having suffered. He

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[55] p. 83.
[56] p. 84.

also uses this personal experience to make generalisations about cults. He buttresses these generalisations with a selection of psychological and sociological models. These are not evaluated but simply applied to support the position established in his personal account. Just as cult texts are held together by a central argument of some kind, so too with the anti-cult texts. Ex-member accounts follow a chronology not unlike Hubbard's, in so far as their contact with the movement chooses which events will be narrated. This is an obvious point. In an ex-member account, they do not recount everyday events which they do not understand as having led to recruitment. Quite simply, they are obeying the maxim of relevance.[57] The strategy that they are being relevant to, the very reason for anti-cult texts, is to be anti-cult. This is their central hypothesis and their very reason for existence.

The Children of God and L. Ron Hubbard both use claim/denial, problem/solution structures respectively as has been discussed, in so far as they are arguing a case. But the claim/problem is only implicitly acknowledged as a such. To admit it as real would be to acknowledge a real threat to the movement. Strategies are used to circumvent this rather than to highlight it. This is a further attempt to reinforce the authority of the group.

The claim/denial, problem/solution pattern is also present in anti-cult texts, although it is explicit. Cults are the problem, and anti-cult groups are the solution. They could not be the solution to this cult problem if the problem was not explicit. The whole point of anti-cult texts is that they are anti-cult. They need an explicit enemy, in exactly a way that cults do not. Cults do not seem to logically require an enemy to exist, even though they often posit one in their discourse, as Hubbard puts psychology forward. Anti-cult groups, on the other hand, are predicated on their antagonism towards cults.

The problem/solution structure of the kind discussed, is also present in the form taken by witnessing texts. Ex-member accounts especially can be read as witnessing texts which attest to the veracity of the anti-cult as opposed to the witnessing texts produced by cults which attest the truth of the cult. 'Witnessing' is usually associated with religious groups, but other groups perform similar discourse activity. Witnessing in a religious context is

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[57] See generally Wilson and Sperber, 1981.

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prototypically a person's statement of their faith or how they came to have faith. They are anecdotal texts which stand as proof for the movement.

The anecdotal form, anecdotes from one's life, are suitable for witnessing as they bridge the gap between the personal and the general. Steffen writes,

> Anekdotes har den kvalitet, at den bevarer sin autenticitet som individuel erfaring samtidig med, at den haevder en gyldighed ud over den specifikke individuelle kontekst.

> [Anecdotes have the quality of keeping their authenticity as individual experiences at the same time as maintaining validity outside this individual context][58]

Anecdotes thus contribute to a common experience, or a common way of understanding experience, by way of articulating individual experiences.

Dianetics has short witnessing texts in the front cover which are provided in the form of testimonials for the book, but they are testimonials for the movement. For the Jehovah's Witnesses witnessing is performed in the very act of personal dissemination of literature. Textually, it takes the form of letters to the editor in movement publications such as *Awake!* For the Children of God, witnessing is also bound up in the dissemination of the Mo letters, called 'litnessing'. Ex-member accounts are also witnessing texts, closely resembling witnessing documents produced by cults. Of course, they witness to how the movement has hindered rather than helped them in their lives.

The member account is another way 'into' a cult. It offers the opportunity to 'see' what life is like in such a group without actually having to make a commitment to one. The accounts that are available, however, illustrate the same kind of structure that the ex-member accounts do. Jehovah's Witnesses witness textually in the form of letters to the editor of *Awake!* The witnessing letters follow a particular form:

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[58] Vibeke Steffen, "Narrativer mellem selvbiografi og myte" [Narratives Between Autobiography and Myth] in *Spor i Tiden: Erfaringer*, (Denmark: Mugsgaard, 1996), p. 111. My translation.

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Thanks (optional)

Mistake

Thanks/compliment

The thanks is in response to a particular article in the publication. The letters are prompted by and tied to these articles, but that does not mean that they are not used as vehicles for other discourse action.

> **Street Gangs** I was moved by the articles on street gangs in the April 22, 1998 issue of *Awake!* Right now I am in a reformatory school. My mother is one of the Jehovah's Witnesses, but a while back I stopped going to meetings. Then I got involved with bad friends and took part in a series of violent thefts. That's why my mother sent me this *Awake!* At first I thought, 'This again!' But as I looked at it, I got engrossed and read it all. By the time I finished reading it, my thinking had changed. I never realized that *Awake!* could help me so much. I want to make a new start and attend meetings again. I have to come to feel that I never want to repeat my mistakes and that I want to serve Jehovah as long as I live.
>
> M.S., Japan (Awake! 8/1/99)

This is a typical witnessing text, with the exception that MS had been in the Jehovah's Witnesses before his/her life of crime. Yet it is a more compelling text because of this, as the departure from the group is implied as the cause for involvement with bad friends and violent theft. The implication is that one cannot lead a good life without being a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses. We see this clearly in the last sentence with the bifurcation between mistakes and serving Jehovah. Thus this narrative takes the form of the prodigal son story. Reading *Awake!* opens the young person's eyes to the truth again. S/he is contrite and promises not to leave the movement again.

In the case of anti-cultists, we find similar texts taking the form of testimony and reported incident. These texts are sometimes treated as data used to support other arguments. Like cult witnessing texts, they stand as proof for the movement. There are numerous examples of these kinds of texts. Just as witnessing is a way of affirming commitment to

a movement,[59] writing about leaving the movement is a way of disaffiliating or indeed of joining the anti-cult movement. One is in effect changing sides but remaining in the same oppositional dynamic of the discourse context. They are written by ex-members of cults and describe the experience of joining the cult. In this way they are exactly like the witnessing documents produced by the group itself in that they present an interested and ideological account of personal experience. Their purpose is to spread the *bad* word. All these accounts, whether from cults or from anti-cult groups, trade on similarity between people, common experiences and background, in order to be convincing. It is an 'I am just like you' argument and is the basis for cautions about groups; anyone can be recruited. It is ironic that this witnessing method is also used in the cult recruiting process, if we take the word of anti-cult groups and ex-member accounts. At the same time, ex-member accounts often participate in stereotypes of group members. The writers report that they were in vulnerable states, looking for meaning or for truth. The potential recruit is nearly always either searching for some meaning in life, or has undergone a loss of some kind (bereavement, break-up, loss of friends). The recruit can thus be seen as 'primed' by personal experience in some way. This representation, however, is at odds with the notion that cults can recruit anyone.[60] Statistical data is also at odds with the idea that cults can recruit just anyone. Witnessing accounts are structured as stories with a problem and solution. If the witnessing text is from an ex-member the cult is the problem. The solution, leaving the cult, is brought about by an 'accident' or divine intervention and leads to disaffiliation with the cult and affiliation with the anti-cult community.[61]

The difference between witnessing documents that come out of groups and those from ex-members is that the latter have a crisis and resolution that involves leaving the group. Edwards, for example, describes his life with the cult and the way he came to leave it in very similar ways in so far as he feels supernaturally led. The two narratives are really in

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[59] This has been interpreted by some as an attempt to manipulate behaviour in the hope that belief will follow. The practice often figures in accounts of brainwashing.

[60] This is asserted in most anti-cult literature. See Info-cult or Hassan for example.

[61] See Hassan and Edwards.

direct competition. But because life outside the cult is the 'right' life, the similar modes of recruitment are not read as problematic. The very 'paranormal' experiences of chance and coincidence that led him to the group also lead him away from it. This paradox is not acknowledged. This does three things. It forces into the foreground the definition of cults as harmful and makes identifying cults more crucial. It problematises the workings and presence of God. Further, it problematises epistemology. If God led one to the group, who led one out of it? A rational reason for departure is a way out but this still leaves God and faith in a difficult place. The answer that is given by the anti-cultists is that the group was deceptive. One thought one was being led to the group by God, but it was really just a complex deception controlled and authored by the group. Thus the divine is freed up and is a legitimate cause for leaving the movement.

The use of the witnessing structure is thus common in both cult and anti-cult texts. Another group in which witnessing texts are a staple of the movement is Alcoholics Anonymous (which has also been accused of being a cult).[62] Vibeke Steffen has examined the use of autobiographical material in the story telling that takes place as part of AA meetings. The telling of a personal story is, she writes, essential and therapeutic in the AA community. These narratives are not told because of

> forskers foranledning, men udelukkende med det formaal at lidelsefoeller kan hjaelpe sig selv og hinanden ved at udveksle erfaringer.

> [the prompting of a researcher, but exclusively for the purpose of fellow sufferers helping themselves and each other by exchanging experiences].[63]

For AA as for other groups, this telling of narratives is not only a way of speaking within the 'discourse community' but also of presenting to the outside world;[64] just as for Jehovah's Witnesses the telling of personal stories, witnessing, is a moral obligation

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[62] See Ursula Kenny, "Cult of Cure: the AA backlash" *Independent on Sunday*, Real Life, 10 May 1998, p. 4. See also Gallater, p. 212 ff. who characterises the movement as a charismatic one.

[63] Steffen 1996, p. 99.

[64] Steffen 1996, p. 101.

entailed by membership.[65] This narrative action is also a way of recruiting new members.[66] Further, these autobiographies become meaningful in the context of the group. The goal of remaining sober dictates how the story is told. Thus part of membership in AA is learning how to tell one's story. This seems also to be the case in Jehovah's Witnesses' witnessing texts, evinced by their common structures. AA stories also have a script that is followed and which is modelled on the stories of prominent members and founders.[67] The purpose of both is to "paavirke andre til en bedre forstaaelse og accept af en given tilstand" [influence others so that they have a better understanding and acceptance of a particular set of circumstances].[68]

> Det er blandt andet derfor alle bevaegelser bruger saa meget tid til at formulere deres faelles historie, som hvert enkelt medlem loebende kan indskrive sine personlige erfaringer i og dermed give dem ny betydning og retning...Faellesskabet leverer saa at sige konteksten til hvert enkelt medlems tekst

> [Among other things, this is why all movements spend so much time formulating their own common story, in which every current member can inscribe his/her own personal experience and thereby give the stories new meaning and direction...The community delivers the context to the individual members' texts].[69]

The issue of narratives and how to understand them in persuasive texts is also an issue for Hubbard's Story and arguments that Berg makes in "The Big Lie". The way in which persuasive texts attempt to alter, at least in part, one's world-view has been mentioned. This alteration makes more sense if seen in relation to the adoption of common stories. Thus whether or not L. Ron Hubbard's Story is true is beside the point. It provides a common history that members can be introduced to and orient their efforts *vis a vis* the

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[65] Steffen 1996, p. 102.

[66] Steffen 1996, p. 102.

[67] Steffen 1996, p. 111. Essentially, it consists of telling about their drinking problem by outlining past excesses and how they came to the movement for help. If they have been affiliated and successful, they will also comment on this.

[68] Steffen 1996, p. 108.

[69] Steffen 1996, p. 109.

group. "The Big Lie" is indeed arguing for the importance of the creation story as a group narrative for the Children of God.

The importance of narrative competence as a mark of membership explains why the texts we have examined are used not only at the recruiting stage but also at various stages in membership. The mere participation in the narrative event is a way of affirming membership status, rehearsing commitment and inculcating new members into the narrative practices of the group. These narrative practices further determine what meaning is to a group. Katz writes, "*Meaning* is a personal and subjective coloration, a texture that people engrave into all their intellectual abstractions".[70] Meaning is inscribed in narrative. If a group conditions narrative action of its members, it also conditions meaning that the members understand.

Part of what is at stake in this conditioning of meaning is the question of identity. The question of identity is closely tied to the us/them bifurcation. Burke writes,

> Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man's very essence. It would not be an ideal, as it now is, partly embodied in material conditions and partly frustrated by these same conditions; rather, it would be as natural, spontaneous, and total as those ideal prototypes of communication, the theologian's angels, or "messengers".[71]

Identity is not natural, it is constructed. The ideologies that we identify with identify us. We will see in the accounts of ex-cult members that identification with the group in fundamental ways is fundamental to membership. The commitment that is required by a cult, the commitment that the persuasive language used entails, is a significant and personal one.

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[70] p. 55.

[71] See Stillar, pp. 74-75.

INVENTION

The inventive choices in persuasive discourse are not unmotivated. The arguments that one chooses to make, and the information one chooses to provide, are not neutral. They serve the purpose of providing reasonable warrants to the receiver of discourse. The bias with which information is presented, the appeal to good character and the suppression of premises, are all common to cult discourse. We find these features in other persuasive discourse too, however.

Ultimately, these biases are taken to persuade the audience of the veracity, or at least plausibility, of the movement's ideology. The appeal to good character, either of the speaker in the case of L. Ron Hubbard, those associated with the movement in the case of Jehovah's Witnesses or of God in the case of Children of God, is constant. This allies the group with the 'good' and again enhances its credibility and authority generally. While what may be considered to be good is not constant, the alliance with the good is. The appeal to the good is often implicit, however, and relies on the identification of an enemy, a 'bad' which is being opposed. We see this very clearly in the case of Scientology.

Anti-cult literature uses the same strategy but focuses on the bad, the enemy. By doing this, anti-cult groups place themselves in the realm of the good, with those who seek to vanquish the 'bad'. This is bound up in the problem/solution strategy of the kind discussed. The cult is the problem, the anti-cult the solution. The only difference is that the attack on cults is an end in itself, while for cults, the attack on their enemies is to encourage acceptance of the cult's ideology. The difference is very slight as certainly the anti-cult groups also wish to have their ideology accepted. But the sum total of their ideology is the rejection of cults. They are exclusively reactive. We can see this simply from their names; Info-cult, FreeCOG, Cult Information Centre.

The simplification of complex arguments and the appeal to the intelligence of the reader is also constant in cult discourse. This appeal to intelligence is a significant feature as it lowers the defences of the reader as one is being cast in an appealing reader position. The simplification of complex arguments can possibly also work positively in so far as the group is seen as a powerful intellectual force; one that can present difficult concepts in a

comprehensible way. The reader and the group are thus one in their formidable cognitive powers.

The reader is similarly flattered by the use of simplified arguments in anti-cult texts. The recruitment process, for example, is reduced to a scenario in which an idealistic young person is seduced by a manipulative force. This relies on a 'me'/them distinction. The simplification comes in with the suggestion that the ex-member is typical of all people, an everyman figure. This suggests that anyone could be recruited. Empirical evidence, however, shows that this is not the case.[72]

Indeed, the potential recruit is presented in the narrative as being 'easy prey'. Williams recounts his joining of the group as a spiritual experience, or at least that he conceived of it in this way at the time. "I had eventually decided to leave [the Church of England] and was searching for something new. Perhaps the Church of Christ was an answer to my prayer".[73] Thus Williams represents himself as vulnerable to spiritual offers. In 'Angels of Light' there is a similar representation of self pre-recruitment. Martyn writes that before joining the church he was "searching for some sort of spiritual reality". Hassan also represents himself as having been on a search. He writes, "I knew that I wanted to change things, but I didn't know how to go about it".[74]

We have already seen that narratives are constructed to certain ends. They put forward an interpretation of reality (rather than reality itself). In this sense, the ex-member account is a fiction. This omission of objectivity is difficult to reconstruct as narrative is not objective. The omission of premises essential to conclusions made in cult arguments is another matter.

The exploitation of suppressed premises and enthymemic argumentation is constant in cult texts in the way in which arguments are presented. This serves the strategy of

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[72] See Barker, 1989.

[73] See Appendix XX for ex-member accounts.

[74] Hassan, p. 13.

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simplification of argument and the minimisation of apparent dissent. This suppression also involves a clear bifurcation between an 'us' and a 'them'. This bifurcation polarises complex arguments for and against the movement into a simple oppositional structure. For Scientology this opposition is realised in sustained attacks on psychology and psychiatry, for the Children of God the enemy is those who believe in evolution and for the Jehovah's Witnesses the 'them' is anyone who will not consider the Bible from their particular viewpoint. This bifurcation relies on the group's alliance with the good. If the group is good then the other is bad. This is also supported by the presentation of the group as powerfully intelligent enough to demystify complex arguments.

In anti-cult groups we see the same strategies. Unlike cults, the reason anti-cult groups exist is to warn about 'us' about 'them'. Because of this, at least in recruiting texts, the attack on 'them' is even stronger than in cult articles. Even in the Bible we see evidence of this bifurcation. In John's second letter he writes,

> Many deceivers, who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ as coming in the flesh, have gone out into the world. Any such person is the deceiver and the antichirst. Watch out that you do not lose what you have worked for, but that you may be rewarded fully....If anyone comes to you and does not bring this teaching, do not take him into your house or welcome him. Anyone who welcomes him shares in his wicked work. (2 John: 7-10)

The strategy of suppressing information is also crucial in anti-cult accounts. These accounts certainly do not state that cults can be beneficial experiences. Neither do they state that a small minority of people initially approached by a group will actually join.[75] The fact that people usually leave a cult of their own accord, rather than being 'rescued', is also conveniently not mentioned.[76]

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[75] See John Hall with Philip D. Schuyler and Sylvaine Trinh, *Apocalypse Observed: religious movements and violence in North America, Europe and Japan,* (London: Routledge, 2000) and Mark Gallanter, *Cults: Faith, Healing and Coercion,* 2nd edn, (London: Oxford University Press, 1999)

[76] Presumably these members are not mentioned because they tend not to write damning accounts of the groups they leave. See Hall et al. (2000)

The strategy of suppressed information is one strategy attributed to the cults by anti-cultists. But the way in which ex-members describe themselves at the recruiting stage mitigates this attribution somewhat. In describing the moment of joining the group, accounts differ. Williams constructs himself as a victim with limited resources to resist. The information that he was 17 and from the outskirts of London is mentioned to absolve him of agency in the recruiting process. At the initial approach, he "rejected [his] initial suspicion that he [the recruiter] must be a Jehovah's Witness". In actual fact, it is the recruiter that rejects this by saying, "No, we're just a non-denominational Christian church that's trying to go by the Bible". This allows the victim to retain some wariness, but suggests that there has been a gross misrepresentation by the recruiter. Indeed, Williams makes a point of noting what they did not tell him at the initial meeting he went to. "He [another member] didn't tell me that the LCC, an offshoot of a large, radical American movement, believed that only its members were true disciplines of Jesus. Those outside were considered lost, fated to spend eternity in fiery torment". One wonders if this would have made a great deal of difference. Indeed, which part is it that he objects to; that the movement is American, that it is radical, or that it believes it (like many other groups) has the truth?

The resistance that he does offer is overwhelmed by the confidence and experience of the group. In the narrative, Williams writes about the group as a unified whole and as a unified opposition to his resistance. The "group increasingly put [Williams] on the spot, attacking [his] beliefs", interrupting his explanations. He writes, "I didn't agree but it was difficult to argue with people who were *apparently* so sure of their view of the world and had a Bible verse to answer every question" (my emphasis). There is a contradiction in the narrative about whether Williams agreed or not. In the text just cited he asserts that he did not agree, but he does say that their criticisms of the Christian Church "had a ring of truth", thus perhaps only appearing to be true? Further, he "trusted the members' desire to do what they saw as right". So at some level he agreed with them sufficiently to trust them or at least to abdicate trust to them. At the same time, he continues to protest. The members' certainty "undermined [his] confidence in [his] own beliefs and at such a young age [he] didn't really have the experience to walk out".

There are often contradictions in the recruitment accounts, however. Subsequent to deprogramming, Hassan tries to find out how it was that he could have joined the Unification church at all. To this end, he meets R.J. Lifton, author of *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism*. He writes that "Meeting Lifton changed [his] life".[77] When thinking about what to do post-Unification church, he reflects, "The world's most renowned expert on brainwashing thought that I had an important contribution to make, and that what I had experienced could be useful in helping people".[78] For Hassan, Lifton seem to take the place of Moon about whom Hassan wrote, "I had gotten the approval of the man who, I thought, was God's representative on Earth".[79] The irony of the comparisons is evidently not apparent to Hassan.

In the anti-cult literature, there is also an uneasy balance between the supernatural and the rational. We saw in cult texts the appeal to the rational, the use of logical language and structure. We saw also in the Jehovah's Witnesses text a final appeal to the inadequacy of reason in spiritual matters. The division in anti-cult literature is oriented around joining and leaving the group. Joining is typically a spiritual experience, though in retrospect it is a false one. Hassan sees his path to the group as divinely inspired. "Was this a sign that I was *supposed* to go to this weekend outing?".[80] But what seemed to be spiritual experiences at the time are undermined in the telling. "After several earnest days of prayer, I received what I *thought* was the "sign"...At that moment I *thought* I had had a spiritual experience" (my emphasis).[81] He continues, "How could I have chanced to open the book to that paragraph? I *thought* God was surely signalling me to heed Mr Miller's lectures" (my emphasis).[82]

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[77] p. 30.

[78] p. 30.

[79] p. 23

[80] p. 14.

[81] p. 18.

[82] p. 18.

Williams' departure from the group, on the other hand, is depicted as a rational decision. This is actually highly atypical of ex-member accounts. Williams first points out the good points of life in the movement and then discusses the downside. These contrasting paragraphs present the decision to leave as the result of balancing up two opposing arguments. This contrasts with the emotional way he was led into the group, through personal relations rather than rigorous argument. Even though "leaving was not easy" it is not discussed in detail. It is likened to breaking a relationship. Williams left because of pressures to recruit and the authoritarian nature of the group. He was not deprogrammed and was not led from the group because of a supernatural experience. Martyn was not strictly deprogrammed either, though he was challenged by anti-cultists. He explains that he left because he was "not happy in the Church".

Info-cult also associate cults with the irrational, and therefore themselves with the rational. That cults are dangerous is established up front in the definition section "What is a Cult?" as cited above. Cults "exploit...members", cause "psychological, financial and physical harm", dictate "behavior, thoughts and emotions" and turn the recruit into a "loyal, obedient and subservient member". In other words, they brainwash. In this way, Info-Cult draws on the ex-member account paradigm. We see here generalisations about cults which promote fear rather than giving useful definitions of 'cult'. These scare tactics are not unlike those that Berg uses against those who promote evolution.

At the same time, Info-cult appeal to the reader's intuition, rather than their reason, in deciding if a group is a cult or not. In the section entitled "Thinking about joining a group?", Info-cult give a list of questions to ask the recruiter. This is ostensibly because it is only "reasonable" to want to know about them. This may well be true, but if cults are as dangerous as this information group suggests, it is unlikely that they will volunteer self-incriminating information. The list of questions seems to be adapted directly from a checklist of cult identifiers.[83]

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[83] See Info-Cult www.ex-cult.org/General/identiyfing-a-cult [accessed 27th July 1998] see Appendix XIX.

1. How long have you (the recruiter or member) been involved?

2. Is this an "organization" you want me to join? Does it have any other names besides the one you've told me?

3. What is expected of me once I join? Do I have to quit school or work? Donate money or property? How do you expect me to treat friends and family who do not agree or question my becoming a member?

4. Do people criticize your group? What do they say?

5. How does your group treat ex-members? Are you allowed to talk with them? Have you ever spoken with any ex-members?

6. What are the things you like least about your group?

This checklist is constructed around the most commonly held beliefs about cults, that they require sacrifice and separation for example. Here Info-cult are on safe rhetorical ground. If a group were harmful, though, one would expect that they would have convincing answers to all these questions?[84] Further, what are the correct answers to these questions? Is a short or long affiliation of a member telling? What's the matter with joining an organisation and what is the difference between an organisation and a religion? What is reasonable to expect of people joining religions?

The arguments that anti-cult groups propose against cults are not as clear cut as they suggest. Indeed, the anti-cult perspective is only one of many in response to cults. But the voice that they have is a strong one. In the next chapter, we will examine why this may be the case with an examination of what 'cult' actually means. First, we will examine stylistic features of the texts under examination.

STYLE

The stylistic features which cult texts employ support the strategies already examined. The creation of an us/them opposition is supported by the use of pronouns of solidarity, varying degrees of certainty by modal operators and the appeal to academic rigour by

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[84] I have had conversations with people in criticised groups who seem well informed and aware of the onerous nature of commitment.

logical language and discourse markers. Agent positions are exploited either to obscure complex issues, as in the Jehovah's Witnesses and Children of God, to vilify a point of view, or to make villains out of the enemy in the case of L. Ron Hubbard. Semantic manipulation is also exploited in the texts. This is most obvious in the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses use of 'consider'.

The pronouns of solidarity complete the work performed in invention in the alliance of the group and the reader with intelligence and goodness and the 'other' with the opposite. When one is included in pronouns of solidarity, particularly an inclusive 'we' or 'you' it is possible that this makes resistant reading more demanding. Placing agency for evil in the hands of the other and for good in inanimates or abstractions allows the group to imply positive things about itself without actually stating them. In the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses for example, the agent of good is the Bible. The group, adherents of the Bible, benefit from this positive and productive agency.

The move from the probable to the true works in a similar oppositional way. The probable is often played off against the false. In the case of Scientology, for example, psychology and psychiatry are roundly dismissed. In the presence of this, Scientology needs only to be presented as a probable option to triumph. Indeed, in other Scientology texts, such as *Dianetics*, their own solution is presented as a certain and infallible one. Probability, when opposed to the false, takes the place of the true. That which cannot be proven is not necessarily false, the Jehovah's Witnesses write. From this they conclude that what cannot be proven is true. The space that probability gives is filled by assertion and the certainty of the group.

We have already seen that anti-cult groups also exploit an us/them distinction. It is in their exploitation of probability and certainty that they most resemble cult discourse, however. Cults, according to Info-cult, are deceptive. They use deception to recruit members. Info-cult rules out the possibility that one may join a group identified as a cult in good faith. "Generally people don't look for cults. Cults look for people to recruit". There are two words that recur in this section and which mitigate some of the claims made by Info-cult, 'can' and 'seems'. The use of 'seems' emphasises that the potential

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recruit needs to distrust appearances. "Members seem over-zealous and unquestioning about the group's leader", "The recruiter seems genuinely warm and sincere". The use of 'seems' tells us that it is not possible that these people are actually sincere. This is a case of clausal implicature. Levinson writes, "…if I use some linguistic expression that fails to commit me to some embedded proposition, in preference to another available stronger expression that would so commit me, then I may be taken to implicate that I am not in the (epistemic) position to make the stronger statement".[85]

The use of "can" indicates only possibility, but it is a compelling possibility, much stronger in effect that "might" or "may". "Can" allows predictions not be fulfilled but still to be true as it indicates possibility to (rather than probability). Thus, "Behavior conditioning techniques can be extremely effective and can lead to a deep state of dependence", but on the other hand, they might not work at all and may lead to no affiliation whatsoever. The two principles which apparently underpin this follow. "If you can make a person behave the way you want, you can make that person believe the way you want" has the effect of 'if you make someone do something, you control their beliefs' even though this is not what it says. The second principle states: "Sudden, drastic changes in environment can make a person vulnerable and lead to dramatic changes in attitude and beliefs"; or they might not. Further, the implication of this second principle is that the dramatic changes will be harmful and negative rather than useful and beneficial.

Hassan also manipulates the representation of knowledge in his account. This is most apparent in the account of his departure from the group, which he interprets as a divine accident. Here, being in the group is painted as a rational experience, something he 'knew', though this is under question as his use of italics suggest. Thus truth (often considered divine) and perceived knowledge, are in competition. His departure was caused by a car accident, a very literal accident in the witnessing schema outlined above, which made him temporarily immobile and dependent on family. His family brought in deprogramming experts to 'rescue' him from the cult. The uncertainty in the account of

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[85] p. 136.

recruiting is now gone. "I *knew* what I had been doing was right. I *knew* that God wanted me to remain in the group. I *knew* the Messiah personally, in the flesh. I *knew* the Divine Principle by heart".[86] Leaving the group is expressed in rational terms. Hassan was "a very difficult person to deprogram"[87] but "[o]n the morning of the last day of deprogramming, [he] had the indescribable experience of [his] mind suddenly opening up, as if a light switch had been thrown".[88] This suggests that the things he thought he knew were not actually the case. The knowledge given by the group was only apparent.

Yet in anti-cult literature there is also an appeal to intuitive knowledge of the kind finally rejected by Hassan. On the Info-cult site, one is given instructions as to how to deal with cults. The instructions in this section are often posed in imperatives which are also a call to action, "Pose your questions", "Be alert", "Trust", "Think". This suggests that the way to deal with a potentially suspicious group is clear and straightforward. It also suggests an active participation in the group of the anti-cult. Thus, just like joining a cult, affiliating with the anti-cult requires that action be taken. At the same time, one is told to "Be alert for vague responses such as 'all your questions will be answered in time'" and to "Trust your feelings". Thus, judging a potentially harmful group is more a matter of intuition of "try[ing] to determine if they are answering your questions honestly". This appeal to intuition, as one might expect, is also made by cult movements. In the instructions about how to read *Dianetics*, for example, "You will find as you read that many things "you always knew were so" are articulated here".[89]

We have also seen in cult texts the exploitation of agency. In the Jehovah's Witnesses, agency is given to the Bible to make it an active force in history. It speaks languages for example. Similar manipulation of agency is exploited in anti-cult texts to absolve the recruit of affiliation with the group. Williams paints himself as a victim without the resources to resist. He talks about his conversion as though he was not active in it. He

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[86] p. 28.

[87] p. 28.

[88] p. 29.

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writes, "Eventually...I became convinced". But this is only after constant and unrelenting attention on behalf of group members described only as "they". His confidence in his beliefs is undermined and he is thus won over. Williams portrays this as a surrender to pressure rather than a positive commitment. This is not always the case, however. Martyn owns his commitment more than Williams. A friend, "a bright, attractive and friendly person" got him involved with the movement which "impressed [him] with their strict sense of morality, conviction about the Bible and their commitment". It was "challenging". Though he had been warned about the group, he continued to meet with his friend who was "urgent and insistent" and showed "such care and love". But he owns the commitment when he writes, "Eventually, because I became convinced that the teachings were true, I was baptised...". Further, the reason he gives for becoming convinced is related to his friend's "care and love" rather than him feeling undermined or threatened. The closest Martyn comes to relinquishing agency is to say that he was "encouraged" to do certain things, such as move into a Church house and reach out to potential leaders.

This difference in taking responsibility for recruitment signals that anti-cult texts and ex-member accounts are not as uniform as some representations suggest. Just like cults, there is some variation in approach, even though there are many constants.

One of the most pervasive constants in cult discourse is the borrowing of established forms. This has been examined already in delivery. The shape of publications mirrors shapes of the popular and academic press. Further, stylistic features such as the use of logical language and inventive choices such as the exploitation of the topic of science, all appear to be a part of a general strategy of aspiration.

This strategy can be understood as response to the discourse context in which cult discourse communities find themselves. It is, then, a case of language contact. The minimisation of perceived risk in cult discourse has already been discussed. The potential member should ideally not feel that membership is a threatening prospect. Adopting

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[89] p. 2.

features of the dominant 'discourse community' aids in this minimisation of risk. At the same time, if cults are enculturating members into a new world-view, one would expect that a new language, or at least a new language variety, would be part of this enculturation.

We have seen how Scientology invents new words, how the Children of God have an idiosyncratic way of laying out texts and we know that the Jehovah's Witnesses have their own dictionary. But the introductory texts are not so much characterised by novelty as by traditional mainstream discourse practices. The transition from one language to another is gradual. The world-view of the groups is announced in recruiting materials in familiar terms, although these terms may have very specific meanings to the group. On the face of it, the language is not different and therefore not threatening. As one becomes more involved with the group, the variant language is revealed. Meanings of familiar words are re-defined, new words are introduced and even characteristic grammatical formations become habitual. Ankerberg and Weldon, in reference to the Mormons, write, "Mormons may use the same words that Christians use, but use them with different, or even opposite, meanings.... Although Mormons themselves may be ignorant of some of these definitions" which they proceed to give.[90] Botting and Botting, in relation to the Jehovah's Witnesses, comment,

> Despite ongoing pressure to conform socially and to adopt a 'new personality,' a long time must be spent by new converts in learning the theocratic language of the Witnesses through which their vision is transmitted and which distinguishes them as a unique community. As Rogerson noted, 'a new convert's conversation conspicuously lacks the "stock phrases" used and sanctioned by the Society...The Witnesses themselves approve of such a special vocabulary which they feel helps to ensure their loyalty to the Society - a situation similar to that in George Orwell's novel 1984 where the creation of Newspeak eliminated the possibility of thoughtcrime!'[91]

The effects of language contact between the cult and the anti-cult are not straightforward, however. The particular inventions of cults do not often find their way into everyday

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[90] pp. 9-10.

[91] p. 83.

language. Indeed, Weinriech remarks that if a language performs an 'esoteric' function, there may be a "reluctance to "lend" rather than to borrow".[92] The discourse contact of the two groups is also a social contact. If language is a social tool, a means of mediating social relationships, this is not unexpected. Indeed, the anti-cult phenomenon itself and its reification of various groups under the common title 'cult' are part of this contact. Just as the recruiting period in cults serves as a linguistic 'buffer zone' between potential and actual members (their linguistic resources indexing their degree of affiliation), the anti-cult movement itself can be understood as a 'buffer'. Because of the extreme views of the anti-cult movement, generalisations about cults and distortion of facts, the rest of the community is relieved of any analytical work in relation to cults.

These degrees of influence brought about by contact are reflected in various levels of affiliation that group members can have. Labov, in his investigation of Harlem's adolescent gang members, found four levels of affiliation in terms of language use. "At one extreme are the core members who are at the centre, then secondary members, peripheral members and finally *lames*".[93] In cults, there seem to be at least four levels of affiliation, and perhaps one more of general disaffiliation. There are the core members (who staff the organisation) those working their way up through the hierarchy (secondary members), new members (called 'premies' in the Children of God), peripheral members (those only sympathetic to the group and thus not properly members at all) and lames (previous members). The difference between peripheral members and those who are disaffiliated (lames) is one of positive and negative attitude respectively to the group.

Anti-cult discourse itself is conditioned by its contact with cult groups. Their discourse is clearly polarised between good and evil, it is characterised by assertions and imperatives.[94] More generally, it is reactive. Because a great deal of cult discourse looks

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[92] Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, (New York: Linguistics Circle of New York, 1953)p. 96.

[93] James and Lesley Milroy, *Authority in Language: investigating language prescription and standardisation*, 2nd edn, (London: Routlegde, 1985), p. 112.

[94] See for example Info-Cult, Appendix XX

quite benign, the anti-cultists are forced to represent cults in a negative and mysterious way. They then demystify this constructed mystery, in a textual enactment of their own project. The reason anti-cult groups are not seen as aspirant however, is that their ideologies cohere with the dominant ideologies. They are in no way regarded as deviant and re-inforce the apparently unproblematic notion that cults are, by their very nature, not only different but also deviant and dangerous.

Another constant that emerges in persuasive language is a systematic flouting of Grice's co-operative principle. Indeed, it seems that persuasive language can be partly understood in the way it flouts Grice's conversational principles. Grice's four maxims, which inform a more general co-operative principle help understand how it is that communication takes place, how what at first looks like an inappropriate response is actually a helpful conversational contribution. If we examine the four maxims, we find them flouted in one way or another in the texts we have examined. This then begs questions as to what Grice's maxims help us do. I suggest that in the instance of cult texts at least, they aid in the problematisation of discourse which leads to a better understanding of context and what 'relevance' in particular contexts actually means.

The maxim of quality states that one should say what is true, not what is false, and not make statements for which one lacks adequate evidence.[95] In L. Ron Hubbard's Story, he makes claims about his life which are patently false. His involvement in the military, for example, is complete fabrication as Jon Attack in *A Piece of Blue Sky* tells us.[96] We see this maxim flouted in other persuasive texts such as advertisements making unique claims for their products. This can be partly explained by community narrative action. At least, truth is beside the point when it comes to instantiating common myths for a movement. These myths aid in identification with the movement and membership activity.

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[95] Stephen Levinson, *Pragmatics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 101.

[96] See also Barrett, p. 257 ff.

The maxim of quantity is also flouted in these texts. It states that one should not make one's contribution more informative than is required. The Jehovah's Witnesses' strategy of arguing from the alternative, in localised as well as in episodic structures, flouts this maxim. Ex-member accounts also do this routinely with the inclusion of what is ultimately superfluous information. Williams tells us that "It was a hot humid day in June 1986" when he first encountered the Church of Christ.

The maxim of relevance is flouted by strategies that are logically fallacious and attempts at coherence which are merely apparent. The manipulation of arguments in the Children of God text can be seen as flouting this maxim as scientific theories are interpreted in ways that are consistent only with popularised notions of scientific enquiry. This particular contravention is not limited to cults either. The description of the time that cults take up, for example, the particular commitment they require, is simply not relevant to whether or not they are harmful. A sportsperson in training makes sacrifices in terms of time committed to other pursuits, but no–one would see this as inappropriate or harmful.

The maxim of manner is also contravened. It states that one should avoid obscurity, ambiguity and be brief and orderly. The obscurity of Scientology's invented terms, the ambiguous position of L. Ron Hubbard's in his movement, the repetition of the Jehovah's Witnesses and Children of God texts and the meandering episodes of the Jehovah's Witnesses text all ignore this maxim. This maxim is also flouted by Info-cult in their appeal to intuition in assessing whether or not a group is a cult.

Grice's maxims are flouted in everyday conversation. Offerings which seem to contravene the principles usually just require re-interpretation to reveal themselves as communicative events. The maxims are thus powerful explanatory tools in that they explain, and in a way recuperate, offerings as relevant. In the case of persuasive language, it may be that the floutings are essential to the persuasion.

By this I mean that what is understood as relevant is part of the persuasive process. To accept L. Ron Hubbard's Story as truth, for example, is to accept the movement, and L. Ron Hubbard in particular, as an agent of truth. The relevance of the detail in ex-

member accounts is not that it proves a point as such. Rather, the inclusion of details supports the speaker's claim to be able to prove a point or to recount a true story. Thus the flouting of the maxims actually makes persuasion possible. It provides the fulcrum point, if you like, for the move between the dominant and the cult ideology. "The Story" is constructed in such a way as to make irrelevancies seem relevant; to make ambiguities seem consistent. But this is done with a view to making a certain point, to prime the receiver to accept certain conclusions. Indeed, if the receiver recuperates the floutings and 'co-operates' with the text s/he is complicit in the construction of the text (in the same manner as complicity through enthymemic argument is secured). If this complicity is secured, the receiver is on the way to being persuaded by the text.

Flouting itself does not entail that movements are deceptive, merely that they are working with language in what, at first glance, look like unusual ways. I am not asserting that flouting is misleading or calculating. Rather, flouting allows a space for conversion. We know that all language is representation. Floutings aid in certain kinds of representation. Like metaphor, it allows us to see the world in slightly different ways. "I can well imagine a religion in which nothing was ever said", Wittgenstein says; "Or rather, in which anything is said is not a likeness (*Gleichnis*), but rather an element of behavior (*ein Bestandteil der Handlung*)".[97]

I suggest that the flouting found in cult texts signals a need to re-consider the genres that cults use. We have already seen that cults exploit familiar genres, such as autobiography in "The Story". Levinson, drawing on Wittgenstein's concept of language games, suggests that we think about language activity in terms of 'activity types'.[98] He defines 'activity types' as "any culturally recognized activity, whether or not that activity is coextensive with a period of speech of indeed whether any talk takes place at all".[99] Thus activity types are not merely linguistic events. The important question *"in what ways do*

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[97] Toulmin 1996, p. 298.

[98] Stephen Levinson, "Activity Types and Language", *Linguistics* 17 (1979), 365-399.

[99] p. 368.

the structural properties of an activity constrain (especially the functions of) the verbal contributions that are made towards it".[100]

The notion of the activity type allows a contextualisation of Grice's maxims.[101] Attardo writes, "The knowledge that is required to make the appropriate inferences is clearly not provided by Grice's maxims alone, for these are (implicitly) supposed to hold across different kinds of activity".[102] Contextualising Grice's maxims makes clear that systematic flouting in cult texts is not evidence of sinister deception. Rather, it is symptomatic of particular cult activity types articulated in pre-existing genres. The structural properties of activities are constrained by features of the discourse community, as we have seen in examination of the texts in previous chapters. Given that cults are different from other groups in society, it is no great surprise that they may use different genres, or rather (as we have seen) use genres in different ways.

We have seen, though, that anti-cult texts use the same kinds of textual techniques that cults do. The bifurcation between the us and them which both cult and anti-cult groups make seems to be an attempt to find solid answers, unassailable conclusions. We know from an understanding of rhetoric, however, that this is not always possible. Hassan writes that people "should be protected from processes that *make* them believe Mr Moon is the Messiah" for example.[103] Even proponents of extreme brainwashing models would not suggest that it works uniformly and consistently. In the light of the above comparison between the cult and the anti-cult it does not seem possible to conclude that cults use language in a different way from other groups. Further, the fact that it is possible to interrogate the arguments that they make and question the strategies which they use questions exactly how it is possible to 'make' people believe anything.

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[100] p. 370. CDA also understands genre in this way. Kress writes, "A question about generic form ... leads to answers involving a description of social occasion, its place and value in the larger social structures, and an assessment of who can or cannot participate, and in what ways". Kress 1990, p. 90.

[101] See Attardo.

[102] Attardo, p. 371.

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CHAPTER EIGHT - CULTS: WHAT THEY ARE

The term "cult" is highly contentious and quite unfashionable. There are nearly as many definitions of "cult" as alleged "cults" themselves. Whether the word is applicable to any group at all is contested.[1] Indeed, scholars of 'new religious movements' avoid use of the term 'cult'. This is potentially unfortunate, as cults are not necessarily 'new' or 'religious'.[2] In this section I will be reviewing some of the proposed definitions of cults in an attempt to come to terms with what "cult" might actually mean. I will do this by drawing on the last chapter (the generalisations already made about cult rhetoric) and by referring to definitions offered by others. It is impossible to conduct meaningful discussions about cults in the absence of a clear definition of the term itself. Ultimately, I will be arguing for a neutralisation of the term in so far as I suggest it should be stripped of its negative connotations.[3] While I will be looking at the use of the terms 'cult', 'sect' and 'new religious movement' in the context of discourse, this section is ultimately semantic in its focus. This is not to say that I will only be offering definitions. It has already been established that cult and anti-cult recruiting rhetoric do not differ in the strategies that they use. I will also examine the recruiting texts of a management consultancy, McKinsey, to see how far it satisfies the criteria of cult, even though it would not normally be classed as one. I do this in order to examine whether the features of cult and anti-cult recruiting rhetoric are specific to the cult discourse context.

Cults

Examining the definition of cult is important and timely. Currently in Europe, and the rest of the world, there are a number of official investigations being conducted into the danger of cults and new religious movements. These investigations are being conducted with a

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[1] This is indicated by the way in which sociologists of religion avoid the term altogether.

[2] Non-religious alleged cults include Lifeforce and *est*.

[3] These negative connotations are for the most part taken as denotations.

view to possible legislation to restrict the rights and activities of these groups. I have already outlined the recent legislation passed in France in the first chapter. A document was also produced in 1997 by the Belgian parliament which recommended making 'mind control' a crime and included, among others, the YWCA on its list of dangerous groups.[4] Without a clear understanding of what a cult actually is, such moves are potentially oppressive and certainly not informed. This is particularly the case because of the close relations between anti-cult groups and government.[5]

These official moves against cults are understandable. The mass suicides of the Solar Temple, Heaven's Gate and Jonestown loom large in the media representation of cults. There is no suggestion that there are not dangers associated with some cults. But whether or not these dangers are germane to cults as such is a pertinent issue. Though if it is the case that 'cult' is an indication of such violence then that may well be acceptable. This does not seem to be the case. As will be discussed, 'cult' seems to attach to deviant beliefs and practices rather than to actual violence. Introvigne discusses the association of 'cult' and 'danger' in the notion of 'moral panic'. In the 1970's "Moral panics were defined as socially constructed social problems characterized by a reaction, both in media representation and in political forums, out of proportion to actual threat".[6] The moral panic is the result of particular narratives and representations. These narratives and stereotypes are reproduced by the media and the public as 'new' and unconfirmed folk

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[4] Massimo Introvigne, "Religious Liberty in Western Europe", www.cesnur.org/Wahsington.htm (Introvigne (a))

[5] See Introvigne (a). It is not surprising that anti-cult experts are consulted by government bodies. They may well be the only experts available. Further, by the virtue of the fact that they campaign for their own agenda, they are also well known. I am not suggesting that all 'anti-cult' experts are mistaken or deceptive. Indeed, the term 'anti-cult' is problematic in itself. The problem is that in the cult discourse context there are a number of views; if only a small section of these views are taken into account then a complete picture cannot possibly be attained.

[6] See "Who is Afraid of Religious Minorities: The Social Construction of a Moral Panic", Massimo Introvigne, www.cesnur.org/panic.htm. (Introvigne (b))

statistics are repeated, even in the face of opposing scholarly work.[7] Tabor and Gallagher confirm this specifically in relation to cults,

> In public discussion the dominance of a single representation of "cult" activities testifies not only to the success of anticult activities but also to most people's deep-seated fears about the loss of personal autonomy, profound unwillingness to question fundamental personal and social values, and suspicions about intensely held and acted upon religions convictions.[8]

All this is not to say that there is not an underlying grain of truth in the panic. That there have been violent occurrences is undeniable. Rather, these real dangers are exaggerated, misrepresented, claimed to be new phenomena and then used as a call to political action. Moral panic is evident in the meanings, and traces of meaning, that attach to the term 'cult'. In order to expose some of the attitudes to 'cults' within the cult 'discourse community' I will examine the way in which they define 'cult'.

Hall writes,

> The term "cult" has a variety of meanings. But whatever the possible dictionary definitions, in the late-twentieth-century United States, the term became almost universally recognized as a stigmatic label for countercultural religious groups. The terms thus takes on its current cultural significance through meanings promulgated by the anticult movement.[9]

The anti-cult movement is responsible for many of the discourse practices surrounding cults, primarily negative accounts. This has been established in the previous chapter. The definitions and biases that surround cults are of three basic kinds. All show traces of particular viewpoints and narratives that inform a more general ideology. Firstly, scholars who insist that cults are cults primarily because of unorthodox beliefs, particularly unorthodox Christian beliefs (counter-cultists); secondly, writers (often ex-members) who concentrate on notions of harm and usually invoke brainwashing (often called apostates or anti-cultists); and thirdly, those who refuse to use the term at all and attempt

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[7] See Introvigne (b).

[8] p. 127.

[9] Hall, p. 45.

to demystify the cult issue (often called cult apologists). Of course, these groups are not always mutually exclusive. The term 'cult-apologist' is misleading, however. It is a term that is used by anti-cultists to brand scholars working on new religious movements. They do not 'apologise' for cults, rather than attempt to demystify them. In the hands of the anti-cultist, however, 'cult-apologist' is a pejorative term.

The names that attach to these biases show biases themselves. The terms anti-cultist, counter-cultist, apostate and cult apologist can be explained by the negative connotation that 'cult' has. These terms are all potentially pejorative and are used liberally in the discussion of cults. That there are different types of bias and conventional terms of abuse for them demonstrates clearly that the movement against cults is not a unified phenomenon. Media commentary suggests a clear polarisation between cults and those who disapprove of them, that is, anyone not actually involved in a cult. This presentation of the situation is ironic given that cults are typified as having an us-them view of the world.

Counter-Cult

As previously discussed, the counter-cult movement is both well organised and well represented in forums for cult discussion. Walter Martin is one of the most well-known counter-cultists. His detailed descriptions of the doctrines of cults are valuable exactly for their detail. His criticism of what he views as unorthodox doctrine is set always in a particular understanding of orthodox Christianity.

The counter-cultists also have a large network of information and action organisations, especially in the United States. Some of these grew directly out of opposition to and action against a particular group such as the Watchtower Fellowship, who work against the Jehovah's Witnesses, and FreeCOG, who work against the Children of God. Indeed, some ex-members like Hassan and Rick Ross, have styled themselves as entrepreneurial

cult specialists and exit-counsellors.[10] Information about cults is not always impartial. Action and information groups are often consulted by concerned friends and family when a cult is suspected of being in their midst. The information given at this stage can be crucial to the successful continuation of relationships. It is important that people know to whom they are speaking.[11]

It is not always easy to identify a counter-cultist. The kind of language that some use to talk about cults sounds very much like the language of the anti-cultists. The counter-cultist does not always speak in terms of detailed doctrinal infringements as Martin does, but it is these infringements which are often put forth as a basis for the critique. Markham, Wookey and Allan could all be described as counter-cultists in so far as they are orthodox Christian professionals. On the other hand, their discussion of cults is remarkably similar to that of anti-cultists and at times sociologists in so far as they use pseudo-scientific language, focus on group organisation and notions of psychological harm.[12]

Wookey points out that a 'cult' used to designate a religious practice; there was no value attached to the term.[13] Now, though, cults are at best considered deviant, in theory (i.e. theologically) and in practice.[14] Allan thinks that deviance is enough of a definition for 'cults' to sustain an entire textual investigation of them[15] and tends to avoid the issue of

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[10] See Rick Ross's home page www.rickross.com [accessed 10th March 1999]. It is interesting that these activities have been somewhat curtailed, at least in the United States by rulings about the illegality of kidnapping for the purposes of 'exit counselling'. Deprogrammers argue that the recruit is not in a fit state to make competent decisions, that knowledge and competence are not present. See Gallanter, pp. 157-8.

[11] Going to a biased group for information about potential cults is akin to going to a Christian organisation for a pregnancy test. The advice one receives stands a good chance of being biased in particular and predictable ways.

[12] See for example Allan, Enroth, and Markham.

[13] Wookey, p. 14.

[14] Wookey, p. 15. See also R. Stark, and W.S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion*, Peter Land, New York, 1987, p. 124.

[15] p. 13.

definitions all together. "A cult is seen as a cult simply because someone chooses so to describe it, and while the word may be unsuitable it is the one with which we are stuck".[16] It may well be the case that the term "cult" seems to stick, but to fail to interrogate why we choose to describe certain groups as cults is a curious omission.

Wookey does identify some themes of cults, notably, authoritarianism, elitism, ends justifying means, financial dishonesty and psychological manipulation.[17] This combination of features is commonly held by the anti-cultists in relation to cults. Exactly where the emphasis lies, however, does differ. It seems that all features need to be included because otherwise 'acceptable' groups and religions would fall under the model. On the other hand, even these themes do not necessarily preclude many religious and secular groups which we do not consider dangerous let alone cultish. Certain parishes and practitioners of orthodox religions are from time to time accused of all these things.

Wookey's themes are also articulated in populist accounts of cults, such as one might find in magazines or newspapers.[18] The psychological manipulation aspect is especially stressed. "Cults commonly use mind control tactics" including hypnosis, peer group pressure, love bombing, confusing doctrine, isolation and confession".[19] We are also commonly told that "cults can recruit *anyone*, given the right conditions".[20] These views are widely attested because the anti-cultist is most likely to be consulted by the press, though of course this is not exclusively the case. However, when differing views are articulated they are defeasing the anti-cult stereotypes.[21] The accounts most often found in the press emphasise a charismatic leader, separation from family and friends, isolation

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[16] p. 15.

[17] p. 16 ff.

[18] For example, Tabor and Gallagher write, "The anticult viewpoint completely pervades the relatively democratic medium of the televised talk show", p. 123.

[19] Wilson.

[20] Melanie McGrath, "Sects Lessons", *Minx*, January 1999, pp. 66-70.

[21] See for example, Andrew Collier, "Sects on the brain", *The Scotsman*, 7 April 1998, p. 13.

from anything outside the group, sleep and food deprivation, sexual control and excessive exposure to group practices and exercises. These accounts also emphasise that no-one is immune from the allure of cults, that intelligence is not necessarily a defence.[22]

Anti-Cult

The anti-cultists appear to have a rather sophisticated understanding of cults and often incorporate psychological and sociological accounts of group behaviour into their damnation of cults. For example they draw on cognitive dissonance theory, 'scientific' models of brainwashing and group dynamic theorisation.[23] They use these tools to buttress the argument that "'cults' are subversive both of families and individuals and of the core values of society as a whole".[24] There are three major themes involved in the way that anti-cultists define cults; deviance, psychological manipulation and destructive harm. These strands support and entail each other.

Markham defines cults as *"any group with an elitist cause and view of itself that in order to promote its cause either consciously or unconsciously abuses individuals' rights and freedoms"* (Markham's emphasis).[25] This follows on from Enroth's notion that a cult always "inflicts sociological abuses on its members" either intentional or not.[26] Enroth also defines a cult by the sorts of observable changes in its members; isolation, thought reform, changes in personality, new values and so on.[27] These are the sorts of changes that lead directly to charges of brainwashing and mind control. But what counts as negative observable change is not clear and seems to be dictated by what the *status quo* determines to be deviant.

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[22] See for example Wilson.

[23] See, for example, Hassan, Wookey and Enroth.

[24] Hall, p. 49.

[25] p. 14.

[26] Markham, p. 13.

[27] p. 12.

Hassan makes the destructive nature of cults essential to his understanding of them. Yet he recognises that some religious groups which may seem deviant are not destructive.[28] He also recognises that cults are not necessarily religious.[29] Hassan sees contemporary cults as exploiting psychological techniques, which he calls 'mind control', to manipulate people. Hassan suggests that these techniques are not 'hit and miss' as the art of cult leadership once was, but that they always manage to control people, to overcome their will.[30] Hassan's objection to cults is only that they are always destructive because of this psychological coercion.[31]

There is, however, a further feature to be added to destruction to make a cult a worthy foe. This is deviance, either of belief or, usually, of practice. Deviance, strictly just difference from the dominant ideology, is given teeth by charges of psychological manipulation. This is a circular association. The deviance is considered so extreme that such practices and beliefs could only be committed by ('normal' 'rational') people under some kind of duress or mesmerism. Thus the deviance becomes not just difference but malicious manipulation of innocence, presumably for and by some greater evil. I will deal first with the charge that cults are destructive and then move onto deviance.

As has been said, if the strict association of cults and destruction holds, there is actually very little which can be said on the matter. If cults are destructive by definition, then we should look for destruction when identifying cults and not be surprised when a cult is destructive.

If being destructive to the individual is the defining feature, and the only defining feature, of cults, it suggests that all groups in which we come to harm are cultish. Thus schools can be cults, the armed forces, sport groups and so on. Indeed, Barker attempts to defuse the negativity surrounding cults by pointing out that "many of the *processes* involved in

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[28] p. 37.

[29] p. 37. See also Wookey, p. 14.

[30] pp. 37-8.

[31] p. 44.

becoming a member of an NRM [new religious movement] differ little, if at all, from the sorts of processes that occur in the family, the school, the army, or, indeed, some traditional religions."[32] This is not really an objection to the definition of cults as destructive as such, rather, it begs the question as to whether we call all cults "cult". Indeed, Thouless identifies this tactic as "one mentioned by Bentham in his book *The Theory of Fictions*. It is still used fairly commonly. Its general form is to discourage action against some admitted evil by pointing to some other evil which is stated to be worse than the first evil, but about which the user of the argument is making no proposal to do anything".[33]

Harm is harm. No doubt harm can come to us in all situations. It is never justified. At the same time, to posit harm as a primary feature of cults is to put judgement before classification. Deviant groups may be classified as cults and then assumed to be harmful (if this is part of the 'definition' of 'cult'). Harm may then come to mean anything outside the status quo, especially if brainwashing is added to the equation. In empirical terms, Gallanter has shown that membership of alleged cults has been positively beneficial for many members.[34] The doctrine of destruction is largely circulated by disgruntled ex-members who are, for whatever reason, not happy about their association with a group. It is important to remember that these are not the only kind of ex-members.

It is here that the problems of psychological manipulation and representation of this become relevant. Some ex-members argue for harm, that they were victims, and that the terrible things they did could only have been a result of manipulation. What is at issue here are agency and responsibility. We have already seen some of this in some of the ex-member accounts. By abdicating responsibility, they are not complicit in the harm that they and others suffered. Rather, they explain, they were helpless in the face of the manipulative cult. It is this process which produces ex-member accounts which are at once confessionals and accusations.

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[32] Barker, 1989, p. 19.

[33] p. 50.

The beliefs of many alleged cults *are* deviant, in the sense that they are different. But to use the current dominant ideology to judge deviance as destructive can only, logically, make transitions to and from these groups highly traumatic. It is not surprising that cults themselves accuse exit counsellors of brainwashing, while exit counsellors assert that they are de-programming brainwashed members.[35] Thus the discourses that speak against cults as harmful may in fact do more harm than the cults themselves. Indeed, Gallanter remarks that those who left the movement of their own volition "had mixed feelings about their experience but expressed a relatively benign view of both their own involvement and the ongoing participation of their remaining compatriots".[36] Those who were deprogrammed, however, "had a much more negative attitude towards the sect and had apparently become more involved in a cohesive group of mutually committed persons attempting to deprogram others",[37] that is, part of the anti-cult community. This certainly requires further investigation. The essential point remains, however. Difference does not mean deviance. This becomes apparent when one considers that the same group is considered an 'evil cult' in some countries, a benign religion in others.[38]

If we neutralise 'deviance' into difference, there is little argument that cults (or NRMs or whatever we choose to call them) are deviant. For those within the group it is a positive difference, for those without, often a negative one. Deviance, though only in the sense of difference, is a major defining factor in cult apologists' accounts of cults.

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[34] See Gallanter, p. 84 ff.

[35] See Hassan, p. 27. "By now I was thoroughly programmed and immediately "knew" that the deprogramming team had been sent directly by Satan".

[36] p. 109.

[37] p. 109. See also p. 157. "Whatever their reasons for leaving, members who departed voluntarily prepared for this task in deliberating over their choice; they felt that the decision was essentially their own. In contrast to those abducted and forced out of the group, they thought through their own rationales for leaving and somehow reconciled them with a remaining affection for the group."

[38] The case of Falun Gong is an excellent example of this. Because the group is not always in agreement with the Chinese government, they have been denounced as an evil cult (See for example, the five booklet set 'Falun Gong is a Cult' issued by the Chinese government). In the West, they are not considered to be an evil cult.

Cult apologists

The 'cult apologists' are by and large sociologists. They emphasise difference rather than deviance. There is a distinction in the sociology of religion between 'cult' and 'sect', with 'sect' being used as one might expect 'cult' to be. For Steve Bruce, both 'cults' and 'sects' are deviant in belief. The 'cult' is pluralistically legitimate, while the sect is uniquely legitimate in its claim to truth.[39] Wallis also makes a distinction between cult and sect, but the difference is an arrogation of authority in the sect.[40]

Glock and Stark define cults on the basis of their beliefs and distinguish them from sects on the same basis.

> Religious movements which draw their inspiration from other than the primary religion of the culture, and...are not schismatic movements in the same sense as sects whose concern is with preserving a purer form of the traditional faith.[41]

Thus an individual can convert from cult to sect or vice versa, but there can be no "organization transformation".[42] Wallis, on the other hand, defines cults (though he calls them 'sects' as has been noted[43]) on the basis of organisational structure. Simply, it involves

> ... the arrogation of authority....This centralization of authority is typically legitimized by a claim to a unique revelation which locates some source or sources of authority concerning doctrinal innovation and interpretation beyond the individual member or practitioner, usually in the person of the revelator himself.[44]

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[39] Paul Heelas, (ed.) with the assistance of David Martin and Paul Morris, *Religion, Modernity and Postmodernity*, (London: Blackwell, 1998), p. 21.

[40] When this cult/sect distinction is made, the 'sect' is actually what is commonly known as the 'cult'.

[41] Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 245.

[42] Wallis, 1976, p. 11.

[43] Indeed, continental scholars appear to use the term "sect".

[44] Wallis, 1976, p. 17.

This definition of cults is sensible for many reasons. Quite obviously it avoids the problem of associating harm *a priori* with 'cult'. Further, the authoritarian structure may encourage (though not necessitate) many of the other features often associated with cults, the charismatic leader for example. It is also sensible because it allows us to look outside religious groups for cults. This definition starts a rescue of 'cult' back in to a value-neutral space, while still acknowledging that bad things happen.

The kind of authority Wallis describes will usually entail a certain kind of belief system in so far as the beliefs necessary to maintain the system of authority will need to be included in the doctrine of the group. Wallis writes,

> Those movements and groups which construe their path to truth, salvation [183] or utopia as *uniquely legitimate* will tend to define the boundaries of doctrine rather sharply to distinguish themselves from those beliefs and programmes which they reject.

> Pluralistically legitimate movements and groups, by contrast, are those that do not completely reject the validity of alternative paths to truth, salvation, or utopia. Although they may view their own as greatly superior, they are prepared to co-operate to some extent with others, to work within a set of game rules which requires collaboration.[45]

If one truly believes one has exclusive access to the truth, the sorts of features that Wookey mentions become far more likely to present themselves. The notion that the end justifies the means, for example, which could in turn include psychological and sexual manipulation and financial dishonesty, may be encouraged by an exclusive claim to truth.

In an attempt to offer an altogether different perspective, scholars such as Melton, Barker, Massimo have coined the term "new religious movement" (NRM).

> The new religion typically offers a direct or unambiguous promise of salvation to the community of true believers - or to the individual who follows the true path or practice...In short, a new religion is more likely to offer immediacy and certainty than the mainstream religions, which may appear remote and continually indulging in prevarication and equivocation - especially to an impatient youth

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[45] Wallis, 1979, pp. 182-3.

seeking a clear solution to the complex problems of today's world or their own personal problems.[46]

Interestingly, this definition could easily be about 'cults' in so far as it does not dramatically differ from Wallis' account. The appeal to certainty can be seen to entail all manner of authoritarian behaviour; but there is no necessary link between the two. However, discussion of NRMs has demystified the world of alternative religions to a large extent. Groups like INFORM and CESNUR[47] encourage dialogue between members of the public, academics and the groups themselves. These academic groups also encourage a number of different approaches to the groups; sociological, psychological, political, ethical and philosophical. The commentary that they provide on the political forces at work in the NRM debate is especially valuable.

The term 'new religious movement' is not used outside a very small number of practitioners. It is not so much a replacement term for cult or sect as a new direction for work about religious groups altogether. The overlap between the two projects is far from complete.

Gallanter, despite the title of his book including "cult", refers to "charismatic movements". He posits four psychological characteristics: "members (1) have a *shared belief system*, (2) sustain a high level of *social cohesiveness*, (3) are strongly influenced by the group's *behavioural norms*, and (4) impute *charismatic* (or sometimes *divine*) *power* to the group of its leadership".[48] I include these features in the following definition of 'cult', not because Gallanter posits them, but because they are exhibited by the texts already examined.

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[46] Barker 1989, p. 11.

[47] INFORM is based at the London School of Economics, founded by Eileen Barker. CESNUR is an Italian based group under the leadership of Massimo Introvigne. They participate in and arrange seminars, hold libraries of and disseminate information about movements.

[48] p. 4.

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"CULT"

It is unfortunate that the ongoing debates about brainwashing and cults are not routinely engaged with. The implication is that these terms are simply too subjective and not rigorous enough. This may well be the case. The subject of brainwashing has produced a great number of publications, both actual and virtual, most of which have a particular axe to grind but still purport to reveal the truth in scientific, psychological and sociological terms. Still, investigation of the terms 'brainwashing' and 'cult' would be interesting, if for no other reason than to understand the discourse context. It may well be the case that these controversies are still too fresh to allow such a project (indeed the storms are still raging). It is the lack of self-reflection about the entire cult discourse that is unfortunate.[49]

Given the multiplicity of definitions and features put forward for cults, a semantic invariant along Wierzbicka's lines must be found. To propose the features that will be part of the invariant I will use NSM. I will identify the features before 'translating' them into NSM. As the term cult is so highly contested, it is ripe for this attention. It seems that the perceived difference of groups marks them out as potential cults. J.K. Hadden writes that he describes what he does as working with 'weird religions' rather than with 'cults'; this concept of weirdness is the sort of difference that is easily transformed into destructive deviance. I intend to consider both the groups considered to be cults and the discourse that they produce to work towards a definition. Thus a definition of 'cult' becomes descriptive rather than normative.

In some ways, cult calling is a complete stand-off. The groups that sociologists call sects (which we are more likely to call cults) claim a unique knowledge, the truth. We claim, in calling them cult, either that they cannot do this in principle, but more often that their particular answer is wrong. It is wrong often only because it is not an answer that the rest of us have. Thus error grows directly out of difference. Likewise, seeing cults as harmful

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[49] For a good account of the 'blacklisting' of 'brainwashing' and the general 'cult' debate see Zablocki 1997.

per se is often a reaction based directly on the perception of radical difference. In short, it is a justification for intolerance.

In the following proposed invariant features, I have drawn on the insights of scholars discussed above and also on what we know about the groups whose discourse has so far been examined. There are, however, two steps to the definition process. The first is finding the features which we would consider invariant in relation to 'cult'. The second is determining, on the basis of these features rather than because of prejudice, which groups are actually cults.

There is little point in denying that cults transgress cultural norms. Many of the eastern groups that we call cults would be little remarked upon in South East Asia and India. Thus:

1) Cults express an ideology different to that of the dominant ideology

This explains why we do not regard the armed forces or traditional Christian churches as cults. That cults express a different ideology from the norm is part of their difference. We saw this in the texts examined in their particular doctrines. Scientology, for example, believes in the power of the mind, that "thought is king". The Jehovah's Witnesses offer an untraditional interpretation of the Bible, one that is at times literal, at times metaphorical. The Children of God follow the word of Berg over anything else, while purporting to have a Biblical base. From the examination of their general beliefs we saw that the way these groups believe life should be conducted is certainly not like the rest of the population.

'Cult' certainly also implies a group. You cannot be in a cult all by yourself. Further, what holds the cult together, as in any 'discourse community', is at least in part epistemic. There also seems to be an element of good feeling associated with the movement, an affective bond.[50] But this seems to be directly related to the content of the

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[50] See Barker 1984, p. 181.

ideas. In any case, the kind of affective bond is not always the same. Further it is not clear that it is universal to cults.[51]

2) Cults are groups of people brought together by beliefs and ideas.

It is the ideas that the rest of society consider to be different that hold the group together. Cult texts discuss and put forward these ideologies. The recruitment texts themselves are a way of bringing new members into the ideological fold and keeping them there. This has been mentioned in explaining why the texts examined are used for both recruiting purposes and for the maintenance of membership for current members. The cult is a 'discourse community' and the members must have something in common. Its ways of communicating and what it communicates constitute the common ground which allows a group to be identified in the first place. This is very clear in the Children of God text where a member is one who believes in Creationism as opposed to evolution, for example.

While I do not want to buy into charges that cults are harmful by definition, it seems that there is something else that is required to make a group with different ideas into a cult.[52] Wallis' notion of arrogation of authority seems entirely appropriate. With a central authority, whether it be a charismatic leader or an ideology now strictly coded, the group

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"It has long been recognized that the existence of an 'affective bond' can play a crucial - some have claimed a necessary - role in the process of recruitment. Lofland and Stark, in their analysis of conversion into the Unification Church in the early 1960s, wrote:

If persons...are to be further drawn down the road to full conversion, an affective bond must develop, if one does not already exist, between the potential recruit and one or more of the...members. The development or presence of some positive emotional, interpersonal response seems necessary to bridge the gap between first exposure of the [Unification] message and accepting its truth....Final conversion was coming to accept the opinion of one's friends."

[51] In the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses, for example, affiliation seems to have more to do with a rational/intellectual conversion.

[52] Otherwise every group of three people walking down the street might now be a cult (instead of a protest as was the case in Queensland Australia). That is, it was possible for

is the identity and people are members. Further, this has the advantage of explaining how some of the typical trademark myths of cults (i.e. that they necessarily have a strong charismatic leader) come about. Further, as we have seen in the examination of the background and texts of the movements, this is a commonality. Thus:

3) Cults have a centralised authority structure.

We have seen this centralised authority structure most clearly in Scientology and the Children of God where one man is the founder and continuing presence in the movement. In the Jehovah's Witnesses, the leader is less personalised, though still manages to speak with one unified voice. We also know that these movements do have clear lines of membership hierarchy, lines which are moved along in very determinate ways. There are also sanctions from above if one does not toe the ideological line of the movement. Scientology, for example, has a sophisticated disciplinary procedure.

To maintain this centralised authority, the leadership has to have the only say and it must be singular. A centralised authority cannot say 'do whatever you want' and still be the kind of centralised *authority* we mean here. It is easy to see where the 'us-them' mentality often associated with cults comes from. Such an understanding of the group, as completely different from other groups, is not necessarily a bad thing. Differentiating between 'us' and 'them' is just that, differentiation. That this differentiation is often accompanied by value judgements (we are good and you are bad) is an additional feature. Thus

4) Cults distinguish between members and non-members; us and them

This feature is very clear in the texts examined. There is an explicit distinction made between those in the movement and those without; between those who believe in the same ideas as the group and those who do not. Indeed, this is lexically encoded by the

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people to be arrested if a group of three or more people were in a public place complaining about the same thing; as this constituted a 'protest'.

Children of God and Scientology as 'systemites' and 'SP' (suppressive person) respectively.

There is one final feature I would like to posit for cults. When a group becomes the source of an individual identity, then it is a cult. This means that the same group may or may not be a cult to different individuals (though if a majority of members associated with the group as a cult we would probably call it that).

5) The group is the main source of identity for the individual

This feature is a difficult one to justify, though it seems to follow from the strict ideological adherence to the movement's beliefs and the stark distinction between those within the group and those without it. Witnessing documents and distinctive narrative activities of members offer perhaps the best evidence for this feature. In these texts, the individual re-interprets his/her life in the light of the movement. The movement's ideology becomes the locus of meaning for the individual's life.

This final feature, along with the distinction between insiders and outsiders, goes a long way in understanding how it is that cults may be harmful. It is important to add that membership presents harm especially when the member comes into contact with non-members, with those who do not share the values that inform their identity. Thus the Waco disaster, and even Jonestown, can be understood as a reaction to threats from the outside, rather than some inevitable internal destruction.[53] It is in fact a case of discourses coming into conflict. This is not to say that some 'cults' are not harmful in isolation.

After discussion of what it means for the group to be the source of individual identity, I will show that this feature (and thus the designation 'cult') does not necessitate harm. When the group gives the individual identity, the individual ceases to exist in the way we normally conceive of individuals existing. We think of individuals as autonomous beings, as having an essence which is unchanging. It is because of this autonomy that we respect decisions that people make which we might not choose. Post-modern theory suggests that

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[53] See Hall, 2000.

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the individual is rather a collection of different aspects.[54] The individual itself is a construction. Indeed, having seen the constructedness of narrative and the way narrative shapes an individual's sense of self, the individual can easily be understood as a construct. To say that the individual is a construct is not to say that individuals do not exist or that they are artificial; it gestures rather to their complexity and the difficulty in representing self to other selves.

We posit continuity of essence, but this is not necessarily the case. More importantly, this is not provable. In some groups, once the decision has been made to join, all one's decisions are focussed around the ideology of the group. The individual becomes constructed by a single source. Muhlhausler and Harré note that the use of pronouns in languages demonstrates something about the social roles present in a society. Our English understanding of the autonomy of the individual is captured and also made available by the particular pronoun system that we have. Other systems do not function in the same way however. For example,

> The ethical system of a culture like Bali or [114] traditional Japan or New Guinea (cf. The ethnography of Read, 1955) does not recognize a context-free moral individual with universal rights and duties and the sole power of executive decision and action.[55]

Thus, saying that the group becomes the source of identity for the individual is not quite as sinister as it sounds at first. I am not suggesting that members are brainwashed in the sense that we commonly understand it; a kind of mesmerism which precludes all thought. But once the decision to be a committed member is made, all kinds of other decisions are entailed. The individual chooses the groups' measure of good in all things; there is no individual value system apart from the group, or rather, all individual's value systems fall into line. The individual chooses to align his or her value system with that of the group. If this becomes somehow unworkable, if it is in fundamental conflict with the individual,

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[54] See Socor.

[55] Peter Muhlhausler and Rom Harré, *Pronouns and People: The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 113-4.

the member leaves the group. If we believe in individual autonomy, we have to accept that an individual might make decisions we don't understand.

As individuals we tell our lives. In different cultures and languages, what is significant in the life story differs. Indeed, in some cultures there is no notion of a 'life story'.[56] As part of a cult, one's idea of self may well change because the narrative structures that one uses to represent oneself change. "Personal narrative simultaneously is born out of experience and gives shape to experience. In this sense, narrative and self are inseparable".[57] We see these narrative practices at work especially in witnessing texts. We cannot assume that this change in viewpoint, that this change of choice in the way that one tells and so lives one's life, is a result of coercion.

Erich Fromm in his text *Escape From Freedom* writes about this phenomenon. He cites Goebbels, "To be a socialist is to submit the I to the thou; socialism is sacrificing the individual to the whole".[58] The sacrifice of the individual is seen as noble and necessary for the good of the whole. One finds a similar kind of ideology at work in Plato's *Republic*. The individual is reduced to its function in the whole. Yet it is not necessarily a sacrifice, nor is it necessarily a reduction. What it means to be an individual, indeed even whether this concept is appropriate, is dependent on the cultural context of a particular community.

Weiss writes,

> To disarm or gain the allegiance of its citizens, therefore, totalitarian regimes must substitute, where possible, an undifferentiated mass experience and mythology as a counterforce. The mass public theatricalism of totalitarian regimes, for example, was designed to curb any natural attachment to independent judgement.[59]

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[56] See Muhlhausler and Harré, pp. 113-4.

[57] Ochs and Capps, p. 20.

[58] p. 258.

[59] p. 98.

The mythology may be nationalism, abstractions like 'justice' or the assertion that we are right and others wrong. At this level of abstraction a positive value is sufficient for this counterforce. These kinds of narratives join people together, in the same way that AA testimonies join members to the common narrative practices of the group and thus in turn to the group itself. Weiss, it appears, assumes that there is a natural attachment to independent judgement. This does not necessarily appear to be the case. Rather, our dominant mythology is one which values independent judgement; even if it is not always exercised or even encouraged.

Thus the features that we have for cults are as follows:

1. Cults express an ideology different to that of the dominant ideology.

2. Cults are groups of people brought together by beliefs and ideas.

3. Cults have a centralised authority structure.

4. Cults distinguish between members and non-members; us and them.

5. The group is the source of identity for the individual.

We shall take each in NSM. I will approach these features from the outside because of the absence of a first person plural in NSM. I have also used the external approach because indubitably, members of the cults would not describe themselves in the same way as people not within the movement. Thus the 'you' is the member of the cult. For the first element of difference we have:

1.1 You are not like other people

1.2 You do not do things like other people

1.3 You do not say things like other people

1.4 (You do not look like other people)

1.5 People do not think this is a good thing

1.6 People think that you do bad things

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1.7 People think you do bad things to other people

1.8 People think you make other people do bad things

This captures the notion of difference (1.1-1.4) as well as the notion of deviance (1.5-1.8). The element of not looking like other people is not part of the semantic invariant, hence it is in parenthesis. Some groups do have identifying modes of dress or grooming, but this is far from universal. That the beliefs of the group are negatively evaluated by those outside the group, by the dominant ideology, is captured in the last four lines.

In the second feature, that of common ideology, the 'these people' are the other members of the cult and the 'you' is the recruit.

2. These people say something to you

2.1 After this time/because of this:

2.2 You think the same things as these people

2.3 You know the same things as these people

2.4 You think the same things are good

2.5 You think the same things are bad

These lines also capture the importance of language in changing one to another ideology (2). Because of what is said, because of the cult recruiting discourse, the new recruit comes to think in the same way as the movement and to know the same things. Most importantly, the new recruit shifts values and things that the same things are good and bad (2.4-2.5).

The third feature of centralised authority is captured in the next script. The "this person" of the first line is the group leader. Essentially this does not need to be a person and can simply be 'the organisation' itself. The essential thing is that all information comes from the top down, through this person or organisational instrument. The "you" is the member.

3. You think this person knows all things

3.1 You do things like this person

3.2 If this person says something is good, you think it is good

3.3 If this person says something is bad, you think it is bad

3.4 If this person says to do something, you do it.

This script is essentially an embellishment of the second. It makes clear that the shared values come from the leader of the movement. In the second script the values came from those group members recruiting the new member. But eventually the recruit will be told that all values come from the leader. Accepting not only the values of the group, but the origin of those values (the leader) is essential for complete membership.

The fourth element, the distinguishing between people in the group and those outwith is fairly straightforward. Certainly the elements of the first feature are also present here as the first feature defined the togetherness of the group. The "other people" is any person outside the group, the "them" from the group's perspective. Again, the "you" is the member.

4.1 You think people like you are good

4.2 Other people are not like you.

4.3 Other people do not think the same things as you.

4.4 Other people do not know the same things as you.

4.5 You think these other people are bad.

As we have seen there is always a distinction between those within and those without the group. The final line (4.5) seems also to be invariant, that is, that non-members are not valued as highly as members. The difference between members and non-members is essentially what they know and what they believe (line 4.3).

The fifth element, the notion that the group informs the individual's sense of self, is bound up in identification with the other people in the group. The "these people" are this other group members. Again, the elements of the first feature apply here as well.

5.1 You are like these people

5.2 When you think about these people you think: "I am like these people"

This does not mean that the sense of the individual is completely abandoned, rather, the individual sees him/herself in association with the other group members.

The advantage of reducing these features to NSM is that the individual aspects of all the features are made clear. We are distanced from loaded terms like 'cult' and 'brainwashing' and forced to think about what these might actually mean in terms of observable features or psychological motivations. These scripts make clear that cults are groups of people different from other groups because of what they know and what they value. Thus we are dealing with categories of people and categories of good and bad. To deal with 'cult' in this way means that 'weird' practices and 'deviant' beliefs do not prejudice discussion.

Many people understand the attraction of cults as being bound up in individual weakness.[60] We see this clearly in Hassan's and Edwards' accounts where they stress their vulnerable emotional states at the time of being recruited. The individual joins the group because he/she does not want to make his/her own decisions. This is a neat and understandable conclusion. But it is in some ways too neat. It is possible that people actually believe the ideology of the cult. Fromm understands totalitarianism in terms of an escape from freedom, as an escape from individual autonomy.

There is nothing wrong with joining a cult, even staunch anti-cultists will agree with this.[61] Blindly accepting the authority of the cult and then believing that it is a personal truth is problematic. Certainly no one can judge another person's sincerity, but we can anticipate when it is likely to be compromised. When the individual is asked to make a decision that may well cease all other individual decisions, we are well to be sceptical. But at the same time this tends not to happen. People leave cults, not only through being rescued but also of their own volition. When the individual ceases to be comfortable or derive happiness from membership, membership ceases. Neither are cults irresistible, as

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[60] See for example Enroth, p. 12. "Invariably the victims of so-called new-age cults are young...They are vulnerable - a trait with tragic implications".

[61] Personal conversation with Christian Szurko at Deo Gloria Outreach, September 1998.

the analysis of their texts has shown. They are not seamless, they are not unilaterally convincing; they are not necessarily compelling.

CULTS, CULTS EVERYWHERE?

Given this definition of cult, it seems logical that we should look to other groups to see whether under this description they might also be designated 'cult'. Using this definition and some of the features about cult texts, I will now examine the recruiting materials of McKinsey and Company, international management consultants. McKinsey are a well-known and extremely successful management consultancy. They recruit graduates of outstanding academic and personal talents from all disciplines. The materials that they provide to potential recruits contain some of the features of cult texts as well as making available information about the corporation itself. It seems to capture all the features that define 'cult'. I will examine these recruiting materials briefly with specific attention to the features of cults and cult texts that we have already examined.

Memory

This recruiting brochure[62] is intended for prospective or recent graduates interested in applying for a job at McKinsey. McKinsey is an extremely attractive prospective employer for many graduates. It does not require a specific degree and promises a high-salary career in high power business. In some ways it is surprising that McKinsey need to advertise for graduates at all. They are very well known and competition for positions is fierce. It seems that these recruitment materials are not only an invitation to apply but also part of the conditioning that accompanies any new employment. It is an introduction to the work culture and values that McKinsey practices. Thus the brochure also shapes expectations, values and behaviour in relation to the firm.

Like the cult texts examined, this brochure seeks to persuade the reader to join McKinsey. It also shapes the world-view of the reader in a way that makes McKinsey a

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[62] Appendix XXII.

very attractive career option. McKinsey presents itself as unique in its market, as being the sole provider of a particular service and career. Thus it satisfies the main elements of the recruiting script in so far as it offers a unique opportunity, creates desire for this, and declares (at least implicitly) that there is no associated risk.

Delivery

The recruitment materials consist of a large booklet with information about specific business areas and application forms enclosed as inserts in a back pocket flap. It is a mix of formal fonts and layout and artistic smudged lettering and stylised illustrative pictures. The pictures have allegedly been chosen by employees of the firm to represent their view of the spirit of McKinsey. Thus they are explicitly coded. These are colour photographs that have been abstracted from their background context and enhanced in some way to give them high colour saturation.[63] This alternation between the conventional and the new is continued in the content of the text. McKinsey portrays itself as safe and successful, but successful exactly because it does not follow traditional business practice. The brochure is available to anyone who asks for it either through internet enquiry, phone or post. It is also likely to be found in University careers offices.[64]

The inserts in the back pocket include a questionnaire about the kind of person the applicant is. This is of multiple choice form with statements that all begin "I am someone who...". One is then asked to pick "most" and "least" choices in the sets of three in order to indicate which statement best and least describes one. Some examples of the trios include,

A Comes up with different ideas to those of others
B Works better on my own

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[63] Kress and van Leeuwen remark that high colour saturation of images gives them a less naturalistic modality, p. 165.

[64] Indeed, McKinsey conduct presentations on University campuses, which by all accounts are incredibly slick. They include videos and presentations from current employees and new recruits. (Conversation with University careers advisor).

C Enjoys travelling

A Allows ethical considerations to guide my actions

B Always tries to get more facts before taking a decision

C Volunteers to give formal presentations.

It is not always apparent which answer is the best in these cases. One can only assume that the recruiters know what they are doing, and answer the questions as honestly (or intuitively) as possible.

Arrangement

This brochure outlines a number of issues including what McKinsey does, what it is like to work for McKinsey and what to do in order to apply. These issues are dealt with in short paragraphs. Running through the brochure, on every double page, there is a profile of a past or present employee. These profiles include a photograph of the person, their name, brief educational and employment history and a comment from them about McKinsey. Thus the brochure is episodic in the same way that cult texts are. It also makes use of the witnessing format in the testimonials from employees.

In the framework I suggested that the arrangement of the text included the way in which the audience was encouraged to construct a text, or indeed, whether they saw it as a text at all. There are two things which deserve comment here. The first is the questionnaire included in the brochure which has already been described in delivery; the second is the recruits' curriculum vitae which would be included in a response as this is a job application.

The questionnaire asks potential recruits to give some information about themselves. This kind of testing is becoming more standard as part of the application procedure for graduate entry level positions. Indeed, one assumes that a potential recruit will be sent to a testing centre if they are successful in the first few phases of recruitment. The information that is asked for at this stage does not seem to be too onerous; one is simply asked to choose statements that reflect one's own opinions. But what are the right answers? Not having the requisite psychological knowledge to construct such a text, I am

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ill-equipped to analyse it and therefore will not. What is important is the specific contribution that the potential recruit is asked to make at such an early stage. Already one is asked for an investment of specific time and specific thinking. This is not the sort of questionnaire an applicant would have on file to include in an application. Like the applause at the beginning of the Hubbard speech, the potential recruit has already bought into the dynamic of the company by giving something of self. But then, this is the kind of dynamic we expect to find in a job seeking environment. What is striking about this questionnaire is how it resembles the 'personality test' that Scientologists administer to potential recruits at a very early stage. Critics of the movement suggest that this provides the group with a psychological profile with which they can more easily manipulate a recruit. The movement itself would say that it allows them insight in to the specific help which an individual needs.[65]

The other contribution we expect to find in relation to a job application is the inclusion by the applicant of a curriculum vitae. This is not normally remarked upon, and indeed I do not wish to imply that this is a sinister contribution, nor one that is specific to McKinsey. It is, however, worth remarking that the curriculum vitae is a narrative act on behalf of the applicant which they use to construct themselves textually. Like a witnessing document, one makes assertions about one's past and implications about one's future. What is considered appropriate to the position is included in the document. One may choose to emphasise one's well-roundedness by including a variety of past pursuits and activities or indeed present hobbies. Or one may choose to construct oneself as single minded and focussed, pursuing a clear career development path. All assertions must be true, but at the same time, a textual self is constructed. This is, to some extent at least, a fiction.[66]

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[65] Personal experience of personality test. See also www.scientology.org/oca.html. This site tells us that "Your Personality Determines Your Future". The personality test can diagnose employment, marital, health, stress and achievement problems.

[66] See Goffman 1981, p. 173.

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Invention

It is by examining the information given in this text, the topics chosen and how they are presented, that we come to understand the image McKinsey is projecting and the kind of work that this text is performing. The two main topics of this text are that McKinsey are a successful company and that those who work for it are outstanding individuals willing to be challenged and rewarded. McKinsey is "complex and diverse...one of the world's leading management consultancies".[67] Not only is it one of the leading management consultancies, it "is unique among top management consulting firms".[68] Its reputation "stems from [its] objectivity and independence, [their] global network and from the high-quality problem-solving and analytical skills" of its employees.[69] It is a global firm that operates a 'one-firm principle'.[70] Further, McKinsey also contributes to the community in the form of pro bono work.[71]

We see here homogeneity, in the one-firm principle, a particular ideological outlook on the world, and a claim to uniqueness. The claim that they are unique is possible, as has been discussed, exactly because they are not. This claim, along with novel lay-out and delivery of text, is an attempt to differentiate themselves from very similar competitors, such as Accentura.[72]

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[67] p. 1.

[68] p. 3.

[69] p. 2.

[70] p. 6.

[71] p. 11.

[72] Note that Accentura was formerly known as Andersons. At the same time, there is a general feeling among graduates that McKinsey is different. This has two potential reasons. The first is that McKinsey are not particular about the degree which has been read. The second reason is the illustrious careers that recruits have led, often after McKinsey (e.g. Blair and Hague). Much of this information, however, is disseminated along friendship and associative networks. It is, then, anecdotal.

The people that McKinsey hire are "exceptional individuals", however different their backgrounds may be.[73] Potential recruits are told they should have four qualities, problem-solving ability, personal impact, leadership and drive/aspiration.[74] The way in which working at McKinsey is described also indicates something about the kind of person who might work there. Staff are moved about on assignments all over the world.[75] There is an expectation that recruits will stay, and want to stay, with the firm[76] but in the event that they do not, there is formal and informal alumni contact. In this sense, the work is seen as educational. Indeed, there is also the promise of an MBA program.[77] Recruits are challenged but also rewarded, "The work will certainly stretch you, but you will receive encouragement and coaching from your team colleagues".[78] There may be "tight deadlines" and 55 hour weeks ("on average") but there are also "great rewards".[79]

The implied reader position in these materials is a very appealing one. One needs not only to be exceptional, but also have personal impact, leadership and so on. The fact that staff move around the world on assignments is presented as a desirable thing. It is interesting to remember that one major accusation levelled against cults is that they isolate members from their family and friends by moving them and keeping them within the movement. This, however, is represented as an advantage of working for McKinsey. Thus they make a virtue out of what in cults is seen as a disadvantage. Contact with McKinsey is more ongoing than in cults as, even if one leaves the company, one still has the opportunity to maintain contact with the group. Indeed, one is encouraged to do so. The considerable workloads that McKinsey imposes are also represented as desirable. While one may work hard, there are great rewards. One can only conclude that these are

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[73] p. 13.

[74] p. 20.

[75] p. 16.

[76] p. 18.

[77] pp. 14-16.

[78] p. 4.

[79] p. 4.

status and money. The hard work that cults impose on their members, however, even though it carries the reward of salvation and happiness, is seen as oppressive. The rewards that cults offer, indeed that religions in general offer, are often delayed and not necessarily tangible.

Various techniques are used to put across the two essential points, that McKinsey is unique and successful and that it only recruits exceptional individuals. The use of statistics to illustrate the firm's size and diversity is one such technique: "over 5,000 colleagues in 79 offices and 41 countries".[80] A world map is also given pointing out the countries and cities in which McKinsey has offices.[81] The caption to this page is "Where We Are" and the graphical implication is that they are everywhere. The multi-modal representation of the global presence of the firm drives this home. The use of example and illustration is another which re-iterates the firm's diversity and size. The advantages of this technique have been discussed in relation to the Jehovah's Witnesses' material, in that what should be proven is merely stated. Here, the illustrations/examples are used in relation to McKinsey and its employees. A section of the brochure is dedicated to outlining the work in three of the worldwide offices: London, Dublin and Johannesburg. Diversity is cast as an asset[82] but at the same time the benefits of the "global firm" are emphasised.[83]

The use of illustration/example in relation to employees has already been mentioned. Each double page has an employee profile. These profiles and the quotations that they contain in particular should be seen as witnessing testimonials. These testimonials are unilaterally positive but they also present a diverse employee base. Junior and senior members, employees from around the globe and from various academic disciplines are included. Their statements re-iterate the content of the brochure. Working for McKinsey

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[80] p. 3.

[81] p. 7.

[82] p. 8.

[83] p. 6.

is "both challenging and rewarding",[84] involves "breaking new ground"[85] and creating unique solutions.[86]

The arguments that McKinsey makes are no more than claims asserted which have no way of being verified. We do not see an independent analysis of the salaries, careers and mental stability of the recruits, for example. This is not unusual and not necessarily cause for concern. But like the cult texts examined, they rely on a positive consideration of the new, as well as an acceptance of the general suitability of their kind of analysis. The hardships of working for McKinsey are not hidden, rather, they are presented as positive aspects of the working environment. This is certainly an effective management of perceived risk. Indeed, like the Children of God, what may be seen as problems are not acknowledged as problems at all, but represented as virtues.

Style

Despite what we have learned about McKinsey's techniques by examining invention, it is in the particular syntactic and lexical choices that the essential features of McKinsey are uncovered. Modality, the use of pronouns and the use of metaphor all contribute to McKinsey portraying itself as innovatory and exciting.

Modal choices in relation to the firm are always certain. For example, "We consider the problem from *all* angles, but *always* put together an integrated perspective..."[87] and "We *only ever* make offers to individual we believe could have a long-term future with the firm".[88] The modality of statements relating to the potential employee are more open. This is made clear at the start when one is told that McKinsey is a "special place to work - whether you are interested in consulting long term or simply want a great start to your

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[84] p. 5.

[85] p. 1.

[86] p. 3.

[87] p. 3: my emphasis.

[88] p. 18: my emphasis.

working life".[89] But it is continued in modality choices. "You might need to access...",[90] "You may interview..", "many of our most successful consultants"[91] and so on. This is not to say that modality relating to the employee is not ever absolute, just that there are more options available for the potential recruit as McKinsey's "aim is to provide a set of entry roles which can be customised to provide individual paths for the exceptional people [they] hire".[92] Thus it becomes impossible to know exactly what you will be doing. This uncertainty, however, is also represented in a positive light; it is opportunity rather than risk.

The most striking grammatical feature is the use of pronouns. As one might expect, the potential recruit is addressed as "you" and McKinsey as "we". The recruiting process is indeed the creation of desire in the 'you' to become part of the 'we'. One might expect that a firm would speak about itself it in the third person, or constantly refer to the firm name when describing itself as we don't generally think of firms as people. It would be easy enough to transform many of these instances into the passive and avoid use of the first person plural pronoun, but this is not done. Indeed, one might think such choices more suited to the register of corporate recruiting materials. Here, the pronounced use of "we" and "us" creates a personal, familiar voice in the discourse. This is, naturally, enhanced by the personal and individualised contributions made by employees.

This can be seen in the opening page.

> How do you sum up an organisation as complex and diverse as McKinsey & Company, one of the world's leading management consultancies?
>
> We decided to pass this challenge on to our own consultants. After selecting a number of people across the organisation, from recent graduate recruits to experienced partners, we asked them what object they thought best captured the spirit of McKinsey.

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[89] p. 3.

[90] p. 4.

[91] p. 6.

[92] p. 13.

Their choices, as you will see, were varied and often unexpected, but they reveal something about the nature of our work, the kind of people we are and what McKinsey means to us.[93]

The second sentence could easily have been, "this challenge was passed onto firm consultants". The third could also have been constructed as a passive. The last sentence could easily have avoided all mention of "us" and merely referred to "them", that is, the employees. There is also a reference to consultants thinking of the company as "their McKinsey". The identification with the firm can be clearly seen in the contributions made by employees. They are more likely to talk about "McKinsey" and "we" than "I". Indeed, out of the fourteen testimonies, only one uses "I". Further, this testimony is from an ex-employee.

The interaction of stability and innovation can also be seen in the employee contributions. They take this up as a theme; for example, "We help our clients navigate uncertain territory. The business landscape is constantly changing, so we need to be flexible in charting the best course - not taking well-worn routes but breaking new ground".[94] These contributions are largely metaphorical or analogical. In this stylistic choice (even though metaphor is much more than just a stylistic choice), the employees attempt to find a new way of looking at a familiar work place. The symbols which they choose, represented by the illustrations provided, serve as an objective correlative for these metaphors. Metaphor also lends the corporate strategy a thematic cohesion, even though there is potentially paradox in pursuing both the new and the established.

I am not singling McKinsey out because it is particularly different from other companies of its kind, despite what it may claim, in terms of its recruitment techniques. It does project a very strong corporate identity to the outside world, however. This is aggressive recruitment in the sense that it asks potential recruits to identify with the firm in the same way that long-term employees do. Further, the characteristics that McKinsey prides itself on bear a striking resemblance to features usually associated with cults.

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[93] p. 1.

[94] p. 1.

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McKinsey as Cult?

> *"Insiders at McKinsey like to think of themselves as a cross between Jesuits and U.S Marines"[95]*

McKinsey emphasises its difference from other firms; it is "unique". It claims that its practices differ from that of dominant business ideology.[96] Its staff have common beliefs and values, they are similarly 'extraordinary' and hardworking. Like any corporation, it will have a centralised authority structure, with hierarchical roles and routes of progression. It certainly makes a distinction between itself and other firms. It also distinguishes a clear "us" which implies a "not us" that is, a "them". Further, the employees also identify with McKinsey, adopting the first person plural "we" and arranging their lives around their work. Long hours and international relocation require that kind of commitment. There is further anecdotal evidence that staff are told how to dress, which public places they should frequent for entertainment and so forth. The employees work in teams and are rarely left by themselves in a professional capacity. The commitment that is required means that separation from friends and family, especially if international relocation is involved, is inevitable. It is well known that, "the travel, the hours and the difficulty of maintaining a personal life"[97] are an intrinsic part of working for McKinsey. Further, the entire "consulting lifestyle, which often requires the consultant to log 50 to 60 hours per week and to be out of town for four days a week for months at a time, is hard to maintain over the long run, especially for people with families - or friends".[98]

Being recruited into McKinsey involves being recruited into a way of seeing the world and of seeing McKinsey's role in that world. "Among its employees and clients,

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[95] Lexis-Nexis marketplace at http://web.lexis.com/xchange/careercentre.VRCompanies [accessed 29th November 2000]

[96] See Lexis-Nexis marketplace.

[97] Wet Feet Career Advice, www.wetfeet.com/asp/industryprofiles_lovehate.asp? industrypk=12 [accessed 29th November 2000]

McKinsey is know simply as The Firm".[99] Being recruited into a cult requires the same things. McKinsey requires commitment in the same way that cults do. There is one large difference. The challenges and rewards that McKinsey offers, the innovations and differences it boasts, are not looked upon by the general public as *deviant*. The commitment that is required by McKinsey is seen as reasonable because of the rewards of money and status, the role of successful business person. The rewards that cults provide are less tangible (salvation and spiritual contentment) and therefore less valued by the dominant ideology. The sacrifices that are made, the potential harm to a recruit are the same. The reason we see it differently is that the McKinsey discourse does not come into conflict with other powerful discourses. If a business person suffers a heart attack, we are unlikely to sue the firm s/he works for. If someone joins McKinsey we are unlikely to question their sanity or attempt to have them rescued.

I am not arguing that McKinsey and similar corporations be subjected to the same vilification as 'cults' (in the sense normally understood). I am merely suggesting that if the term 'cult' is to have any value at all, it has to be used consistently and fairly. It should not be, as Allan suggests it is, that a "cult is seen as a cult simply because someone chooses so to describe it, and while the word may be unsuitable it is the one with which we are stuck".[100] We are not "stuck" with words, and certainly not with their definitions. Their applications and definitions are open to argument and consideration. It seems that the application of 'cult' to a group signals little more than a branding of prejudice. I am arguing that this should not be the case.

It is worth examining the question of ideology and dominant ideology again to see how they figure in what is perceived as a fundamental difference between groups like McKinsey and groups largely considered to be 'cults'. The difference that we perceive between McKinsey and cults is largely effected by the power of the dominant ideology. Norris and Whitehouse write, "The perfection of a totalitarian system lies not in its power

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[98] Wet Feet Career Advice.

[99] Lexis-Nexus marketplace.

to inflict punishments on a stubbornly resisting minority but in the means it possesses to marginalise that minority to the point where their ideas become simply inconceivable to the right-thinking mass of citizens."[101] This is also the perfection of a functioning dominant ideology.

In the case of cults, the dominant ideology also distinguishes between an "us" and "them" and the cults are "them". But of course, as van Dijk reminds us, "few of 'us' (in the West or elsewhere) describe our own belief systems or convictions as 'ideologies'. On the contrary, "Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology".[102] There is perhaps nothing wrong with an ideology that holds that it is reasonable to make large sacrifices for the rewards of commercial and (therefore) social success. The problem occurs when ideology becomes an "instrument of domination"[103] and devalues other world-views. The masterstroke of the dominant ideology in relation to cults is casting them as the ideological villain, when in fact (as we have seen) discourse practices on either side of the cult fence are remarkably similar. More significantly, actual behaviours are stigmatised often because of their deviance from the norm rather than because of any inherent danger or evil. Tabor and Gallagher cite Beckford in relation to this, who observes that "'cult controversies' are very revealing about taken for granted notions of normality". They continue,

> In fact, the legal and psychological discussion of "cults' masks a more fundamental conflict over values...Images of what is "normal" derive their power to shape human activity from being embedded in a more comprehensive view of the world, such as the biblical apocalyptic worldview of the Branch Davidians or the secular, scientific, psychological worldview that pervades CAN [Cult Awareness Network] and other anti-cult groups.[104]

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[100] p. 15.

[101] p. 294.

[102] Van Dijk 1998, p. 2.

[103] Van Dijk 1998, p. 11.

[104] p. 170.

Thus the claims that cults make cannot be assessed in isolation. One needs to include consideration of the entire world-view and the values of the producing 'discourse community'.

Certainly there are groups that are dangerous but certainly not all the groups that are currently called cults cause harm to their members. There are perhaps some features that we can put forward as warning of such a danger. Deception is a warning signal, though not necessarily indicative of harm. A group may well initially hide its true identity because of social prejudice against it. The obvious problem with putting deception forward as a feature of danger is that it cannot often be ascertained until it is too late.

Verifiability of theories and ideology is also a possible starting point for identifying possible harm. It is linked to deception, as if something is verifiably false, then deception is occurring. There is, as the Jehovah's Witnesses point out, a difference between what cannot be proven and what is false. As with most religions, one has faith in the doctrines of cults or one does not. There is nothing intrinsically more or less reasonable when it comes down to such beliefs. Physical abuse of any kind is indicative of harm. Whether this physical harm is represented as a religious ritual, a part of initiation or an article of faith, physical harm would seem to have no official place in any legitimate movement.

Tabor and Gallagher concur that cults are dangerous to society and the individual. They stress, however, that this is not for the reasons usually given. The danger, as they see it, is that these groups "offer, sometimes with relentless aggressiveness, another way of seeing and being. Their very existence calls into question, as it is meant to do, what we hold most important and what our society values above anything else".[105] There are two comments to make here. The first is that this seems only to apply to world-rejecting movements in a strict sense. Indeed, world-affirming movements like Scientology actually re-inforce what is important in our society, albeit in a slightly different way than usual.

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[105] pp. 175-6.

The second point to make is that Tabor and Gallagher are completely right, in so far as many alleged cults do question the fundamental values of our society. But Tabor's and Gallagher's assertion begs questions as to what exactly the 'individual' and 'society' mean. This is not *merely* semantic, it is exactly semantic. The questioning of our values can only be 'dangerous' if we are not completely certain about them. Indeed, this raises fundamental questions about our values and whether they are the right ones. If they are, surely cults present no threat at all. If they are not, surely cults present a welcome space of interrogation. Finally, surely one value that we hold in society is the freedom of individuals to make up their own minds. Certainly this freedom only exists to the extent that other individuals' freedoms are not curtailed. But this is separate from asserting that cults are dangerous.

If defending the decision to join cults is based on defending individual freedom to choose, then there must also be a corollary freedom of those who choose not to join. This entails that a movement which infringes on the freedom of those outside the movement is harmful. The question is not whether there are groups that harm, however, it is whether these groups should rightly be called cults.

CONCLUSION

The preconceptions that we have about cults are generated by the cult 'discourse community'. As we have seen, however, there are various aspects to this community. Not only do cults generate texts; anti-cult movements, competing religions and interested scholars also do so. If one is not part of the cult community, however, one is never accused in the same systematic way of the same systematic mistakes and sins as cults. While there may be sociological and ideological reasons for this, there are no linguistic ones. As we have seen, other discourses use precisely the same techniques that cults do and for which cults are generally maligned. Further, other groups demand the same commitment as cults. It seems that the only reason for this is the difference in perception about the rewards that these sacrifices bring. Certainly the pejoration of cults is bound up with the very semantics of the term. Textual work on the way in which 'cult' is used has shown that it is far from homogenous in its various uses. One thing appears to be constant, that is, the negative associations of 'cult'.

While linguists are concerned with description of language rather than with recommendations for its 'improvement' there is one significant exception to this. This is the case of inconsistent use of terms. It is not, then, a question of prescriptive language use but rather one of precision and consistency. Meanings of words change. This is neither problematic nor unwelcome. What is problematic and indeed potentially deceptive, is the inconsistent use of terms in a 'discourse community'. If 'cult' entails the features outlined above, then it should be applied to groups that exhibit these features and not merely in cases of deviance from the 'dominant ideology'.

Examination of cult texts has established a number of things. In the first place it has begun important detailed consideration of the way in which cults recruit members. It has established, through comparison with other texts from both within and without the cult 'discourse community', that cult texts do not differ from these other texts in the persuasive and recruiting strategies they use. Finally, it has shown that while the persuasive techniques do not differ in kind, there are some features that tend to be

constant in recruiting language. This has both generated a recruitment script and also questioned the suspicion that surrounds cult techniques.

Linguistic contribution in this area is far from complete. Given that very little significant work has been conducted in the area it is important that other movements be examined in detail to further the discussion about cult discourse. The fact that not all people who encounter recruiting texts join a movement, whether it be a cult or a company, means that work relating to belief formation and the extent to which this can be rhetorically manipulated, is also an important focus for future work.

Given that the range of texts examined here in detail is limited, continued work in this area might also focus on differences between the various kinds of recruiting texts. Indeed, comparison of different groups' hierarchy of texts would be interesting and valuable, especially in further understanding the similarities between cults and some other groups. Interpersonal factors at the different stages of recruitment and affiliation also bears examination and cross comparison among a number of movements and groups.

The pejoration of groups in society is a problem with many solutions. Demystification of such groups and their discourse through linguistic, sociological or psychological narratives is one part of the solution. 'Education' is often put forth as the solution to all of society's ills. There are two solutions to which I would like to offer support, however. The first is the consideration of human rights. While the United Kingdom has recently incorporated human rights protection into domestic law, it is not yet clear how this will be enforced in judicial proceedings. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of human rights is an important one to engage with. Certainly, present human rights instruments which purport to articulate universal human rights bear scrutiny as to their legal efficacy and indeed their theoretical underpinnings.

To engage with human rights rhetoric demands that we engage with the entire question of what it means to be human. It seems that linguistics, especially comparative and cross-cultural linguistics, provides important tools for dealing with these issues. It should be clear that this dissertation advocates an active tolerance of cults, coupled with an understanding of their forms of life and discourse. This tolerance, however, should not

330

preclude tolerance of other groups in society. To properly understand this human right of association, belief and articulation of belief, be it in language or in practice, one needs to understand the values we take for granted. Cults face us with a challenge that should be taken up.

Part of this challenge involves detailed practical work in the sociology of recruitment, not only into cults, but into other life changing groups, such as corporations or political parties. The way in which these organisations are portrayed in the media seems to be another productive course of enquiry. Further, the psychological advantages and pressures of such affiliations bear examination and comparison.

A natural extension of the notion of human rights is an understanding of ethics. Certainly to understand what it means to be human requires that one understand what it means to be a good human and what it means to be good to other humans. I have not addressed the issue of ethics in this dissertation. It is, however, implicit in any discussion that refers to the 'demystification' of terminology applied to people and groups.

Rhetoric engages with people and subjects in the real world. While by definition the rhetor is not necessarily a good person, it seems that one can make a case for this as a prescriptive requirement once one invokes either notions of 'human-ness' or, indeed and, ethics. This returns to Aristotle and Plato's concerns that rhetors be ethical. While for us there is only the trying, if one is trying, one can just as easily try for the good as for the bad or the indifferent.

APPENDIX I

Using Wordsmith, I performed concordance builds on the Scientology texts downloaded from the official internet site to examine word frequency and collocative occurrences. I compared "The Story of Dianetics and Scientology" (see Appendix II) with the remaining nine transcripts of Scientology texts (see Appendices III-XIII) particularly to examine the incidence of "I" and "you".

The frequency of occurrence of "I" is indeed significant, occurring 149 times (2.18%) in "The Story" and only 31 times in the rest of the data. Significant in a similar way in the rest of the texts is "you" occurring 136 times (2.54%) as opposed to only 61 in "The Story" (1.18%). One would expect that recruitment material would be directed towards the reader/audience, to the "you" and generally this does seem to be the case in the Scientology speeches. "The Story", however, concentrates on the speaker. At the same time, the highest collocation with "you" in "The Story" is "know" (17). This invests the listener with knowledge, but can also be seen as a strategy of flattery. This collocation in the rest of the texts is only 11.

The comparative collocations of "I" are also significant. I examined (right hand) collocations that occurred in both sets of data. Verbs that *prima facie* suggest the authority of the speaker, were almost completely limited to "The Story of Dianetics and Scientology". "had", "found", "got", "say", "said", "know", "knew", "studied", "think", "thought" are all collocated with "I" only in "The Story". The only exception is "was" which occurred 19 times in "The Story" and 21 times in the full text set.

This tells us that "The Story" is quite unlike the other texts in the set, in particular one which exploits *ethos*. Further, the type of verbs collocated with "I" suggests, prima facie, that "I" is a source of authority. "The Story" is also the only text in which Hubbard refers to himself in the third person by name, "Hubbard", a total of eight times.

APPENDIX II

"THE STORY OF DIANETICS AND SCIENTOLOGY"[1]

2   [applause 10]

3   Thank you thank you very much

4   I'd like to tell you something of the story of Dianetics and Scientology ...some things I've never confided

5   to anyone before. ...Would you like to hear that?

6   [applause 2]

7   Well the start of this story is probably... a long long time ago ...and those who don't believe in past lives

8   ...will not be offended because we won't go that far back. We'll just take this lifetime. ...The story actually

9   starts back when I was about 12 years old...and I met one of the great men of Freudian analysis

10   ...Commander Thompson.... He was a very great man, an explorer, and this man was responsible for a

11   great many discoveries out through the world, but he was also interested in the human mind, and his name

12   was, as I said Thompson, he was commander of the United States navy and his enemies called him crazy

13   Thompson and his friends called him snake Thompson [laugh 3.5]...

14   He he was a very careless man, he used to go to sleep reading a book and uuh uuh when he woke up well

15   he got up and never bothered to press or change his uniform you know and he was usually in very bad

16   odour with the navy department he was well looked down on but he was a personal friend of Sigmund

17   Freud's ...He had no boys of his own and when he saw me, a defenceless character, [laugh 5] and there was

18   nothing to do on a big transport on a very long cruise he started to work me over.

19   ...What impressed me, he had a cat by the name of Psycho [laughter 4]

20   This cat had a crooked tail which is enough to impress any young man (laughter 1.5) and the cat would do

21   tricks...And the first thing he did to me was to teach me to train cats...But it takes so long and it requires

22   such tremendous patience that to this day I have never trained a cat. [laughter 1.5]

23   You have to wait .....for the cat to do something and then you applaud it. But waiting for a cat to do

24   something whose name is Psycho...[laughter]

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[1] In the following broad transcriptions, I marked pauses with ellipsis points, laughter by [laughter] with numbers indicating approximate length in seconds, inaudible material is marked [??] and vocal emphasis marked by underlining.

25 ......Anyway ...at the library of Congress in Washington DC where they have all the books on everything..

26 he started shoving my nose into an education in the field of the mind now that's a very unusual thing to do

27 to take a ...12 year old boy and start doing something with the mind but he really got me interested in the

28 subject. Up to the point where... I was pretty sure that Freud didn't know what he was talking about

29 [laughter 2.5] But on this very impressionable background ...I found... at least... that somebody had a

30 hope that something could be done in the field of the human mind. And I think that was Freud's great

31 contribution ...that something could be done about the mind...Now that doesn't mean, that doesn't mean of

32 course ...absolutely and accurately that something will be done about the mind it just means that there is a

33 hope that something could be done. And I believe Freud really deserves a great niche in history just for that

34 [??]. regardless of what he thought could be done with the mind or how he thought it could be done he was

35 really the first man that stood up and said ... there was hope for it ...without whips.. clubs.. strait jackets

36 and the rest of the paraphernalia by which certain strata of this universe have attempted to quote cure

37 unquote insanity.

38 Now there was a great humanitarian... that he concentrated so thoroughly on sex was simply I believe a

39 symptom of his own times.

40 Luckily that uh the Victorian era which was just ending at that time had impressed everyone ...with this

41 uh... idea that sex was the main hidden thing... and in some other periods if you had something on the

42 order of eatingness ......you could found a Freudian philosophy type of philosophy centred on the subject

43 of eatingness.. Eating was very bad, it was very hidden and therefore aberrated everyone [??]......and uh

44 There was some other society which had nothing in the world ...and was totally dedicated to mystery......

45 You see they'd have a big cult on the subject that mystery is something you must hide, so therefore all is

46 mystery. I believe the US and uh are particularly and Europe in a much earlier period went through a

47 mystery band... religion......

48 And uh uh somebody in some other age might say that all that is wrong with man is religion ...because it

49 would be the most hidden thing the one thing that you must never admit to would be sin ...and uh I suppose

50 the general semanticist operating in the world of symbols would hold out that symbols themselves or a little

51 bit higher math ...would be the only thing wrong with people you could write a whole Freudian analysis

52 around the subject of symbolism...A little bit higher some working society uh might possibly come forth

53 with all that's wrong with man is effort... And some other society might come out with some other kind of

54 philosopher and that society might say the only thing wrong with man is emotion... And somebody else

55 might say well only thing wrong with man is thought ...and you would have the uh represented on every

56 hand the fact that the most repressed in a society and that which is talked about the least is that thing which

57 becomes wrong with the society...And it would all break down to the fact that thing which you mustn't

58 communicate is what is wrong......

59 Actually that's all I ever got out of Freudian analysis beyond the fact that if people remembered things they

60 occasionally got well......And uh ...following this line along the line as the years went on ...I found my

61 own environment changed ...and this environment became more and more complex as far as I was

62 concerned. My father was an officer in the navy and he moved me from here to there ...and I don't think to

63 this day that I've ever had a course in short division

64 [laughter 3.5]......

65 It's quite remarkable it's sometimes called to my attention by my banker... that my arithmetic [laughter

66 3]......

67 But anyway, here we have a picture of a uh young man who was uh being moved around and seeing new

68 and strange things and talking to interesting and new and strange people and do you know that all that

69 period it never occurred to me, never never occurred to me... that somewhere there wasn't the total

70 answer... this was not something I knew. I thought that everybody had the answer to this but I was the

71 stupid one ...that I was the only fellow who was left out in the cold... So I went around studying this and

72 that and I found myself in Asia. I found myself uh able to contact and uh operate in the field of uh...Asian

73 mysticism. I studied quite a bit of it... I'm always offering [??] to do the Indian rope trick... I know how to

74 do the Indian rope trick ...and I'm always making a bid to do this... the only proviso I put on the line is

75 there must be a very few of them that I pick out...... [laughter 2] and the fee is $100 per person [laughter

76 1.5] and there must be no cameras present......

77 The only people broadly who I have ever done the Indian rope trick brightly boldly and successfully has

78 been a group of psychiatrists [laughter 6]

79 You You find by the way that psychiatrist of the United States are of uh two opinions...... two opinions.

80 One that Dianetics and Scientology uh uh they're very bad, [??] for the business <u>very bad</u> very bad. And

81 that uh it's regrettable that Hubbard is crazy because he's a wonderful psychotherapist. [laughter 1]...

82 Anything that happens in Dianetics or Scientology is because Hubbard is such an <u>expert</u> psychotherapist

83 you see that the subject itself has nothing to do with it. Any time you tell a profession ...broadly...any time

84 you tell a profession... that uh ...anybody can do their job ......they're trouble.[laughter 3]

85 And that's in effect what the first book on Dianetics says...

86 Well the years rolled along, the years roll along and uh this was a light hobby as far as I was concerned... it

87 didn't occupy very much of things I was a fiction writer I enjoyed myself wonderfully as a fiction

88 writer...Life was going along wonderfully. That's even before I was in college...When I got to college I

89 made a <u>certain series</u> of <u>tests</u> and <u>experiments</u> and found out that <u>poetry</u> of all things seemed to be poetry in

90 every language ...to everybody else... A very peculiar thing... Why is it that poetry is that musical rhythm

91 which communicates; why should it communicate. You read somebody a poem in Japanese, he can't speak

92 Japanese, he says, ah hah he says, that's poetry. Why should he understand poetry in Japanese... Similarly

93 you read somebody almost any poetry of uh some of the more modern poets in any other language and

94 you'll find out that they agree that this thing is poetry... This puzzled me... What is in the brain ...the head.

95 the make-up of man that makes him that makes him recognise poetry... So I tested it all out on a [??] very

96 elaborate <u>physical</u> <u>experiments</u>. And found that poems in Japanese which I spoke at the time and have

97 forgotten since... poems in English I got a hold of an Indian student got him to come over and recite some

98 Indian poetry all made the same curve on a [??] And I said isn't this wonderful, we have discovered

99 something in the aesthetic of language which records on a physical instrument and isn't this beautiful. And

100 the people who'd know all about it over there is the psychology department had better know that you can

101 test all this on a [??]..and that's when I fell off the cliff.

102 [laughter 1.5]

103 I went over for the first time to the psychology department and found out for the first time in my life that

104 there isn't ...anybody who knows all about it on earth... That was a shock to me... You see I'd never seen

105 a mystic ...do anything but practice with confidence... And I had never seen an engineer express anything

106 but confidence and knowledge in his subject when he was building rail road bridges... And I was used to a

107 world where men were expert... where they were positive... where they could get results make an effect

108 and knew their business...

109 And I had just put a foot in a morass which not only didn't know... but didn't care to know, they didn't...

110 And these experiments ...were simply... looked at ......well that's quite interesting.......why did you do

111 that? [laughter 4]

112 Well I got interested enough after that, there were some people around who would do mathematics for me

113 so I did their psychology and English for them that's how I got through college because I never [laughter

114 2.5] in class

115 And uh I used to read the psychology textbooks and go and take the examinations for them uh because it

116 was very easy there was nothing to it all you had to do was name the parts of the brain and the parts of the

117 heart I don't know what the parts of the heart had to do with it but it was in the textbook... and uh there

118 was no attempt to understand thinkingness, there was just some wiggle wiggle that synapsed on the relays

119 and uh you put the rat through the maze and uh that was it...

120 I'm being very sarcastic there's undoubtedly more to psychology than that... but none of it proves any

121 understanding [laughter 1]...

122 In other words, here was a segment of human knowledge which was letting us all down... And at that

123 moment I got <u>very</u> interested. It wasn't my ignorance [??] I studied hard before I found out that what those

124 professors were telling me was true in their own minds that there was no hope for it ...that you could never

125 change anybody... that people with an IQ retained that IQ forever and they'd had it ...that stupid people

126 remained stupid people and unable people remained unable people ...and clever people were all crazy

127 ...[laughter 2] ...and it was the degree of <u>stuckness</u> ...that they had on this subject that changed the human

128 mind that particularly annoyed me... How <u>stuck</u> can anyone get. I say, but look, I <u>know</u> when I go to class

129 to take an examination, by the way it was prohibition in those days, and of [laughter 0.5] course there was

130 much more drinking done [laughter 2]... and I used ......uh to occasionally go out with some of my friends

131 who were mostly newspaper reporters and so on ...and uh we'd have a few drinks of bath tub gin brought
132 in the by very best gangsters [laughter 1] And the next morning ...I knew for sure... I was awful stupid.
133 [laughter 2]......

134 But I told them look, if you can take a few drinks on the night before and become stupid the next morning,
135 haven't you changed your intelligence......And they said that has nothing to do with it. [laughter 3]......

136 So here was a segment of human knowledge which as far was I was concerned was left wide open... I kept
137 on writing, I wrote more and more successfully [??] I found myself down in Hollywood and wrote pictures
138 and things like this at a very full life as a matter of fact uh professionally and all the time I was hiding
139 behind the horrible secret... and that is I was trying to find out what the mind was all about ...and I
140 couldn't even tell my friends they didn't understand ...They said, here's Hubbard he's leading a perfectly
141 wonderful life, he gets to associate with movie actresses....[laughter 2.5] he knows hypnotism and so has
142 no trouble with editors [laughter 6 (loud)] he has apartments and... stuff [laughter 0.5] ......they just
143 couldn't understand every time I tried to mention it why I would be interested in anybody's mind... or
144 anybody's life. I used to plague the most awfully and ask them embarrassing questions ...and by 1938 I
145 thought I had a common denominator to all life. After all I had associated rather thoroughly with 12
146 different native cultures. Not including the people in the Bronx...[laughter 1.5]

147 And uh ...I had a pretty good idea...a pretty good idea of what this ...study would comprise by that time I
148 found out that primitive man and civilised man had a great many things in common but not all of them had
149 one thing in common ...except survival, only survival did they all have in common [??] .they're all
150 evidently trying to survive one way or the other whether they were civilised, non civilised, whether Indians
151 up in Alaska or alyoops or Chinese or Tagalog or [??] whatever they were they were trying to survive and
152 this urge towards survival became a very definite study after 1938 ... And they all would have had this a lot
153 sooner and it all would have done much more neatly and there wouldn't have been so many lives on the
154 line if at about that time a fellow by the name of Hitler who had been mad since 1933 and had been
155 screaming since 1933, we all heard him [laughter 1.5] but somebody decided to take him seriously and I
156 don't know who first took him seriously but it was a mistake......

157 And the next thing you know why we were all involved in the common war which incidentally now has
158 been totally undone and has to be done all over again but that's the way wars are... Wars never solve
159 anything, they just put the solution off a little further. ...And uh ...during the war during the war I had
160 some very interesting experiences in the study of the mind (?) I was on one ship that had about 700 men on
161 it and we were getting two people a week going mad... Two people a week went mad...... That's an awful
162 lot of people going mad... But in view of the fact that we had no replacements ...they were simply left on
163 duty for the most part... We particularly contested taking off duty one chap who had had the bad taste to
164 want shore leave in the middle of the Pacific ocean. [laughter 2] And had come up to request it of the
165 executive officer ...and had found the executive officer in the shower ...the executive officer was not well
166 liked I might hasten to add ...and the executive officer from the lather and spray of his shower said

167 something coarse and uncouth [laughter 2.5] to this fellow , this fellow whipped out a knife... dived into

168 the shower, chased the executive officer out ...and we had the wonderful view of the Executive officer

169 running round and round the deck with this mad man behind him brandishing a knife. [laughter 1.5]

170 I remember stepping out my cabin with the gunnery officer where we'd been playing cards or chess or

171 something ...and watching this pair go by [laughter 3.5] and the gunnery officer said, here he said I've got

172 a gun let's stop this and I said Why [laughter 4.5]......

173 About that time my two masters of arms entered the parade ...and became very very amusing so we

174 watched we hadn't had any amusement for a very long time [laughter 1.5] Finally we got tired of it, the

175 gunnery officer and I tripped the mad man by putting out a foot and the crew wouldn't speak to us for a

176 week [laughter 3.5]......

177 But this fellow had to stay on duty...uh The medical doctor of that ship and I had the same cabin... I'd

178 been studying the mind for quite a while ...and the men in the crew would come up to get bandaged up or

179 something like that at all hours of the day or night . When the medical doctor was out they would get me

180 you see ... I'd process them one way or the other ...and when he was there he'd give them pills and sew

181 them up so they had a good time of it... And I had an awful lot of subject matter to study... The medical

182 officer turned it all over to me he was kind of bored with it all anyway he was on the verge

183 himself.[laughter 1] At the end of the war I had uh the misfortune of standing in the wrong place... it's

184 always your fault you know if you're standing in the wrong place at the wrong moment and something else

185 arrives and tries to occupy the same space. ...It's always embarrassing. ......At the end of the war I spent

186 about a year in hospital uh recuperating from an accumulation of too much wartime scotch and overdoses

187 and lead... things like that you know. Oddly enough they gave me a psychiatric uh examination as they

188 gave all veterans and found out that, and by the way that scared me to death,[??] I went into the psychiatric

189 examination and finished up. He was very pleasant. He started writing ...and when he finished writing two

190 pages worth...very interesting , he writes two pages, they generally let you take your own records back to

191 the ward and I was watching this you know and well have I have I gone nuts after all. [laughter 2.5] And he

192 took these two pages worth and put them in my folder and I said very smartly and happily well I'm going

193 right back to my ward I'll take my folder back and he said Oh no, it will be taken back by a messenger.

194 [laughter 6]......

195 I didn't sleep much that night [laughter 2.5] next morning after breakfast I said to myself uh...... Hubbard

196 ...think...[laughter 1.5]. So I thought for a while and all of a sudden realised that I had better cook up a

197 toothache and get a dental appointment and have all of my records be given to me so I could take them over

198 to the dental clinic.

199 [laughter 7.5]

200 So they gave me all the records ...and I tucked them under my arm and I went out to the dental clinic

201 toward that direction. There was a nice little evergreen... sitting outside the door ...it was was out of public

202 view and as soon as I got near that evergreen I just ducked. Very quickly opened the records. ...uh Here it
203 is... This almost indecipherable scrawl goes on for two long arduous pages... And I waded through these
204 terrific technical terms you know read it all very carefully and got to the last paragraph and it said...I mean
205 there were words in there that long and the page the page was only that wide

206 [laughter 4.0]......

207 I got to the end ...and it said in short this officer has no neurotic or psychotic tendencies of any kind
208 whatsoever [laughter 3]......

209 So I sat down weakly on a bench and said well I've evidently survived it you know I was feeling very very
210 good when at that moment a marine walked up to me took me by the arms and he says... you have a dental
211 appointment and I have been sent to find you... So he took me down to fill the tooth so that's what you pay
212 for ...[Laughter 1] curiosity.

213 But during that last year... I uh studied at the uh Oak Knoll hospital library. I found out that by simply
214 taking off one colour armlet I became an MD, very simple... and uh they don't let anybody in a medical
215 library except doctors you see of the MD class. But by stepping up to the desk with only one colour arm
216 you see on the left side and for a couple of bucks having a marine on crutches come by and say uh good
217 morning doctor [laughter 5] I was able to get in a years study...[laughter 1.5]...... at the medical library.

218 I studied the endocrine system and studied this and studied that and rigged up a few experiments of one
219 kind or the other wrecked a whole research project by the way... There was a doctor with the improbable
220 name of Yankiwitz [laughter 1.5] and Yankiwitz was conducting a series of studies on prisoners of war
221 who were being released by that time from German camps and uh the Japanese camps that had been
222 overrun... and uh this Yankiwitz uh was trying to fix them up with testosterone and other endocrine
223 compounds so I had all of his records available to me because he and I were we played dominoes and
224 things together in the evenings and uh all of his records were available and he was keeping very very sharp
225 metabolism tests and other things to show the results of endocrine fluids and extracts on prisoners you
226 see... It was very simple. All I had to do was get the name of one of his series take him out in the park sit
227 down and do some psychoanalysis and the beginnings of Dianetics and Scientology on him...

228 And then have him go in and take his metabolism test [laughter 1.5]. Yankiwitz said to me one day he says
229 good heavens, he said, something has gone wrong with these records He said the cases just aren't turning
230 out right Some of these fellows are getting well. [laughter 4.5] well... I found out by those experiences that
231 function monitors structure that thought monitors matter and that matter does not monitor thought because
232 those people who were given injection and treatment in the absence of psychotherapy didn't recover they
233 had the same level, it was an interesting condemnation of the therapy that those people who I had taught
234 behind a tree on a park bench who I had slipped a few yards of Freud to ...and a little bit of the beginnings
235 of Dianetics and Scientology... could all of a sudden go upscale you see. In other words... by treating

339

236 thought and thinkingess I found out that I could monitor the experiences and the condition of the person but

237 I found out similarly that the drugs did not ......

238 And that was a very significant series of experiments which are unfortunately not totally available to us

239 they're probably still on file in a <u>folder</u> with a great big question mark on it in the navy department in

240 Washington DC because it was a failed project as far as Yankiwitz was concerned.[Hubbard laughs]...

241 Now if this was <u>first broad test</u> of it all ...<u>thought</u> was <u>boss</u> ...<u>thought</u> was <u>king</u> ......<u>thought</u> could change

242 <u>structure</u> but matter could not <u>really</u> change matter but thought could change it... Isn't this fascinating. You

243 can vary somebody's weight by changing his thinkingness. If you could do that then what did we study do

244 we study more structure make man well change his behaviour patterns [??] do we go on studying the brain

245 no. ...no...never....never it would only be thought......

246 Well a short time afterwards the government decided to give me all of my back-pay... and uh they'd been

247 holding my back-pay from me I'd been on combat duty for a couple of years without being

248 promotable.......Though once in a while I'd receive a set of orders and they'd say go to the front line or the

249 equivalent thereof you know and I would say to the medical doctor I'd say... alright... I'd say to the

250 personnel officer I'd say I'll go but where's my other stripe. You're sending me to a job that requires an

251 awful lot of gold lace and if you'd inspect this very carefully with a microscope you'll find that there isn't

252 very much on my sleeve.

253 And uh it isn't the rank I worry about but uh I've blown a fortune you know and that extra 102 dollars a

254 month would come in handy hm huh. They would say the equivalent of orders is orders Hubbard... I know

255 you're not in fit condition to pass an examination for further advance in rank but nobody said you weren't

256 in a fit condition to go out and fight for your country. [laughter 1]...

257 So I fought for the country... got bored after a while with that too... But all of a sudden at the end of the

258 war they decided to change their mind. By that time I was out of the service so that of course was the time

259 to be very helpful and promote a fellow's morale so that he would serve his country because he was no

260 longer in the armed services see how this works out so they gave me a nice big thick sheet of treasury

261 checks. ...Well in addition to that I hadn't had it too bad I'd sold a movie Dive-bombing you may have

262 seen it, uh Wallace Sperry and so forth way back I'd sold it right at the beginning of the war and opened up

263 a safe deposit box and I'd never told any of my relatives about it and put 10000 dollars in 1000 dollar bills

264 into it and closed the lock tight. ......So when I got out of the war I didn't take that for finance I must

265 confess to you that this subject study of financial advance was not really by the sweat of the brow I took

266 that and bought a yacht to go and cruise in the West Indies when the war was over but when that was gone I

267 realised that I had to have some money ......so I collected my treasury checks and that was what financed

268 the first of the research from which we benefit.......

269 Very funny but uh that was what financed I went right down in the middle of Hollywood I rented an

270 office... got hold of a nurse ...wrapped a towel around my head ...became a swami... oddly enough I gave

340

271   nobody my name ...I didn't say what I was doing ...by 1947 I had achieved clearing...... I worked like

272   mad... and in <u>LA</u> occasionally the local operation man will once in a while occasionally receive a <u>call</u>

273   ...saying you know I've seen a picture of Dr Hubbard and somebody who looked quite like him but

274   operated over in Hollywood years ago and he did something with me and I've been quite well and happy

275   ever since is it the same man ...and of course they have orders to say no [laughter 2.5] it would spoil the

276   whole series ...most people were never told anything and yet some of them were clears now those were the

277   first clears and they were left there without further education or any thing of the sort to act as a progressing

278   series. My office in Washington got turned <u>upside</u> down just a few weeks ago when I suddenly found out

279   that the name and address of one of them had been <u>lost</u>.... And there must have been something psychic

280   about it all because at the end of the week this person wrote into me not having written me for some years

281   told me that they were fine living a very successful life everything was going along beautifully giving me a

282   full report on the case and so forth and even my office started to look at me peculiarly [laughter 3]......

283   And these people served as the long series of cases ...they have not been tampered with in any way... they

284   were clear and will stay that way those that I'm still in contact ...with some of them have been lost [??] one

285   of them was a <u>psychiatrist</u>. When Dianetics was first published in the United States this chap said ......you

286   know a fellow processed me [??] years ago so it must be a very ordinary thing he was down in Hollywood

287   at the time course I've never done any psychiatry as such since [laughter 2]

288   But I don't see what everybody's so excited about... This fellow Hubbard undoubtedly learned from this

289   fellow in He... He was so right. [laughter 2]......

290   Well coming on up the track, coming on up the track looking it over ...I wrote a book finally in 1950 in the

291   United States put it out the next thing you know it was a best seller and it rose to the top of the list in the

292   New York Times and everything was going along fine it was a total boom it was a tremendous success and

293   it was <u>sweepingly catastrophically successful</u> ...I found out I had no administration practically no

294   organisation I had nothing ...and the world fell in on our heads in the United States and we'd had it...

295   Dianetics became very well known over night... <u>very well</u> known... A lot of people pitched in and started

296   helping ...from that time on up to now those wonderful people have continued to help ...and it stopped

297   being a sort of [??] deal. there are lots of names in the hat now and a lot of people [??] makes one feel

298   rather <u>good</u> because they're very good people and what's happened simply is there was a hole in mans

299   mind you see and somebody moved into the vacuum you might say but there were a lot of other people

300   became aware that there was a gap in man's knowledge too and who saw that the vacuum was being

301   partially filled and pitched in and gave it a great big hand in finishing it up...

302   Now from those beginnings which are actually not very dramatic... until now... we've taken an enormous

303   jump forward and not even I recognised how big a jump and once in while I have to stand back give myself

304   a sales talk you know ...I'd say well Ron ......things are certainly wheeling along ...and I'd say yeah don't

305   be overconfident son [laughter 2]

306   An awful lot of work to be done yet... and the truth of the matter is that when you start to fill up a vacuum
307   of this character it rather tends to pull the people apart who were trying to fill up that vacuum...... People
308   from the earliest times were working forward with this and had themselves some rather dramatic
309   experiences probably much more dramatic than mine. ......What have we done we've stepped on the
310   biggest stupidity button man had to... this is almost totally unknowing unknowingness right on the middle
311   of this stupidity button here we come along and we tramp not delicately nor lightly you know we ... don't
312   pull it off the way the professors used to which is just to this effect we don't pull it off on the basis of uh
313   well uh we think or we suppose or possibly or maybe... if you looked at the situation ...you might discover
314   that some portion of it possibly... we think ...might become... of course you shouldn't be too rash about it
315   ...understood in some way perhaps if enough millions are poured into the research in the next 15 or 20
316   thousand years ...that crisp attitude does actually mirror the ford foundation and other foundations that
317   have tried to do something in this particular field I'm not decrying these people and saying they're all
318   totally bad they merely are [laughter 2] because when these big organisations without drive without
319   sincerity and without great dedication step on this stupidity button they simply get stupid. [laughter and
320   ??].and you know over wantingness is far worse than being overwhelmed...

321   It's much more so it's by the cube ...and when these fellows come along and step on this stupidity button
322   they just go out of sight in a morass they tend to ...well of course we don't do such a bad job of getting
323   overworked ourselves now and then we suddenly walk into some sector we get too many people to handle
324   popularity springs up too broadly problems of organisation problems of social import come up and we
325   confront these things and they're brand new uh we try to apply solutions to them from Dianetics and
326   Scientology and uh we get sort of phased ourselves... We're not doing a perfect job and not by a very long
327   ways are we doing a perfect job at all but by golly we're trying and by god that's more than anybody else is
328   ...

329   We're trying hard ...and the people who are in this the people who are working in this...... do a lot more
330   things right than they do things wrong ...and all you have to be to live successfully is just a little better than
331   50% right if you're just a little bit better than 50% right all the time you can't help but win providing you're
332   never wrong on the important points [laughter 3]......

333   The history of these organisations... which are sprung up around the world is a consistent history of
334   ordered coming into confusion... you don't think that a quarter of a million interested people on one
335   continent won't make a confusion you should have been there some of you were ...wham... crash ...you
336   just mention the subject of the mind and everybody re-stimulates into a roaring psychosis in official
337   quarters... But they used to get ...humorous on the subject in the United States when Dianetics and
338   Scientology was mentioned... after a while they became very serious when it was mentioned ......after a
339   short time they would get shouting angry when it was mentioned ...and now the powers that be just cry a
340   little bit [laughter 3.5]......

341 Many other movements which have occurred in man's history... have been much more sweeping... much
342 more dramatic ......stayed with man for a very long time... and actually are not to be compared at all with
343 Dianetics and Scientology which is a rather calm orderly progress without any attempt to become an
344 overwhelmingness of society under one symbol or another those are sincerely dedicated just to making a
345 better world out of it making it possible perhaps for man to live a little while... there've been many efforts
346 in man's history that have been far more gallant ...far more romantic more colourful more aesthetic
347 ......take the work of Sir Thomas Siddharta that man knows as Buddha ...this man's work was spread out
348 through Asia ...this man evolved some ideas that were very acceptable to the people around him... he
349 didn't have any communication networks he didn't have much assistance ...the next thing you know he had
350 brought civilisation to 450 million people who before that had known only barbarism...... the teachings of
351 Sir Thomas Siddharta spread through into Japan... he brought the first writing and the first arts really to the
352 Japanese people... A world where it was dog eat dog became ...a place where man could live... in half of
353 the known world and two thirds of its population had been totally changed in their quality and so forth by
354 the simple activities of Sir Thomas Siddharta and his friends...

355 Now that was a tremendous attack on the barbarism of man. ...And that was a very romantic and a very
356 gallant attack... I'm afraid we're in no such category ...since we have the benefit of everything that's gone
357 before, we have the benefit of knowing many of the things now that he found out and they weave
358 themselves through our lives and they weave themselves through Dianetics and Scientology without our
359 even being able really to isolate them and say this and that came from this or that place... There has been
360 easily 50,000 years of thinking men ...and from all of them we could not help but gain a little truth ...so we
361 haven't done any springboard as a total single effort that leaps into plain view like flash or flame or
362 illuminates everything I'm afraid that we have ...been wise enough to benefit by all those other chaps that
363 have had something to think and something to say down through the years ...there've been lots of them
364 that've said a great deal and only their efforts in bringing about civilisation ...only their efforts at stamping
365 out barbarism have made it possible for us to have enough leisure time now to really get the show on the
366 road... We owe a great deal to these people... a great deal we don't have to believe all the things they said
367 ...we don't have to take everything they've learned or follow their cults or patterns but we can certainly
368 benefit from what they have done and what they tell us about [??] has been considerable it [??] A very great
369 deal ......

370 We owe a great deal then to the past, we owe a great deal to our present civilisation, we owe a great deal to
371 those forces which have made it possible for us to have enough leisure to think enough thoughts and to
372 organise enough and to write enough to do what what we can do today and Sir Thomas Siddharta is the first
373 person who said you can be clear... All he told you however was all you had to do was conceive mind
374 essence ...you just conceive mind essence you have it... ask those who have tried ...his goal comes true
375 today in Scientology it's not a new goal... but we can do it ...we can do it we can make good many of the
376 promises which have been made... that doesn't mean we have to make good another man's promise ...but
377 it does mean that man has dreamed a dream for a very very long time that he himself as an individual that

378   he himself as a society could be free .that he himself could know to be in control of his own life to a

379   marked degree that man has dreamed this dream for aeons and he has put a great deal of thought and effort

380   forward in the direction of <u>achieving</u> that dream and that goal and I can't say to you grandly that we have

381   <u>totally</u> gotten it all wrapped up how we will never hit any vagaries of any kind that we will not hit any

382   rough spots in the road that from here on it's all smooth out but I <u>will</u> tell you <u>today</u> ...that we can

383   individual by individual achieve this goal of clear and I can tell you that it's well worth achieving and it <u>can</u>

384   be achieved properly and man <u>can</u> achieve these goals today of freedom for himself and his people from

385   Scientology providing he works hard ...providing he works sincerely... and providing he keeps this show

386   on the road. Thank you.

387   [Applause 12]

APPENDIX III

EXCERPT NUMBER 2 - L. RON HUBBARD

2   Wherever …man strives……Wherever he works……Whatever he does……The good he does…Outweighs

3   the evil……Strange thing, the good he does outweighs the evil……The percentage in a small town… may

4   contain …a large percent of evil men… but a better percent are good…So much is that percentage that you

5   could almost count on turning around to any casual stranger to ask for help… and receive it……Almost

6   completely count upon that…Man is not a beast……Man is not trying to do evil ……He isn't a suppressed

7   being…He is a being that's been fighting… the mysterious the supernatural the superstitious the evil in life

8   and losing too often ……And where he loses you get the criminal you get the insane……Now with

9   Dianetics and Scientology we have probably made it safe for man to fight ……because he can now fight

10   those things which he considers evil …and win ……and that would be the biggest single forward step that

11   man could make…. Maybe I'm very very optimistic, I have been accused of such., but I believe that the

12   practitioners of Dianetics and Scientology and those organisations… have taken the step and that we are on

13   our way to making it possible for no liability to be connected with the combat with evil. And when we have

14   done that evil is dead.

APPENDIX IV

EXCERPT NUMBER 3 - L. RON HUBBARD

2 In Scientology and Dianetics we have this emotional scale which starts in with apathy above it is grief
3 above that is fear above that is anger next is antagonism next above antagonism is boredom and above
4 boredom conservatism and there we find enthusiasm sitting on top. But that is not the top of the scale that is
5 merely the emotional scale so in the emotional scale we find human beings can be found in one place or
6 another in that emotional scale well if we have a person who is chronically I grief someone who goes to all
7 funerals in the community I knew someone once who was not chronically in grief but we went to all the
8 funerals in the community but he was a very interesting fellow.

9 Very very interesting fellow

10 He went to the funerals on Sunday and foreclosed on the widow on Monday

11 And I guess the reason ... to the funerals crashed his car to all the funerals in the community was just to
12 make sure that the fellow was good and dead before he dropped the axe on the fellow's relatives. He was a
13 banker small town banker the most hated man there he went to all the funerals he was chronically
14 somewhere on this tone scale but if you had met somebody who you'd swear was just back home and come
15 from a funeral they're always ready to cry about something they're always agreed that life is sad life is a
16 sad thing do you know anybody like that ?

17 Alright then such a person could be said to be chronically in grief it's part of this emotional scale

18 If you've met somebody who is always mad about everything doesn't matter what he was mad about he
19 was just mad about something but it turned out to be practically everything You come in and say good
20 morning he doesn't say what's good about it that would be an antagonism and he's angry you find out he's
21 angry about the morning mail he's angry about the state of the office he's angry about this he's angry about
22 that in other words he's angry but he actually isn't about anything he's just parked at this point on the
23 emotional tone scale which is angry period

24 Now after a while we run into the Hubbard scale we run into fixed conditions in the old days 19th century
25 material would label this as manic a manic state a fellow he uh always felt real good and uh so forth a lot of
26 push and bang and so forth he's actually stuck on the emotional tone scale. Well the optimum condition on
27 the emotional tone scale is to be able to change your position on the scale after you've been angry for a
28 moment you should be perfectly willing to be antagonistic and then ... you see. So the fellow stuck in anger
29 only goes in one direction and that's down.

30 Then he starts sticking on this scale there's only one way they go The angry man can be counted on sooner
31 or later in his career to go in to self destruction   apathy Hitler Hitler was an angry man and he eventually
32 went into suicide and anger uh was simply a chronic state he was in a fixed anger band and when he kicked
33 off that he went downstairs all of these emotions about which I'm talking about these emotional conditions
34 are under the heading of affinity that is the degree of affinity alright now if he's angry   really divisions
35 are part of a fixed scale then we would expect   reality and   to equally be part of that same scale so we
36 have actually here a scale of a series of these triangles.

APPENDIX V

EXCERPT NUMBER 4 - L. RON HUBBARD

2 I myself have gone the length and breadth of this world and seen the most savage people you'd ever wish to
3 sit down and gnaw a human thigh bone with.

4 And nobody's ever laid a hand on me in anger

5 Outside the United States.

6 But in the US I have actually had to calm down on about three different occasions police officers.

7 They were nervous, I had to give them a talk at once straight out of their own manuals about the care and
8 use of firearms.

9 I remember one silly cop down in LA who made me sit sideways in the seat of my automobile I was parked
10 at the kerb and he made me sit away from the seat clear to the extreme side of the right hand side of the car
11 so that he could reach in the window and pick my keys really carefully out of the lock and back out of the
12 road. And I said, what's the matter with you boy, I don't bite

13 And he said yes sir and he went stalking back to his own car and he put in a radio message straight to
14 headquarters I wasn't doing anything there was no reason for all this He got a radio message back in the
15 police headquarters LA city and of course he got back officer united states naval intelligence special officer
16 LA police Lafayette R Hubbard .....

17 What you doing sitting here parked And I said well is it illegal to park here no I said I was wondering
18 whether I should go and get an ice-cream soda or not

19 But what was he scared of of what was this man possibly afraid

20 Another one on which I've commented before a federal marshal grabbed me off a lecture platform, there
21 was a hell of an uproar going on because they wouldn't present their credentials but up in the office we was
22 waving around a pistol with the most wild abandon He didn't know what to do with it You don't draw
23 pistols against unarmed men not unless you're scared.

24 You'd have to be real scared though to draw a 38 and then real dumb to put it in the belly of someone who
25 has been trained in judo you don't stand you know 2 feet back from a guy with a muzzle of a pistol in his
26 stomach not in this modern age. Civil populaces have become educated enough in some countries of the

27 world to realise what you do with pistols that are held two feet away from a man's body by him you eat him

28 up in the first place you can move before he can pull the trigger he's completely helpless I told him to put

29 his pistol back in his holster I told him to be good but what was he scared of

30 One day a man walked up to me grabbed me by the shoulder and told me I was under arrest I said for what

31 he said never mind that you're under arrest I said for what and he started to get real mad and real upset. I

32 finally made him tell me for what I was under arrest wrong man

33 But boy that fella was uneasy he was nervous

34 Noting this condition many years ago in studying the subject of Dianetics and Scientology putting them

35 together working with them I thought it'd be an awfully good thing to become a member of a police force

36 for a little while to find out what they were scared of and I did became a special officer of the LA police as

37 I just mentioned. I wanted to find where these vicious criminals were that were making them so frightened I

38 had a beat down on south main street they didn't know who I was I was careful to talk colloquially like I do

39 in lectures and they were very friendly with me because I something they could understand a policeman.

40 But down on south main street amongst the gips rips the dopes the hotheads the ...beaters the rest of them

41 the lowest strata of humanity that comes across from the lowest straight of Mexico to mingle with the

42 lowest state of LA and boy that's low

43 LA is the only city in the world that deserves psychiatrists

44 Amongst these people I thought I would find my answer I was in bars and dens things were I didn't know

45 man could go that far south I only had one fellow ever give me any real trouble and that was a Mexican

46 who was awfully drunk after having been high on marijuana and he kept coming along side of me and

47 grabbing my gun out of its holster because he wanted to shoot his best friend. IN view of the fact that gun

48 was unloaded. Never bothered with a loaded gun the cartridges were heavy

49 I kept taking it away from him and putting it back in the holster and snapping it down explaining to him

50 that that wasn't what you did with friends but he couldn't understand this and I finally sat him down over in

51 the corner of the café he grabbed once too often when I had my back to him after he hadn't bothered me for

52 half an hour and I gave him a push and knocked down a couple of tables and I apologised to the proprietor

53 took him over and sat him down back at the table and poured him a glass of warm water filled with salt and

54 I told him that was the best scotch and soda he ever drank and that it was on me

55 Well after he'd gotten rid of it [laughter] he came round I next time passed that place and he told me that he

56 had decided something and I asked him what he had decided and he said he had decided that one should not

57 shoot his friends this was a wonderful thing. Now LA has the lowest strata there is and that was the only

58 man that ever gave me trouble and he actually didn't have any real malice in his heart at all he was just sort

59 of a sport he was engaged in

60 Now I have been down amongst the one of the finest bodies of police you would ever care to meet

61 ....they're pretty tough and they occasionally do take more away from you than seems quite just They

62 patrol the lower quarter there ...a little bit into Mexico and when they go off the payroll they have to get

63 their pay where they can find it as they have done in a revolution or two past days but these are fine men

64 And yet the criminals which they handle are really pretty easy to handle those men are real tough and they

65 really never have to be tough where are all these tough human beings

66 I admit that some man occasionally will become afraid and will become totally gripped by the belief that

67 there is menace in every fellow man I admit that a human being can become so aberrated as to constitute a

68 menace to the bulk of the society

69 And that in such a case it is necessary to re-aquatint him with society but I will not admit that there is a

70 naturally bad evil man on earth

APPENDIX VI

EXCERPT NUMBER 5 - L. RON HUBBARD

2 In the final analysis all you can get anybody to do...... is inspect himself to find life and find out what's
3 true for him...

4 And those things that are true for him they're pretty true and he'll find out if he does it all the way then we
5 all agree on what's true... and the second we all agree on what's true and if these things are truths then we
6 can get very lazy and whenever have to think of it again and we all write it down in a book and the next
7 generation will only have to memorise this and they will know what the truth is [laughter 3] But that that I
8 don't think any of us want to have happen......

9 That's Scientology as I see it from my own particular viewpoint

APPENDIX VII

EXCERPT NUMBER 6 - L. RON HUBBARD

2   There's this thing called exteriorisation whoever thought that a fella could be three feet back of his own

3   head we weren't talking about mysticism magic psychic souls or something a lot of [??] fears we just said

4   to somebody be three feet back of your head and he was his body was sitting there and he as a personality

5   was three feet back of his head the usefulness of this was tremendous but it demonstrated to us that we had

6   never scraped the bottom on the first dynamic we were there though that was the first time we had hit first

7   dynamic because man himself as he sits there and talks to you or stands there and talks to you is a

8   composite being of course there's some part of him in control of the other parts of him for him to be sane

9   and rational but at the same time he is not one person A lot of people get inverted on this they talk about

10   saving their souls we call that religion you get the idea the fella saves his soul how could you save your

11   souls if you were your soul a bit puzzling isn't it... well they did puzzle about it for a long time ...if you

12   don't believe they did puzzle about it try and get a rational explanation from the earlier religions like the

13   Massai witch doctors or something of the sort ...

14   Now uh here we have then a picture where the actual anatomy of the individual has not been fully

15   understood and instead of as psychiatry has a tendency to believe as psychoanalysis kind of believed well

16   psychoanalysis believed in a populated skull by the way there was this basic barbaric bestial fellow and

17   then there was the sensor there were a heavy population in the first dynamic I beg your pardon

18   overcrowded in fact there was the unconscious and the reconscious and the [??] effect and all that and

19   pardon me that's in the [??]that's a report between two fools who have been ostracised [??]

20   But we have found that the individual himself was not ...one... see as he stood there in his being with a

21   body and so forth he was not one psychiatry had so far believed that he was one that they thought he was a

22   machine see he was kind of something like a biological hurdy gurdy or something that went round and

23   round and shuffled out thoughts like you shuffle a deck of cards but very early I was researching in the field

24   of electronic brains and I was singularly struck with a very great oddity that the moment an operator walked

25   away from the brain it stopped computing ...well he'd take his fingers off of it and it'd shut up and so I I

26   communicated this to my fellows in the field of physics and so forth and said you know it's a funny thing I

27   said you know when you stop running one of the things you quit and one of them said oh you think so and

28   he sent me over and showed a[??]it was the first time I'd seen an [??]close up and he said you see and he

29   threw up the switch [??] and it ran and it ran and it ran and it shuffled things and we walked out of the room

30   and we cam back and it was still hunting in its card file still tabulating over here and so on and this engineer

31   is standing there and saying you see that's man after all he's just a big machine it doesn't matter if you do

32 anything to him or not he really doesn't hurt ...no it's just machine a sort biological like a vegetable and

33 this is the kind of thing that is brain and this is the kind of thing we should be studying he's giving me this

34 big explanation and we went in the other room we had a couple of drinks [??]who was the machine giving

35 its answer to......

36 [laughter 2]

37 That was tough... that was one second hand engineer. Made a citizen out of him right there [laughter 2.5]

38 Well now many years afterwards I actually found who the brain, if it ever did compute anything was giving

39 its answers to...It was giving the answers to the person that you talk to but this person is being a body or

40 being a brain he says I am a body or brain he only has to change his mind and say I'm not a body or brain

41 and be three feet back here and he's back here he's [??] He can think of his own answers he doesn't have to

42 get them off a computer so in other words there's an operator on this machine all the time identifying the

43 operator and uh so forth and knowing what he is and what he's doing and what he has made up is definitely

44 the business of the Scientologist Of course Scientologists are no longer working with machinery he is

45 working with the operators of the machinery and the sooner he begins to realise that a machine is a s good

46 as it has operators ......and no better ......why he begins to be very successful......

47 I remember one time we fixed up a racing car... boy we put shined it all with an old duster[??]it up put in

48 new spark plugs oh man that thing I mean just purred you know purr and we're sitting there waiting to go

49 round the track and the driver came out ...and the driver'd been kind of nerved up just before the race so a

50 buddy of his had slipped him a couple you know a couple off the hip... and he hit his elbow quite literally

51 and he came over and tried to get in the car's image [laughter 2.5]

52 We got over and got him behind the wheel and you know he didn't win the race...[laughter 1] it was the

53 best car there ......but the driver was half the time trying to drive through the grandstand ......If the car had

54 been loosed up though and we had just taken the car around the track you know and turned on its throttle

55 real good and let it go ...it would have gone into the grandstand for sure so a drunk driver was better than

56 no driver wasn't it......

57 Alright when we look all this over we find out that the goal ...of man is not necessarily to be an

58 unconscious impulsive part of all the things that are... no that's not a good role for man ...you know sort of

59 run by everything ...but a perfect knowing part of and participant in any of all of the functions of life and

60 when an individual is so capable that he can associate without any fear on his own part and without any

61 slightest qualms with any part of existence ...he's got all eight dynamics going and they're all in

62 communication and if you had a race of men like that you wouldn't have any specialists you'd have a

63 civilisation.

APPENDIX VIII

EXCERPT NUMBER 7 - L. RON HUBBARD

So here's a case where you could go into an operating condition ...unknowingly pay no attention to it keep
running as though you were in another operating condition and all of a sudden just go appetite over tin-cup
and you don't know just quite what happened to you ...It's all a big mystery. But if you know these
operating formulas oh which by the way there are 5 ...why you're jolly well well off. The lowest most
basic of them and the most snarly one is the condition of emergency and when you're in a state of
emergency boy that's snap and pop although part of this condition of emergency contains this little line of
you've got to stiffen discipline or you've got to stiffen effort to an individual this would mean well just
don't go down to the pub every Friday night ...let's stiffen up the discipline let's stay home and grind the
midnight... oil away... let's stay home and do one's homework or something you get the idea discipline
stiffen up be more regular on the job work a little harder something of this sort so you don't move quite so
much don't make so many mistakes. This would be part of that operating action.......

And as a net result organisationally in a state of emergency aside supposing the activity doesn't come out of
that emergency ...regardless of what caused the emergency supposing the activity just doesn't come out of
the emergency despite of the fact they have been labelled state of emergency they have been directed to
follow the formula they have been told to snap and pop and get that thing straightened out and uh they're
still bound to be moving the statistic is going down continues to go down and so what do you do there's
only one thing left to do and that's discipline ...Because life itself is going to discipline the individual...
Life itself is going to discipline the individual very cruelly and savagely living in another age in a less
socialistic period why the net product of it was starving to death... in a business why uh it'd be going into
bankruptcy and it's crash situation and it usually winds up in an ethical situation those starving to death
would quite normally steal bankruptcy wind up in bankruptcy courts ...it becomes an ethical situation
whether one likes it or not justice staring you in the teeth so the rule of the game is that if a state of
emergency is ignored and uh the steps are not taken successfully do you understand not taken successfully
is different from not taken ...and the condition is continued then you get an announcement after a while
that the condition has been continued ...and if the condition is continued beyond a specified period of time
why uh that's it it has to walk forward into an ethics matter... because how else could you straighten out
that activity there must somebody whooping like crazy sitting on most of the com lines do you see? You're
not some ethical problem involved in it there's somebody who won't function do you see there's someone
who's got the brakes on so that you are smelling smoke ......

32　And uh so you walk forward into an ethical situation now uh the state of normal operation is the second

33　condition and that is supposed to be this normal operation it means not stability ...you could call a

34　condition of stability and it probably should be called a condition of stability except for this one factor This

35　universe did not admit of a static state... It won't admit a no increase no decrease you cannot have a

36　condition in this universe where there is no increase and no decrease.... That's a totally stable condition

37　there is no such thing in this universe from one end of it to the other.... There isn't anything that always

38　remains the same it takes some of the hardest substances there are which oddly enough plutonium and uh

39　some other such elements those things diminish ...you see or explode.... You take lead you say lead will

40　stay there a long time well I invite you to look at the lead on some churches and soon and you will see that

41　is diminishing... As hardy as the element is supposed to be it's still diminishing... And uh you uh take a

42　tree ...or a body after it attains its supposed size and so forth why it actually doesn't have a long period of

43　an absolute plain... You see it's either increasing increasing increasing as it goes into that plane or so forth

44　and you find out that its really decreasing so that very old people have actually shrunk in size... You

45　understand I'm not talking about this from the viewpoint that it is right [laughter 2] I'm just saying this is

46　the way the universe is rigged I'm giving you some law and so if that I've managed to strip out of this

47　universe where the agreement of beings and uh the interlocking of organisations and material and that sort

48　of thing where these functions and you'll find out that they're governed by these universal laws. It's quite

49　interesting because [??] can completely knock out economics as we have known it ... and they they

50　supplant a different operating basis for economics.... It's very valuable data.

APPENDIX IX

2 EXCERPT NUMBER 8 - L. RON HUBBARD

3   Now uh psychosomatic illness is simply this ...an individual... living in a high state of certainty... decided

4   that he did not feel well in some peculiar way....... And as then by impact or some other means become

5   unaware and so says he's sick without knowing how or why. Now the funny part of it is it's all very well

6   for you to come along now and say Look you, you just did it yourself for heavens sakes...... That won't get

7   well he'll even agree with you Alright I did it myself [laughter 2] [??] They wonder what on earth is this?...

8   You know and you say now look ...you really haven't got cerebral palsy, you really don't have this at all

9   what you do have is your own thought that you're sick... and so he agrees with this... because he's willing

10   to agree with anything he's just shaken so hard [??] get the idea he'll agree with you, yeah that's right I did

11   it I did it so we say a mentally caused illness such as a psychosomatic illness we say the psycho somatic

12   illness is caused by the mind in its action on the body.... We do not then infer that the illness is not real and

13   that is the main mistake that medicos make and others make with psychosomatic illness....

14   It's not real because it's caused by the mind. I'd like to know what illness could be real if it wasn't caused

15   by the mind... Now uh... if you are over 20 are a different person now than you were when you were 10

16   [??] .... Some other fact... and unless you can be 10 again... all you have to be is 10 in your head see you

17   have to be willing to be 10 to say I'm not sick.... That true? ...That's all the trick there is to healing a

18   psychosomatic illness. ...It's getting someone to change his mind about being-ness what he's willing to

19   be.... When he was three years old he saw a little boy on crutches felt sorry for him and himself got lame.

20   He took the onus on himself you know so he went around on an idea that he's on crutches and so forth this

21   helped the other boy showing he was sympathetic so he's decided that he's sick [??] decides now there's a

22   good game... Well then we get him to school and he's about 5 and another little boy beats him and says

23   you're just a baby and he says no I'm not a baby,....... no he says, I'm not a baby.......

24   Gets to be a cub-scout and he disdains all those little kids in the block. He gets to be a boy scout and he

25   disdains those cub scouts you see. No I'm no kid anymore he says when I'm 18.... No I'm no kid I'm 18

26   years old... I'm grown up I'm a man now. No child any longer. Gib gib gib An individual Paul roger 3

27   years old is he willing to be Roger anymore no he sure isn't willing to be a three year old Roger

28   anymore,..... He's 18 year old Roger... different guy ...different time...... You get rid of something you've

29   done you only have to be willing to be in similar circumstances and its gone. ......that's about all there is to

30   it.

2   EXCERPT NUMBER 9 - L. RON HUBBARD

3   Now I can tell you that wherever we have neglected ...this factor of raising the self determinism and the

4   ability of this awareness of awareness unit.... Wherever we have neglected it wherever we have stressed

5   machine reaction wherever we have attempted to heal the body at the sacrifice of the man...... We've

6   gotten late maybe but [??] We've gotten maybe a nose which twitched better ...but we have gotten a better

7   man... now that's interesting isn't it and the culmination of this material... and a study by reason of

8   intelligence testing and personality testing over the last many months a program 8 months in length which

9   has just concluded ...has brought me to the conclusion which as far as I'm concerned is the conclusion that

10   we cannot lose ...if we stress the spiritual side of man and that we always lose when we stress his material

11   side... It's taken me 25 years to come to this conclusion and I give it to you just that way...... Why didn't

12   psychotherapy ever raise anyone's intelligence... why do they cut up men in order to heal ...well they do

13   that just for this reason ...they know they can get nowhere by doing it... they can get nowhere by handling

14   this mechanical object called man the mechanical object is not handle-able by other mechanical objects....

15   That's interesting isn't it... we have the same proposition... Two cars sitting down here in the garage one

16   of them has a flat tyre and the other car's sitting along side it without a flat tyre...... And we come back

17   three months later and the cars are still sitting there one of them with a flat tyre did the other car ever repair

18   the flat tyre ...Well man is better than that which is why he's battling he can always [??] a new tyre... One

19   way or another... Through the genetic line or something he can always have a new tyre a car can't even do

20   this. But as long as we treat man as a machine... he is capable of doing all the things a machine can do and

21   no more. And a machine cannot change its intelligence nor can it change its personality...... This is a

22   fantastic thing that today in this 20th century...... the thousands of years ...belief... in the field of religion

23   has materialised into an actuality which can be put into an effect rather easily by the average

24   individual...... We have brought at last... this material into the category of practical.

APPENDIX XI

2 EXCERPT NUMBER 10 - L. RON HUBBARD

3 An individual simply by changing his mind can treble his efficiency.... The best way to change your mind
4 about your efficiency is to find out whether or not you're doing what you want to do. Or going in a
5 direction that you want to go. And if you just sit down for a moment and say well what do I want to do
6 you're liable to [??] [laughter 2] what am I doing. [laughter 1] [??] Then that would be the first step in
7 increasing anyone's efficiency is finding out what one is trying to do ...and then could get awfully efficient
8 about it.. Now let's take a look at a fencer who has gone into a fencing match but doesn't know it's a
9 fencing match ...he might have known fencing once but he doesn't know the rules now and he doesn't
10 know what he's supposed to do with the [??] of his foil. Get the dirt of the cracks in the ceiling or pick his
11 teeth with it [laughter 0.5]... and we tell him now alright let's do an efficient job of fencing ...he doesn't
12 know what this is so he starts to build a coral beside the gymnasium... He he hasn't got to be very far along
13 the line he's going to be an efficient fencer. Well and what do we think of a clerk who doesn't know what
14 he's supposed to be as a clerk... What about a man who doesn't know what a man is supposed to do or a
15 woman who doesn't know what a woman's supposed to do or hasn't figured it out. [laughter] [??]

16 Now the first lesson that we can learn in efficiency doesn't have very much to do with process either it's
17 got to do with hey what am I doing anyhow... Get it all figured out so you're good and certain about what
18 you're doing and when you've gotten good and certain about it do it with the most economy of effort and
19 emotion. By golly you'll be a shooting star ...there is probably nobody in 150 million people who are alive
20 in the United States today nobody with only very few exceptions who really has a good clear idea of what
21 he's doing... Much less how he's doing it...... The machine sort of takes over. [??] in the society it's
22 moving in this direction and this is the way it goes and therefore we go this way... Well there's the picture
23 that an individual presents ...what a machine ...what a machine running on so many ergs of energy...
24 Being driven along the rails and in grooves and so forth... but he represents a picture of an individual who
25 is either self-determining to some degree in his personal existence or he's not and if he's self determining
26 his course of existence believe me he will do it efficiently and if not so determining his course of existence
27 believe me he won't do it efficiently no matter how many whips are laid upon his back... All the effort in
28 the world cannot over come the idea of one forthright act... but a very small amount of thought can make a
29 slave over a tremendous quantity of emotional energy.

2   **EXCERPT NUMBER 11 - L. RON HUBBARD**

3   Now uh this current economy this current economy has this interesting aspect is everyone's being

4   hammered and pounded all the times with must have can't have...... You look at the TV ads...... Get into

5   this beautiful new Cadillac, drive down this smooth road [laughter 0.5]... At first you say don't I wish I

6   could [laughter 0.5]. And after a while because it's just glass with some light playing on it... you say ...all

7   these rich dogs ought to be shot...[laughter 0.5] That's your next reaction... And after a while after a while

8   you would unfortunately say what Cadillacs... I don't even read the ads any more. You get the idea......

9   You could overstimulate the desire to have to a point and then not gratify it to such a degree that everybody

10 would become apathetic about possessions. And the economy would go zzz...... That'd be the end of that

11 [??] ......

12 Now the funny part is the only thing I don't think you could do would be to overproduce product...of

13 course you could overproduce if everybody in the world started to grow watermelons and wouldn't grow

14 anything else but watermelons and every plant would only manufacture synthetic watermelons ... I think

15 the economy would be shot [LRH laughs]...

16 But if you have a variety of production people producing what they can produce uh producing consumable

17 goods goods that did fill various needs it's almost impossible to overproduce...... Now just why you think

18 somebody has to be rich skunk to drive a Cadillac is traceable only to ads shows rich skunks driving

19 Cadillacs.

20 In all the black and white bloom tail waving in the air behind the Cadillac. Because it's fact it's fact there's

21 no reason under this sun why this economy couldn't build a Cadillac for everyone that wanted a Cadillac

22 they're rather simple to build they require no more metal really than a ford you just make it thinner

23 [laughter 1] if you've got you've got you've got this vehicle... now it is true that everybody in a society

24 couldn't have a gold-plated Cadillac there isn't that much gold that you'd run out of gold ...and very short

25 order you'd have to tap the government down here at Fort Knox and say give us some of that stuff it

26 belongs to us and uh they'd say uh they'd say we've got to have that to back up the money and you'd say

27 what money......

28 Course they'd say you're invalidating the currency of the United States and that's a criminal offence uh I

29 think it is too...... It'll be the 15th statue I've broken today well uh anyhow ...within... within the range

30 that you didn't want a gold plated Cadillac then I'm sure that everybody could have a Cadillac you get the

31 idea that everybody that wanted one you could have one. Well somebody would have to be producing
32 gold.... You see so everybody could have a gold plated Cadillac. Because there are finite limits of gold
33 available you get the idea.... In other words these economic checks ...are monitored by desire to have...
34 and ability to produce.... And of course you don't have the raw materials you can't produce it... But the
35 only wide open track along the line that looks relatively wide open is production.... You can't overdo
36 it...... And still maintain a variety of production.... Unless you enter in a known number of factors now
37 you can enter into this new factor which would have to do with money... scarcity of. You could tell
38 everybody carefully , now listen in order to get any produce you have to give money for it everybody learns
39 this it's a new lesson they learn it they learn it well they go around and say alright I want to have a new
40 Cadillac that means I have to have 10,000 dollars and I pay it on the line here and they give me a new
41 Cadillac... Everybody learns that lesson well then all of a sudden some cheap dog forgets to to write down
42 something in this composition book. [??] Well that page is full we're not going to issue any more money....

43 And you look in your pocket and you don't have 10,000 dollars you just have 10 cents. So you don't get a
44 Cadillac you get a hamburger.... Get the idea?... Well supposing you were producing like mad or
45 supposing there wasn't enough money to pay you for your production... . Supposing there wasn't enough
46 money for anyone to buy your production....... Ahhhhhhhhh. ...So we find out there isn't much you can do
47 about people from a production angle and it wouldn't do anybody any good to monitor production
48 anyway... The place to head is to money... money you make the money scarce. Now there's 2 ways to
49 make money scarce.... Both of them add up to no value for money...... Just print it by the billions of bills
50 let it blow all over the streets... show pictures of your president lighting cigars with thousand dollar
51 bills...... [laughter 1]

52 Or don't print any. Everybody'll forget what it looks like.......... Now uh the whole society might or might
53 not stay on the subject of money if it weren't for the fact of taxes...... There is a mono-brained ...tummy to
54 the root... or mono-manic sort of Organisation in the country but it's composed of tax collectors and it only
55 collects taxes in money. [??] you know but to park that Cadillac out in front and say there it is... They'll
56 only settle for money....... You could print some money and give it to them but they wouldn't be satisfied
57 they've gotta have a special kind of money.... They gotta have their own money ...but they didn't make
58 any.... How can you pay them....... Well I'm afraid that's a problem that's being solved right here at this
59 moment.... It's being solved in this fall of 1956 how you pay taxes... in money which isn't being
60 manufactured....... The financial low of all time since the depression has been reached within the last 4
61 days on the subject of the amount of money available to buy Cadillacs....... That ratio is now below 1931.
62 There is less money in the economy than the amount of goods in the economy than there were since
63 1931.... The money is getting scarce the money is getting very scarce.... It would be very unkind of me
64 who keeps my ...eye open....should say keeps me eye open on things like this not to tell my friends about
65 it ...it's the reason I'm talking to you now.

66   Cause this is an unsavoury subject money because it got so rigged that when you got no dough you don't

67   eat.......... No dough no chow that's the motto it is... But money is not production. Money is money. And

68   if money is not produced it doesn't exist.... To that degree it is simply another production.... I'm not trying

69   to scare anybody to death I'm not trying to scare you any more than uh mortgage brokers or other people

70   are hysterical right now.... As a matter of fact I'm trying to do quite another thing as far as you're

71   concerned I'm trying to show you why you shouldn't be particularly upset and alarmed. And perhaps you

72   can understand what's going on in the society around you just a little bit better.... Yesterday or many

73   yesterdays ago you ordered a radio set. You didn't pay the fellow for thirty days you forgot it.... At the end

74   of 30 days you gave him your check.... You say here's your check, the fellow says [??] that's good. Today

75   you buy a radio set....... Your check book does not come out of your pocket quite fast enough the fellow's

76   hysterical...... You buy a commodity today... and you have somebody on the other end of the line within

77   24 hours he has not instantly received payment why. He's going broke he has certain set fixed expenses....

78   People all around who want things ...people all around want his produce... they want what he's

79   distributing ... but they haven't got any money to buy it... but he has to pay salaries but he has to pay the

80   manufacturers but he has to pay rent and above all he has to pay taxes and he might be able to get away

81   with his rent with a couple of new TV sets he might be able to square the beef in some other direction but

82   he can't square it with the tax collector in any other way but money.... So he has got to be on the phone

83   within a week he has to have you in court within 2 weeks. If you don't pay it. In other words hysteria.......

84   What's this hysteria based on not enough little printed pieces of paper such as I showed you at the

85   beginning of [??] why should you get hysterical about little pieces of paper.... Well everybody knows

86   ...it's just another one that everybody knows ......it is such a solid agreement that everybody is agreed on.

2   ## EXCERPT NUMBER 12 - L. RON HUBBARD

3   Well I'm very very glad to be here and I'm very glad to see all of you.... We have ...arrived ...in
4   Scientology at a point where man should have been the last 5000 years and uh the history of man is studded
5   with a number of errors.... I think if you look it over you will find that there are quite a few errors on his
6   track and I think you'll also discover that each and every one of these errors is due to the fact that he did
7   not understand himself. One might say that man made these errors because he was seeking to understand
8   himself.... And in seeking to understand himself he excluded the rest of the world out....... Individuals
9   looked into their own cranium saw a bunch of neurones busy synapsing... and uh said ah that is what the
10   world is like... and didn't bother to look over at his next door neighbour and discover that he was looking
11   in to a cranium full of neurones that were going synapse.......

12   [??] so he invented gunpowder.... Before that he invented catapults ...[??] before that why he invented
13   ...pebbles and stone axes.... Now what uh... what forced man to invent all these things.......Why did he go
14   to all the trouble of inventing a catapult. Did you ever see a replica of a catapult.... Have you have you ever
15   seen one of these huge wheeled contrivances ...with its enormous arms and swings and so forth it's quite a
16   fantastic instrument the catapult...... It was the high point of Roman warfare the roads which we travel on
17   today right here in London have 9ft road beds they're nine feet deep simply so someone could run a
18   catapult over them. So we can't say that the catapult was entirely a dead loss. [laughter 2] ......

19   The buses don't bump as badly as they would while going around Oxford Circus [laughter 0.5] And so man
20   did make history with his catapult...... Now uh when it comes down to looking over this amount of effort...
21   that amount of hugeness ...that amount of ingenuity... I wonder if uh ...if he'd put as much time in trying
22   to understand his fellows if he wouldn't have found it unnecessary. But he did evidently find it necessary
23   he built catapult and he went around to do what?... to batter down the citadels of other cities and nations.
24   He wanted to batter down their walls... crash through to do what so he could meet somebody [laughter 1]
25   ......

26   Well you figure it out [laughter 2.5] He was on the right track but he was doing it rather cruelly.... He was
27   on the right track. He did know that there was somebody inside [laughter 0.5] ... And he went at it the best
28   way he knew how.... With a catapult.... Now uh this survives in the modern times. The mathematics of
29   James Clerk Maxwell the uh various contrivances that people built wet batteries you know back in the old
30   times makes frogs legs jump and so forth and which today are are are running huge plants and industries
31   and producing things and uh helping man out in all directions. That too has become the modern catapult....
32   What what what's done with that. Well they use electricity today to batter in somebody's skull so they can

33 do what? so they can meet someone... now it's obvious that this must have some point to it. In other words
34 the electric shock is used in psychotherapy must be some kind of an effort to batter something down.... So
35 whether we're using ancient weapons or modern scientific development apparently the goal is just about
36 the same as it was that is if you can throw enough stuff ...if you can hit hard enough against an obstacle
37 ...if you can press home far enough... man is evidently convinced that you will meet somebody....... And
38 in Scientology without any such extraordinary measures we have finally met somebody.... Now man's
39 relentless search was where is he.... His search which has continued over Lord knows what... length of
40 time has consisted of simply this... where is he ...and what is he doing and what is he going to do....
41 Always the other fellow...... What is he going to do where is he. What does he consist of. Now the most
42 preposterous theories have been evolved by man to answer these questions.... There is no theory that you at
43 this moment, I'm sure... uh could think of that has not been advanced as a solemn scientific theory....

44 Now just uh just think of a silly theory about life. All life is in canned vegetables you know Anything like
45 that well that's been seriously advanced I'm sure of it . The uh facts of the case are very very elementary
46 what he was looking for was evidently not easily discoverable because he didn't think he'd found anything
47 unless he could see it. And what he was looking for was invisible a thing... a spiritual being .

APPENDIX XIV

"A BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE"

A BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE

A BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE

CONTENTS

A BOOK TO BE READ

"The Bible is not to be taken seriously." So said a university professor to a plainspoken young woman.

◆

"Have you ever read the Bible?" she asked.

◆

Taken aback, the professor had to admit that he had not.

◆

"How can you voice a strong conviction about a book that you have never read?"

◆

She had a point. He decided to read the Bible and then form an opinion about it.

THE Bible, made up of 66 writings, has been described as being "probably the most influential collection of books in human history."[1] Indeed, it has influenced some of the world's greatest art, literature, and music. It has had a significant impact on law. It has been extolled for its literary style and has been held in high esteem by many well-educated individuals. Its effect on the lives of people in all strata of society has been particularly profound. It has inspired in many of its readers a remarkable degree of loyalty. Some have even risked death just to read it.

At the same time, there is skepticism about the Bible. There are people who have definite opinions about it although they have personally never read it. They may acknowledge its literary or historical value, but they wonder: How could a book written thousands of years ago possibly be relevant in this modern world? We live in the "information age." Up-to-the-minute information on current events and technology is at our fingertips. "Expert" advice on virtually all the challenges of modern life is readily available. Can the Bible really contain information that is practical today?

This brochure endeavors to answer such questions. It is not designed to impose religious views or beliefs on you, but it is intended to show that this historically influential book, the Bible, is worthy of your consideration. A report published in 1994 noted that some educators strongly feel that the Bible is so firmly embedded in Western culture that "anyone, believer or unbeliever, who is not familiar with Biblical teachings and accounts will be culturally illiterate."[2]

Perhaps, after reading what is published herein, you will agree that—whether a person is religious or not—the Bible is, at the very least, a book to be read.

"I owe my enlightenment quite simply to the reading of a book.—A book? Yes, and it is an old simple book, modest as nature itself, and as natural . . . And the name of this book is quite offhandishly the book, the Bible."—Heinrich Heine, 19th-century German writer.[3]

A BOOK THAT IS MISREPRESENTED

"The doctrine of the double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun is false, and entirely contrary to Holy Scripture." So stated the Congregation of the Index of the Roman Catholic Church in a decree in 1616.[1] Does the Bible really disagree with scientific facts? Or has it been misrepresented?

IN THE winter of 1609/10, Galileo Galilei turned his newly developed telescope toward the heavens and discovered four moons circling the planet Jupiter. What he saw shattered the prevailing notion that all heavenly bodies must orbit the earth. Earlier, in 1543, the Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus had theorized that the planets revolve around the sun. Galileo verified that this was scientific truth.

Two of Galileo's telescopes

To Catholic theologians, however, this was heresy. The church had long held that the earth was the center of the universe.[2] This view was based on a literal interpretation of scriptures that pictured the earth as being fixed "on its foundations, unshakable for ever and ever." (Psalm 104:5, *The Jerusalem Bible*) Summoned to Rome, Galileo appeared before the Inquisition. Subjected to rigorous examination, he was forced to recant his findings, and he spent the rest of his life under house arrest.

In 1992, some 350 years after Galileo's death, the Catholic Church finally acknowledged that he was right after all.[3] But if Galileo was right, then was the Bible wrong?

Finding the True Sense of Biblical Passages

Galileo believed the Bible to be true. When his scientific discoveries contradicted the prevailing interpretation of certain Bible verses, he reasoned that theologians were missing the true sense of the passages. After all, "two truths can never contradict one another," he wrote.[4] He suggested that the precise terms of science do not contradict the everyday words of the Bible. But theologians would not let themselves be persuaded. They insisted that all Biblical statements about the earth are to be taken literally. As a result, not only did they reject Galileo's discoveries but they also missed the true sense of such Scriptural expressions.

Really, common sense should tell us that when the Bible refers to "the four corners of the earth," it does not mean that the Bible writers understood the earth to be literally square. (Revelation 7:1) The Bible is written in the language of ordinary people, often using vivid figures of speech. So when it speaks of the earth as having "four corners," a durable "foundation," "pedestals," and a "cornerstone," the Bible

A BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE

is not offering a scientific description of the earth; obviously it is speaking metaphorically, as we often do in daily speech.*—Isaiah 51:13; Job 38:6.
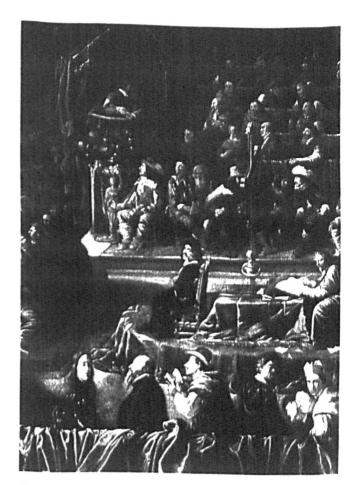
In his book *Galileo Galilei,* biographer L. Geymonat noted: "Narrow-minded theologians who wanted to limit science on the basis of biblical reasoning would do nothing but cast discredit upon the Bible itself."[5] That they did. Actually, it was the theologians' interpretation of the Bible —not the Bible itself—that put unreasonable constraints on science.

Similarly, religious fundamentalists today distort the Bible when they insist that the earth was created in six 24-hour days. (Genesis 1:3-31) Such a view agrees neither with science nor with the Bible. In the Bible, as in everyday speech, the word "day" is a flexible term, expressing units of time of varying lengths. At Genesis 2:4, all six creative days are referred to as one all-embracing "day." The Hebrew word translated "day" in the Bible can simply mean "a long time."[6] So, there is no Biblical reason to insist that the days of creation were 24 hours each. By teaching otherwise, fundamentalists misrepresent the Bible.—See also 2 Peter 3:8.

Throughout history, theologians have often distorted the Bible. Consider some other ways in which the religions of Christendom have misrepresented what the Bible says.

Misrepresented by Religion

The actions of those who say they follow the Bible often besmear the reputation

Galileo facing his inquisitors

of the book they claim to revere. So-called Christians have shed one another's blood in the name of God. Yet, the Bible admonishes followers of Christ to "love one another." —John 13:34, 35; Matthew 26:52.

Some clergymen fleece their flocks, wheedling hard-earned money from them —a far cry from the Scriptural instruction: "You received free, give free."—Matthew 10:8; 1 Peter 5:2, 3.

Clearly, the Bible cannot be judged according to the words and actions of those who simply quote it or claim to live by it. An open-minded person may therefore want to discover for himself what the Bible is all about and why it is such a remarkable book.

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* For example, even the most literal-minded astronomers today will speak of the "rising" and "setting" of the sun, stars, and constellations—although, in fact, these only appear to move because of the earth's rotation.

THE WORLD'S MOST WIDELY DISTRIBUTED BOOK

"The Bible is the most widely read book in history. . . . More copies have been distributed of the Bible than of any other book. The Bible has also been translated more times, and into more languages, than any other book."—"The World Book Encyclopedia."[1]

IN SOME respects, most books are like people. They appear on the scene, may grow in popularity, and—except for a handful of classics—become old and die. Libraries often serve as cemeteries for countless books that are obsolete, unread and, in effect, dead.

The Bible, however, is exceptional even among classical works. Although its written origins go back 3,500 years, it is still very much alive. It is by far the most widely circulated book on earth.* Each year, some 60 million copies of the entire Bible or portions of it are distributed. The first edition printed from movable type came off the printing press of the German inventor Johannes Gutenberg about 1455. Since then an estimated four billion Bibles (the whole or in part) have been printed. No other book, religious or otherwise, even comes close.

The Bible is also the most widely translated book in history. The complete Bible or portions of it have been translated into more than 2,100 languages and dialects.* Over 90 percent of the human family have access to at least part of the Bible in their own language.[2] This book has thus crossed national boundaries and transcended racial and ethnic barriers.

Statistics alone may not provide a compelling reason for you to examine the Bible. Nevertheless, the circulation and translation figures are impressive, testifying to the Bible's universal appeal. Surely the best-selling and most widely translated book in all human history is worthy of your consideration.

Gutenberg Bible, in Latin, the first complete book printed from movable type

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* The next most widely distributed publication is thought to be the red-covered booklet *Quotations From the Works of Mao Tse-tung,* of which an estimated 800 million copies have been sold or distributed.

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* Statistics regarding the number of languages are based on figures published by the United Bible Societies.

A BOOK FOR ALL PEOPLE

How Did the Book Survive?

Ancient writings had natural enemies—fire, moisture, mold. The Bible was not immune to such hazards. The record of how it has survived the ravages of time to become the world's most accessible book is outstanding among ancient writings. That history deserves more than passing interest.

THE Bible writers did not engrave their words on stone; neither did they inscribe them on durable clay tablets. They evidently recorded their words on perishable materials —papyrus (made from the Egyptian plant of the same name) and parchment (made from the skins of animals).

What happened to the original writings? They probably disintegrated long ago, most of them in ancient Israel. Scholar Oscar Paret explains: "Both of these writing mediums [papyrus and leather] are in the same strong measure endangered by humidity, by mold, and by various maggots. We know from daily experience how easily paper, and even strong leather, deteriorates in the open air or in a damp room."[1]

If the originals no longer exist, then how did the words of the Bible writers survive to our day?

Preserved by Meticulous Copyists

Soon after the originals were written, handwritten copies began to be produced. Copying the Scriptures actually became a profession in ancient Israel. (Ezra 7:6; Psalm 45:1) The copies, though, were also recorded on perishable materials. Eventually these had to be replaced by other handwritten copies. When the originals passed off the scene, these copies became the basis for future manuscripts. Copying the copies was a process that went on for many centuries. Did copyists' mistakes over the centu-

ries drastically change the text of the Bible? The evidence says no.

The professional copyists were very devoted. They had a profound reverence for the words they copied. They were also meticulous. The Hebrew word rendered "copyist" is *so·pher'*, which has reference to counting and recording. To illustrate the accuracy of the copyists, consider the Masoretes.* Regarding them, scholar Thomas Hartwell Horne explains: "They . . . reckoned which is the middle letter of the Pentateuch [the first five books of the Bible], which is the middle clause of each book, and how many times each letter of the [Hebrew] alphabet occurs in all the Hebrew Scriptures."[3]

Thus, skilled copyists utilized a number of cross-checking tools. To avoid omitting even a single letter from the Bible text, they went so far as to count not just the *words* copied but the *letters* as well. Consider the painstaking care this involved: They reportedly kept track of 815,140 individual letters in the Hebrew Scriptures![4] Such diligent effort ensured a high degree of accuracy.

Nevertheless, the copyists were not infallible. Is there any evidence that, despite centuries of recopying, the Bible text has survived in reliable form?

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* Masoretes (meaning "the Masters of Tradition") were copyists of the Hebrew Scriptures who lived between the sixth and the tenth centuries C.E. The manuscript copies they produced are referred to as Masoretic texts.[2]

A Solid Basis for Confidence

There is good reason to believe that the Bible has been accurately transmitted down to our day. The evidence consists of existing handwritten manuscripts—an estimated 6,000 of all or portions of the Hebrew Scriptures and some 5,000 of the Christian Scriptures in Greek. Among these is a Hebrew Scripture manuscript discovered in 1947 that exemplifies just how accurate the copying of the Scriptures was. It has since been termed "the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times."[5]

While tending his flocks early that year, a young Bedouin shepherd discovered a cave near the Dead Sea. In it he found a number of earthenware jars, most of them empty. However, in one of the jars, which was sealed tight, he found a leather scroll that was carefully wrapped in linen and contained the complete Bible book of Isaiah. This well-preserved but worn scroll showed signs of having been repaired. Little did the young shepherd realize that the ancient scroll he held in his hands would eventually be given worldwide attention.

What was so significant about this particular manuscript? In 1947 the oldest available complete Hebrew manuscripts dated from about the tenth century C.E. But this scroll was dated to the second century B.C.E.*—more than a thousand years earlier.# Scholars were very interested to find

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* B.C.E. means "Before the Common Era." C.E. denotes "Common Era," often called A.D., for Anno Domini, meaning "in the year of the Lord."

Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, by Emanuel Tov, states: "With the aid of the carbon 14 test, 1QIsaᵃ [the Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll] is now dated between 202 and 107 BCE (paleographical date: 125-100 BCE) . . . The mentioned paleographical method, which has been improved in recent years, and which allows for absolute dating on the basis of a comparison of the shape and stance of the letters with external sources such as dated coins and inscriptions, has established itself as a relatively reliable method."[6]

The Bible was preserved by skilled copyists

out how this scroll compared with manuscripts produced much later.

In one study, scholars compared the 53rd chapter of Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scroll with the Masoretic text produced a thousand years later. The book *A General Introduction to the Bible,* explains the results of the study: "Of the 166 words in Isaiah 53, there are only seventeen letters in question. Ten of these letters are simply a matter of spelling, which does not affect the sense. Four more letters are minor stylistic changes, such as conjunctions. The remaining three letters comprise the word 'light,' which is added in verse 11, and does not affect the meaning greatly. . . . Thus, in one chapter of 166 words, there is only one word (three letters) in question after a thousand years of transmission—and this word does not significantly change the meaning of the passage."[7]

Professor Millar Burrows, who worked with the scrolls for years, analyzing their contents, came to a similar conclusion: "Many of the differences between the . . . Isaiah scroll and the Masoretic text can be explained as mistakes in copying. Apart from these, there is a remarkable agreement, on the whole, with the text found in the medieval manuscripts. Such agreement in a manuscript so much older gives reassuring testimony to the general accuracy of the traditional text."[8]

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"Reassuring testimony" can also be given about the copying of the Christian Greek Scriptures. For example, the 19th-century discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, a vellum manuscript dated to the fourth century C.E., helped confirm the accuracy of manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures produced centuries later. A papyrus fragment of the Gospel of John, discovered in the district of Faiyūm, Egypt, is dated to the first half of the second century C.E., less than 50 years after the original was written. It had been preserved for centuries in the dry sand. The text agrees with that found in much later manuscripts.[9]

The evidence thus confirms that the copyists were, in fact, very accurate. Nevertheless, they did make mistakes. No individual manuscript is flawless—the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah notwithstanding. Even so, scholars have been able to detect and correct such departures from the original.

Correcting Copyists' Errors

Suppose 100 persons were asked to make a handwritten copy of a lengthy document. Undoubtedly at least some of the copyists would make mistakes. However, they would not all make the *same* mistakes. If you were to take all 100 copies and compare them very carefully, you would be able to isolate the errors and determine the exact text of the original document, even if you never saw it.

Similarly, the Bible copyists did not all make the same mistakes. With literally thousands of Bible manuscripts now available for comparative analysis, textual scholars have been able to isolate mistakes, determine the original reading, and make note of needed corrections. As a result of such careful study, textual scholars have produced master texts in the original languages. These refined editions of the Hebrew and of the Greek texts adopt the words most generally agreed upon as being the original, often listing in footnotes variations or alternative readings that may exist in certain manuscripts. The refined editions by the textual scholars are what Bible translators use to translate the Bible into modern languages.

So when you pick up a modern translation of the Bible, there is every reason for confidence that the Hebrew and the Greek texts on which it is based represent with remarkable fidelity the words of the original Bible writers.* The record of how the Bible survived thousands of years of recopying by hand is truly extraordinary. Sir Frederic Kenyon, longtime curator of the British Museum, could therefore state: "It cannot be too strongly asserted that in substance the text of the Bible is certain . . . This can be said of no other ancient book in the world."[10]

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* Of course, individual translators may be stringent or loose in their adherence to the original Hebrew and Greek texts.

The Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah (facsimile shown) is practically identical with the Masoretic text produced a thousand years later

A BOOK THAT "SPEAKS" LIVING LANGUAGES

If the language in which a book is written dies, for all practical purposes the book dies too. Few people today can read the ancient languages in which the Bible was written. Yet it is alive. It has survived because it has "learned to speak" the living languages of mankind. The translators who "taught" it to speak other languages faced seemingly insurmountable obstacles at times.

TRANSLATING the Bible—with its more than 1,100 chapters and 31,000 verses—is an imposing task. However, over the centuries, devoted translators gladly took on the challenge. Many of them were willing to suffer hardships and even to die for their work. The history of how the Bible came to be translated into the languages of mankind is a remarkable account of perseverance and ingenuity. Consider just a small part of that compelling record.

Tyndale translating the Bible

The Challenges Facing the Translators

How do you translate a book into a language that has no written script? Numerous Bible translators faced just such a challenge. For example, Ulfilas, of the fourth century C.E., set out to translate the Bible into what was then a modern but not a written language—Gothic. Ulfilas overcame the challenge by inventing the Gothic alphabet of 27 characters, which he based primarily on the Greek and the Latin alphabets. His translation of nearly the entire Bible into Gothic was completed before 381 C.E.

In the ninth century, two Greek-speaking brothers, Cyril (originally named Constantine) and Methodius, both outstanding scholars and linguists, wanted to translate the Bible for Slavic-speaking people. But Slavonic—the forerunner of today's Slavic languages—had no written script. So the two brothers invented an alphabet in order to produce a translation of the Bible. Thus the Bible could now "speak" to many more people, those in the Slavic world.

In the 16th century, William Tyndale set out to translate the Bible from the original languages into English, but he encountered stiff opposition from both Church and State. Tyndale, who was educated at Oxford, wanted to produce a translation that even "a boy that driveth the plough" could understand.[1] But to accomplish this, he had to flee to Germany, where his English "New Testament" was printed in 1526. When copies were smuggled into England, the authorities were so enraged that they began burning them publicly. Tyndale was later betrayed. Just before he was strangled and his

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body burned, he uttered these words with a loud voice: "Lord, open the King of England's eyes!"[2]

Bible translation continued; the translators would not be stopped. By 1800, at least portions of the Bible had "learned to speak" 68 languages. Then, with the formation of Bible Societies—in particular the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804—the Bible quickly "learned" even more new languages. Young men by the hundreds volunteered to go to foreign lands as missionaries, many with the prime purpose of translating the Bible.

Learning the Languages of Africa

In 1800, there were only about a dozen *written* languages in Africa. Hundreds of other *spoken* languages had to wait until someone invented a writing system. Missionaries came and learned the languages, without the aid of primers or dictionaries. Then they labored to develop a written form, and after that they taught the people how to read the script. This they did so that someday people could read the Bible in their own tongue.[3]

One such missionary was a Scotsman named Robert Moffat. In 1821, at the age of 25, Moffat set up a mission among the Tswana-speaking people of southern Africa. To learn their unwritten language, he mixed with the people, at times journeying into the interior to live among them. "The people were kind," he later wrote, "and my blundering in the language gave rise to many bursts of laughter. Never, in one instance, would an individual correct a word or sentence, till he or she had mimicked the original so effectually, as to give great merriment to others."[4] Moffat persevered and eventually mastered the language, developing a written form for it.

In 1829, after working among the Tswana

for eight years, Moffat finished translating the Gospel of Luke. To get it printed, he traveled about 600 miles by ox wagon to the coast and then took a ship to Cape Town. There the governor gave him permission to use a government press, but Moffat had to set the type and do the printing himself, finally publishing the Gospel in 1830. For the first time, the Tswana could read a portion of the Bible in their own language. In 1857, Moffat completed a translation of the entire Bible into Tswana.

Robert Moffat

Moffat later described the reaction of the Tswana when the Gospel of Luke was first made available to them. He noted: "I have known individuals to come hundreds of miles to obtain copies of St. Luke. . . . I have seen them receive portions of St. Luke, and weep over them, and grasp them to their bosoms, and shed tears of thankfulness, till I have said to more than one, 'You will spoil your books with your tears.'"[5]

Devoted translators like Moffat thus gave many Africans—some of whom initially saw no need for a written language—the first opportunity to communicate in writing. The translators, though, believed that they were giving the people of Africa an even more valuable gift—the Bible in their own tongue. Today the Bible, in whole or in part, "speaks" in over 600 African languages.

Learning the Languages of Asia

While translators in Africa struggled to develop written forms for spoken languages, on the other side of the world, other translators encountered a much different obstacle—translating into languages that already had complex written scripts. Such was the

challenge facing those who translated the Bible into the languages of Asia.

At the beginning of the 19th century, William Carey and Joshua Marshman went to India and mastered many of its written languages. With the help of William Ward, a printer, they produced translations of at least portions of the Bible in nearly 40 languages.[6] Regarding William Carey, author J. Herbert Kane explains: "He invented a beautiful, free-flowing colloquial style [of the Bengali language] that replaced the old classical form, thereby making it more intelligible and attractive to modern readers."[7]

Adoniram Judson, born and raised in the United States, traveled to Burma, and in 1817 he began to translate the Bible into Burmese. Describing the difficulty of mastering an Oriental language to the degree necessary to translate the Bible, he wrote:

'When we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the earth, whose thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose codes of expression are consequently all new, and the letters and words all totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we have ever met with; when we have no dictionary or interpreter and must get something of the language before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher—*that means work!*'[8]

Adoniram Judson

In Judson's case, it meant some 18 years of painstaking work. The final portion of the Burmese Bible was printed in 1835. His stay in Burma, however, cost him dearly. While he was working on the translation, he was accused of spying and hence spent nearly two years in a mosquito-infested jail. Not long after his release, his wife and young daughter died of fever.

When 25-year-old Robert Morrison arrived in China in 1807, he undertook the extremely difficult task of translating the Bible into Chinese, one of the most complex written languages. He had only a limited knowledge of Chinese, which he had started studying just two years earlier. Morrison also had to contend with Chinese law, which sought to maintain China's isolation. The Chinese people were prohibited, under penalty of death, to teach the language to foreigners. For a foreigner to translate the Bible into Chinese was a capital offense.

Undaunted but cautious, Morrison continued studying the language, learning it rapidly. Within two years he obtained a job as a translator for the East India Company. During the day, he worked for the company, but in secret and under constant threat of de-

Number of languages in which portions of the Bible have been printed since 1800

2,123
1,762
1,199
971
729
522
367
269
171
107
68

1800   1900   1995

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tection, he worked on translating the Bible. In 1814, seven years after he arrived in China, he had the Christian Greek Scriptures ready for printing.[9] Five years later, with the help of William Milne, he completed the Hebrew Scriptures.

It was an enormous achievement—the Bible could now "speak" in the language used by more people than any other in the world. Thanks to capable translators, translations into other Asian languages followed. Today, portions of the Bible are available in over 500 of the languages of Asia.

Why did men such as Tyndale, Moffat, Judson, and Morrison labor for years—some even risking their lives—to translate a book for people they did not know and, in some cases, for people who did not have a written language? Certainly not for glory or financial gain. They believed that the Bible is God's Word and that it should "speak" to people—all people—*in their own language.*

Whether you feel that the Bible is the Word of God or not, perhaps you would agree that the kind of self-sacrificing spirit displayed by those devoted translators is all too rare in today's world. Is not a book that inspires such unselfishness worth investigating?

Robert Morrison

WHAT THE BOOK CONTAINS

A person entering a library for the first time may find the array of books bewildering. But with a little explanation of how the books are arranged, he soon learns how to locate things. Similarly, finding your way around in the Bible is easier when you understand how its contents are arranged.

THE word "Bible" is derived from the Greek word *bi·bli'a,* which meant "papyrus rolls" or "books."[1] The Bible is actually a collection—a library—of 66 individual books, the writing of which spanned some 1,600 years, from 1513 B.C.E. to about 98 C.E.

The first 39 books, about three quarters of the Bible's contents, are known as the Hebrew Scriptures, since they were written mostly in that language. These books may generally be divided into three groups: (1) *Historical,* Genesis to Esther, 17 books; (2) *Poetic,* Job to The Song of Solomon, 5 books; and (3) *Prophetic,* Isaiah to Malachi, 17 books. The Hebrew Scriptures cover the early history of the earth and of mankind as well as the history of the ancient nation of Israel from its inception down to the fifth century B.C.E.

The remaining 27 books are known as the Christian Greek Scriptures, for they were written in Greek, the international language of the day. They are basically arranged according to subject matter: (1) the 5 historical books—the Gospels and Acts, (2) the 21 letters, and (3) the Revelation. The Christian Greek Scriptures focus on the teachings and activities of Jesus Christ and his disciples in the first century C.E.

CAN THIS BOOK BE TRUSTED?

"I find more sure marks of authenticity in the Bible than in any profane [secular] history whatsoever."—Sir Isaac Newton, renowned English scientist.[1]

CAN this book—the Bible—be trusted? Does it refer to people who really lived, places that actually existed, and events that truly happened? If so, there should be evidence that it was written by careful, honest writers. Proof does exist. Much of it has been found buried in the earth, and even more is contained within the book itself.

Digging Up the Evidence

The discovery of ancient artifacts buried in Bible lands has supported the historical and geographic accuracy of the Bible. Consider just some of the evidence that archaeologists have dug up.

David, the courageous young shepherd who became king of Israel, is well-known to readers of the Bible. His name appears 1,138 times in the Bible, and the expression "House of David"—often referring to his dynasty—occurs 25 times. (1 Samuel 16:13; 20: 16) Until recently, though, there was no clear evidence outside the Bible that David existed. Was David merely a fictitious character?

In 1993 a team of archaeologists, led by Professor Avraham Biran, made an astounding discovery, which was reported in *Israel Exploration Journal*. At the site of an ancient mound called Tel Dan, in the northern part of Israel, they uncovered a basalt stone. Carved into the stone are the words "House of David" and "King of Israel."[2] The inscription, dated to the ninth century B.C.E., is said to be part of a victory monument erected by Aramaeans—enemies of Israel who lived to the east. Why is this ancient inscription so significant?

Based on a report by Professor Biran and his colleague, Professor Joseph Naveh, an article in *Biblical Archaeology Review* stated: "This is the first time that the name David has been found in any ancient inscription outside the Bible."[3]* Something else is noteworthy about the inscription. The expression "House of David" is written as one word. Language expert Professor Anson Rainey explains: "A word divider . . . is often omitted, especially if the combination is a well-established proper name. 'The House of David' was certainly such a proper political and geographic name in the mid-ninth century B.C.E."[5] So King David and his dynasty evidently were well-known in the ancient world.

Did Nineveh—the great city of Assyria mentioned in the Bible—really exist? As recently as the early 19th century, some Bible critics refused to believe so. But in 1849, Sir Austen Henry Layard unearthed ruins of King Sennacherib's palace at Kuyunjik, a site that proved to be part of ancient Nineveh. The critics were thus silenced on that score. But these ruins had more to tell. On the walls of one well-preserved chamber was a display showing the capture of a well-fortified city, with captives being marched before the invading king. Above the king is this inscription: "Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, sat upon a *nimedu*

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* After that discovery, Professor André Lemaire reported that a new reconstruction of a damaged line on the Mesha stela (also called the Moabite Stone), discovered in 1868, reveals that it also contains a reference to the "House of David."[4]

-throne and passed in review the booty (taken) from Lachish (*La-ki-su*)."[6]

This display and inscription, which can be viewed in the British Museum, agree with the Bible's account of the capture of the Judean city of Lachish by Sennacherib, recorded at 2 Kings 18:13, 14. Commenting on the significance of the find, Layard wrote: "Who would have believed it probable or possible, before these discoveries were made, that beneath the heap of earth and rubbish which marked the site of Nineveh, there would be found the history of the wars between Hezekiah [king of Judah] and Sennacherib, written at the very time when they took place by Sennacherib himself, and confirming even in minute details the Biblical record?"[7]

Archaeologists have dug up many other artifacts—pottery, ruins of buildings, clay tablets, coins, documents, monuments, and inscriptions—that confirm the accuracy of the Bible. Excavators have uncovered the Chaldean city of Ur, the commercial and religious center where Abraham lived.[8] (Genesis 11:27-31) The Nabonidus Chronicle, unearthed in the 19th century, describes Babylon's fall to Cyrus the Great in 539 B.C.E., an event narrated in Daniel chapter 5.[9] An inscription (fragments of which are preserved in the British Museum) found on an archway in ancient Thessalonica contains the names of city rulers described as "politarchs," a word unknown in classical Greek literature but used by the Bible writer Luke.[10] (Acts 17:6, footnote) Luke's accuracy was thus vindicated in this—as it had already been in other details.—Compare Luke 1:3.

Archaeologists, however, do not always agree with one another, let alone with the Bible. Even so, the Bible contains within itself strong evidence that it is a book that can be trusted.

Presented With Candor

Honest historians would record not just victories (like the inscription regarding Sennacherib's capture of Lachish) but also defeats, not just successes but also failures, not just strengths but also weaknesses. Few secular histories reflect such honesty.

Regarding Assyrian historians, Daniel D. Luckenbill explains: "Often it is clear that royal vanity demanded playing fast and loose with historical accuracy."[11] Illustrating such "royal vanity," the annals of Assyrian King Ashurnasirpal boast: "I am regal, I am lordly, I am exalted, I am mighty, I am honored, I am glorified, I am pre-eminent, I am powerful, I am valiant, I am lion-brave, and I am heroic!"[12] Would you accept everything you read in such annals as accurate history?

In contrast, the Bible writers displayed refreshing candor. Moses, Israel's leader, frankly reported the shortcomings of his brother, Aaron, of his sister Miriam, of his nephews Nadab and Abihu, and of his people, as well as his own mistakes. (Exodus 14:11, 12; 32:1-6; Leviticus 10:1, 2; Numbers 12:1-3; 20:9-12; 27:12-14) The serious mistakes of King David were not covered over but were committed to writing—*and that while David was still ruling as king*. (2 Samuel, chapters 11 and 24) Matthew, writer of the book bearing his name, tells how the apostles (of which he was one) disputed over their personal importance and

The Tel Dan fragment

how they abandoned Jesus on the night of his arrest. (Matthew 20:20-24; 26:56) The writers of the letters of the Christian Greek Scriptures freely acknowledged the problems, including sexual immorality and dissensions, in some of the early Christian congregations. And they did not mince words in addressing those problems.—1 Corinthians 1:10-13; 5:1-13.
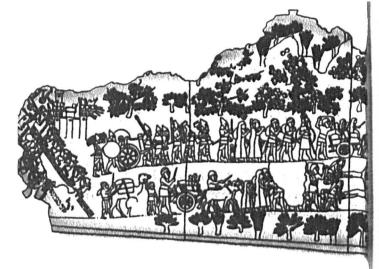
Such frank, open reporting indicates a sincere concern for truth. Since the Bible writers were willing to report unfavorable information about their loved ones, their people, and even themselves, is there not good reason to trust their writings?

Accurate in Details

In court trials the credibility of a witness' testimony can often be determined on the basis of minor facts. Agreement on minor details may stamp the testimony as accurate and honest, whereas serious discrepancies can expose it as a fabrication. On the other hand, an overly tidy account—one in which every last detail is neatly arranged—may also betray a false testimony.

How does the "testimony" of the Bible writers measure up in this regard? The Bible penmen displayed remarkable consistency. There is close agreement about even minute details. However, the harmony is not carefully arranged, arousing suspicions of collusion. There is an obvious lack of design in the coincidences, the writers often agreeing unintentionally. Consider some examples.

The Bible writer Matthew wrote: "And Jesus, on coming into Peter's house, saw his *mother-in-law* lying down and sick with fever." (Matthew 8:14) Matthew here provided an interesting but nonessential detail: Peter was married. This minor fact is supported by Paul, who wrote: "Have I no right to take a Christian wife about with
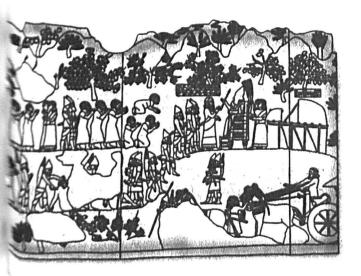

Assyrian wall relief depicting siege of Lachish, mentioned at 2 Kings 18:13, 14

me, like the rest of the apostles and . . . Cephas?"* (1 Corinthians 9:5, *The New English Bible*) The context indicates that Paul was defending himself against unwarranted criticism. (1 Corinthians 9:1-4) Plainly, this small fact—Peter's being married—is not introduced by Paul to support the accuracy of Matthew's account but is conveyed incidentally.

All four of the Gospel writers—Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John—record that on the night of Jesus' arrest, one of his disciples drew a sword and struck a slave of the high priest, taking off the man's ear. Only the Gospel of John reports a seemingly unnecessary detail: "The name of the slave was Malchus." (John 18:10, 26) Why does John alone give the man's name? A few verses later the account provides a minor fact not stated anywhere else: John "was known to the high priest." He was also known to the high priest's household; the servants were acquainted with him, and he with them. (John 18:15, 16) It was only natural, then, that John mention the injured man's name,

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* "Cephas" is the Semitic equivalent of "Peter." —John 1:42.

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whereas the other Gospel writers, to whom the man was a stranger, do not.

At times, detailed explanations are omitted from one account but are provided elsewhere by statements made in passing. For instance, Matthew's account of the trial of Jesus before the Jewish Sanhedrin says that some people present "slapped him in the face, saying: '*Prophesy* to us, you Christ. Who is it that struck you?'" (Matthew 26: 67, 68) Why would they ask Jesus to "prophesy" who had struck him, when the striker was standing there in front of him? Matthew does not explain. But two of the other Gospel writers supply the missing detail: Jesus' persecutors *covered his face* before he was slapped. (Mark 14:65; Luke 22:64) Matthew presents his material without concern as to whether every last detail was supplied.

The Gospel of John tells of an occasion when a large crowd gathered to hear Jesus teach. According to the record, when Jesus observed the crowd, "he said to *Philip:* 'Where shall we buy loaves for these to eat?'" (John 6:5) Of all the disciples present, why did Jesus ask Philip where they could buy some bread? The writer does not say. In the parallel account, though, Luke reports that the incident took place near Bethsaida, a city on the north shores of the Sea of Galilee, and earlier in John's Gospel it says that "Philip was from Bethsaida." (John 1: 44; Luke 9:10) So Jesus logically asked a person whose hometown was nearby. The agreement between the details is remarkable, yet clearly unwitting.
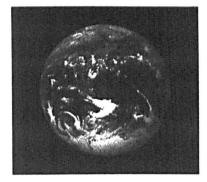
In some cases the omission of certain details only adds to the credibility of the Bible writer. For example, the writer of 1 Kings tells of a severe drought in Israel. It was so severe that the king could not find enough water and grass to keep his horses and mules alive. (1 Kings 17:7; 18:5) Yet, the same account reports that the prophet Elijah ordered enough water to be brought to him on Mount Carmel (for use in connection with a sacrifice) to fill a trench circumscribing an area of perhaps 10,000 square feet. (1 Kings 18:33-35) In the midst of the drought, where did all the water come from? The writer of 1 Kings did not trouble himself to explain. However, anyone living in Israel knew that Carmel was on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, as an incidental remark later in the narrative indicates. (1 Kings 18:43) Thus, seawater would have been readily available. If this otherwise detailed book were merely fiction masquerading as fact, why would its writer, who in that case would be a clever forger, have left such an apparent difficulty in the text?

So can the Bible be trusted? Archaeologists have dug up enough artifacts to confirm that the Bible refers to real people, real places, and real events. Even more compelling, however, is the evidence found within the Bible itself. Candid writers spared no one—not even themselves—in recording the hard facts. The internal consistency of the writings, including the coincidences without design, gives the "testimony" the clear ring of truth. With such "sure marks of authenticity," the Bible is, indeed, a book you can trust.

DOES THIS BOOK
AGREE WITH SCIENCE?

Religion has not always viewed science as its friend. In previous centuries some theologians resisted scientific discoveries when they felt that these endangered their interpretation of the Bible. But is science really the Bible's enemy?

IF THE Bible writers had endorsed the most widely held scientific views of their day, the result would be a book of glaring scientific inaccuracies. Yet the writers did not promote such unscientific misconceptions. On the contrary, they penned a number of statements that not only are scientifically sound but also directly contradicted the accepted opinions of the day.

Thousands of years before humans saw the earth as a globe from space, the Bible referred to "the circle of the earth"

What Is the Shape of the Earth?

That question has intrigued humans for thousands of years. The general view in ancient times was that the earth was flat. The Babylonians, for example, believed that the universe was a box or a chamber with the earth as its floor. Vedic priests of India imagined that the earth was flat and that only one side of it was inhabited. A primitive tribe in Asia pictured the earth as a huge tea tray.

As early as the sixth century B.C.E., Greek philosopher Pythagoras theorized that since the moon and the sun are spherical, the earth must also be a sphere. Aristotle (fourth century B.C.E.) later agreed, explaining that the sphericity of the earth is proved by lunar eclipses. The earth's shadow on the moon is curved.

However, the notion of a flat earth (with only its upper side inhabited) did not disappear completely. Some could not accept the logical implication of a round earth—the concept of antipodes.* Lactantius, Christian apologist of the fourth century C.E., ridiculed the very idea. He reasoned: "Is there any one so senseless as to believe that there are men whose footsteps are higher than their heads? . . . that the crops and trees grow downwards? that the rains, and snow, and hail fall upwards?"[2]

The concept of antipodes posed a dilemma for a few theologians. Certain theories held that if there were antipodeans, they could have no possible connection with known humans either because the sea was too wide to navigate or because an impassable torrid zone surrounded the equator. So where could any antipodeans have come from? Perplexed, some theologians preferred to believe that there could be no antipodeans, or even, as Lactantius argued,

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* "Antipodes . . . are two places that are exactly opposite each other on the globe. A straight line between them would pass through the center of the earth. The word *antipodes* means *foot to foot* in Greek. Two persons standing at antipodes would be closest together at the soles of their feet."[1]—*The World Book Encyclopedia.*

that the earth could not be a sphere in the first place!

Nonetheless, the concept of a spherical earth prevailed, and eventually it was widely accepted. Only with the dawn of the space age in the 20th century, however, has it been possible for humans to travel far enough into space to verify by direct observation that the earth is a globe.*

And where did the Bible stand on this issue? In the eighth century B.C.E., when the prevailing view was that the earth was flat, centuries before Greek philosophers theorized that the earth likely was spherical, and thousands of years before humans saw the earth as a globe from space, the Hebrew prophet Isaiah stated with remarkable simplicity: "There is One who is dwelling above the *circle* of the earth." (Isaiah 40: 22) The Hebrew word *chugh,* here translated "circle," may also be rendered "sphere."³ Other Bible translations read, "the globe of the earth" (*Douay Version*) and "the round earth."—*Moffatt.*＊

The Bible writer Isaiah avoided the common myths about the earth. Instead, he penned a statement that was not threatened by the advances of scientific discovery.

What Holds Up the Earth?

In ancient times, humans were perplexed by other questions about the cosmos: What is the earth resting on? What holds up the sun, the moon, and the stars? They had no knowledge of the law of universal gravitation, formulated by Isaac Newton and published in 1687. The idea that heavenly bodies are, in effect, suspended in empty space upon nothing was unknown to them. Thus, their explanations often suggested that tan-

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* Technically speaking, the earth is an oblate spheroid; it is slightly flattened at the poles.

＊ Additionally, only a spherical object appears as a circle from every angle of view. A flat disk would more often appear as an ellipse, not a circle.

gible objects or substances held the earth and other heavenly bodies aloft.

For example, one ancient theory, perhaps originated by people who lived on an island, was that the earth was surrounded by water and that it *floated* in these waters. The Hindus conceived that the earth had several foundations, one on top of the other. It rested on four elephants, the elephants stood on an enormous tortoise, the tortoise stood on an immense serpent, and the coiled serpent floated on universal waters. Empedocles, a Greek philosopher of the fifth century B.C.E., believed that the earth rested upon a whirlwind and that this whirlwind was the cause of the motion of the heavenly bodies.

Among the most influential views were those of Aristotle. Although he theorized that the earth is a sphere, he denied that it could ever hang in empty space. In his treatise *On the Heavens,* when refuting the notion that the earth rests on water, he said: "It is not the nature of water, any more than of earth, to stay in mid-air: it must have something to rest upon."⁴ So, what does the earth "rest upon"? Aristotle taught that the sun, the moon, and the stars were attached to the surface of solid, transparent spheres. Sphere lay nestled within sphere, with the earth—immobile—at the center. As the spheres revolved within one another, the objects on them—the sun, the moon, and the planets—moved across the sky.

Aristotle's explanation seemed logical. If the heavenly bodies were not firmly attached to something, how else could they stay aloft? The views of the revered Aristotle were accepted as fact for some 2,000 years. According to *The New Encyclopædia Britannica,* in the 16th and 17th centuries his teachings "ascended to the status of religious dogma" in the eyes of the church.⁵

With the invention of the telescope, astronomers began to question Aristotle's theory. Still, the answer eluded them until Sir Isaac Newton explained that the planets are suspended in empty space, held in their orbits by an invisible force—gravity. It seemed incredible, and some of Newton's colleagues found it hard to believe that space could be a void, largely empty of substance.*[6]

Sir Isaac Newton explained that the planets are held in their orbits by gravity
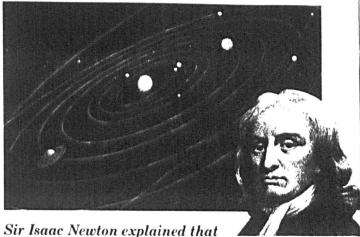
What does the Bible have to say on this question? Nearly 3,500 years ago, the Bible stated with extraordinary clarity that the earth is hanging "upon nothing." (Job 26:7) In the original Hebrew, the word for "nothing" (*beli-mah'*) used here literally means "without anything."[7] The *Contemporary English Version* uses the expression, "on empty space."

A planet hanging "on empty space" was not at all how most people in those days pictured the earth. Yet, far ahead of his time, the Bible writer recorded a statement that is scientifically sound.

The Bible and Medical Science —Do They Agree?

Modern medical science has taught us much about the spread and prevention of disease. Medical advances in the 19th century led to the introduction into medical practice of antisepsis—cleanliness to reduce infections. The result was dramatic. There was a significant reduction in infections and premature deaths.

Ancient physicians, however, did not fully understand how disease spreads, nor did they realize the importance of sanitation in preventing sickness. Little wonder that many of their medical practices would seem barbaric by modern standards.

One of the oldest medical texts available is the Ebers Papyrus, a compilation of Egyptian medical knowledge, dating from about 1550 B.C.E. This scroll contains some 700 remedies for various afflictions "ranging from crocodile bite to toenail pain."[8] States *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia:* "The medical knowledge of these physicians was purely empirical, largely magical and wholly unscientific."[9] Most of the remedies were merely ineffective, but some of them were extremely dangerous. For the treatment of a wound, one of the prescriptions recommended applying a mixture made of human excrement combined with other substances.[10]

This text of Egyptian medical remedies was written at about the same time as the first books of the Bible, which included the Mosaic Law. Moses, who was born in 1593 B.C.E., grew up in Egypt. (Exodus 2:1-10) As a member of Pharaoh's household, he was "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." (Acts 7:22) He was familiar with "the physicians" of Egypt. (Genesis 50:1-3) Did their ineffective or dangerous medical practices influence his writings?

No. On the contrary, the Mosaic Law included sanitary regulations that were far ahead of their time. For example, a law regarding military encampments required

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* A leading view in Newton's day was that the universe was filled with fluid—a cosmic "soup"—and that whirlpools in the fluid made the planets revolve.

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burying excrement away from the camp. (Deuteronomy 23:13) This was a profoundly advanced preventive measure. It helped keep water free from contamination and provided protection from fly-borne shigellosis and other diarrheal illnesses that still claim millions of lives each year in lands where sanitary conditions are deplorable.

The Mosaic Law contained other sanitary regulations that safeguarded Israel against the spread of infectious diseases. A person who had or was suspected of having a communicable disease was quarantined. (Leviticus 13:1-5) Garments or vessels that came in contact with an animal that had died of itself (perhaps from disease) were to be either washed before reuse or destroyed. (Leviticus 11:27, 28, 32, 33) Any person who touched a corpse was considered unclean and had to undergo a cleansing procedure that included washing his garments and bathing. During the seven-day period of uncleanness, he was to avoid physical contact with others.—Numbers 19:1-13.

This sanitary code reveals wisdom not shared by the physicians of surrounding nations at the time. Thousands of years before medical science learned about the ways in which disease spreads, the Bible prescribed reasonable preventive measures as safeguards against disease. Not surprisingly, Moses could speak of Israelites in general in his day as living to 70 or 80 years of age.*—Psalm 90:10.

You may acknowledge that the foregoing Biblical statements are scientifically accurate. But there are other statements in the

*In 1900, life expectancy in many European countries and in the United States was less than 50. Since then, it has increased dramatically not only on account of medical progress in controlling disease but also because of better sanitation and living conditions.

Bible that cannot be proved scientifically. Does that necessarily put the Bible at odds with science?

Accepting the Unprovable

A statement that is unprovable is not necessarily untrue. Scientific proof is limited by man's ability to discover sufficient evidence and to interpret data correctly. But some truths are unprovable because no evidence has been preserved, the evidence is obscure or undiscovered, or scientific capabilities and expertise are insufficient to arrive at an uncontested conclusion. Might this be the case with certain Biblical statements for which independent physical evidence is lacking?

For example, the Bible's references to an invisible realm inhabited by spirit persons cannot be proved—or disproved—scientifically. The same can be said of miraculous events mentioned in the Bible. Not enough clear geologic evidence for the global Flood of Noah's day is available to satisfy some people. (Genesis, chapter 7) Must we conclude that it did not happen? Historical events can be obscured by time and change. So is it not possible that thousands of years of geologic activity has effaced much of the evidence for the Flood?

Granted, the Bible contains statements that cannot be proved or disproved by available physical evidence. But should that surprise us? The Bible is not a science textbook. It is, however, a book of truth. We have already considered strong evidence that its writers were men of integrity and honesty. And when they touch on matters related to science, their words are accurate and completely free from ancient "scientific" theories that turned out to be mere myths. Science is thus no enemy of the Bible. There is every reason to weigh what the Bible says with an open mind.

A statement that is unprovable is not necessarily untrue

A PRACTICAL BOOK FOR MODERN LIVING

Books offering advice are very popular in today's world.
But they tend to become outdated and are soon revised or replaced.
What about the Bible? It was completed nearly 2,000 years ago. Yet, its
original message has never been improved upon or updated.
Could such a book possibly contain practical guidance for our day?

SOME say no. "Nobody would advocate the use of a 1924 edition chemistry text-[book] for use in a modern chemistry class," wrote Dr. Eli S. Chesen, explaining why he felt that the Bible is outdated.[1] Seemingly, this argument makes sense. After all, man has learned much about mental health and human behavior since the Bible was written. So how could such an ancient book possibly be relevant for modern living?

Timeless Principles

While it is true that times have changed, basic human needs have remained the same. People throughout history have had a need for love and affection. They have wanted to be happy and to lead meaningful lives. They have needed advice on how to cope with economic pressures, how to make a success of marriage, and how to instill good moral and ethical values in their children. The Bible contains advice that addresses those basic needs.—Ecclesiastes 3:12, 13; Romans 12:10; Colossians 3:18-21; 1 Timothy 6:6-10.

The Bible's counsel reflects a keen awareness of human nature. Consider some examples of its specific, timeless principles that are practical for modern living.

Practical Guidance for Marriage

The family, says the *UN Chronicle,* "is the oldest and most basic unit of human or-ganization; the most crucial link between generations." This "crucial link," however, is coming apart at an alarming rate. "In today's world," notes the *Chronicle,* "many families face daunting challenges that threaten their ability to function and, indeed, to survive."[2] What advice does the Bible offer to help the family unit survive?

To begin with, the Bible has much to say about how husbands and wives should treat each other. Concerning husbands, for example, it says: "Husbands ought to be loving their wives *as their own bodies.* He who loves his wife loves himself, for no man ever hated his own flesh; but he feeds and cherishes it." (Ephesians 5:28, 29) A wife was advised to "have *deep respect* for her husband."—Ephesians 5:33.

Consider the implications of applying such Bible counsel. A husband who loves his wife 'as his own body' is not hateful or brutal toward her. He does not strike her physically, nor does he abuse her verbally or emotionally. Instead, he accords her the same esteem and consideration he shows himself. (1 Peter 3:7) His wife thus feels loved and secure in her marriage. He thereby provides his children with a good example of how women should be treated. On the other hand, a wife who has "deep respect" for her husband does not strip him of his dignity by

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constantly criticizing him or belittling him. Because she respects him, he feels trusted, accepted, and appreciated.

Is such advice practical in this modern world? It is interesting that those who make a career of studying families today have come to similar conclusions. An administrator of a family counseling program noted: "The healthiest families I know are ones in which the mother and father have a strong, loving relationship between themselves.... This strong primary relationship seems to breed security in the children."[3]

Over the years, the Bible's counsel on marriage has proved far more reliable than the advice of countless well-intentioned family counselors. After all, it was not too long ago that many experts were advocating divorce as a quick and easy solution to an unpleasant marriage. Today, many of them urge people to make their marriage last if at all possible. But this change has come only after much damage was done.

In contrast, the Bible gives reliable, balanced counsel on the subject of marriage. It acknowledges that some extreme circumstances make divorce permissible. (Matthew 19:9) At the same time, it condemns frivolous divorce. (Malachi 2:14-16) It also condemns marital infidelity. (Hebrews 13:4) Marriage, it says, involves commitment: "That is why a man will leave his father and his mother and he must *stick* to his wife and they must become one flesh."*—Genesis 2: 24; Matthew 19:5, 6.

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* The Hebrew word *da·vaq'*, here translated "stick," "carries the sense of clinging to someone in affection and loyalty."[4] In Greek, the word rendered "will stick" at Matthew 19:5 is related to the word meaning "to glue," "to cement," "to join together tightly."[5]

CHARACTERISTICS OF HEALTHY FAMILIES

Several years ago an educator and family specialist conducted an extensive survey in which more than 500 professionals who work with families were asked to comment on the traits they observed in "healthy" families. Interestingly, among the most common traits listed were things long ago recommended by the Bible.

Good communication practices topped the list, including effective methods of reconciling differences. A common policy found in healthy families is that "nobody goes to bed angry at another," noted the author of the survey.[6] Yet, over 1,900 years ago, the Bible advised: "Be wrathful, and yet do not sin; let the sun not set with you in a provoked state." (Ephesians 4:26) In Bible times the days were reckoned from sundown to sundown. So, long before modern experts studied families, the Bible wisely advised: Settle divisive matters quickly—before the day ends and another begins.

Healthy families "don't bring up potentially explosive subjects right before they go out or before bedtime," the author found. "Over and over I heard the phrase 'the right time.'"[7] Such families unwittingly echoed the Bible proverb recorded over 2,700 years ago: "As apples of gold in silver carvings is a word spoken *at the right time for it.*" (Proverbs 15:23; 25:11) This simile may allude to golden ornaments in the shape of apples placed on engraved silver trays—prized and beautiful possessions in Bible times. It conveys the beauty and value of words uttered at the appropriate time. In stressful circumstances, the right words said at the right time are priceless.—Proverbs 10:19.

The Bible's advice on marriage is as relevant today as it was when the Bible was written. When husband and wife treat each other with love and respect and view marriage as an exclusive relationship, the marriage is more likely to survive—and with it the family.

Practical Guidance for Parents

Several decades ago many parents —spurred on by "innovative ideas" on child training—thought it was "forbidden to forbid."[8] Setting limits for children, they feared, would cause trauma and frustration. Well-meaning counselors on child rearing were insisting that parents refrain from anything more than the mildest correction of their children. But many such experts are now reconsidering the role of discipline, and concerned parents are searching for some clarity on the subject.

All along, however, the Bible has offered clear, reasonable counsel on child rearing. Nearly 2,000 years ago, it said: "Fathers, do not be irritating your children, but go on bringing them up in the discipline and mental-regulating of Jehovah." (Ephesians 6:4) The Greek noun translated "discipline" means "upbringing, training, instruction."[9] The Bible says that such discipline, or instruction, is evidence of parental love. (Proverbs 13:24) Children thrive with clear-cut moral guidelines and a developed sense of right and wrong. Discipline tells them that their parents care about them and about the kind of person they are becoming.

But parental authority—"the rod of discipline"—should *never be abusive.* (Proverbs

The Bible offers clear, reasonable counsel on family life

22:15; 29:15) The Bible cautions parents: "Don't over-correct your children, or you will take all the heart out of them." (Colossians 3: 21, *Phillips*) It also acknowledges that physical punishment is usually not the most effective teaching method. Proverbs 17:10 says: "A rebuke works deeper in one having understanding than striking a stupid one a hundred times." Besides, the Bible recommends *preventive* discipline. At Deuteronomy 11:19 parents are urged to take advantage of casual moments to instill moral values in their children.—See also Deuteronomy 6:6, 7.

The Bible's timeless advice to parents is clear. Children need consistent and loving discipline. Practical experience shows that such counsel really works.*

Overcoming the Barriers That Divide People

People today are divided by racial, national, and ethnic barriers. Such artificial walls have contributed to the slaughter of innocent humans in wars the world over. If history is any indication, the prospect of men and women of different races and nations viewing and treating one another as equals is indeed bleak. "The solution," says an African statesman, "is in our hearts."[11] But changing human hearts is not easy. Consider, though, how the Bible's message appeals to the heart and fosters attitudes of equality.

The Bible's teaching that God "made out of one man every nation of men" precludes any idea of racial superiority. (Acts 17:26) It shows that there is really only one race

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* In Bible times, the word "rod" (Hebrew, *she'vet*) meant a "stick" or a "staff," such as that used by a shepherd.[10] In this context the rod of authority suggests loving guidance, not harsh brutality.—Compare Psalm 23:4.

* See the chapters "Train Your Child From Infancy," "Help Your Teenager to Thrive," "Is There a Rebel in the House?", and "Protect Your Family From Destructive Influences" in the book *The Secret of Family Happiness,* published by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc.

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—the *human race*. The Bible further encourages us to "become imitators of God," of whom it says: "[He] is not partial, but in every nation the man that fears him and works righteousness is acceptable to him." (Ephesians 5:1; Acts 10: 34, 35) To those who take the Bible seriously and who truly seek to live by its teachings, this knowledge has a unifying effect. It works on the deepest level, in the human heart, dissolving the man-made barriers that divide people. Consider an example.

When Hitler waged war throughout Europe, there was one group of Christians—Jehovah's Witnesses—who steadfastly refused to join in the slaughter of innocent humans. They would "not lift up sword" against their fellowman. They took this stand because of their desire to please God. (Isaiah 2:3, 4; Micah 4:3, 5) They truly believed what the Bible teaches—that no nation or race is better than another. (Galatians 3:28) Because of their peace-loving stand, Jehovah's Witnesses were among the first inmates in the concentration camps. —Romans 12:18.

But not all who claimed to follow the Bible took such a stand. Shortly after World War II, Martin Niemöller, a German Protestant clergyman, wrote: "Whoever wants to blame God for [wars] does not know, or does not want to know, God's Word. . . . Christian churches have, throughout the ages, repeatedly given themselves to blessing wars, troops, and weapons and . . . prayed in a very unchristian way for the destruction of their enemies at war. All this is our fault and the fault of our fathers, but by no means is God to blame. And we Chris-

Jehovah's Witnesses were among the first concentration camp inmates

tians of today stand ashamed before a so-called sect like the Earnest Bible Students [Jehovah's Witnesses], who by the hundreds and thousands went into concentration camps and [even] died because they declined service in war and refused to fire on humans."[12]

To this day, Jehovah's Witnesses are well-known for their brotherhood, which unites Arabs and Jews, Croatians and Serbs, Hutu and Tutsi. However, the Witnesses readily acknowledge that such unity is possible, not because they are better than others, but because they are motivated by the power of the Bible's message.—1 Thessalonians 2:13.

Practical Guidance That Promotes Good Mental Health

A person's physical health is often affected by the state of his mental and emotional health. For instance, scientific studies have established the harmful effects of anger. "Most of the available evidence suggests that hostile people are at higher risk for cardiovascular disease (as well as other illnesses) for a variety of reasons, including reduced social support, increased biologic reactivity when angered, and increased indulgence in risky health behaviors," say Dr. Redford Williams, Director of Behavioral Research at Duke University Medical Center, and his wife, Virginia Williams, in their book *Anger Kills*.[13]

Thousands of years before such scientific studies, the Bible, in simple but clear terms, made a connection between our emotional state and our physical health: "A calm heart is the life of the fleshly

organism, but jealousy is rottenness to the bones." (Proverbs 14:30; 17:22) Wisely, the Bible counseled: "Let anger alone and leave rage," and "Do not hurry yourself in your spirit to become offended [or "angry," *King James Version*]."—Psalm 37:8; Ecclesiastes 7:9.

The Bible also contains sensible advice for managing anger. For example, Proverbs 19:11 says: "The insight of a man certainly slows down his anger, and it is beauty on his part to pass over transgression." The Hebrew word for "insight" is derived from a verb that draws attention to a "knowledge of the reason" for something.[14] The wise advice is: "Think before you act." Endeavoring to grasp the underlying reasons why others talk or act in a certain way can help a person to be more tolerant—and less prone to anger.—Proverbs 14:29.

Another piece of practical advice is found at Colossians 3:13, which says: "Continue putting up with one another and forgiving one another freely." Minor irritations are a part of life. The expression "continue putting up with" suggests tolerating the things we dislike in others. "Forgive" means to let go of resentment. At times it is wise to let go of bitter feelings instead of nursing them; harboring the anger will only add to our burden.—See box "Practical Guidance for Human Relationships."

Today, there are many sources of counsel and guidance. But the Bible is truly unique. Its counsel is not mere theory, nor does its advice ever work to our harm. Instead, its wisdom has proved "very trustworthy." (Psalm 93:5) Furthermore, the Bible's counsel is timeless. Although it was completed nearly 2,000 years ago, its words are still applicable. And they apply with equal effect regardless of the color of our skin or the country in which we live. The Bible's words also have power—the power to change people for the better. (Hebrews 4:12) Reading that book and applying its principles can thus enhance the quality of your life.

PRACTICAL GUIDANCE FOR HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

"Be agitated, but do not sin. Have your say in your heart, upon your bed, and keep silent." (*Psalm 4:4*) In most cases involving minor offenses, it may be wise to restrain your words, thus avoiding an emotional confrontation.

"There exists the one speaking thoughtlessly as with the stabs of a sword, but the tongue of the wise ones is a healing." (*Proverbs 12:18*) Think before you speak. Thoughtless words can wound others and kill friendships.

"An answer, when mild, turns away rage, but a word causing pain makes anger to come up." (*Proverbs 15:1*) It takes self-control to respond with mildness, but such a course often smooths out problems and promotes peaceful relations.

"The beginning of contention is as one letting out waters; so before the quarrel has burst forth, take your leave." (*Proverbs 17:14*) It is wise to remove yourself from a volatile situation before you lose your temper.

"Do not be quick to show resentment; for resentment is nursed by fools." (*Ecclesiastes 7:9, The New English Bible*) Emotions often precede actions. The person who is quick to take offense is foolish, for his course may lead to rash words or actions.

A BOOK OF PROPHECY

People are interested in the future. They search for reliable predictions concerning many subjects, from weather forecasts to economic indicators. When they act on such forecasts, however, they are often disappointed. The Bible contains many predictions, or prophecies. How accurate are such prophecies? Are they history written in advance? Or are they history masquerading as prophecy?

THE Roman statesman Cato (234-149 B.C.E.) reportedly said: "I wonder that a soothsayer doesn't laugh when he sees another soothsayer."[1] Indeed, to this day many people are skeptical of fortune-tellers, astrologers, and other soothsayers. Often their predictions are couched in vague terms and are subject to a wide variety of interpretations.

What, though, about the Bible's prophecies? Is there reason for skepticism? Or is there a basis for confidence?

Not Just Educated Guesses

Knowledgeable people may try to use observable trends to make accurate speculations regarding the future, but they are never right all the time. The book *Future Shock* notes: "Every society faces not merely a succession of *probable* futures, but an array of *possible* futures, and a conflict over *preferable* futures." It adds: "Of course, no one can 'know' the future in any absolute sense. We can only systematize and deepen our assumptions and attempt to assign probabilities to them."[2]

But the Bible writers did not simply "assign probabilities" to "assumptions" about the future. Nor can their predictions be dismissed as obscure statements open to a wide variety of interpretations. On the contrary, many of their prophecies were uttered with extraordinary clarity and were unusually specific, oftentimes predicting just the opposite of what might be expected. Take as an example what the Bible said in advance about the ancient city of Babylon.

To Be 'Swept With the Broom of Annihilation'

Ancient Babylon became "the jewel of kingdoms." (Isaiah 13:19, *The New American Bible*) This sprawling city was strategically located on the trade route from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea, serving as a commercial depot for both land and sea trade between the East and the West.

By the seventh century B.C.E., Babylon was the seemingly impregnable capital of the Babylonian Empire. The city straddled the Euphrates River, and the river's waters were used to form a broad, deep moat and a network of canals. In addition, the city was protected by a massive system of double walls, buttressed by numerous defense towers. Little wonder that its inhabitants felt secure.

Nevertheless, in the eighth century B.C.E., before Babylon rose to the height of its glory, the prophet Isaiah foretold that Babylon would be 'swept with the broom of annihilation.' (Isaiah 13:19; 14:22, 23) Isaiah also described the very manner in which Babylon would fall. The invaders would 'dry up' its rivers—the source of its moatlike defense—making the city

vulnerable. Isaiah even supplied the name of the conqueror—"Cyrus," a great Persian king, "before whom gates shall be opened and no doors be shut."—Isaiah 44:27–45:2, *The New English Bible.*

These were bold predictions. But did they come true? History answers.

'Without a Battle'

Two centuries after Isaiah recorded his prophecy, on the night of October 5, 539 B.C.E., the armies of Medo-Persia under the command of Cyrus the Great were encamped near Babylon. But the Babylonians were confident. According to the Greek historian Herodotus (fifth century B.C.E.), they had enough provisions stored up to last for years.[3] They also had the Euphrates River and Babylon's mighty walls to protect them. Nonetheless, on that very night, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle, "the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle."[4] How was that possible?

Herodotus explains that inside the city, the people "were dancing and making merry at a festival."[5] Outside, however, Cyrus had diverted the waters of the Euphrates. As the water level sank, his army sloshed along the riverbed, with water up to their thighs. They marched past the towering walls and entered through what Herodotus called "the gates that opened on the river," gates carelessly left open.[6] (Compare Daniel 5:1-4; Jeremiah 50:24; 51:31, 32.) Other historians, including Xenophon (c. 431-c. 352 B.C.E.), as well as cuneiform tablets found by archaeologists, confirm the sudden fall of Babylon to Cyrus.[7]

Isaiah's prophecy about Babylon was thus fulfilled. Or was it? Is it possible that this was not a prediction but was actually written after the fact? Really, the same could be asked about other Bible prophecies.

History Masquerading as Prophecy?

If the Bible prophets—including Isaiah—merely rewrote history to look like prophecy, then these men were nothing more than clever frauds. But what would be their motive for such trickery? True prophets readily made it known that they could not be bribed. (1 Samuel 12:3; Daniel 5:17) And we have already considered compelling evidence that the Bible writers (many of whom were prophets) were trustworthy men who were willing to reveal even their own embarrassing errors. It seems unlikely that men of this sort would be inclined to commit elaborate frauds, disguising history as prophecy.

There is something else to consider. Many Bible prophecies contained scathing denunciations of the prophets' own people, which included the priests and rulers. Isaiah, for example, decried the deplorable moral condition of the Israelites—both leaders and people—in his day. (Isaiah 1:2-10) Other prophets forcefully exposed the sins of the priests. (Zephaniah 3:4; Malachi 2:1-9) It is difficult to conceive why they would fabricate prophecies that contained the sharpest censures imaginable against their own people and why the priests would have cooperated in such a ruse.

Were the Bible writers accurate prophets or clever frauds?

In addition, how could the prophets—if they were nothing more than impostors—have pulled off such forgery? Literacy was encouraged in Israel. From an early age, children were taught how to read and write. (Deuteronomy 6:6-9) Private reading of the Scriptures was urged. (Psalm 1:2) There was a *public* reading of the Scriptures in the synagogues on the weekly Sabbath. (Acts 15:21) It seems improbable that an entire literate nation, well versed in the Scriptures, could have been deceived by such a hoax.

Besides, there is more to Isaiah's prophecy of Babylon's fall. Included in it is a detail that simply could not have been written after the fulfillment.

"She Will Never Be Inhabited"

What would become of Babylon *after* its fall? Isaiah foretold: "She will never be inhabited, nor will she reside for generation after generation. And there the Arab will not pitch his tent, and no shepherds will let their flocks lie down there." (Isaiah 13:20) It may have seemed odd, to say the least, to predict that such a favorably situated city would become permanently uninhabited. Could Isaiah's words have been written after he had observed a desolate Babylon?

Following the takeover by Cyrus, an inhabited Babylon —albeit an inferior one—continued for centuries. Recall that the Dead Sea Scrolls include a copy of the complete book of Isaiah that is dated to the second century B.C.E. About the time that that scroll was being copied, the Parthians took control of Babylon. In the first century C.E., there was a settlement of Jews in Babylon, and the Bible writer Peter visited there. (1 Peter 5:13) By that time, the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah had been in existence for the better part of two centuries. So, as of the first century C.E., Babylon still was not completely desolate, yet Isaiah's book had been finished long before then.*

The ruins of ancient Babylon

* There is solid evidence that the books of the Hebrew Scriptures—including Isaiah—were written long before the first century C.E. The historian Josephus (first century C.E.) indicated that the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures had been fixed long before his day.[8] In addition, the Greek *Septuagint*, a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, was begun in the third century B.C.E. and was completed by the second century B.C.E.

As foretold, Babylon eventually became mere "piles of stones." (Jeremiah 51:37) According to the Hebrew scholar Jerome (fourth century C.E.), by his day Babylon was a hunting ground in which "beasts of every type" roamed.[9] Babylon remains desolate to this day.

Isaiah never lived to see Babylon become uninhabited. But the ruins of that once powerful city, about 50 miles south of Baghdad, in modern Iraq, bear silent testimony to the fulfillment of his words: "She will never be inhabited." Any restoration of Babylon as a tourist attraction might lure visitors, but Babylon's "progeny and posterity" are gone forever.—Isaiah 13: 20; 14:22, 23.

The prophet Isaiah thus did not utter vague predictions that could be made to fit just any future happening. Neither did he rewrite history to make it appear as prophecy. Think about it: Why would an impostor risk "prophesying" something over which he would have absolutely no control—that mighty Babylon would never again be inhabited?

This prophecy about Babylon's downfall is but one example from the Bible.* Many people see in the fulfillment of its prophecies an indication that the Bible must be from a source higher than man. Perhaps you would agree that, at the very least, this book of prophecy is worth examining. One thing is certain: There is a vast difference between the hazy or sensational predictions of modern-day soothsayers and the clear, sober, and specific prophecies of the Bible.

* For a further discussion of Bible prophecies and the historical facts documenting their fulfillment, please see the book *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?*, published by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc., pages 117-33.

A BOOK FOR YOU?

"To the making of many books there is no end," stated Solomon some 3,000 years ago. (Ecclesiastes 12:12) That observation is as appropriate today as ever. In addition to the standard classics, thousands of new books are printed every year. With so many books to choose from, why should you read the Bible?

MANY people read books either to be entertained or to be informed, or perhaps for both reasons. The same can be true of reading the Bible. It can make for uplifting, even entertaining reading. But the Bible is more than that. It is a unique source of knowledge.—Ecclesiastes 12:9, 10.

The Bible answers questions that humans have long pondered—questions about our past, our present, and our future. Many wonder: Where did we come from? What is the purpose of life? How can we find happiness in life? Will there always be life on earth? What does the future hold for us?

The collective force of all the evidence presented here establishes clearly that the Bible is accurate and authentic. We have already considered how its practical counsel can help us to live meaningful and happy lives today. Since its answers about the present are satisfying, surely its answers about the past and its prophecies about the future are deserving of careful attention.

How to Get the Most Benefit

Many people have started to read the Bible only to stop when they found parts of it difficult to understand. If that has been your experience, there are some things that may be of help.

Select a reliable translation in modern-day language, such as the *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*.* Some

people start by reading the Gospel accounts of the life of Jesus, whose wise teachings, such as those found in the Sermon on the Mount, reflect a keen awareness of human nature and outline how to improve our lot in life.—See Matthew chapters 5 to 7.

In addition to reading through the Bible, a topical method of study can be quite informative. This involves analyzing what the Bible says on a particular subject. You may be surprised to learn what the Bible really says about such topics as soul, heaven, earth, life, and death, as well as God's Kingdom—what it is and what it will accomplish.* Jehovah's Witnesses have a program for topical Bible study, which is provided free of charge. You may inquire about it by writing to the publishers, using the appropriate address listed on page 2.

After examining the evidence, many people have concluded that the Bible is from God, whom the Scriptures identify as "Jehovah." (Psalm 83:18) You may not be convinced that the Bible is of divine origin. But why not examine it for yourself? We are confident that after a process of learning, meditating, and perhaps experiencing the practical value of its timeless wisdom for yourself, you will come to feel that the Bible is indeed a book for all people, and more —a book for you.

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* Published by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc.

* A book that has helped many in a topical study of the Bible is *Knowledge That Leads to Everlasting Life,* published by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc.

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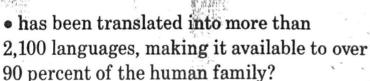
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WHAT OTHER BOOK

• has influenced as much of the world's greatest art, literature, and music, while also having a profound impact on law?
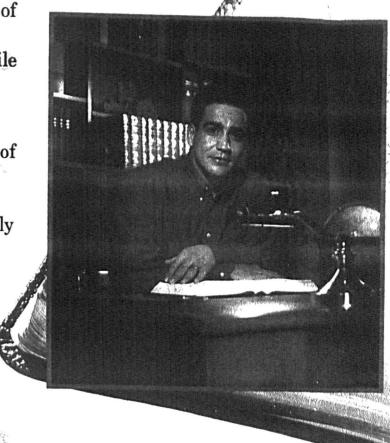
• has survived thousands of years of recopying by human hand and yet has come down to us essentially as it was written?

• has inspired such un-selfishness that some have been willing to suffer hardships and even risk death in order to translate it?

• has been translated into more than 2,100 languages, making it available to over 90 percent of the human family?

• mentions scientific truths not discovered until many centuries later?

• contains timeless principles that can help people of all racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds to improve their lot in life?

• contains unambiguous predictions that came true, as proved by historical facts?

Would it not be worth examining such a book?

APPENDIX XV

THE BIG LIE!--EXPOSED! GP 736 4/77

1. HITLER SAID IN "MEIN KAMPF" THAT IF YOU TELL A LIE FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROPAGANDA, tell a BIG one! Because the bigger the lie is, the more people are apt to believe it, because they can't possibly believe you would dare to tell such a big lie unless it was the truth!

2. SO THE DEVIL WAS SMART WITH EVOLUTION. HE TOLD THE BIG LIE: "In the beginning, God DIDN'T create the Heavens & the Earth; it just happened by some kind of a big ACCIDENT, forces working on materials, & blah, blah, blah! Therefore, MAN is merely a BEAST who evolved from lower forms of beasts over MILLIONS & billions of years, from one species to another, & life originated ITSELF spontaneously from chemicals!"

3. THIS DOCTRINE OF DELUSION HAS BECOME THE GENERAL THEME OF MODERN SO-CALLED SCIENCE, which is therefore no longer TRUE science, but pure, imaginary, evolutionary BUNK! Evolution is now referred to as the "GREAT PRINCIPLE" of biology. But a principle, according to the dictionary, is a foundation truth or fact, the basis of other truths. And if you know anything about evolution at all, you know it has NEVER been PROVEN to be either a truth or a fact, much less the foundation or the basis of other truths!

4. NOW WHEN I TALK ABOUT EVOLUTION, I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT OR MINIMISING THE TRUE SCIENCE OF TRUE BIOLOGY, which can be PROVEN--how plants grow & animals propagate & multiply etc. I'm talking about a wild, fictitious FAIRY TALE of imagination which they have never come close to proving in the least!

5. THERE IS NO PROOF FOR EVOLUTION! It has to be BELIEVED, therefore it's a FAITH, therefore it's a RELIGION! So they're teaching a new compulsory religion in today's hallowed halls of higher learning. Even the great high priest & founding father of this new false faith, CHARLES DARWIN himself, confessed that "the BELIEF (note emphasis on "belief") in natural selection (evolution) must at present be grounded ENTIRELY on GENERAL considerations. ... When we descend to DETAILS, we cannot prove that one species has changed ... NOR can we PROVE that the SUPPOSED changes are BENEFICIAL, which is the GROUNDWORK of the theory." (1)

6. DARWIN'S ARDENT APOSTLE & DEDICATED DISCIPLE, THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, LIKEWISE ADMITTED THAT HIS OWN EVOLUTIONARY OPINION WAS NOT grounded on any

true scientific FACTS or EVIDENCE, but was more of a "religious" expression: "I beg you once more to recollect that I have NO RIGHT to call my opinion anything but an act of philosophical FAITH." (2)

7. SO EVOLUTION IS REALLY A RELIGION OF UNBELIEF IN GOD. And that's its whole purpose: To eliminate faith in God & to foster the false doctrine of devils that the Creation created itself & God had nothing to do with it, so there doesn't NEED to be a God--it could have happened WITHOUT Him!

8. THIS ATTITUDE WAS MADE EVIDENT AT THE CHICAGO DARWINIAN CENTENNIAL in 1959 where 2,500 delegates assembled themselves to commemorate the hundredth year since the release of Charlie's book, "THE ORIGIN OF THE SPECIES". The noted evolutionist SIR JULIAN HUXLEY, Thomas' grandson, boldly declared in his sermon to the congregation, "EVOLUTION HAD NO ROOM FOR THE SUPERNATURAL! The Earth & its inhabitants were not created, they EVOLVED. We ALL accept the FACT of evolution. ... The evolution of life is no longer a theory. It is a FACT! It is the BASIS of ALL our THINKING!" (3)

9. IT'S LIKE WHAT THE IDOL-MAKERS SAID TO ANCIENT ISRAEL THAT DAY THEY MADE THE GOLDEN CALF: "Behold, THESE be thy gods, O Israel, fall down & worship!"--Ex.32:4. But TODAY the calf doesn't even have to be golden anymore! In fact, it can be a MONKEY, or a TADPOLE, or any CREEPING THING. "Behold, THESE be thy gods, O Israel, crawl down & worship the little tadpole & a little bit of jelly, little wriggle-tail & the four-footed creatures & creeping things! There are thy gods, these are the creatures that made you, this is what you CAME from, they are your creators!"--This is exactly what evolution teaches! (See Jer.2:27.)

LIFE FROM NON-LIFE?

10. AT THE CORE OF EVOLUTIONARY THEORY IS THE BIG ASSUMPTION THAT LIFE SOMEHOW AROSE FROM NON-LIFE, that by pure CHANCE the right chemicals happened to be in the right place, in the right arrangement, at the right time, under the right conditions, & by some mysterious, unknown electro-chemical process--POOF--life created ITSELF! This assumption is completely contrary to a universally accepted & proven law of science, known as the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which states, "ALL processes (left to themselves) go toward a greater state of DISORDER, disorganisation, disarrangement & less complexity." (4)

11. IN OTHER WORDS, INANIMATE MATTER NEVER INCREASES IN ITS OWN ORDER, ORGANISATION OR COMPLEXITY--THESE ALWAYS DECREASE! And even if the elements COULD arrange themselves into a certain definite pattern, as is necessary for life, they could not make themselves a living cell because LIFE is not a mere physical arrangement of chemicals! The likelihood of this happening is so far-fetched that Princeton University Professor of Biology EDWIN CONKLIN has

said: "The probability of life originating from accident is comparable to the probability of the unabridged dictionary resulting from an explosion in a printing shop!" (5)

12. AS FOR THE SO-CALLED "SIMPLE CELL," from which the evolutionists say all living creatures have evolved, "LOOK" magazine declared, "The cell is as complicated as NEW YORK CITY." (6) The well-known evolutionist Loren Eisely likewise admitted in his book, "The Immense Journey," that "Intensified effort revealed that even the supposedly simple amoeba was a complex, self-operating chemical factory. The notion that it was a simple blob, the discovery of whose chemical composition would enable us instantly to set the life process in operation, turned out to be, at best, a monstrous caricature of the truth." (7)

13. CAN YOU IMAGINE A DICTIONARY, A CHEMICAL FACTORY, OR NEW YORK CITY COMING INTO EXISTENCE BY ITSELF--poof--without ANY assistance from an intelligent designer, planner or creator?--Such is the logic of evolution's imaginary assumption that the infinitely complex "simple" cell accidentally came together & came alive by blind, unguided chance! Commenting on this assumption, the British biologist Woodger said, "It is simple DOGMATISM--asserting that what you WANT to believe did in fact happen." (8) The absurdity of this evolutionary logic is only amplified as we move on to the even more complex, multi-celled forms of life.

THE EXISTENCE OF SPECIES

14. ACCORDING TO EVOLUTION, TODAY'S PLANT & ANIMAL SPECIES ARE ALL MERELY TRANSITIONAL FORMS, part of an endless chain of life whose links are gradually evolving into more advanced stages. For this reason Darwin regarded the classification "SPECIES" as a "mere useless abstraction" & "as one arbitrarily given for the sake of convenience." (9)

15. THIS IS IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO GOD'S WORD, which states that all living creatures were created "after their KIND" with the ability to bring forth SEED, or FRUIT, "after their kind."--Gen.1. Now this word "kind" is the old King James translation of the Hebrew word "min," which today's scholars have translated to mean "species". (10) So today's living creatures are not the result of some sort of transmutation of species, but DEFINITE SET SPECIES! Not natural selection, but GOD'S selection! Not evolutionary adaptations, but God's CREATIONS!

16. WE NEVER HEARD YET & THEY NEVER PROVED YET THAT ANY DOG EVER BECAME A CAT OR A CAT A DOG! There are all kinds of dogs & all kind of cats, but there are no dog-cats or no cat-dogs! Because God created everything "after its own KIND" & they can't possibly get out of that kind. They may vary WITHIN their kind or specie, but they'll never change into another! It's IMPOSSIBLE!

17. THESE FACTS EVEN DISTURBED DARWIN, who questioned, "WHY, if species have descended from the other species by fine graduation, do we not everywhere see INNUMERABLE TRANSITIONAL

FORMS? Why is not all nature in CONFUSION, instead of the species being, as we see them, well defined?" (11) The answer to Charles' question is SIMPLE! All he had to do was read GENESIS CHAPTER ONE & he could have known that species have NOT descended from other species, but were created by God in orderly, set "KINDS"--& THAT'S why all nature is not in confusion!

HYBRIDS

18. BUT HAVEN'T THE SCIENTISTS WORKING WITH GENETICS PRODUCED NEW SPECIES OF HYBRID PLANTS & ANIMALS? Doesn't this prove that entirely new species could have evolved from the interbreeding of different parent species? NO! The accepted definition among the scientific community of a species is, "A group of organisms that freely interbreed & produce fertile offspring." And the rare hybrids that can be produced by crossing two similar species are NOT "fertile offspring," but are STERILE! As the Collegiate Encyclopedia acknowledges, "The INfertility of HYBRIDS is one mechanism by which species can remain DISTINCT." (12)

19. IN OTHER WORDS, GOD HIMSELF HAS PLACED THE BARRIER OF STERILITY AGAINST THE MIXING UP OF HIS ORIGINAL APPOINTED "KINDS". An example of this is the MULE, which is a species hybrid between a male ass & a female horse. Although outwardly appearing to be a new species or "kind," it is impossible for a male & female mule to reproduce mule offspring!--They cannot bypass the unmovable boundary of sterility! The ONLY way to produce more mules is to continually cross a male ass with a female horse. This God-ordained biological principle was verified by the famous evolutionary professor of zoology, Richard B. Goldschmidt, who wrote, "NOWHERE have the limits of the species been transgressed, & these limits are separated from the limits of the next good species by the unbridged gap, STERILITY." (13)

MUTATIONS

20. WHAT ABOUT THE EXTENSIVE RADIATION EXPERIMENTS THAT HAVE PRODUCED ACTUAL MUTATIONS & CHANGES in creatures such as the fruit fly? * Isn't this ample evidence to prove that similar mutations could be the "chief building blocks of evolutionary change," (14) as Sir Julian Huxley has called them, & as most scientists & educators today claim them to be? * (Fruit flies have been the subject of countless experiments in which they are bombarded with radiation, resulting in many mutations. Although the mutations produce deformities, dwarfed bodies, shriveled wings, etc., they never produce a new "kind"!)

21. NO! NONE OF THE MANY THOUSANDS OF SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS WITH MUTATIONS HAVE EVER PRODUCED A NEW "KIND" OR SPECIES OF ANIMAL OR PLANT--NEVER! All of the geneticists & evolutionists, with all of their knowledge & intellect, under "perfect" laboratory conditions--& using their modern radiation techniques that speed up the occurrence of mutations a million-

fold--have utterly failed to change or mutate ONE "kind" into another! Yet these same evolutionists somehow expect us to believe that blind, unguided CHANCE has produced the millions of beautiful, varying & complex forms of life on the Earth today!

22. AND AS FAR AS MUTATIONAL CHANGES BEING THE "CHIEF BUILDING BLOCKS" of evolution, Hermann J. Muller, who won the 1946 Nobel Prize for his contributions to the science of genetics, said, "In more than 99 percent of cases the mutation of a gene produces some kind of HARMFUL effect, some disturbance of function (15). ... MOST mutations are bad; in fact, good ones are so rare that we may consider them ALL as BAD!" (16) To illustrate the effect of gene mutations on an organism, H. Kalmus stated in his book, "Genetics," "A popular comparison would be with a WATCH; if a part of the mechanism is altered by some change, it is very unlikely that the watch will be improved by the accident." (17)

23. A CLEAR-CUT EXAMPLE OF THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF GENE MUTATIONS OCCURRED IN HIROSHIMA & NAGASAKI, JAPAN, AT THE END OF WORLD WAR 2. The members of the populace who escaped immediate death from the hellish atomic bombs used against these cities were subjected to varying degrees of atomic radiation--resulting in THOUSANDS of mutations. NONE of these mutations produced any new, superior, advanced forms of human beings, as evolution might lead us to expect. Instead, the pitiful victims of these gene mutations suffered deformities, damage & death!

24. DRUGS & CHEMICALS CAN ALSO CAUSE MUTATIONS, as countless victims today can sadly testify. One of the most widely known instances of this in recent years was the tranquilizer Thalidomide. Again, none of these chemically induced mutations were beneficial to the "human species," but rather resulted in cruelly deformed babies, many without arms & legs! These tragic examples certainly affirm the assertion of Dr. W.E. Lammerts, former director of research for Germains Seed Company, that, "Biologically, ALL mutations are DEfective!" (18) They are by no means the "building blocks of evolution" that some LIARS claim them to be!

THE FOSSIL RECORD

25. IF THIS BIG, RIDICULOUS, IDIOTIC LIE, THIS COMPLICATED, FABRICATED FRAMEWORK OF FICTION CALLED EVOLUTION WERE TRUE, then there should be more missing links dug up than anything else! If there WERE billions of years of evolution, we'd be up to our ears in missing links!

26. EVEN DARWIN REALISED THIS, & so said, "As by this theory innumerable transitional forms ("links") MUST have existed, why do we not find them embedded in countless numbers in the crust of the Earth? ... The number of intermediate & transitional links between all living & extinct species MUST have been conceivably great." (19) He then answered his own question about these missing links by hopefully

declaring: "I believe the answer lies in the geological record being incomparably less perfect than is generally supposed." (20)

27. BUT NOW, 130 YEARS LATER, DARWIN'S EXCUSE IS TOTALLY RIDICULOUS! Literally HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS of fossils have been extracted from ALL fossil-bearing rock strata & NONE of them are "transitional forms" or missing links!--They ALL obviously belong to a definite distinct SPECIES! In fact, it is estimated that over 100,000 different, distinct species of fossils have been found!-- Yet NO "LINKS"!

28. A.S. ROMER, PROFESSOR OF ZOOLOGY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, recently summed up the present situation when he said: "'LINKS' are MISSING just where we most FERVENTLY DESIRE them, & it is all too probable that many 'links' will CONTINUE to be MISSING." (21)

THE MONKEY-MEN!

29. THERE ARE NO MAN-APES & NO APE-MEN, & all that baloney you read about & see pictures of in most of today's biology textbooks is just hellish, fiendish, tommy-rot! All those half-ape, half-man ape-men & man-apes, screaming & grinning & groaning like a bunch of horrors from some nether-World down in the depths of Hell are IMAGINARY monsters created by the fiendish mind of the Devil & promulgated by men!

30. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT USUALLY LIKE TO SOIL OUR FINGERS OR POLLUTE OUR MIND WITH THE DIRTY LIES OF THE DIRTY LIARS, it might be helpful to some of you if we at least balance the scales with the truth while pointing out a few of the ridiculous boners & fallacies of the theory of "the ascent of Man," which is currently taught as Gospel truth & historical fact by most of today's so-called "educators".

31. THIS MIGHT AT LEAST CLARIFY THE ISSUES IN YOUR OWN MINDS & GIVE YOU A LITTLE MORE EFFECTIVE AMMUNITION to fire back at them in defense of the truth so you can "be READY always to give an ANSWER to every man that asketh you," as the Apostle Peter said.--1Pet.3:15. We will now briefly examine the most famous of the fossil remains which are supposed to have been the forerunners of modern Man & the theories surrounding them.

32. YOU WILL NOTICE THAT THE EVOLUTIONISTS HAVE CHOSEN SOME VERY LONG & DIFFICULT-TO-PRONOUNCE NAMES for their "missing links," the foundation stones, or bones, on which their faith is built. Doing this sort of thing envelops it all with a shroud of MYSTERY & even puts a little SUPERSTITIOUS AWE into the minds of the average laymen. Like many other religious authorities, the high priests of the "sacred cow" of false-science have done this to give credence to their faith & to gain reverence for themselves!

33. DARWIN CLAIMED THAT "THE SIMIADAE (MONKEYS) BRANCHED OFF INTO TWO GREAT STEMS, The New World & the Old World monkeys; & from the latter, at a remote period, MAN, the wonder & glory of the Universe, proceeded." (22) In other words, they say great & glorious Man evolved himself from a monkey & was not created by God in His image, as the Bible says!

34. HOWEVER, THE SCIENTISTS SOON FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE to reconstruct a halfway believable evolutionary chain showing Man rising from the ape family, so they had to cook up a NEW theory--which they promptly did!

35. NOW THE MODERN EVOLUTIONISTS BELIEVE THAT MAN CAME NOT FROM THE APES, BUT FROM AN OLDER, MORE PRIMITIVE PRIMATE WHO WAS THE COMMON ANCESTOR OF BOTH THE APES & MAN! But as far as any fossil evidence to prove this new theory, "New Scientist" magazine commented: "The unmistakable correspondence between Man & anthropoids points clearly to a common ancestor. But it has not yet been found & we may have some difficulty in recognizing it." (23) -- Ha!

36. AS FOR ANY EVIDENCE TO PROVE EARLY MAN'S PROGRESSIVE EVOLUTION FROM THIS SUPPOSED "COMMON ANCESTOR," the prominent evolutionists who wrote the book "The Primates" confessed, "Unfortunately, the early stages of Man's evolutionary progress along his individual line remain a TOTAL MYSTERY." (24) --Yet they believe it!

37. "SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN" LIKEWISE ADMITTED, "THE NATURE OF THE LINE LEADING TO LIVING MAN REMAINS A MATTER OF PURE THEORY." (25) So the very BASIS or FOUNDATION of the evolutionary teaching that Man has descended from a lower, ape-like form is "a matter of pure theory," cooked up by a bunch of NINCOMPOOPS who are perpetrating on the World what the Bible refers to as "the VAIN BABBLINGS OF SCIENCE FALSELY SO CALLED!"--1Tim.6:20.

38. THE FIRST ACTUAL FOSSILS THAT THE EVOLUTIONISTS CLASSIFY AS "THE EARLIEST KNOWN FORM OF MAN" are said to belong to a species called "The Australopithecines," or the "man-apes" of Africa. Although their brains were only a THIRD as large as modern Man's, it is theorised by some that they were toolmakers & therefore men. But even many of the evolutionists, including the famed explorer & anthropologist J.T. Robinson, have disputed this, claiming that the tool-making was not done by these so-called "man-apes" at all, but by true men. (26)

39. ANOTHER WELL-KNOWN EVOLUTIONIST, LE GROS CLARK, warned of the Australopithecines: "The terms 'man' & 'human' can only be applied to them with some reserve, for there is NO CERTAIN EVIDENCE that they possessed any of the special attributes which are commonly associated with the human beings of today." (27) And R.L. Lehrman, another evolutionist, wrote in his

book, "Australopithecus was merely an upright, intelligent ape, not a man. The small braincase bearing heavy ridges over the eyes, across the back, and down the center was like that of any ape." (28)

40. THE NEXT FELLOW THE EVOLUTIONISTS USUALLY INTRODUCE US TO ON THEIR NEAT LITTLE EVOLUTIONARY SEQUENCE FROM MONKEY TO MAN IS "PITHECANTHROPUS ERECTUS," whom they affectionately refer to as "Java Man" for short. He was discovered in a Javanese river bed in 1891 by Professor Dubois, a young Dutchman who was greatly influenced by the erroneous teachings of Ernst Haeckle. Haeckle was an ardent German evolutionist who concocted & was CAUGHT in several "scientific" FRAUDS (29), openly praised & perpetrated evolutionary theory as a means by which he hoped to DESTROY CHRISTIANITY & ALL FAITHS in God, & was the first to construct the imaginary evolutionary "family tree" showing how life rose from non-life & how today's creatures evolved from more primitive forms.

41. THE SECTION OF HAECKLE'S FRAUDULENT FAMILY TREE THAT MOST INTERESTED & EVENTUALLY OBSESSED YOUNG DUBOIS WAS THE BRANCH WHICH LED FROM APE TO MAN, where, by an act of BLIND FAITH, Haeckle had placed an UNknown, UNdiscovered "link" whom he named "Pithecanthropus Erectus," which literally means "walking ape-man".

42. DUBOIS WAS CHALLENGED WITH THE THOUGHT OF PERSONALLY DISCOVERING THE "MISSING-LINK" & soon forsook home & career as he set out for Java, where in 1887 he began a determined search, digging doggedly for the as yet UNKNOWN BONES. Then four years later this dog had his day & Dubois' moment of glory arrived as he gleefully made his announcement to a waiting World: "At last, our ancient ancestor, the long sought 'link' between Man & monkey is found!" Thus was "Java Man" born & christened with the name his godless godfather Haeckle had reserved for him, "Pithecanthropus Erectus".

43. HIS FAME & ACCLAIM WERE IMMEDIATE & today in almost any museum of natural history you can find elaborate busts & reconstructions of him, giving his viewers the impression that they are beholding a creature who was found like the mastodon, embedded in ice, perfectly preserved for our awe & admiration. Or if you prefer full-colour portraits of him romping about in his natural habitat with his friends & fellows, you need but consult any standard textbook on biology or anthropology & there you'll find him in colourful detail--showing that, indeed, the very hairs of his head are numbered.

44. LITTLE DOES THE UNINFORMED PERSON IMAGINE THAT THESE AWE-INSPIRING MASTERPIECES ARE THE RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THREE MOLAR TEETH, a fragment of a skull cap, & a left thigh bone--found over 50 FEET APART in an old river bed in Java! Neither do they tell you, as does the 1949 textbook "Mankind So Far," that after the World had accepted Dubois' "missing link," "One voice alone now cried that the Java Man was NOT a man, but a giant, tree-walking GIBBON. ... And here it was that Pithecanthropus felt the unkindest cut of all. For the voice was the voice of Dr. Dubois

himself." (30) Yes, after further studying his fossils, Dubois decided & announced with CERTAINTY that "Java Man" was merely an extinct APE or MONKEY, & was NOT the "missing link" after all!

45. "THE DISCOVERY WHICH RANKS NEXT IN IMPORTANCE," reports the Encyclopedia Britannica in its 1946 edition, "was made by Mr. Charles Dawson at Piltdown, Sussex, between the years 1911 & 1915. He found the greater part of the left half of a deeply mineralised human skull, also part of the right half; the right half of the lower jaw, damaged at certain parts but carrying the first & second molar teeth & the socket of the third molar or wisdom tooth. ...

46. "AMONGST BRITISH AUTHORITIES THERE IS NOW AGREEMENT THAT THE SKULL & THE JAW ARE PARTS OF THE SAME INDIVIDUAL." (31) These remains came to be known as the famous "Piltdown Man" or "Eoanthropus Dawsoni" (Dawn Man of Dawson) in honour of their devout discoverer, Charles Dawson. However, Dawson's honour soon diminished & another "missing link" bit the dust as the World found out that Piltdown Man's resurrection involved considerable MONKEY BUSINESS! As "Science Newsletter" tells us:

47. "ONE OF THE MOST FAMOUS FAKES EXPOSED BY SCIENTIFIC PROOF WAS PILTDOWN MAN, found in Sussex, England ... & thought by some to be 500,000 years old. After much controversy, it turned out to be NOT a primitive man at all, but a composite of a skull of MODERN MAN & the jawbone of an APE. ... The jawbone had been "doctored" with bichromate of potash & iron to make it look mineralised." (32)

48. PILTDOWN MAN'S TEETH ALSO REVEALED SOME NOT-TOO-PRIMITIVE DENTAL WORK: They had all been filed down to make them appear more ancient. In fact, "Reader's Digest" pointed out: "Every important piece proved a forgery. Piltdown Man was a fraud from start to finish! ... All the circumstantial evidence points to Dawson as the author of the hoax." (33) Ha!

49. THE NEXT GENTLEMAN THE EVOLUTIONISTS INTRODUCE US TO IN THIS IMAGINARY JOURNEY ON THEIR NON-EXISTENT ROAD FROM MONKEY TO MAN IS A CERTAIN "NEANDERTHAL MAN". He is often kindly referred to as "the best known of our fossil relatives," & like "Java Man" you can easily find convincing full-colour photograph-like portraits of him hunting & cooking his supper, chatting with his mates around the campfire, doing his household or cavehold chores, etc. In such illustrations he is usually very hairy, ape-like & moronic-looking, just what you'd EXPECT a "missing link" to look like. However, a recent edition of "The Collegiate Encyclopedia" wrote regarding Neanderthal Man's bestiality:

50. "AS A CONSEQUENCE OF PRECONCEIVED NOTIONS AS TO WHAT NEANDERTHAL MAN SHOULD HAVE LOOKED LIKE, an unfortunate MYTH has been perpetrated upon several generations respecting his appearance. He has been traditionally represented with a bull neck, knock knees, a stooped

gait, & a rather bestial appearance. The TRUTH is that Neanderthal Man had NONE of these traits, that he walked ERECT, & that his appearance was almost certainly not less benign than that of CONTEMPORARY Man.

51. "A REMARKABLE FACT ABOUT NEANDERTHAL MAN IS THAT IN MALES, BRAIN VOLUME varied between 1,425 & 1641 cc. with an average of 1,553 cc. The average brain volume of CONTEMPORARY man is about 1,350 cc. Thus, the average size of the brain in Neanderthal Man was substantially greater than it is in contemporary Man." (34)

52. SO THE SO-CALLED "NEANDERTHAL MAN" WAS "NOT LESS BENIGN" in his appearance than you or I, & his average brain size was "substantially greater" than ours! This indicates that Mankind is NOT evoluting--but if anything he's DEvoluting or DEgenerating, which is what I've said for years. Man today has devolved & degenerated--& that's why you can see some people running around TODAY looking like missing links, because of degeneration & sin & devolution!

53. THIS IS WHAT THE BIBLE PREDICTED ABOUT THE ENDTIME when it said, "In the LAST DAYS perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves ... EVER LEARNING (today's educational system!), & NEVER able to come to the knowledge of the Truth. ... Evil men & seducers shall wax (or grow) WORSE & WORSE, deceiving & being deceived!"--2Tim.3. This is what's happening TODAY--Mankind is NOT "progressing towards perfection" (35) as Darwin promised, but is growing "WORSE & WORSE" as the Bible predicted!

54. THIS SAME "LAST DAYS" PASSAGE ALSO WARNED THAT "THE TIME WILL COME WHEN THEY WILL NOT ENDURE SOUND DOCTRINE (THE TRUTH); BUT AFTER THEIR OWN LUSTS SHALL THEY HEAP TO THEMSELVES TEACHERS, HAVING ITCHING EARS (EARS THAT WANT TO BE TICKLED WITH LIES!) And they shall turn AWAY their ears from the Truth, & shall be turned unto FABLES!"--2Tim.4:3-4. This time has come, & these days ARE here, & their ears HAVE turned from the Truth & they ARE turned unto fables!--Like EVOLUTION!

55. ANOTHER DISTURBING PROBLEM WHICH CONFRONTS & BAFFLES THE EVOLUTIONISTS IS THE FACT THAT THE REMAINS OF MODERN TYPE, "HOMO SAPIENS" men have been found in the same strata & even in earlier, more ancient strata than the so-called "prehistoric" men. Professor A.M. Winchester said in his book "Biology & its Relationship to Mankind," "The remains of Swanscombe Man in Europe, the Kanjera Man in Africa, & others suggest that TRUE MAN (modern type) may have existed as long as 300,000 years ago,* which would have made him a CONTEMPORARY of Homo Erectus (Java Man)." (36) *Later in this lesson you will see why we do not agree with this "300,000 years" calculation.-- We are merely quoting Professor Winchester here to show you that even the scientists must admit that modern men were around at the same time as the so-called "Java Man".

56. OTHER REMAINS OF MODERN-TYPE MEN FOUND IN A LOWER, older layer than their supposedly more primitive "prehistoric ancestors" were unearthed in 1947 at Fonte Chevade, France. As for these fossils whose brain volume was calculated to be 1,470 cc., "The Collegiate Encyclopedia" states, "In Fonte Chevade Man we have the evidence that Homo Sapiens (modern Man) actually PRECEDED Neanderthal Man in order of appearance." (37)

57. SO HERE THE EVOLUTIONISTS HAVE TO ADMIT THAT "HOMO SAPIENS," NORMAL MODERN-TYPE HUMAN BEINGS, WERE RUNNING AROUND AT THE SAME TIME AS THE PITHECANTHROPINES (Java Man) & were here BEFORE the Neanderthals--BOTH of whom we're supposed to have evolved FROM!--Ha! Isn't that just absolutely ridiculous?! I mean, it takes more FAITH to believe this incredible, fictitious, fairy tale of Man's origins than it does to accept God's simple, beautiful, inspired explanation in His Word!

THE FIRST MAN!

58. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT IT SAYS, "THE FIRST MAN ADAM WAS MADE A LIVING SOUL."--1Cor.15:45. Adam was the first man! NOT the end of a long series of the process of evolution, but the FIRST man! There were no ape men, there were no men before Adam, he was the FIRST! And it says Adam was MADE--he didn't grow, he did not evolute, but he was MADE, & he was made a living SOUL!

59. "SO GOD CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE, IN THE IMAGE OF GOD CREATED HE HIM; MALE & FEMALE CREATED HE THEM."--Gen.1:27. Just in case you don't get it the first time around, God repeats it. It says, "God created Man in His Own image, in the image of God created He him." He didn't look like some apeman or monkey, or some fish or bird, He created him LIKE HIMSELF, GOD. He made Man like Himself in many ways, as an illustration of Himself.

60. AND GOD FORMED MAN OUT OF WHAT?--Previous forms? Apes? Beasts? Birds? "And the Lord God formed Man of the DUST of the ground, & breathed into his nostrils the BREATH OF LIFE; & Man became a LIVING SOUL."--Gen.2:7.

61. WHICH WAS THERE FIRST--THE MAN OR THE LIFE? The BODY, the MAN, was there BEFORE God breathed life into it! This was not some kind of a thing that developed through the process of evolution from lower forms, but was a FULLY-FORMED MAN'S BODY, made out of the dust of the ground. And if you know anything about science at all & chemicals & body chemistry, you know that the body is composed of a little over $3.00 worth of chemicals & about 77% water. Where did those chemicals come from?--The DUST OF THE GROUND, right out of the ground! "Dust thou art, & unto dust shalt thou return!"--Gen.3:19.

62. SO THE FULLY-FORMED BODY OF ADAM LAY STRETCHED OUT THERE BEFORE GOD BREATHED INTO IT THE BREATH OF LIFE. And until that moment he was just a dead body, stone cold DEAD, not a spark of life in him! Then God breathed into his nostrils, which were already fully formed, but dead, not yet alive. He was NOT DEVELOPED from a little bit of jelly, but was a FULLY FORMED, FULLY GROWN MAN, lying there on the ground made out of dust, mud! God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, & Man, at last, became a living soul! Hallelujah!

EVOLUTIONIST'S BROKEN CRUTCH: PALEONTOLOGY!

63. DO YOU KNOW HOW THE EVOLUTIONIST SUPPOSEDLY PROVES THE AGE OF HIS FOSSILS, how old they are? He says, "Well, you know, I know this fossil here is so many million years old because I found it in a strata of rock that the paleontologist told me was that old." And do you know how the paleontologist tries to prove how old his rock strata is? He turns around & says, "I know that this strata is that old because the evolutionist told me that his fossil is that old." The petroleum geologist J.A. Jeletzky admitted this when he wrote, "The fossils & their presumed evolutionary sequence provide the sole basis for the division of rocks into time units." (38) Isn't that ridiculous? It's a vicious cycle, both liars supporting each other's lies.--Because lying is their BUSINESS!

64. THAT'S HOW THEY SUPPOSEDLY PROVE THE AGE OF THOSE BONES & ROCKS: One liar supporting his lies in the light of another liar--they're both supporting each other! Blind teachers of the blind, both falling into the ditch!--Mat.15:14.

65. NOW WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT TRUE SCIENCE, the science of TRUE GEOLOGY, which is not guesswork but actual facts, what they really know about the rocks & what they really know about the Earth. That is the literal true science of geology. We're talking about the GUESSWORK of paleontology, the geologists that went out on the limb & started guessing how it got here, & how long the rocks have been there etc., which is all pure fabrication & guesswork!

THE AGE OF THE EARTH!

66. IF PALEONTOLOGY SAYS THE WORLD IS SIX BILLION YEARS OLD, & THE BIBLE SAYS THE WORLD IS ONLY SIX THOUSAND YEARS OLD, WHICH ARE YOU GOING TO BELIEVE? The average church-going systemite thinks, why SCIENCE, of course! Is doesn't even occur to them to doubt science, the sacred cow of science. They think, "Oh my, it must be that the BIBLE is wrong!"

67. SO EVEN MOST SO-CALLED CHRISTIANS TODAY HAVE TRIED TO COMPROMISE WITH SCIENCE FALSELY SO-CALLED, & instead of bringing their faith UP to the level of the BIBLE, they try to drag God's Word DOWN to the damnable level of Man's foolish wisdom & vain theories. According to them, a Christian no longer needs to believe that the Bible means exactly what it says; it ain't necessarily so. When it says "six days" it doesn't really mean that. When it says, "In the beginning God created the

Heavens & the Earth & the Earth was without form & void & darkness was upon the face of the deep," it doesn't really mean that!

68. AND NOW WE FIND MORE "CHRISTIANS" WHO BELIEVE IN EVOLUTION THAN THOSE WHO DON'T! These deceived & compromising weak-faithed Christians are commonly known as deistic or theistic evolutionists, & they believe that God created the World & life & Man USING the process of evolution. They wrest the Scriptures to try to make them jive with the lies of evolution & theorise that there were huge "gaps" of millions or billions of years between some of the verses in Genesis one.

69. THEY BELIEVE THE LIES OF FALSE GEOLOGY, BELIEVE THE LIES OF EVOLUTION, MORE THAN THOSE WHO BELIEVE THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD! So even the CHURCH is getting sucked in! We have finally reached those days of delusion so strong that Jesus predicted, "IF it were possible, even the VERY ELECT might be DECEIVED!"--Mat.24:24. God help us!

70. "WELL," THEY SAY, "COULDN'T THOSE SIX DAYS OF CREATION IN GENESIS CHAPTER ONE HAVE BEEN EONS, AGES?"--I don't know what in the World is the matter with these people! If they believe in God at all, why do they seem to think God had to have so much time to make the World? My God is big enough to create the whole UNIVERSE! You think He couldn't have done it in six 24-hour days? He could have done it in SIX MINUTES!

71. AS DOCTOR ALBERT EINSTEIN SAID IN ONE OF HIS LAST STATEMENTS, which is not very widely publicised by our dear "truth"-seeking evolutionists, "Now that we know these principles of NUCLEAR FISSION & FUSION, we NOW realise that the Earth as we know it could have come into existence in a MOMENT of time."--BOOM!--Just like that!

72. YOU'RE EITHER GOING TO HAVE TO BELIEVE IN SIX STRAIGHT 24-HOUR DAYS OF CREATION FROM THE BIBLE, or you believe the Bible's a LIE! Because God told the Jews, "Six days shalt thou labour, & do all thy work: But the SEVENTH DAY is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt not do any work. ... For in SIX DAYS THE LORD MADE HEAVEN & EARTH, the sea & all that in them is, & rested the SEVENTH day: Wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day & hallowed it."--Exo.20:9-11. If each of those original "DAYS" were a MILLION YEARS long, as some of these compromisers say, then it means the JEWS had to work & do hard labour for SIX MILLION YEARS in order to enjoy their "seventh day" rest of ANOTHER million years! Of course, now they're saying creation took six BILLION years!--So that's a billion-year Sabbath!

73. YOU HAVE TO INTERPRET SCRIPTURE CONSISTENTLY. You cannot say this means that over here & it means something else over there. If God made the Heaven & the Earth in six days, & God's Word says so, I believe it, & if He then told the Jews to work six days just like He did & rest on the seventh day just like He did, it's obviously a physical impossibility for anybody to work six billion years or six million

years or even six thousand! These days in Genesis one are REGULAR, 24-HOUR DAYS just like we have TODAY!

74. SO DON'T TELL ME, YOU DEISTIC & THEISTIC EVOLUTIONISTS, THAT GOD CREATED THE WORLD BY SOME LONG, DRAWN-OUT PROCESS OF EVOLUTION.--There's no such thing! It's IMPOSSIBLE! He could have if He wanted to, but He didn't. Like old Doctor Koger used to say, "God COULD have made a better berry than a strawberry, but He DIDN'T!" These verses here, in the second Chapter of Genesis, are a few more of the many that knock that Deistic evolution doctrine right in the head:

75. "THE LORD GOD MADE THE EARTH & THE HEAVENS, & EVERY PLANT OF THE FIELD BEFORE IT WAS IN THE EARTH, & every HERB of the field BEFORE it grew. ..." Genesis 2:4,5. Did you get that? He made every plant of the field, when?--BEFORE it was in the Earth! He made it full-grown & perfect, & THEN He planted it! How about that? And every herb of the field BEFORE it grew! When? BEFORE it grew! Evolution says that it just gradually developed & grew. He made everything FULL-GROWN, MATURE, including PLANTS, ANIMALS & MAN! So now you know which came first; the CHICKEN, NOT the EGG!

76. ANOTHER INTERESTING POINT IS THAT ALL PLANT LIFE WAS MADE ON THE THIRD DAY OF CREATION & the SUN was created on the FOURTH.--Gen.1:11-19. If these "days" of creation were thousands or millions of years, all vegetation would have perished in darkness--they HAD to be 24-hour days!

CARBON-DATING!

77. BUT WHAT ABOUT THESE RADIO-ACTIVE DATING METHODS THAT THEY USE to try to prove the Earth & Mankind are so many million or billion years old, contrary to the Bible? These methods are based on pure ASSUMPTION & THEORY! Take the CARBON-14 METHOD, for example: This means of dating is based on the amount of radioactive carbon found in the remains of once-living organisms. This radioactive carbon, or radio-carbon, is a substance which is formed by the sun's COSMIC RAYS as they enter the earth's atmosphere. It is then absorbed only by LIVING PLANTS & ANIMALS. So when the organism DIES, the C-14 in its remains begins to slowly decay & is not replaced, hence the paleontologist tries to measure the amounts of C-14 LEFT in his fossil to determine how old it is.

78. HOWEVER, "ONE OF THE MAIN ASSUMPTIONS OF C-14 DATING, according to "Science" magazine, "is that the atmospheric radiocarbon level has HELD STEADY over the age-range to which the method applies." (39) But what if the C-14 level has NOT held steady, what if it has CHANGED? "Science Digest" answers: "It most certainly would RUIN some of our carefully developed methods of dating things from the past. ... If the level of Carbon-14 was LESS in the past, due to a greater magnetic shielding from

cosmic rays, then our estimates for the time that has elapsed since the life of the organism will be TOO LONG." (40) And THIS is exactly what has HAPPENED!

79. THE LEVEL OF CARBON-14 WAS LESS IN THE PAST! Not only due to a greater magnetic shielding, but at least due to a GREAT MOISTURE COVERING which the Bible calls "the waters which were above the firmament" or atmosphere. (See Gen.1:6,7) This water-blanket VEILED THE EARTH, protecting it from the powerful cosmic rays! But during the FLOOD, when God opened up the fountains of the deep, & the Heavens poured down & it rained for 40 days & 40 nights, apparently that envelope of moisture that protected us from those harmful cosmic rays was removed.

80. THE FACT THAT THESE "WATERS ABOVE THE FIRMAMENT" DID SHIELD THE EARTH FROM THESE C-14 FORMING COSMIC RAYS IS MADE APPARENT IN THE SCRIPTURES: Immediately AFTER the Flood men's lives were SHORTENED to almost ONE-TENTH of what they were BEFORE the Flood! Now science has PROVEN that COSMIC RAYS ARE WHAT CAUSE AGING & finally, along with your sins, bring on death.

81. SO WHEN THAT CLOUD COVERING DISAPPEARED, those deadly cosmic rays began to really come through, & instead of living eight, nine hundred or a thousand years, they began living only 400, then 300, then 200 years. A few hundred years after the Flood, Jacob complained he was OLD at only 130 years.--Gen. 47:8,9. Finally men began to live an average of only 70-80 years.--Psa.90:10.

82. SO WHAT DOES ALL OF THIS PROVE? It proves that their BIG ASSUMPTION that "the atmospheric radio-carbon level has held steady over the age-range" is a FALSE assumption! It has NOT held steady, as the present atmospheric conditions didn't even come into existence until AFTER the Flood! So their "carefully developed methods of dating things from the past" ARE "ruined"! And their "estimates of the time that has elapsed since the life of the organism" ARE "too long"! Even "Science Year" has confessed, "Scientists have found that the C-14 concentration in the air & in the seas has NOT REMAINED CONSTANT over the years, as originally supposed." (41)

83. ANOTHER INTERESTING FACT IS THAT THEY HAVE NEVER YET FOUND ANY SUBSTANTIAL ARTIFACTS OVER FIVE OR SIX THOUSAND YEARS OLD. "The World Book Encyclopedia" confesses this by saying, "The earliest records we have of human history go back only about 5,000 years." (42) This is why they always refer to their theoretical time-periods over five or six thousand years ago as "PREhistoric," because there is NO historical EVIDENCE to prove such a time existed! It's all guesswork & speculation designed to support their big fairy tale of evolution!

WHY EVOLUTION?

84. "IN THE BEGINNING, GOD," NOT CHAOS, not some nebulous cloud of gases, but, "In the beginning GOD created the Heavens & the Earth!"--The first verse of the first Chapter of the first Book of

the right Book, praise God! "In the beginning, God created the Heavens & the Earth." Now either you believe that, either you believe what God's Book says, or you're going to take what some liar says!

85. THIS IS THE PREMISE & PREFACE & FOUNDATION OF THE ENTIRE BIBLE! In the beginning, first of all, what? GOD was there! And God did WHAT? He CREATED the Heavens & the Earth! So if you don't believe in either one, then you're off the beam. There's a God, & He created the Heavens & the Earth! This is the basic foundation: If you DON'T believe this, you CAN'T believe ANYTHING!

86. BECAUSE WHEN YOU DOUBT ONE WORD IN THE BIBLE, YOU'LL SOON DOUBT THE WHOLE BIBLE! Why? What happens in a court of law with the testimony of a witness, when ONE thing he's said is proven to be a LIE? What do they do with his entire testimony?--They throw the WHOLE thing out, including the true things he said, because they can't believe it & every word will be in doubt. If he lied about ONE thing, maybe he lied about ANOTHER? And that's the way it is with the BIBLE. If you can't believe EVERY word of it, then you can't believe ANY of it!

87. JESUS SAID, "HAD YE BELIEVED MOSES, YE WOULD HAVE BELIEVED ME. ... BUT if ye believe not HIS WRITINGS, how shall ye believe MY WORDS?"--Jn.5:46,47. Now, what's the FIRST of Moses' writings, upon which all five books are based?--GENESIS! "In the beginning ..." all about Creation & the beginning of God's dealings with Man.

88. IF THEY HAD BELIEVED THAT BOOK OF GENESIS ALL ABOUT CREATION, THEN THEY WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED JESUS CHRIST AS THEIR SAVIOUR. What, then, did the Devil know he had to do to prevent people from believing in Christ? He knew he had to destroy their belief in the writings of MOSES, in the Book of GENESIS in particular, the Creation, the glorious Creation! He had to destroy their faith in that, & that would prevent them from believing anything else, the Bible, Jesus, or anything else, anything, if he could destroy their faith in Creation! And HOW did the Devil do that? By what doctrine or what big lie?

89. EVOLUTION!--THAT WAS HIS GREATEST LIE & most diabolically clever piece of teaching, EVOLUTION!--As ridiculous & idiotic as anything you could possibly study, because it has NO FOUNDATION IN FACT whatsoever; there's NO EVIDENCE for it, no discovery yet has been made to prove it! As one of its top exponents, Margaret Mead, the famous contemporary anthropologist wrote in her own introduction to her text book on anthropology: "We as honest scientists must confess that science has yet to discover ONE SINGLE IOTA (tiny speck) of concrete evidence to prove the evolutionary theory!"

90. AND DO YOU KNOW WHAT GOD'S GREATEST CREDENTIALS ARE, THE GENUINE PROOF OF HIS AUTHORITY?--HIS CREATION!! His glorious Creation is a constant testimony of the existence of a divine Designer & Creator, as Romans 1:20 says, "For the INVISIBLE things of Him from the creation of the World are clearly SEEN, being understood by the things that are MADE (His Creation), even His

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eternal power & Godhead; so that they are without excuse!" And THAT'S why the World wants to reject Creation & say it's all just a meaningless, chaotic evolution: Because if the World & its inhabitants ARE God's Creation, then they're HIS property--& if they're His property, then HE'S got the RIGHT to be BOSS--& they don't WANT God to be Boss! Therefore "they did not LIKE to retain God in their knowledge," in their education.--Rom.1:28.

91. "BECAUSE THAT, WHEN THEY KNEW GOD, THEY GLORIFIED HIM NOT AS GOD, neither were thankful; but became VAIN in their IMAGINATIONS, & their foolish heart was DARKENED. Professing themselves to be WISE, they became FOOLS!"--Rom.1:21,22. They got so smart they could do WITHOUT God & the Bible, & so they became what?--FOOLS! Absolute fools, who "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible MAN, & to BIRDS, & fourfooted BEASTS, & CREEPING THINGS ... who changed the TRUTH of God into a LIE & worshipped & served the CREATURE more than the CREATOR!"--Rom.1:23,25.

92. SO WHY DID THE DEVIL & MAN COOK UP THIS RIDICULOUS, IDIOTIC SCHEME OF EVOLUTION?--To try to get rid of God! To try to get rid of God & the knowledge of God, "as they did not like to retain God in their education!" And since they threw God out, & they threw Creation out, & they threw the Bible out, they HAD to cook up something new! As Professor L.T. More of the University of Cincinnati confessed, "Our FAITH in the idea of evolution depends upon our RELUCTANCE to accept the ANTAGONISTIC DOCTRINE of SPECIAL CREATION." (43) They didn't want the TRUTH any more, so they had to figure out some BIG LIE! And THAT'S why they cooked up EVOLUTION!

THE LOGIC & RESULTS OF EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

93. THE LOGIC OF EVOLUTION IS: "IF YOU'RE JUST A BEAST THEN LIVE LIKE ONE! If you came out of Hell, live like Hell, & go back where you came from! After all, if there's no PLANNER then there's no PLAN! If there's no RULER then there are no RULES! If there's no JUDGE then there's no JUDGEMENT! If there's no GOD, then there's no RIGHT OR WRONG! If life is only 'the SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST', then there are no CRIMES! If in a FIT someone kills somebody, then he's the 'FITTEST' & should be allowed to 'SURVIVE'! After all, it's not the poor brute's fault, he's just an animal, that's just the way he evolved, it's just the savage in him from his ancestors coming out!"

94. HITLER OBVIOUSLY WAS A FIRM BELIEVER IN EVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY, & he continually repeated this theme in his speeches. "The whole of nature," he said, "is a continuous struggle between strength & weakness, an eternal victory of the STRONG over the WEAK." (44) Doubtless, MANY repressive regimes have found it only too easy & convenient to attribute their MASS MURDERS & POLITICAL PURGES to "natural selection's" elimination of the weak in favour of the strong!

95. SO THE BIG LIE, EVOLUTION, THE BIGGEST LIE IN THE WORLD, is largely responsible for MANY of the WOES & the ILLS that the World is suffering today, including selfishness of economy, confusion of government, horrible mishandling of crimes, & all the rest of it--one grand, great, awful mess, due to what? REFUSAL TO BELIEVE WHAT MOSES SAID--the writings of Moses in GENESIS, the Book of beginnings! And by refusing Moses' writings they reject JESUS CHRIST as well! So instead of His LOVING LAWS of, "As YE would that men should do to YOU, do YE even so to THEM" & "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Mat.22:39; 7:12), all they've got is the cruel code of dog-eat-dog SELFISHNESS!

96. NO WONDER THE WORLD HAS SO MUCH CRIME & SO MUCH MURDER & EVERYTHING ELSE! BECAUSE YOU'RE YOUR OWN JUDGE! There's no standard except your standard, & you can make any standard you want to! Mankind is DEvolving inside of Evolving, devolution instead of evolution! He's going downhill instead of uphill!

97. MOST PEOPLE TODAY DON'T KNOW WHAT TO BELIEVE, THEY DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY'RE FROM, WHO THEY ARE OR WHERE THEY'RE GOING. They don't know what to identify themselves with, the search for identity, "Who am I? What am I supposed to be? There's no God, no Bible, no rulebook!" They doubt EVERYTHING, they can't believe anything except the philosophy of existentialism: "I exist, therefore I am. All I know is I'm alive."

98. EXISTENTIALISM MEANS THAT ABOUT ALL YOU KNOW IS YOU'RE ALIVE, YOU EXIST. Now that they're snorting cocaine, taking psychedelic drugs, smoking marijuana & everything else & they get into the realm of the spirit, they're not even sure of THAT!--Absolute CONFUSION! Totally unrelated to reality, no identity!--Why? Because they've lost touch with the only concrete frame of reference, & that is GOD, & His explanation, the BIBLE! They have no book, no standard to go by, NOTHING!

IN CONCLUSION!

99. WE CANNOT CONVINCE YOU THAT EVOLUTION IS A LIE! Because if you haven't got enough sense to see that & appreciate the Truth of the Bible, if you would RATHER believe in evolution than the Truth of God's Word, then you will be deluded & deceived. Gods Word says, "Because they receive not the LOVE of the TRUTH, that they might be SAVED ... for this cause GOD shall send them STRONG DELUSION, that they should believe a LIE: That they all might be damned who believed not the Truth!"--2Thes.2:10-12. And if you don't like the TRUTH, you've only got one alternative & that's a LIE!

100. JESUS SAID, "IF THE LIGHT THAT IS IN THEE BE DARKNESS, HOW GREAT IS THAT DARKNESS!"--Mat.6:23. How horrible to think that you're RIGHT when you're WRONG! How horrible to think you've got the RIGHT kind of belief when it's a FAKE & a FARCE & a PHONEY & nothing even resembling reality!

101. BUT IF YOU WANT GOD'S PLAIN, SIMPLE TRUTH, ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS HUMBLE YOURSELF as a little CHILD & ask Him to open your eyes & come into your life. This is why Jesus said, "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven & Earth, that Thou hast HID these things from the WISE & PRUDENT, & hast revealed them unto BABES!"--Lk.10:21. And, "Except ye be converted, and become as LITTLE CHILDREN, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven!"--Mat.18:3.

102. GOD IS THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN GIVE MEANING TO THE UNIVERSE & PURPOSE to the planets & LOVE to our hearts & PEACE to our minds & HEALTH to our bodies & REST to our spirits & HAPPINESS to our lives & JOY to our souls & the WISDOM to know that "the fear of GOD is the beginning of wisdom" (Prov.9:10), & "the wisdom of this World is FOOLISHNESS with God"!--1Cor.3:19.

103. JESUS IS "THE WAY, THE TRUTH, & THE LIFE"!--JN.14:6. Pray & ask HIM to come into your heart, forgive your sins, & give you a new life, & He WILL! He PROMISED: "Behold, I stand at the door & knock: If ANY man hear My Voice & open the door, I WILL come into him"--Rev.3:20. "And ye shall know the Truth, & the Truth shall make you FREE!"--Jn.8:32.--Free from sin, self, hypocrisy, & the damnable lies which deceive & delude so many--like EVOLUTION!

104. P.S. WE HOPE THIS LESSON WILL ENCOURAGE YOU TO STAND UP FOR YOUR CONVICTIONS & to take the initiative in attacking with vigorous & vocal protest the diabolical lies of the Devil being spouted with such Satanic venom by his high priests of Man's vain knowledge in an educational system designed by the Devil to destroy faith & exalt Man & make you a devotee of Creation rather than its Creator!

105. STAND UP FOR THE TRUTH & FIGHT FOR YOUR FAITH! Give clear ringing testimony before others that they, too, may know the Truth so that the Truth may set them free!

106. IF YOU DON'T DO IT, WHO WILL? Don't be a lukewarm compromiser who makes God sick!--Rev.3:15,26. Jesus said, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me & of My Words in this wicked generation; of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the Holy Angels!"--Mk.8:38. "Whosoever shall CONFESS Me before men, him will I confess before My Father which is in Heaven!"--Mat.10:32. So why leave the field to the forces of evil & their evil evolutionists? Stand up for Jesus & His Truth TODAY! Hallelujah! God bless you!

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APPENDIX XVI

SEX WORKS! GP 306 6/74

1. One of the greatest of healing factors is faith, to know that God loves you & cares for you & is going to take care of you no matter what happens. FAITH eliminates one of the greatest causes of disease & ill health, & that's FEAR & TENSION.

2. BECAUSE THEN YOU HAVE PEACE OF MIND & YOU CAN JUST REST IN THE LORD, knowing He's going to take care of everything, which eliminates one of the major causes of psychosomatic diseases.

3. FEAR, TENSION, HATRED: ALL BREED THE VARIOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL & NERVOUS DISEASES as well as the natural physiological diseases like heart trouble & arthritis & stomach ulcers, all of which can be caused by worry & fear. Nearly all people who have severe cases of arthritis, if not caused by some infection, the arthritis is usually psychosomatic, most frequently caused by bitterness & hatred & a negative attitude toward life. These cause the literal building up of poisons in the body that in turn cause the congestion & pain in the joints.

4. SO THE ELIMINATION OF FEAR BY FAITH GIVES PEACE OF MIND & REST TO YOUR STOMACH & VITAL ORGANS, including rest to your heart & the actual elimination of poisons from the blood which cause illness. In other words, your state of mind can actually poison your body. This science knows & has proven. This is why some of the purely psychological religions like Christian Science, Unity, New Thought & some of the Oriental religions can sometimes have a good effect.

5. BECAUSE PEACEFUL MEDITATION & MENTAL CONCENTRATION ON POSITIVE ATTITUDES & GOOD THOUGHTS, ETC., DO DEFINITELY HAVE A GOOD EFFECT ON BOTH MIND & BODY through the right spiritual attitude. This is why the Scriptures say, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, & if there be any praise, THINK ON THESE THINGS."--Phil.4:8. Paul says to forget the things that are behind, so you don't worry about the past, & to press on to the things that are before!--Ph.3:13,14. And the Scripture says don't worry about tomorrow.--Mat.6:34.

6. THE TWO GREATEST SOURCES OF FEAR & WORRY ARE THE PAST & THE FUTURE-- REMORSE OVER THE PAST, OR FEAR OVER THE FUTURE--& God's Word forbids worry about

either! Then for the PRESENT He says, "Thou shalt keep him in PERFECT PEACE whose mind IS stayed on THEE"--right NOW--"because he TRUSTETH in Thee."

7. THE ONE WHO TRUSTS REALLY RESTS IN THE LORD. "FOR PERFECT LOVE CASTS OUT ALL FEAR," "for fear hath torment." "But GOD hath NOT given us a spirit of FEAR, but of POWER & LOVE & of a SOUND MIND!"--2Tim.1:7.--Which shows the definite relationship of MENTAL DISEASE to FEAR!--And of course there ARE those fears which are actually inspired by the ENEMY.

8. SO YOUR PHYSICAL STATE OF HEALTH IS DEFINITELY DEPENDENT LARGELY ON YOUR MENTAL STATE OF HEALTH, & your mental health is very largely dependent on your spiritual condition, because both love & faith cast out all fear.--Faith & trust in God gives you a feeling of rest of body, peace of mind, contentment of heart & spiritual well-being, which all tend to greatly improve your whole state of well-being.

9. BUT MAN WAS PUT HERE TO MAKE A CHOICE BETWEEN GOOD & EVIL, TO DO RIGHT OR WRONG, TO SERVE GOD OR HIMSELF & THE DEVIL & to learn the benefits of serving God, reaping the joy & happiness & pleasures of keeping God's loving rules for his own good & worshipping & thanking God for it all in return, as grateful children of their Heavenly Father, to believe in Him & have faith in Him & trust Him & His Word & obey it for their own good & His glory.

10. OR MAN CAN BELIEVE THE LIES OF THE DEVIL & REBEL AGAINST GOD & disobey Him & refuse to believe His Word & go their own way & suffer the consequences of violating His health rules & His mental & spiritual laws, rebellion against which & disobedience to which bring ill health, misery, pain, suffering, Man's inhumanity to Man, cruelty, atrocities, wars, economic ills, unhappiness, mental anguish, insanity, & finally death & Hell hereafter, as punishment for violating God's laws & His rules which were made for our health & happiness!

11. MOST PEOPLE DO NOT UNDERSTAND SCIENTIFIC REALITIES but still have to accept them just because the scientists say so & because they work & they can feel the effects of these forces as demonstrated in our daily lives.

12. WE USE THE POWER OF ELECTRICITY IN OUR EVERYDAY LIVES, EVEN THOUGH NO ONE REALLY UNDERSTANDS IT--not even the scientists! They only know its laws, its actions, its effects & have learned how to channel & conduct it to serve many useful purposes upon which we are dependent.

13. EVEN SO, WE MUST ACCEPT THE VERY EXISTENCE OF GOD, EVEN THOUGH WE DON'T KNOW WHERE HE CAME FROM or Who made Him, if anyone, or how He got here or where He came from. We simply know He DOES exist & He is here, ever-present, all-knowing & all-powerful-- omnipresent, omniscient & omnipotent.

14. WE MUST RECOGNISE HIS SUPERIORITY & HIS AUTHORITY & THANK HIM FOR HIS POWER & His Creation that He has created & the rules which He has made by which it is governed.

15. WE MUST ACCEPT & OBEY & USE THESE RULES & HIS POWER FOR OUR OWN BENEFIT & usefulness & life, love, health & happiness in everyday living just as you use electricity, even though you don't understand it fully or know where it came from or how it got here, & you may not even understand how it works. All you know is, IT WORKS!--You flip the switch & make the connection & IT WORKS. You make contact with the power of electricity & it does the work FOR you.

16. JUST SO, YOU MUST LEARN TO MAKE PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE POWER OF GOD & learn to let Him do the work of bringing you joy, health & happiness in everyday living & of being useful in your life & giving you faith & rest & comfort & peace instead of fear & restlessness & worry.

17. YOU MUST LEARN HOW TO CONTACT HIS POWER THROUGH PRAYER, a spiritual seeking of contact with His Spirit through obedience to the laws of His Word, to listen to His voice. Just as you flip the switch of your radio & tune in to a certain frequency, so you must communicate with Him & let Him speak to you through His Word, both through the Bible & by the direct communication of prayer.

18. LEARN HIS WILL & KNOW WHAT & HOW TO OBEY IN ORDER TO LET HIS LIGHT & POWER INTO THE ROOM OF YOUR LIFE to give you light & power & joy in living by doing many things for you which you cannot do for yourself, just as electricity does through the simple flip of a switch or the turning of a dial.

19. We must avail ourselves of God just as we do the electricity which gives us light & power & fuel & fire & heat & communication & transportation & all these marvels of modern Man which we use in our daily living, even though most of us haven't the least idea of where it comes from or how it got here or who made it, & most of us still don't even understand how it works or the laws which govern it, & certainly none of us has ever SEEN it, only its EFFECTS.

20. ALL OF THIS IS HAPPENING DAILY IN THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT: GOD'S POWER IS CREATING & BLESSING YOUR DAILY LIFE & helping make easier the task of daily living, enlightening the rooms of your heart & mind, cooking the nourishment of your spiritual body, the food for your soul, & warming the hearthstones of your heart.

21. OR THE DEVIL IS SHORT-CIRCUITING YOU, ELECTROCUTING YOU, SHOCKING YOU, BURNING YOU, TERRIFYING YOU, FRIGHTENING YOU, filling you full of his fearful cross circuits & contrary connections & opposing negative flows to upset you & irritate you, causing showers of flaming sparks & crackling static to ruin your communication & connection with God, confuse your mind, upset your heart & burn & destroy your body, the house in which you live!

22. SO YOU MUST BE SURE THAT YOU HAVE THE RIGHT POWER SOURCE & ARE CONNECTED TO IT PROPERLY, receiving the right amounts, the proper voltage at the proper amperage on the correct circuits, insulated by God's Truth against the dangerous groundings of the Devil's lies, in order that you might safely use such spiritual power for good.

23. ALL WE HAVE TO KNOW IS TO HAVE FAITH IN THE POWER SO THAT WE'RE WILLING TO MAKE THE CONNECTION THAT LETS IT INTO OUR DAILY LIVES by RECEIVING it, by taking that definite STEP of FAITH in reaching out our HAND of FAITH & turning the SWITCH of DECISION which makes the contact & starts the flow of that power into our lives to light, guide, warm, feed, provide, protect, work for us & give us pleasure!

24. ALL YOU HAVE TO KNOW IS IT'S HERE & THAT IT'S OBVIOUS IT'S HERE BECAUSE IT WORKS, & you can prove that it works by the simple little DECISION of SWITCHING ON to it & TRYING it to SEE that it works! You don't have to take my word for it or anybody else's. Try it! You'll LIKE it! Just flip the switch of decision by your own human will & let the light in & see how quickly the darkness flees!

25. SEE HOW FAST IT CAN WARM YOUR HEART & NOURISH YOUR SOUL & MAKE LIFE EASIER, more pleasant, more entertaining, & even lift you to Heavenly heights of joy, bliss & the ecstasy of utter sheer unadulterated total happiness by the ecstatic elevators of the energies & orgasms of His electrifying Spirit on such trips as you have never known before!

26. GOD'S POWER IS THE MIGHTIEST OF ALL, BEYOND ANYTHING YOU HAVE EVER EXPERIENCED BEFORE! TRY IT! YOU'LL LOVE IT!--Just be sure to read the instructions before you plug in your various appliances & flip their switches, so you don't get any shorted or overloaded circuits or cause any burnt-out wiring or dangerous wild fires! Read His Word & the writings of His Prophets as to the correct appliances for the power & its proper uses.

27. BEGIN TO ENJOY YOURSELF & A LIFE FILLED WITH THE POWER OF GOD at every turning of the dials & connections of the switches of prayer & contact with the Source!

28. HE'S LIKE A LOVER: YOU DON'T HAVE TO KNOW HIS ENTIRE PAST HISTORY & his mental, psychological, physical, medical, historical, political & religious records. You don't even have to know his exact height, weight, measurements, metabolism or chemical constituency.

29. WHAT ELSE MATTERS? HE BRINGS YOU LOVE, HE MAKES YOUR LIFE & GIVES YOU HAPPINESS & all you ever wanted & more! You don't know why, but just to look at Him turns you on! You can't explain why His touch electrifies you! You don't understand all the scientific workings of His lovemaking & why it makes you so happy. You just enjoy IT--& HIM--& you're HAPPY!--What else matters? How much more could you want than this?

30. FORGET TRYING TO EXPLAIN IT! QUIT TRYING TO UNDERSTAND IT! STOP TRYING TO DIAGNOSE IT & TAKE IT ALL APART & ANALYSE IT! You're just making hard work out of all the fun! Just turn it on & enjoy it! FLIP OUT & have a BALL with Him! He's your ELECTRICITY! He's what TURNS YOU ON! He's what gives you such a CHARGE!--You don't care WHO He is or WHAT He is or WHERE He came from as long as He keeps LOVING you like this & makes you SO HAPPY & takes such good care of you!

31. AS LONG AS IT WORKS THAT'S ALL THAT MATTERS! As long as He makes you FEEL SO GOOD & STAY SO HAPPY, THAT'S what counts. Don't try to figure Him OUT.--Just let Him IN! TRY Him!--You'll LOVE Him! He WORKS!--And that's ALL you need to KNOW!

APPENDIX XVII

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS AND RESEARCH MINISTRY, "THE PROBLEM OF
GENETIC IMPROBABILITY"

The problem of genetic improbability

From **The Myth of Natural Origins; How Science Points to Divine Creation**
Ashby Camp, Ktisis Publishing, Tempe, Arizona, 1994, pp. 53-57, used by permission.

Even on a theoretical level, it does not seem possible for mutations to account for the diversity of life on earth, at least not in the time available. According to Professor Ambrose, the minimum number of mutations necessary to produce the simplest new structure in an organism is five *(Davis, 67-68; Bird, 1:88),* but these five mutations must be the proper type and must affect five genes that are functionally related. *Davis, 67-68.* In other words, not just any five mutations will do. The odds against this occurring in a single organism are astronomical.

Mutations of any kind are believed to occur once in every 100,000 gene replications (though some estimate they occur far less frequently). *Davis, 68; Wysong, 272.* Assuming that the first single-celled organism had 10,000 genes, the same number as *E. coli* (*Wysong, 113*), one mutation would exist for every ten cells. Since only one mutation per 1,000 is non-harmful (*Davis, 66*), there would be only one non-harmful mutation in a population of 10,000 such cells. The odds that this one non-harmful mutation would affect a particular gene, however, is 1 in 10,000 (since there are 10,000 genes). Therefore, one would need a population of 100,000,000 cells before one of them would be expected to possess a non-harmful mutation of a specific gene.

The odds of a single cell possessing non-harmful mutations of five specific (functionally related) genes is the product of their separate probabilities. *Morris, 63.* In other words, the probability is 1 in $10^8 \times 10^8 \times 10^8 \times 10^8 \times 10^8$, or 1 in 10^{40}. If one hundred trillion (10^{14}) bacteria were produced every second for five billion years (10^{17} seconds), the resulting population (10^{31}) would be only 1/1,000,000,000 of what was needed!

But even this is not the whole story. These are the odds of getting just any kind of non-harmful mutations of five related genes. In order to create a new structure, however, the mutated genes must integrate or function in concert with one another. According to Professor Ambrose, the difficulties of obtaining non-harmful mutations of five related genes "fade into insignificance when we recognize that there must be a close integration of functions between the individual genes of the cluster, which must also be integrated into the development of the entire organism." *Davis, 68.*

In addition to this, the structure resulting from the cluster of the five integrated genes must, in the words of Ambrose, "give some selective advantage, or else become scattered once more within the population at large, due to interbreeding." *Bird, 1:87.* Ambrose concludes that "it seems impossible to explain [the origin of increased complexity] in terms of random mutations alone." *Bird, 1:87.*

When one considers that a structure as "simple" as the wing on a fruit fly involves 30-40 genes *(Bird, 1:88),* it is mathematically absurd to think that random genetic mutations can account for the vast diversity of life on earth. Even Julian Huxley, a staunch evolutionist who made assumptions very favorable to the theory, computed the odds against the evolution of a horse to be 1 in $10^{300,000}$. *Pitman, 68.* If only more Christians had that kind of faith!

This probability problem is not the delusion of some radical scientific fringe. As stated by William Fix:

> Whether one looks to mutations or gene flow for the source of the variations needed to fuel evolution, there is an enormous probability problem at the core of Darwinist and neo-Darwinist theory, which has been cited by hundreds of scientists and professionals. Engineers, physicists, astronomers, and biologists who have looked without prejudice at the notion of such variations producing ever more complex organisms have come to the same conclusion: The evolutionists are assuming the

impossible. *Fix, 196.*

Renowned French zoologist Pierre-Paul Grassé has made no secret of his skepticism:

> What gambler would be crazy enough to play roulette with
> random evolution? The probability of dust carried by the wind
> reproducing DÜrer's (Matt, I can't get the 'u' to go small for me
> there!) "Melancholia" is less infinitesimal than the probability of
> copy errors in the DNA molecule leading to the formation of the
> eye; besides, these errors had no relationship whatsoever with
> the function that the eye would have to perform or was starting
> to perform. There is no law against daydreaming, but science
> must not indulge in it. *Grassé, 104.*

In 1967 a group of internationally known biologists and mathematicians met to consider whether random mutations and natural selection could qualify as the mechanism of evolutionary change. The answer of the mathematicians was "No." *Morris, 64-65; Sunderland, 128-36.* Participants at the symposium, all evolutionists, recognized the need for some type of mechanism to reduce the odds against evolution. In the words of Dr. Murray Eden of M.I.T.:

> What I am claiming is that without some constraint on the notion
> of random variation, in either the properties of the organism or
> the sequence of the DNA, there is no particular reason to expect
> that we could have gotten any kind of viable form other than
> nonsense. *Sunderland, 138.*

Summarizing his and Hoyle's analysis of the mechanism of evolution, Wickramasinghe states:

> We found that there's just no way it could happen. If you start
> with a simple micro-organism, no matter how it arose on the
> earth, primordial soup or otherwise, then if you just have that
> single organizational, informational unit and you said that you
> copied this sequentially time and time again, the question is
> does that accumulate enough copying errors, enough mistakes
> in copying, and do these accumulations of copying errors lead to
> the diversity of living forms that one sees on the earth. That's
> the general, usual formulation of the theory of evolution.... We
> looked at this quite systematically, quite carefully, in numerical
> terms. Checking all the numbers, rates of mutation and so on,
> we decided that there is no way in which that could even
> marginally approach the truth. *Varghese, 28.*

Thus, several decades have only confirmed the observation of Gertrude Himmelfarb in her book *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution (1959):*

> [I]t is now discovered that favorable mutations are not only
> small but exceedingly rare, and the fortuitous combination of
> favorable mutations such as would be required for the
> production of even a fruit fly, let alone a man, is so much rarer
> still that the odds against it would be expressed by a number
> containing as many noughts as there are letters in the average
> novel, "a number greater than that of all the electrons and
> protons in the visible universe" -- an improbability as great as
> that a monkey provided with a typewriter would by chance peck
> out the works of Shakespeare. *Fix, 196.*

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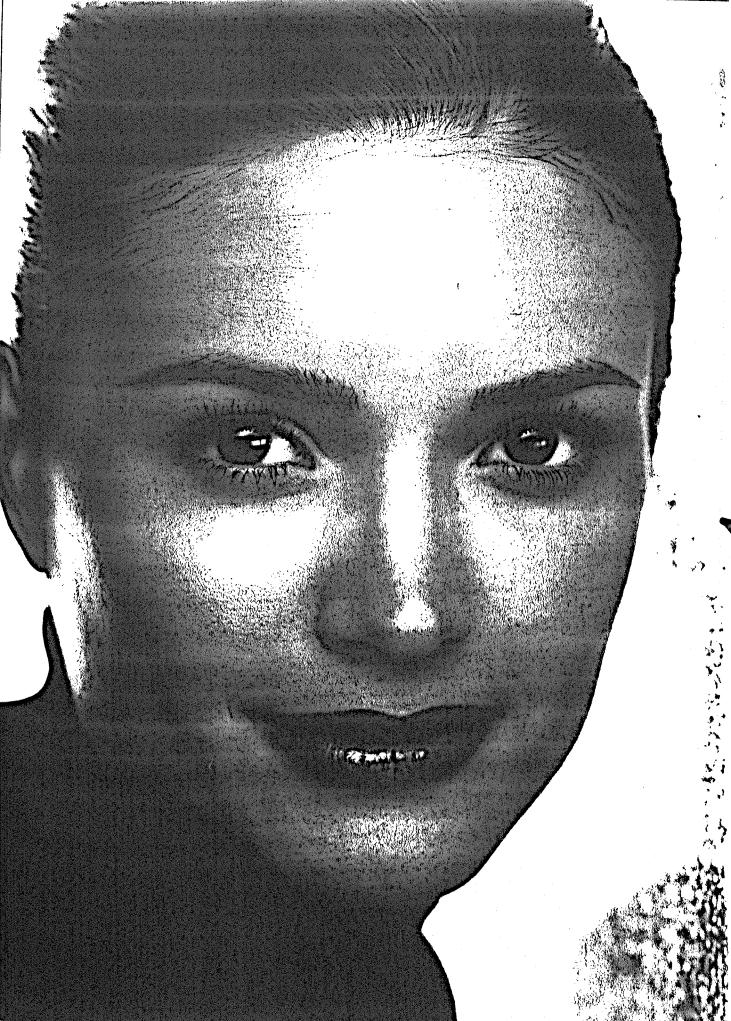
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APPENDIX XVIII

SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENT

Beautiful skin or beautiful complexion? Both of course.

Non-stop moisture to enhance natural radiance and ensure skin luminosity all day long. Upon application, your complexion looks smoother, simply superb.

Subtle, natural-looking shades, an oil-free texture along with unique self-adjusting "auto-focus®" pigments leave your skin looking radiant and flawless hour after hour, all day long, in any light.
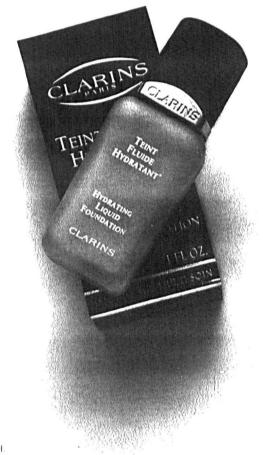
And when you remove your make-up at night, you'll discover just how moisturizing a foundation can be.

Contains Clarins Anti-Pollution Complex. Hypoallergenic, non-comedogenic, dermatologist tested.

New
Hydrating Liquid Foundation
Perfect complexion, protected skin.

It's a fact.
With Clarins, life's more beautiful.

CLARINS
—PARIS—

APPENDIX XIX

INFO CULT

Topics

- What is a cult?
- Cult Recruitment
- Cultic Thinking
- Manipulation Techniques
- Advice

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WHAT IS A CULT?

A cult is a highly manipulative group which exploits its members. It can cause psychological, financial and physical harm. It dictates, in great detail, the behavior, thoughts and emotions of its followers. It uses different techniques to transform the new recruit into a loyal, obedient and subservient member.

Cults claim a special status for themselves or their leader that usually sets them in opposition to mainstream society and/or the family.

Cults conceal their real nature and goals from prospective or new members. They adopt deceptive behaviors in order to attract new recruits.

Cults have certain characteristics which distinguish them from other, less manipulative groups. Read through some of the characteristics* below and evaluate the group which concerns you.

- Members seem over-zealous and unquestioning about the group's leader.
- The leadership decides how members should think, act and feel: members must get permission to date, change jobs, get married; there are rules for what to wear, how to discipline children, where to live, etc.
- The group is preoccupied with making money. Certain practices, such as collecting money for bogus charities, is justified as a means toward an exalted end.
- The group's leader is not accountable to any other authorities.
- Members tend to cut ties with family and friends; they give up personal goals and activities which were of interest before joining the group.
- Members are encouraged or required to live and/or socialize only with other group members.
- Questioning, doubt, and dissent are discouraged or even punished. Mind-numbing techniques are used to suppress doubts about the group and its leader (chanting, speaking in tongues, denunciation sessions, etc.).

* Adapted from the **AFF Checklist of Cult Characteristics**

CULT RECRUITMENT

Generally people don't look for cults. Cults look for people to recruit. You do not have to be lost or depressed or unsure about your life to be vulnerable to recruitment techniques.

People usually get recruited because:

- They don't know what the group really is.

- The real nature of the group is not presented honestly.
- What is expected of members is not made clear to the recruit.
- The recruiter seems genuinely warm and sincere.
- The recruiter is a friend or family member and you trust they would not deceive you.

CULTIC THINKING

Cultic thinking is a way of seeing the world in two separate blocks: black/white, saved/damned, good/evil. In this world, there is no room for grey areas. Individuals and movements with this kind of thinking automatically view themselves in the "white-saved-good" category.

They look for scapegoats to explain their problems and society's ills. Cultic thinking can lead to intolerance and extremism. It is particularly common in times of personal, social or economic crisis.

MANIPULATION TECHNIQUES

Behavior conditioning techniques can be extremely effective and can lead to a deep state of dependence. These techniques follow two basic principles:

1. If you can make a person behave the way you want, you can make that person believe the way you want.
2. Sudden, drastic changes in environment can make a person vulnerable and lead to dramatic changes in attitudes and beliefs.

A movement can maintain control over its members through:

ISOLATION
> If you are physically separated from society or familiar outside references, you may lose your sense of reality.

PEER GROUP PRESSURE
> If your natural need to belong is exploited , you may suppress doubts or resistance that you would ordinarily have to the group's ideas.

GUILT
> The group's teaching of salvation is reinforced by exaggerating the "sins" of your former lifestyle.

FEAR
> Loyalty and obedience to the group's norms and ideology may be achieved through warnings of serious spiritual and physical repercussions.

LOVE-BOMBING
> A sense of family and belonging may be created through constant, hugging, kissing, touching and flattery.

REMOVAL OF PRIVACY
> If you do not get time alone, you could lose your ability to be objective and get a "perspective" on things.

FATIGUE
> You could become disoriented and vulnerable if you do not get the proper rest and are constantly stimulated with new situations and confusing information

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THINKING ABOUT JOINING A GROUP?

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If you are attracted to a group, it is only reasonable to want to know as much as you can about what you might be joining. People who recruit for trustworthy groups should not mind answering a few questions.

Pose your questions in a direct and friendly manner. Be alert for vague responses such as "all your questions will be answered in time." Trust your feelings: if something doesn't feel right, step back and look more critically at the group (it may not be a cult; it just may not be for you).

Here are some sample questions you may want to ask:

1. How long have you (the recruiter or member) been involved?
2. Is this an "organization" you want me to join? Does it have any other names besides the one you've told me?
3. What is expected of me once I join? Do I have to quit school or work? Donate money or property? How do you expect me to treat friends and family who do not agree or question my becoming a member?
4. Do people criticize your group? What do they say?
5. How does your group treat ex-members? Are you allowed to talk with them? Have you ever spoken with any ex-members?
6. What are the things you like least about your group?

When speaking with the recruiter or another member, try to determine if they are answering your questions honestly. A recruiter for a cult may very well be giving you "whatever they want to hear."

If after speaking with someone from the group, you are still not sure, do some research on your own or call Info-Cult and use our services. Think about what you've heard and consider our guidelines: What is a Cult?

Do not give your full name, address or phone number until you are sure about the group.

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Dysfunctional Churches*

As behavioral scientists remind us all too often, that most basic of social institutions - the family - is increasingly subject to frailty and failure. The label that is currently popular for unhealthy families is "dysfunctional". Unfortunately, sociologists of religion (as well as many ex-members) know that some churches are also dysfunctional, even to the point of being spiritually abusive. If truth in advertising standards could be applied to religion, some churches would be required to display a sign reading: "Warning: this church could be harmful to your spiritual and psychological health."

Sadly, spiritual and pastoral abuse is more prevalent than most people believe. Like child abuse, it often goes undetected, or else it is strongly denied. Spiritual abuse is inflicted by persons who are accorded respect and honour in society by virtue of their positions of religious authority and leadership. When such leaders violate the sacred trust they have been given, when they abuse their authority, and when they misuse the ecclesiastical office to control their congregations, the results can be catastrophic.

What are the hallmarks of unhealthy, aberrant churches? The key indicator is control-oriented leadership, ministers who have a need to "lord it over the flock". Abusive leaders demand submission and unquestioning loyalty. The person who raises uncomfortable questions or does not "get with the program" is cast aside. Guilt, fear, and intimidation are used to manipulate and control vulnerable members, especially those who have been taught to believe that questioning their pastor is comparable to questioning God.

Why does a pastor or priest sometimes turn into a spiritual tyrant? I believe it is because of the human desire to control others and to exercise power over people. Each of us has been exposed to the temptation of power, whether in the role of spouse, teacher, or parent. An excessive will to power, coupled with sincere religious motives, can lead to the misuse of spiritual authority.

More that any other age group, young adults are attracted to abusive churches, their seemingly dynamic programs, and their "take charge" leaders. Such churches often target young couples during the crucial child-bearing years. As a result, the energy needed by these young couples for legitimate family interaction is siphoned off into a high intensity cause. Family obligations are sacrificed, and children's developmental needs are neglected.

How can we recognize a healthy church? In addition to matters of appropriate doctrine, a healthy church is reconciling and restorative, not adversarial and elitist. Members of healthy churches seek to deepen and strengthen their family commitments. Legitimate leaders will welcome dissent and hard questions from members without threat of reprisal. Trustworthy leaders will encourage accountability, and they will establish checks and balances.

Choose a church carefully. Remember, not all religion is benign, and not all church experience is beneficial.

* Adapted from "Dysfunctional Churches" by Ronald Enroth, Ph.D., in the AFF's *Cults and Psychological*

Abuse: A Resource Guide, with the permission of the **American Family Foundation (AFF).**

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Suggestions For Families With A Group-Involved Loved One.*

First, don't jump to conclusions and don't succumb to the allure of simple answers. Do not rely upon popular accounts of "cults", although these can sometimes provide useful background information. If you want to be informed, you must read a lot more than a handful of newspaper or magazine articles. You should talk to a variety of people with relevant knowledge. And you must think things through carefully.

Second, when you talk to other families who have had a cult involvement, learn from them, but do not overlook the uniqueness of your own situation and don't let their fervour cause you to overgeneralize from their cases to yours.

Third, ask yourself this central question: Let's assume that your loved one was not in a cult; what if any behaviours would trouble you?" If nothing troubles you, then you might consider reexamining your assumption that the group is or might be a cultic group and take a closer look at your own motivation (maybe you merely disapprove of your loved one's leaving the family's religion). If you do identify troubling behaviours, then try to determine if these behaviours are at least in part a function of what goes on in the group. This approach enables you to focus on destructive psychological influences without getting bogged down in a debate about whether the group is or is not cult. Groups are very different; most large groups exhibit differences among their various local organizations; and people respond differently to similar environments. Tagging a label on the group is secondary to determining whether or not psychologically abusive practices are harming your loved one.

Fourth, keep in mind that a cult member's behaviour is a function of his/her unique personality and identity and what goes on in the group. Do not make the mistake of assuming that your loved one is a helpless pawn. Cultic environments are powerful, but they are not all-powerful.

Fifth, we advise that you not let other people talk you into believing that cultic groups are so powerful that your loved one will only leave if he/she is deprogrammed, with "deprogramming" referring to a process involving physical restraint or coercion (distinguished from "exit counselling" in which the cult member is always free to leave). Twenty years ago, when information in this field was very limited, deprogramming may have seemed to be a reasonable option to many families. Indeed, the New York State legislature passed a conservatorship bill (twice vetoed by the governor) that essentially would have legalized deprogramming. Today, deprogramming is fortunately quite rare, in part because of the legal risks it entails, but mainly because helping resources are much better informed and able to help families investigate other options. Moreover, the evidence suggests that deprogramming, even disregarding the compelling ethical and legal arguments against the process, is less effective than exit counselling. Exit counselling, however, demands much more preparation on the part of the family. So some families today may be tempted to try to find a "deprogrammer" because they mistakenly think it is the easy way out. We advise against this course of action. You may find yourself alienated from your loved one and involved in a costly lawsuit.

Sixth, because the majority of cult members eventually leave their groups, a concerned family's primary role is often to facilitate a departure that may eventually happen anyway. In many cases families seeking expert consultation may be able to help their loved one a great deal without attempting a formal exit counselling. Since there is no way of reliably predicting who will leave a destructive group and who won't, we always respect a family's fear that their loved one either may never come out or may be gravely damaged if the family does nothing.

Lastly, even though there may be times when families may feel justifiably helpless, their situation is rarely hopeless. So many factors influence a cult member's relationship to a group that even those of us who have worked in this field for many years regularly encounter pleasant surprises. So don't give up hope. Beneficial changes in your loved one may occur because of events that have nothing to do with your actions (e.g. a growing disillusionment with the group; an accumulation of small grievances against leaders; dissension within the group). Some group members achieve enough independence from their group to maintain or reestablish a respectful and loving relationship with their family, even though they may remain group members. Remember, people are different and will respond in different ways to the same group environment.

Our advice to families with a loved one in a group applies as well to those whose loved one is now out of the group. However, for families of former group members we offer one other important piece of advice: Do not assume that because your loved one has left an abusive group everything will quickly return to normal. In some cases, readjustment may indeed be easy. But research suggests that most former members of abusive groups have a difficult time adjusting. Frequently one to three years may pass before they return to a prior level of functioning and are "on track". Their families, if they are informed and supportive, can often lighten the ex-member's burden considerably.

* Adapted from "Families With a Group-Involved Loved One", in the AFF's *Cults and Psychological Abuse: A Resource Guide*, with the permission of the **American Family Foundation (AFF)**.

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Suggestions for inquirers

General Inquirers*

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The cult phenomenon is a difficult area to understand.
Popular press analyses tend to offer limited insights. Cultic groups often deliberately obscure their actual goals and practices. Few groups have been studied scientifically. Affected persons are often reluctant to talk about their experiences, frequently because doing so involves much pain. There is no simple, easily understood explanation for why people join and remain in seemingly destructive groups, and public misconceptions about cults and cult joining tend to invite misinterpretations of the available information.

The central public misconception about the cult phenomenon is that only "sick" people from troubled families would join "weird" groups. Tragedies, such as the Heavens' Gate or Jonestown murder- suicides, are brushed off as deviant events that may make for interesting news but don't affect average people. Few persons realize that the psychological dynamics of control found in extreme groups, such as Jim Jones's Peoples Temple, are very similar to what is found in cultic groups that, though less destructive that the extreme examples, nonetheless may cause considerable harm to many of their members. Many people do not realize that cults, when conceptualized as highly manipulative and exploitative groups, may be political, psychotherapeutic, and even commercial, as well as religious. And few people realize that research studies indicate that several million Americans have had at least a transient involvement with a cultic group, although many, buying into common misconceptions, may not recognize the cultic nature of the involvement.

Most people who contact Info-Cult are interested in a specific group. Often, we can provide them with useful information (Services: In House Research). But there are so many thousands of groups which people have inquired about over the years that sometimes we do not have information on the group in question (Services: Investigative Research). Nevertheless, because the psychological dynamics of control is the key factor in evaluating the "cultishness" and potential harmfulness of a group, we can often help even these inquirers by directing them to resources that explain these dynamics. Moreover, even when information on specific groups is available, this information usually needs to be supplemented by explanations of how cultic groups gain power over their members.

* Adapted from "General Inquirers", in the AFF's *Cults and Psychological Abuse: A Resource Guide*, with the permission of the **American Family Foundation (AFF)**.

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APPENDIX XX

EX-MEMBER ACCOUNTS

Saved

By Karl Williams

It WAS A hot and humid day in June 1986 as I walked along Acton High Street in West London. I was running an errand for my employer, an importer of rare tropical fish, and tried to avoid the young man handing out leaflets on the pavement. My attempt to sidestep him failed.

> `Excuse me, can I invite you to some meetings my church is having in the area?' he enquired.

The approach seemed innocent enough. He was polite, friendly and appeared sincere, so I rejected my initial suspicion that he must be a Jehovah's Witness.

> 'No, we're just a non-denominational Christian church that's trying to go by the Bible. Do you live around here?'

I replied that I didn't but he offered me an invitation anyway and asked for my phone number which I declined to give. After some brief small talk we went our separate ways.

I was 17 at the time and lived in one of the outer London suburbs on the fringes of the Kent and Surrey borders. I had never heard of the London Church of Christ (LCC) nor the extensive, evangelistic **'Hope'** campaign that it held annually across the capital. The leaflet looked interesting: the group's meetings appeared to be addressing some of the more pertinent questions leveled at Christians like myself. *Why Is There Suffering?* was the title of one. *How Can I Find God?* read another. It was an intriguing invitation; I shoved it into my pocket for future consideration.

My own relationship with religion had been taking a nose dive. Though not from a religious family I had become a committed churchgoer from a young age. Even the tedium of many a Church of England service had not deterred me. However, I had eventually decided to leave and was searching for something new. Perhaps the Church of Christ was an answer to my prayer.

I attended a midweek meeting of 150 people in a local school hall not really knowing what to expect. The welcome was warm. People not only made a point of talking to newcomers but appeared genuinely interested in them. I struck up several lengthy conversations with members who told me how joining the Church had changed their life. A recent convert, a young singer called Gary, talked about his ambition to become a pop star. Music was still important but now God came first. He had even moved down to London so that he could be with this Church. Another, older man with a strong American accent asked questions about my work. He didn't tell me that the LCC, an offshoot of a large, radical American movement, believed that only its members were true disciples of Jesus. Those outside were considered lost, fated to spend eternity in fiery torment.

I was persuaded to attend other services. The Sunday gathering of several hundred members from all over the capital took place at a former cinema in the West End of London. The service was impressive, the singing vibrant and the message challenging and relevant with a healthy disregard for tradition. It appeared to be just what I had been looking for. Oddly, the members I had met at

the previous meeting continually asked questions and tried to persuade me to study the Bible with them. Their phone calls were frequent, usually nightly and sometimes irritating, especially when there was little new to say. Still, they were always friendly and I wasn't troubled, eventually agreeing to the studies if only to get them off my back.

We met at a house in south London that was occupied by Trevor, a rather domineering Jamaican in his mid-20s. He worked as a computer programmer and acted as a local group leader for the Church. About half a dozen young, single males who were all LCC converts shared the property with him. There didn't seem much room for privacy.

The Bible studies started off as fairly innocuous but as time went by the group increasingly put me on the spot, attacking my beliefs and devotion to God as half-hearted and inadequate.

'If you were really a Christian and really believed that people out there on the streets were lost, you'd be doing something about it, wouldn't you, Karl? But you're not, are you?' interrupted Trevor as I tried to explain my position.

I didn't agree but it was difficult to argue with people who were apparently so sure of their view of the world and had a Bible verse to answer every question. It became apparent that the LCC saw themselves as a recreation of first-century Christianity and viewed other denominations as spiritually substandard, particularly reviling Roman Catholicism and the Church of England. Many of their criticisms of the Christian establishment had a ring of truth. So, although I disliked the direction in which the sessions were going, I trusted the members' desire to do what they saw as right.

The phone calls and the studies progressed on an almost daily basis. If I wasn't attending the numerous LCC meetings I was at Trevor's house in a Bible study. Little of what I said seemed to make any difference: Trevor and his house mates were certain of the truth of their position and the hopelessness of mine. It undermined my confidence in my own beliefs and at such a young age I didn't really have the experience to walk out.

Eventually I became convinced that what they were teaching was right. Now I was ready to join God's élite, to become one of a tiny handful of `true Christians' and to begin a new life with a mission to `seek and save the lost'. I was baptized in the garage of the leader of the LCC, an American who had come over to Britain from Boston in the early days of the movement's international expansion. Others found themselves being dunked in local rivers or ponds. Unlike most mainstream churches the LCC believes that baptism is the moment of conversion and salvation. From then on I was counted as one of the group.

Being a member meant that my personal situation changed dramatically. I was expected to start bringing others. My family weren't particularly interested but that didn't matter as the LCC engaged in regular, highly organized street evangelism known as `blitzing'. We would invite passers-by in the same way that I had been approached and if possible obtain their phone numbers to `follow up'. Hundreds, sometimes thousands of people could be contacted within the space of a few hours. At other times members would go `tubing', riding the London Underground system, preaching and proselytizing as they travelled. It was often quite unnerving approaching strangers. Passengers were frequently rude and occasionally members were assaulted, but it just helped to fuel the feeling that we were part of the righteous élite battling against the forces of Satan. A hostile reaction from someone proved that their 'heart was closed' to the truth.

There was little in the way of spare time. A minimum of three official Church meetings a week was supplemented with informal gatherings at which attendance was compulsory. We were expected to spend our free time 'productively', which meant out evangelizing or in Bible studies

with prospective new members. A quiet night in front of the television was not an option except perhaps on Saturday. Members were made to feel guilty about laziness or lack of love for 'the lost'. How could we be so uncaring when there was a planet full of people destined to go to hell?

To maintain strict internal discipline, the Church assigned everyone a 'discipler', a sort of personal supervisor and confessor. This was someone who, we were told, had been placed in our lives by God to help us grow. We were to accept their guidance even when we disagreed with them because they were more mature in the faith. To disobey them could almost be considered an affront to Jesus. In many ways it was similar to the sales strategy employed by American network marketing organizations and was very effective. Everyone was accountable to their immediate superior and instructions could be passed down from the top and reach the rank and file within a short space of time.

The majority of new, unmarried converts found themselves pushed to move in with other members so that they could play a fuller part in the life of the organization. Male members or 'brothers' lived separately from the female 'sisters' and romantic attachments were discouraged unless endorsed by the Church.

Most of the members were fairly youthful, frequently students, in their late teens or early 20s. In such an insular and religiously fervent environment it was a huge mistake to give young and often naive individuals absolute power over each other. While the majority were probably well-meaning, the rigidity and narrowness of the group's world view meant that obedience became as much an issue as the message that the LCC was preaching. Individualism and disagreement were heavily frowned upon. Those who refused to do as they were told were chastised and labeled as 'independent' or 'divisive'. The pressure to conform to the wishes of the leadership could be enormous: an individual's salvation might be publicly called into question and many were frightened that if they were to rebel or leave the Church they would go to hell. Because in its own eyes the LCC represented the only path to God, the decisions of its leaders were often equated with the will of the Almighty. Though privately some members were more skeptical, the peer pressure appeared to persuade most to conform.

I spent four years in the Church of Christ and in every way it was an emotional and spiritual roller coaster ride. There were good times: the camaraderie and the diversity of people involved. Their devotion and absolute certainty of belief provided an enormous sense of purpose. Most of those who joined said they had been attracted to the warmth of fellowship the group offered and the forceful, no-nonsense message that rang out from the lips of its polished American evangelists. For people living away from home, a religious group like the LCC can seem a haven.

After several years of membership its downside became increasingly apparent. The Church was beginning to attract bad publicity: the constant pressure to perform, the expectation that all members should continually bring new people into the group, was difficult to reconcile with the ignoring of many other aspects of Christian living. Love for God was measured by evangelistic success. People's souls were at stake so members should 'crank the baptisms' (produce conversions). If good results were not forthcoming then they needed to be 'rebuked'. Many converts, even the most good-natured types, found the authoritarianism too much and left, sometimes acrimoniously. For every person that joined someone else walked out.

Leaving was not easy. As far as the Church was concerned, to walk away from the LCC was to walk away from God. If someone left, it was undoubtedly due to a terrible hidden sin in their life or because they didn't really love Jesus enough. The behavior of the Church and its leadership was seldom accepted as a legitimate factor in a person's decision. People who went were said to have 'fallen away'. They were considered worse for having rejected 'the truth' than those who had never shown an interest.

Emotionally it was an enormous wrench when I decided to go. I think that for many it is not dissimilar to breaking away from a close personal relationship. The time, energy and commitment involved, especially for those who have given years to the movement, are not something quickly forgotten. Others are upset that the people whom they considered to be their closest friends in the group are no longer interested in them. Ex-members, who neglected their outside family and friends during their time in the LCC, are sometimes faced with having to build a new life. Most eventually move on to better things. In retrospect I wish I had left sooner but perhaps through the experience I have ended up learning more about life than I lost.

All names, apart from the author's, have been changed

Back to other articles about the London/Boston Church of Christ.

Angels of Light

The following account of the Central London Church of Christ, written by an ex-member, comes from 'Angels of Light?', a Christian publication about the teaching and practice of the C.L.C.O.C.:-

I was doing well in my studies and having a great time socially at University, but, like many people, I was searching for some sort of spiritual reality in my life.

Towards the end of my first year, a friend-a bright, attractive and friendly person- invited me to his church for a Sunday service. I thought I would go, as I fancied myself as being open and experimental. After the service, he suggested we study the Bible together, and I then met with him regularly, as well as going to the Church on Sundays and to other mid-week meetings. The people impressed me with their strict sense of morality, conviction about the Bible and their commitment. It was challenging to my own habits and ideas.

Although other people had warned me about the strict `fundamentalism' of this group, and that it was rumoured to be a cult, my friend was urgent and insistent about our meeting together to study, and so I continued to meet with him. He showed me such care and love that it was hard to say no.

Eventually, because I became convinced that the teachings were true, I was baptised and became a member. For months I kept the baptism a secret from my family.

Soon after I was baptised, I discovered that many of the Church meetings were compulsory. On one Saturday evening, the church was having a concert. I opted not to go because I needed to study for an exam. I was challenged about this by a fellow student who was a leader, and discovered that not only the special events mandatory, but so were the retreats, evangelism, morning quiet times, Bible discussions, conferences, seminars, sector meetings and, of course, financial contributions. In London, members must pledge the amount they are to give, and are held accountable for it. They are followed up regularly by their disciplers for `special Mission Contributions.' I was encouraged to move into a flat with another member.

Whenever I questioned these things, the following responses were most commonly given: `That's not the issue-the issue is that you're not broken,' `It's in the Bible,' `I'm disappointed in you; how could you be questioning now?' or `Brother, you just need to change.'

My friend became my discipler, and we met one to three times a week. I was told to imitate him, and be submissive to him. Using the example of King David's Mighty Men, an Evangelist once told us that we were to display `Weird Loyalty' to our disciplers.

After being baptised a second time (because I did not repent properly the first time) I became a discipler myself. We had ti invite between one and five people a day, and get as many phone numbers as possible. I was encouraged to reach out to sharp or open people who could become future leaders.

As my intensity and involvement grew, my grades at University fell sharply. I had no time for non-Christian friends. My sense of humour vanished. When challenged on these things by my

friends and family, I viewed their remarks as Satanic.

I was not happy in the Church. My discipler would constantly re-assure me that if I would evangelise more it would all become clear to me. At that time I believed that the only alternative to being a part of the group was going to Hell.

My parents called in cult specialists who knew about the group and who challenged me on its teachings. After 5 minutes talking with them, I knew that something was seriously wrong-but it took me three days of argument to admit that the Church was seriously wrong in its teaching and practice. I left soon afterwards.

Had I not been `exit counselled' by these cult specialists, I would have spent more years in the Church-perhaps the rest of my life.

Although, in many ways, I owe my faith in Christ to the Church, membership was a bad experience and I would encourage anyone involved to leave.

[Although I never became a member myself, I can identify with a lot of this man's experiences. The Church, as far as I myself am concerned, has just got past the stage of,as it were, being nice in order to appeal to me, and they are almost resorting to emotional blackmail to try to keep me interested. If you want more details of my own experiences with the Church, just let me know.]

Regards,

Martyn.

 Back to other articles about the London/Boston Church of Christ.

NATURAL SEMANTIC METALANGUAGE PRIMITIVES

[Substantives]	I, YOU, SOMEONE, PEOPLE/PERSON, SOMETHING/THING, BODY
[Determiners]	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
[Quantifiers]	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH
[Evaluators]	GOOD, BAD
[Descriptors]	BIG, SMALL
[Mental predicates]	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
[Speech]	SAY, WORD
[Actions, events and movement]	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
[Existence and Possession]	THERE IS, HAVE
[Life and Death]	LIVE, DIE
[Time]	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER,
	A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME
	FOR SOME TIME

[Space]	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW
	FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE
['Logical concepts']	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
[Intensifier, Augmentor]	VERY, MORE
[Taxonomy, partonomy]	KIND OF, PART OF
[Similarity]	LIKE

APPENDIX XXII

MCKINSEY CORPORATION BROCHURE

CONTENTS

Jackie Mackenzie
Engagement Manager
Joined 1991
BA, Oriental Studies
Oxford University
MBA – Harvard Business School, US

Jackie, formerly a Business Analyst,
rejoined the London Office as an Associa
after completing her MBA.

"We help our clients navigate uncertain
territory. The business landscape is const
changing, so we need to be flexible in ch
the best course – not taking well-worn ro
but breaking new ground."

FOR WHAT IT'S WORTH

How do you sum up an organisation as complex and diverse as McKinsey & Company, one of the world's leading management consultancies?

We decided to pass this challenge on to our own consultants. After selecting a number of people across the organisation, from recent graduate recruits to experienced partners, we asked them what object they thought best captured the spirit of McKinsey.

Their choices, as you will see, were varied and often unexpected, but they reveal something about the nature of our work, the kind of people we are and what McKinsey means to us.

ABOUT
McKINSEY

McKinsey is a management consulting firm that serves many of the world's most prominent organisations. We focus on issues of importance to senior management, advising on strategy and organisation, and on how to improve operations such as sales, manufacturing or technology.

We work for a wide variety of organisations including multinational companies, national governments and charities, as well as small firms. Our work cuts across all business sectors – from investment banking to retailing, and from media to oil and gas – and we are proud that many of our clients are leaders in their sectors.

Our reputation stems from our objectivity and independence, our global network and from the high-quality problem-solving and analytical skills we bring to bear on the challenges facing our clients. For this we rely on the professionalism and intellectual capabilities of our consultants worldwide.

So, if the following description excites you, we would like to talk to you about the range of opportunities available to new graduates and postgraduates.

Vivake Bhalla
Business Analyst
Joined 1998
MEng, Electrical and Electronic
Engineering with Management
Imperial College of Science,
Technology and Medicine

Vivake joined the firm after four years at
College, London.

"Strategy consulting is helping our client
in the great outdoors. We have to carve
solution for every problem using a versa

What's distinctive about McKinsey?

There are several reasons why McKinsey is unique among top management consulting firms.

First, we only accept assignments where we can make a positive, lasting impact. We work *with* our clients, not *for* them, so *they* can make solutions stick.

Second, we only work on issues that are really important to senior management. We consider the problem from all angles, but always put together an integrated solution from a top management perspective.

Third, McKinsey consultants share the latest management ideas and techniques (where client confidentiality permits). This enables us to apply the best thinking of over 5,000 colleagues in 79 offices and 41 countries.

We organise our knowledge into global 'practices' which are either topic specific (e.g. Corporate Finance, Business Technology, Organisation) or sector specific (e.g. Energy, Media, Retail). These practices enable us to develop leading edge expertise for our clients.

Most importantly, we believe that developing our people is just as crucial as serving our clients. We invest heavily in each consultant's personal learning, through formal training, on-the-job coaching and active rotation across a variety of projects.

For these reasons, McKinsey is a special place to work – whether you are interested in consulting long term or simply want a great start to your working life.

Heidi Gardner
Associate
Joined 1997
BA, East Asian Studies
University of Pennsylvania, US
MSc, Industrial Relations
London School of Economics
and Political Science

Heidi joined the New York Office as an Associate, and transferred recently to the London Office.

"McKinsey challenges us to look deeper, never accepting a problem – or a solution – at face value. Like seeking the smallest of Russian dolls, we keep taking apart a problem until we are sure we have reached the core. Only then can we build a solution which the client will find creative yet practical. Learning this rigorous problem solving approach has been both challenging and rewarding."
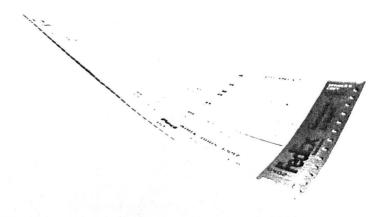
"PERSONAL GROWTH AND LEARNING."

Bill Rogers
Business Analyst
Joined 1997
MEng. Manufacturing Engineering
Cambridge University

Bill joined the London Office as a Business Analyst, taking the chance to transfer to the Johannesburg Office.

"We offer a truly global service to businesses, and always deliver."

The international dimension

With offices in 41 countries, McKinsey is more than just international. We operate a 'one-firm principle': while each office is strongly rooted in its national culture, our consultants have a common working approach, and consulting teams are often pulled together from all over the world. This gives both us and our clients the chance to work globally with colleagues with many different cultural backgrounds and experiences.

Many of our most successful consultants work abroad at some stage in their career. For example, those joining the London Office could find themselves working in the US for a UK client, or transferring to another office, such as Johannesburg, either permanently or for a limited period.

Since we do operate as one global firm, our firm-wide training programmes take place all over the world, mixing participants from various offices.

In addition, many of our practices are global – you are as likely to find an expert in organisational issues in London as in Vienna or Sydney. Over time, our consultants find that 'their McKinsey' is a global network of contacts.

WHERE
WE ARE

NORTH AMERICA
Atlanta
Boston
Charlotte
Chicago
Cleveland
Dallas
Detroit
Houston
Los Angeles
Miami
Minneapolis
Montreal
New Jersey
New York
Orange County
Pacific Northwest
Pittsburgh
San Francisco
Silicon Valley
Stamford
Toronto
Washington DC

EUROPE
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Barcelona
Berlin
Brussels
Cologne
Copenhagen
Dublin
Dusseldorf
Frankfurt
Geneva
Gothenburg
Hamburg
Helsinki
Istanbul
Lisbon
London
Madrid
Milan
Munich
Oslo
Paris
Rome
Stockholm
Stuttgart
Vienna
Zurich

ASIA
Bangkok
Beijing
Hong Kong
Jakarta
Kuala Lumpur
Manila
Osaka
Seoul
Shanghai
Singapore
Taipei
Tokyo

INDIA
Mumbai
New Delhi

AFRICA
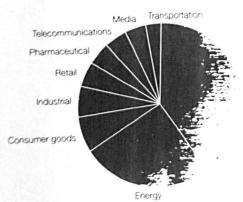Johannesburg

SOUTH AMERICA
Bogota
Buenos Aires
Caracas
Mexico City
Monterrey
Rio de Janeiro
Santiago
Sao Paulo

EASTERN EUROPE
Budapest
Moscow
Prague
Warsaw

**AUSTRALIA/
NEW ZEALAND**
Auckland
Melbourne
Sydney

Media Transportation

Telecommunications

Pharmaceutical

Retail

Industrial

Consumer goods

Financial institutions

Energy

**Breakdown of industries served
by the British and Irish Offices**
Percentage of hours worked, 1998

"A CLEAR POINT (

SUCCIN(

Examples of our offices

McKinsey's success with clients and their globalisation encouraged us to
open 79 offices worldwide. Over the next few pages we profile three –
London, Dublin and Johannesburg – to illustrate the diversity of the firm
around the world.

London

London is one of our longer-established offices. Opened in 1959, it is based
at No. 1 Jermyn Street in the heart of London's West End.

The office is large enough to provide considerable variety. Our broad
range of clients and assignments means you could work in any industry
on a challenging mix of strategy, organisation and operational issues. In
addition, you will find a fascinating diversity of nationalities, educational
backgrounds and prior work experience among your colleagues.

London is a centre for many of our practices – for example, our
Corporate Finance and Organisation practices. The Business Technology
Office is also extremely active in the UK.

Patrick Coveney
Engagement Manager
Joined 1996
Bachelor of Commerce
University College Cork, Ireland
M Phil and D Phil, Management
Oxford University
Rhodes Scholar

Patrick, originally from Ireland, is an Associate.

"Like a quality newspaper, McKinsey works at three levels: determined pursuit of objective facts, rigorous analysis aimed at getting to the heart of a story, and a clear point of view, succinctly communicated."

"Like a quality newspaper, McKinsey also gives you a framework for developing your own story. You can draw on the firm's unparalleled resources to build your own career, always in a direction that personally interests you."

...IEW,
...OMMUNICATED."

"ALL OF US AT McKINSEY BELIEVE IN MAKING CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMUNITY."

Dublin

For many years, we served leading Irish companies out of our London Office, but in 1994 we established a small base in the centre of Dublin.

The Dublin Office is a good illustration of our one-firm concept. Graduates wishing to be part of McKinsey in Ireland often join in London initially. Typically they work on both Irish and British studies during their first year or two to gain breadth of experience, later transferring to Dublin permanently.

Johannesburg

The Johannesburg Office typifies entrepreneurialism at McKinsey. Established in 1995, it has already grown to over 70 consultants.

Our work in South Africa has also confirmed that our problem-solving approaches work in many situations – not only with large companies, but also for public organisations such as the South African Police, for which the firm has worked without charging.

Michael Mire
Director
Joined 1977
BA, History
Oxford University
MBA – Harvard Business School, US

Michael joined the firm as an Associate after extensive work experience in a merchant bank.

We at McKinsey believe in making a contribution to the community in which we live and work. That's why McKinsey undertakes over a hundred pro bono studies each year around the world – from helping charities become more effective at running shops, to assisting art institutions increase their audiences.

We find in pro bono studies that the skills and capabilities that McKinsey brings are just as relevant as they are to our fee-paying corporate clients. Indeed, although it would be easier for McKinsey to donate money rather than divert colleagues to pro bono studies, we actually think that working for clients is a much more valuable contribution.

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Vincenzo Tortorici
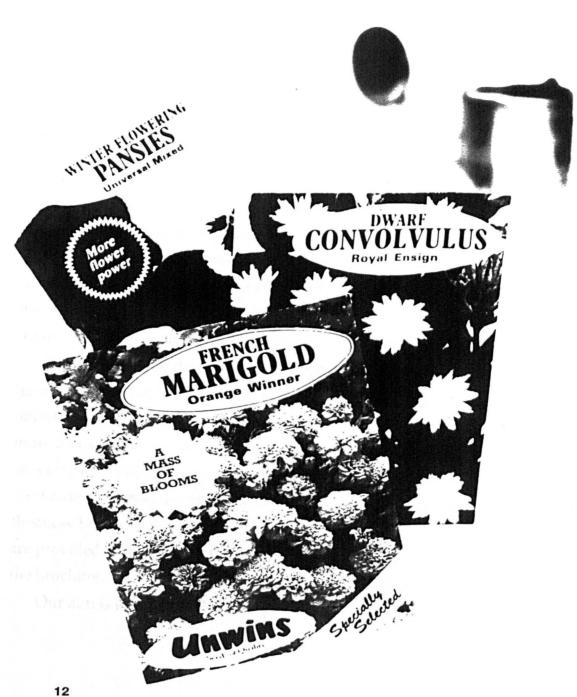
Engagement Manager - Corporate
Finance and Strategy Practice

Joined 1998

BA. Economics & Commerce
LUISS University of Rome, Italy

**MBA – MIT Sloan School
of Management, US**

Vincenzo joined the London hub of the pan-
European Corporate Finance and Strategy
Practice after extensive experience in M&A

"Every new study at McKinsey has the intrinsic
challenge of putting you on the starting
blocks with a new sector, new client, new
problems and a new set of skills to develop
and apply."

"WE PLANT
WITH

WINTER FLOWERING
PANSIES
Universal Mixed

More
flower
power

DWARF
CONVOLVULUS
Royal Ensign

FRENCH
MARIGOLD
Orange Winner

A
MASS
OF
BLOOMS

Unwins

Specially
Selected

12

IDEAS
CLIENTS AND HELP THEM GROW."

Where do you start?

McKinsey is committed to hiring exceptional individuals – whatever their background and experience – who will make great consultants and stimulating colleagues.

However, we recognise that different people have different skills and knowledge and some may be better prepared than others to complete the same task. We therefore hire into one of three entry roles – Business Analyst, Junior Associate and Associate.

We also recognise that some people may have rather specific interests and career objectives, and may be more attracted by more focused roles within a practice. There are entry level opportunities available in our Corporate Finance Practice and Business Technology Office – further details are provided in the inserts at the end of the brochure.

Our aim is to provide a set of entry roles which can be customised to provide individual paths for the exceptional people we hire.

All of these consulting roles involve working with clients, solving problems and contributing as a full member of the team. However, each role bears a different degree of responsibility and will imply a different training and career path, reflecting the needs of the individual.

When you apply, don't worry about which category you fit into – the recruitment process is the same for all three roles. In addition, our interviewers are trained to identify the starting position that best matches your skills and experience. Moreover, once you start work, you will be given the opportunity to advance at an individual pace, as soon as you are qualified.
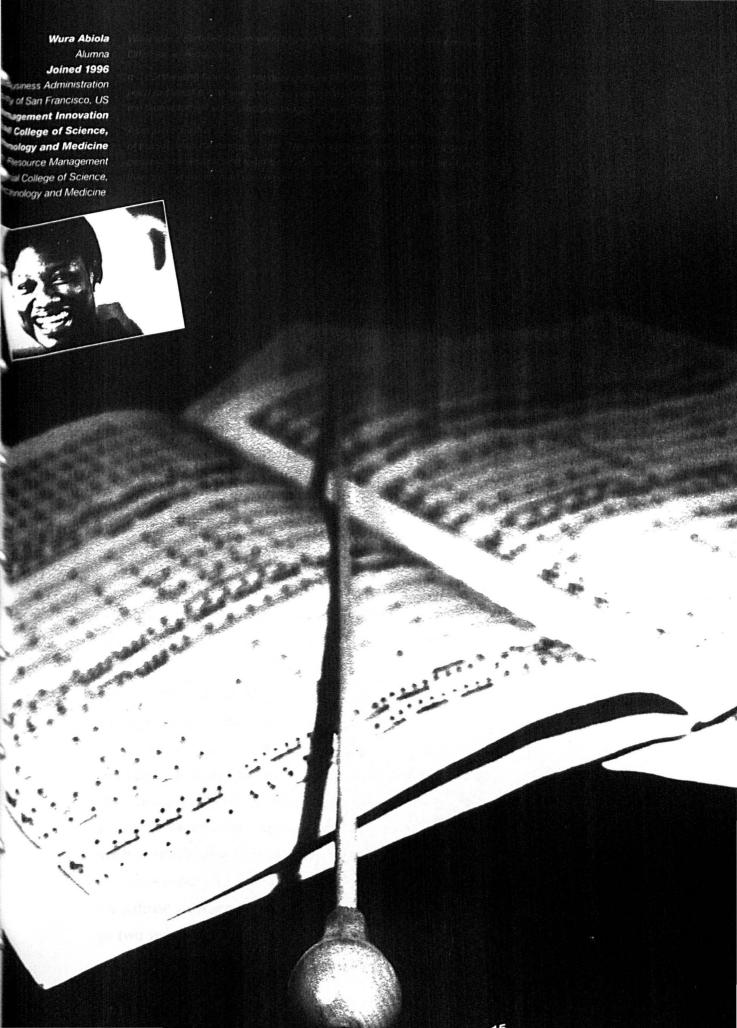
Training and development

Our aspiration is to make everyone who joins McKinsey an excellent consultant, but no one path suits all individuals. We will therefore select a mix of courses to suit your needs, and we will provide you with a 'development leader' – a senior McKinsey consultant who gives you guidance as you move from one study to the next.

You will have the chance to learn in both formal and informal settings:

Training courses We run regular courses designed to build a range of skills and knowledge. For example: we seek to improve your basic consulting skills through introductory problem-solving courses; we seek to expand your industry knowledge via industry seminars; and we seek to reinforce your general management skills through sessions on how to interview.

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Wura Abiola
Alumna
Joined 1996
...siness Administration
...y of San Francisco, US
...agement Innovation
College of Science,
...nology and Medicine
...Resource Management
...al College of Science,
...nology and Medicine

"CREATIVITY IS THE ESSENCE OF SUCCESSFUL STRATEGY CONSULTING."

Training and development (continued)

General management training. We sponsor many individuals to attend leading business schools, such as Harvard or Stanford in the US or INSEAD in France, to study for a Master in Business Administration ('MBA'). Postgraduates who have already spent considerable time in further education often complete our three-week in-house 'mini-MBA'.

Staffing. When assigning individuals to studies, we seek to take training needs into account. We deliberately rotate staff through industries, clients and types of study – typically every three to six months – to create the broadest possible experience.

On-the-job coaching. McKinsey trains all its managers to coach and develop the people they work with. Much of your learning will therefore emerge from on-the-job training and feedback.

McKinsey research. Many consultants take part in McKinsey's research activities, designed to keep us at the forefront of management thinking. This research takes place in interest groups focused either on a particular industry – such as energy or e-commerce – or on a management topic – such as marketing or managing complexity.

Work experience outside the firm. Many consultants find it easier to empathise with senior management if they have worked in industry for one or two years. Qualified junior consultants in particular may choose to go out and gain additional work experience before returning as Associates.

Stuart Rae
Senior Engagement Manager –
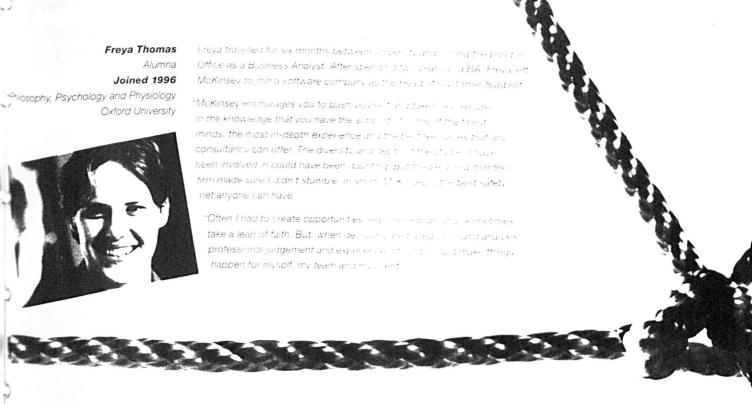Business Technology Office
Joined 1993
BSc, Physics
Monash University, Australia
PhD, Physics – Oxford University
Rhodes Scholar

Stuart joined the firm as a Junior Associate in Melbourne, later transferring to the London Office as an Associate. He transferred to the Business Technology Office in London in 1998.

"Creativity is the essence of successful strategy consulting. You can work with a blank canvas but not a blank mind. Look at things differently. Even ideas that you don't think are worth articulating can become viable, and valuable, when they are taken and developed by another member of the team.

"At the start of a study, we explore different views and angles and gradually fill in the detail until we can see the bigger picture. We constantly refine our thinking and evaluate the impact of our involvement. It may not turn out as anticipated, but mastering the unpredictability is all part of the challenge."

Freya Thomas
Alumna
Joined 1996
...osophy, Psychology and Physiology
Oxford University

Freya travelled for six months between school and university... joined the London Office as a Business Analyst. After spending two years as a BA, Freya left McKinsey to join a software company as the head of Customer Support.

"McKinsey encourages you to push forward in your career... secure in the knowledge that you have the support... of the great minds, the most in-depth experience and the best... consultancy can offer. The diversity and scale... I have been involved in could have been daunting, but... the firm made sure I didn't stumble. In short McKinsey is the best safety net anyone can have.

"Often I had to create opportunities... take a leap of faith. But, when... professional judgement and experience... make things happen for myself, my team and my client."
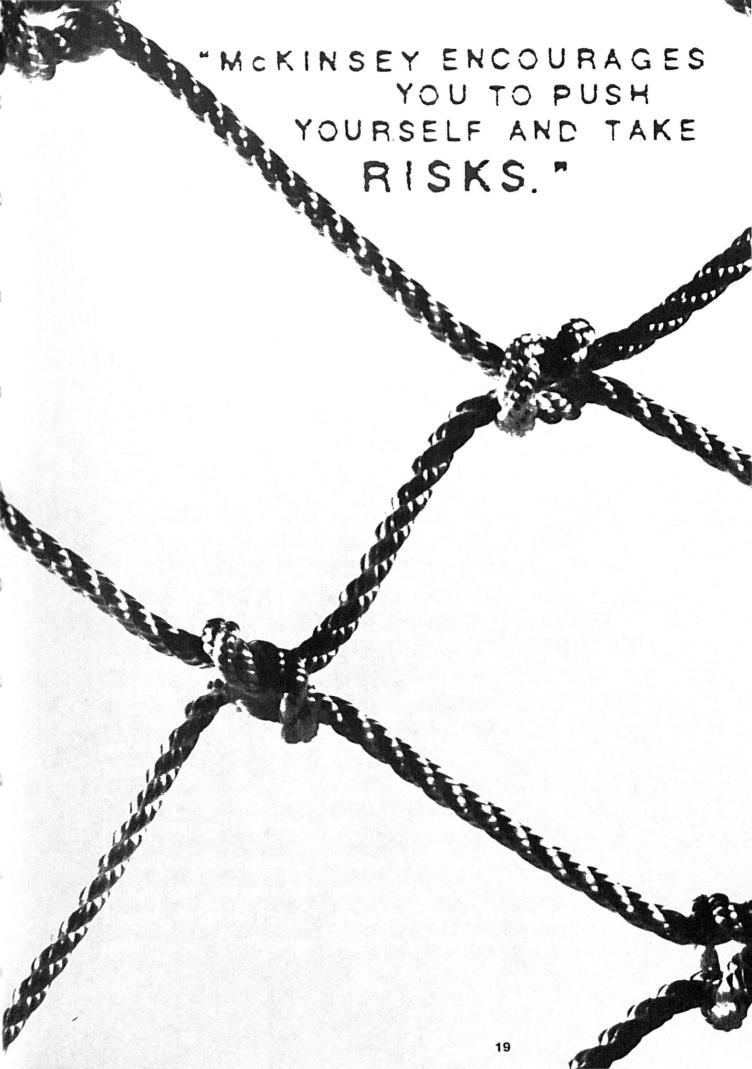
McKinsey as a springboard

We only ever make offers to individuals we believe could have a long-term future with the firm.

However, of those who decide that management consulting is not their long-term career, most find that their time with McKinsey has opened doors to positions they could not otherwise have achieved. Indeed, McKinsey's reputation, the calibre of our consultants, and the experience they gain with the firm make them very attractive to employers.

Many of our alumni pursue successful careers in business – such as Archie Norman, Chairman of Asda. Others have pursued high profile careers in the public sector – such as Adair Turner, ex-Director-General of the CBI. Many others have started their own companies – such as Moti Shahani, an ex-Business Analyst in London who now runs E-Marketing Ltd, an internet start-up that builds websites.

Most importantly, every consultant who leaves becomes part of the network of McKinsey alumni who keep in touch both informally and through alumni events organised by the firm.

"McKINSEY ENCOURAGES YOU TO PUSH YOURSELF AND TAKE RISKS."

Qualities we are looking for

Strategy consulting is all about solving problems and influencing people. We therefore seek individuals with outstanding intellectual ability and interpersonal skills.

When we consider candidates, we look for four main qualities:

Problem-solving ability. Whatever your degree subject, you should relish and excel at solving problems that require logical reasoning, creative thinking, comfort with numbers and the ability to untangle complex issues.

Personal impact. You should be able to show that you have really made a difference to people around you – through your assertiveness, your ability to empathise and communicate openly, and your aptitude for working in teams.

Leadership. You should be the type who frequently takes the initiative and is eager to break new ground, create opportunities for others and take personal risks.

Drive/aspiration. You should have the drive to achieve excellence, as well as the energy and perseverance to make things happen.

You will need to demonstrate these qualities through your CV (highlighting both academic and extra-curricular activities) and the recruitment process. However, we have no preconceptions about how you have shown these qualities so far – don't assume that McKinsey is only for Union Presidents!

Magnus Tyreman
Principal
Joined 1990
MA, Business Administration
Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden

Magnus joined the firm as a Junior A... ... ... able to pr... ... ...
to the London Office.

"Like a glass of wine, it is the stuff ... ... that mak... ... ...

"A great solution, like a fine wine ... ...
you learn how to blend fine materia's ... ...

"And it is the ability to produce great ... ...
reputation. Only then will clients ret... ... ...

IT IS THE ABILITY TO PRODUCE
GREAT SOLUTIONS
ONSISTENTLY
THAT BUILDS A REPUTATION."

Sid Simmons

Marketing Science Specialist

Joined 1995

BA, Mathematics

Warwick University

MBA - **Warwick University**

Sid joined the firm as a Marketing Specialist in London having previously worked for a package firm.

"The name McKinsey is as identifiable and unique as Marmite. From the outside we are sometimes mistakenly perceived as overly intense. But once inside, many become addicted and find the experience very enjoyable."

" McKINSEY IS AS IDENTIFIABLE AND UNIQUE AS MARMITE."

The recruitment process

Whatever your background, this is what happens:

1. You submit an application in the form of
   - (i) a CV or résumé, including all academic subjects and grades, and full contact details (including e-mail address where possible),
   - (ii) a note stating your office or practice (e.g. Corporate Finance, Business Technology) preference if you have one,
   - (iii) one written reference from a tutor who can tell us about your academic performance and your intellectual and personal qualities.

   And, for all London Office applicants:
   - (iv) a completed questionnaire (enclosed with this brochure).

2. The interview stage comes next and always involves discussion of business cases, and might also include a maths test, written work and group exercise.

3. We make offers to successful candidates and arrange for them to visit our offices again to meet more people and discuss what a career with McKinsey is like.

4. You decide whether to join us in your own time.

Please note that if you wish to apply to an office outside your home country, there may be local immigration/work permit restrictions.

Morven Davies
Business Analyst
Joined 1998
BSc. Chemistry
Glasgow University

Contacting us

If you are interested in joining McKinsey, we would like to hear from you.
Please submit your application:

By mail:

Graduate Recruitment Manager

McKinsey & Company

1 Jermyn Street

London SW1Y 4UH

or by e-mail:

Lngrad_rec@mckinsey.com

or apply on-line:

www.mckinsey.com

Application deadlines

If you would like to be considered during the 'milkround', please write to us by the dates indicated on the enclosure.

Further information

www.mckinsey.co.uk/www.mckinsey.com

McKinsey's Corporate Finance & Strategy Practice – growing in response to global demand

Wherever you are in the world, you will find the same priorities dominating the top-level agendas of major corporations in every sector – issues of corporate strategy, mergers, acquisitions, alliances and post-merger management.

More and more clients are now turning to McKinsey for objective, independent advice on the best ways to grow and create shareholder value within the framework of a compelling, long-term corporate strategy.

To meet this growing need, we have established a Corporate Finance & Strategy Practice. This fast growing practice operates from strong regional bases in Europe, North America and Asia, with consultants working from a number of 'hub' locations to serve clients globally. (In Europe, for example, these hubs include Amsterdam, Frankfurt, London, Oslo, Paris and Zurich.) The practice already draws on over 130 McKinsey Partners and 200 consultants.

Our CF&S Practice offers individuals with strong academic backgrounds and distinctive corporate finance skills the opportunity to help major corporations define overall corporate strategy, identify attractive M&A and alliance opportunities, execute transactions and manage the process of integration. As you would expect, there is a strong focus on counselling Chief Executives and CFOs. And because these assignments combine traditional management consulting skills with investment banking issues and techniques, they offer an exciting career challenge for high-calibre individuals keen to experience the best of both worlds.

Such work will enable you to develop the problem solving and intellectual leadership skills for which McKinsey consultants are known across the globe. It will also provide the opportunity to contribute to state-of-the-art thinking on the key drivers of value creation across a wide variety of business sectors. And it will enable you to boost our reputation for thought leadership in the world of applied finance.

As a CF&S consultant, you will be a key member of a group at the centre of McKinsey's mission to be the primary counsellors to its clients. Wherever you are based, you will be adhering to the same working principles, ethics and professional standards as all other McKinsey consultants around the globe. Your clients will benefit from the autonomy and independence you bring to their financial advice – the very qualities that distinguish McKinsey consulting worldwide.

Your challenge: to enhance your clients' performance

Your aim will be to develop, engineer and help execute transaction strategies that will enhance your clients' performance. McKinsey's CF&S approach is to link M&A and alliances systematically with strategic 'key success factors', in order to improve our clients' strategic market positions significantly and sustainably.

As a result, your involvement in client strategy will be much more extensive than that of transaction adviser alone. Participating fully in clients' corporate thinking, you will typically identify long-term value creation opportunities, assess benefits from potential transactions and screen targets, as well as advising on issues of post-merger integration once transactions are complete. This broad remit will draw on your wide understanding of corporate and functional strategy as well as your leading-edge theoretical knowledge of applied finance.

You will advise the top management of major corporations in many different business sectors, often working alongside other advisers (bankers, lawyers, accountants, PR specialists, etc) with the challenging responsibility of mediating between different interests as you seek to fulfil your mandate of creating maximum value for the client.

After gaining broad experience in all aspects of CF&S work, you will have the chance to pursue your professional interests in one or more of the three core areas in our practice. However, you will be much more than a corporate finance specialist; as someone who meets all the usual McKinsey entry requirements and more, you will develop into a first-class, all-round consultant with distinctive capabilities in finance.

The increasingly borderless world of corporate transactions will provide opportunities to work and travel widely, operating within McKinsey teams that are both multinational and multidisciplinary.

Few other opportunities can offer such a varied, international and stimulating career experience.

Continuing personal development: your progress within McKinsey

Like every other consultant joining McKinsey, you will receive formal induction training early in your first year, with programmes focusing on problem-solving, communication, interpersonal skills and the McKinsey culture. Beyond this, the focus will shift to leadership and personal impact, in line with our commitment to meeting all your further training needs during your career with us.

In addition, you will attend specific professional development courses on subjects including financial analysis, strategy metrics, accounting, taxation and valuation. These courses will help to provide the basic 'toolkit' that will enable you to undertake demanding client engagements. As well as providing the solid analytical and technical foundations you need, such training will enable you to develop a personal network of McKinsey contacts around the globe.

You will also receive on-the-job training plus feedback from engagement managers and other senior consultants involved in your work. You will be assigned a personal Development Leader – a McKinsey Principal or Director – who will be responsible for providing support, advice and guidance as your career continues to progress. This individual will also carry out a rigorous evaluation process designed to help you identify your key strengths and development needs.

Given the strong emphasis placed on corporate finance consulting in a recent McKinsey strategy review, you can anticipate plenty of opportunities to progress within the firm, grow the practice and contribute to knowledge creation.

Key requirements for a successful career with McKinsey's CF&S Practice

All McKinsey consultants must demonstrate a real care for their clients' interests and enjoy contributing to the process of value creation. Success is based on the ability to win and retain the client's trust, seek out productive opportunities for value creation, and 'go the extra mile' in helping clients gain measurable competitive advantage and shareholder value creation.

In our CF&S Practice, we look for all the skills that any aspiring McKinsey consultant would need – i.e. the ability to deliver high-quality advice to board-level individuals in a thoroughly professional manner – together with specific expertise in accountancy, applied finance and capital markets.

This means as a graduate entrant you will need the following:

- An exceptional intellect, allied to superior problem-solving skills.
- Well-developed numerical skills.
- Minimum of a 2.1 at undergraduate level or an advanced degree, possibly with specialisation in economics or finance.
- A demonstrable interest or background in finance.
- Fluency in English and, if appropriate, the local language.

The best of both worlds – a unique career opportunity

These are unique opportunities for you to enjoy the best of both worlds – top level strategic consulting and leading-edge corporate finance.

Remuneration and benefits are designed to attract individuals of the highest calibre.

If you have the attributes we seek, and see our CF&S practice as the ideal environment in which to pursue your career objectives, please contact:

The Graduate Recruitment Manager
McKinsey & Company
1 Jermyn Street
London
SW1Y 4UH

Stating Corporate Finance & Strategy (CF&S) as your preference.

McKinsey's Business Technology Office provides unique opportunities

Business technology capabilities have become increasingly critical for companies to achieve their strategic business goals, and have therefore become a priority item on the top management agendas of many companies. More and more, our clients turn to McKinsey for objective advice on how to gain control of information technology and leverage it to deliver real value for their businesses.

To meet this growing need, McKinsey has combined its IT consulting resources in a new business technology network that currently operates from five 'hubs' worldwide: Frankfurt, London, Silicon Valley, Stamford/New York and Zurich, with additional satellites throughout Europe and South America. Because McKinsey business technology engagements involve both business and technology issues, they provide exciting challenges for those who see IT as more than just a technical discipline. Our work not only provides opportunities to develop the problem-solving and leadership skills for which McKinsey consultants and alumni are known. It also fosters the technology fluency we believe will be a distinctive characteristic of the next generation of top business leaders.

McKinsey's Business Technology Office offers individuals with a strong academic track-record and a demonstrable background or interest in IT, opportunities to help senior managers solve the complex business and technology challenges facing their organisations. Our consultants help advance industry thinking on top management IT issues, grow professionally in a stimulating environment, and are members of an entrepreneurial group building an expanded McKinsey capability.

Your daily challenge: using IT to create business value

As a McKinsey business technology consultant you will serve leading corporations from all major industries worldwide, especially those relying heavily on IT, such as financial services, transportation, telecommunications and retail. You will work in McKinsey engagement teams to help design specific business driven IT solutions for given strategies and to identify new opportunities for IT to create additional value for a client's business. This work will require that you apply a broad understanding of both business and technology.

McKinsey's Business Technology Office stands for such capabilities. Proficient in technology and business strategy, you will help clients create business value as the architect of their IT solutions. A typical assignment could involve using IT to design a new approach to rapid product development for a global wholesale bank, or helping a major industrial company use IT to achieve benefits of a major acquisition. Consultants within the BTO follow the same working principals and professional standards as all McKinsey teams. We believe our clients derive particular value from the fact that we base our technology focused engagements on autonomy and independence, the same attributes that characterise McKinsey consulting as a whole.

In general, you will serve clients within reach of your own location. Being part of our worldwide pool of business technology consultants, however, you may often become involved in client work abroad, for instance when you have the specific expertise a project in another country requires.

Your personal development: advancing at McKinsey

Formal training, attended by consultants from McKinsey offices around the world, will begin early in your first year, with programmes focusing on problem-solving, communication, and interpersonal skills. In addition, we do sponsor individuals to attend leading business schools to study for an MBA. Postgraduates who have already spent considerable time in further education often complete our three-week in-house 'Mini-MBA'. Later on, the focus of training will shift to leadership and personal impact. As a business technology consultant you will attend additional professional development programmes on how McKinsey helps clients leverage business technology. All of these programmes will help you build a personal network of McKinsey colleagues around the world.

Additionally, you will receive on-the-job feedback from the engagement managers and other senior consultants you work with. A development leader (a McKinsey Principal or Director) assigned to you will be responsible for providing support and guidance as you progress in your career, and a rigorous evaluation process will help you identify your own development needs and goals.

Your qualifications: the foundation of
a successful professional career

Consultants must care genuinely about their clients and truly enjoy
helping companies better understand and improve their
performance. Consulting effectiveness stems from the ability to
earn and retain clients' trust and from authority rooted in ideas rather
than power, from empathy rather than detachment. You should
therefore be capable of working with people at all levels of
an organisation – from the managers with whom we work on a daily
basis to the chief executive officer.

Many of the skills required for McKinsey business technology
consultants are the same as those for all McKinsey consultants.
However, the technical nature of our IT projects requires special
expertise in business and technology.

This means as a graduate entrant you
will need the following:

- Outstanding intellectual ability and interpersonal skills.
- A minimum of a 2.1 from a leading university.
- A demonstrable background or interest in IT.
- Fluency in English and, if appropriate, the local language.

If the attributes and aspirations we have described match your
background and personal objectives, we invite you to explore further
the possibility of a career with McKinsey by contacting:

The Graduate Recruitment Manager
McKinsey & Company
1 Jermyn Street
London
SW1Y 4UH

Stating the Business Technology Office (BTO) as your preference.

Why we ask you to complete this questionnaire

We often find that a CV alone does not tell us as much about a person as we would like. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether we should interview the person. For example, someone who has not actually been the leader/president/captain of a team may still have very good leadership potential. So, we ask you to spend about 15 minutes answering this questionnaire to give us more information about you. Please then send the answer sheet to us with your application.

We are particularly proud of the range and diversity of personalities among the people in McKinsey. This questionnaire is not designed to determine whether you are one particular 'type' of person. Rather, it is designed to tell us whether you have *some* of the qualities which we have found to be linked to success in McKinsey and to enjoyment of the job. By the way, not very many of the happy, successful consultants we tested it on had *all* of these qualities.

Please be honest. Obviously, it is in your own long-term interests, and we may discuss the results with you in an interview.

Thank you for your time and interest.

Instructions

On the next page, you are presented with blocks of three statements. Your task is to decide which one of the three statements is most like you and which is least like you. Some choices may be difficult to make, but please try your best. Work as quickly as you can rather than pondering at length over any one question.

Please indicate your answers in the spaces provided on the answer sheet. You must use a pencil. For each question, shade in a circle to show which statement is most like you, and shade in a circle which is least like you, as shown in the example below. Please be careful not to tear or damage the answer sheet.

Example

I am the sort of person who...   On answer sheet

		A	B	C
A. Enjoys repairing mechanical machinery	MOST	●		
B. Cares about the feelings of others	LEAST		●	
C. Works better on my own				

In the example above, the person has indicated that they feel *Enjoys repairing mechanical machinery* is MOST like them, and that *Cares about the feelings of others* is LEAST like them.

1   **A** Comes up with different ideas to those of others
     B Works better on my own
     C Enjoys travelling

2   **A** Always looks on the bright side
     B Thrives on teamwork
     C Likes to be given a clear definition of aims and tasks

3   **A** Avoids self-evaluation
     B Impresses others with technical language
     C Breaks the mould

4   **A** Remembers things easily
     B Has a great deal of energy
     C Must think quietly before proposing a solution

5   **A** Takes risks more often than my friends
     B Enjoys mental arithmetic
     C Knows that I am better than others

6   **A** Likes to control the activities of others
     B Often gets keyed up about my assignments
     C Needs to feel that I belong

7   **A** Is good with computers
     B Has aspirations which are well within my reach
     C Enjoys moving from one project to the next

8   **A** Always speaks my mind immediately
     B Smiles a lot
     C Seeks out ways to test myself

9   **A** Enjoys discussing new topics
     B Avoids taking risks
     C Looks for novelty in daily routine

10   **A** Has lots of ideas which I have yet to action
     B Focuses on what makes people tick
     C Thrives on meeting new people

11   **A** Seeks a deep understanding of issues
     B Must be in control of others' work if I am responsible for the result
     C Is very observant

12   **A** Is not distracted by others' motives and reactions
     B Is outgoing
     C Encourages others to get involved

13   **A** Diffuses conflict in a team
     B Produces work that cannot be bettered
     C Knows a small circle of people really well

14   **A** Avoids becoming too involved when part of an organisation
     B Can teach others by thinking out loud
     C Avoids gossiping

15   **A** Finds it hard to switch off from the pressures of work
     B Likes to specialise through working on the same thing
     C Likes others to tell me what I am doing badly

16   **A** Offers my view outside my specialism
     B Feels nervous before presentations
     C Takes things at face value

17   **A** Is often described as bubbly
     B Is difficult to shift from my point of view
     C Sets myself challenging targets

18   **A** Allows ethical considerations to guide my actions
     B Always tries to get more facts before taking a decision
     C Volunteers to give formal presentations

19   **A** Talks easily with most people
     B Works better in the morning
     C Believes it can be appropriate to withhold relevant facts

20   **A** Prefers numbers to words
     B Makes my search for information as wide as possible
     C Evaluates the quality of my work

21   **A** Acts without being prompted
     B Can keep quiet if the discussion is not relevant to my area
     C Likes to be praised for good work

22   **A** Knows my personal goals are easily attainable
     B Is happy for others to be praised for work I started
     C Tries to keep up with current affairs

23   **A** Enjoys working from an unclear starting point
     B Keeps radical ideas under wraps
     C Likes to be the centre of attention

24   **A** Likes to have time to do my work perfectly
     B Has a serious approach to life
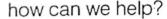   **C** Likes to draw order from chaos

APPENDIX XXIII

CORPORATE RECRUITING MATERIALS

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making it
happen...

Welcome to the Commonwealth Bank Group Graduate Recruitment site. Through indepth training and ongoing development opportunities our Graduate Program offers you a rewarding career in an environment that values leadership, initiative and innovative thinking.
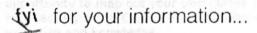
Why Choose Us? Become a banking and finance leader of the future.

Learn more about our Business Units and their unique **Graduate Programs**

See what it's like on our Graduate Program through real life **Graduate Profiles**

We also offer **Vacation Employment** to students completing the second last year of their degree

If you think you've got what it takes, find out **How to Apply**

𝑓𝑦𝑖 for your information...

- See our Application Closing Dates
- Want Graduate Opportunities in rural and regional Australia
- Find out how to apply online

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Why Choose Us?

Worked hard at University? Have a lot to offer? Want a career and not just a job? Read on...

The Commonwealth Bank Group is looking for graduates with energy, enthusiasm, a passion for knowledge and a strong desire to succeed. In return, we'll provide the challenges and rewards in a career development program designed to help you achieve your goals and aspirations. You'll be building a future and making things happen in an environment that rewards leadership, initiative and innovative thinking.

We're not like other financial services organisations. That's how we got to be market leader. Privatised in 1996, the Commonwealth Bank has strengthened its position to become one of Australia's largest banking groups and one of the top 100 in the world.

We provide a diverse range of financial, banking and related services to more Australians than any other financial institution.

When you join our Graduate Program you'll be provided with in-depth training and ongoing development opportunities. You'll acquire new skills and refine existing skills. You'll have the opportunity to map out your own career path with the support and backing of the Commonwealth Bank's vast resources, expertise and knowledge.

The opportunities are real. The choice is yours.

For more detailed information on the Group's business units and opportunities available to Graduates, see our **Graduate Programs**.

The Commonwealth Bank Group also offers paid summer vacation employment to university students completing their second last year of study. Find out more about our **Vacation Employment** .

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Real Opportunities

Each of the Commonwealth Bank's Business Units is responsible for the development of their own employees, so our Graduate Programs differ according to the business goals of each unit.

Use the links below to find out more about our Business Units and the types of opportunities available to Graduates.

Customer Service Division

To fulfil all our customers' financial requirements we provide service throughout Australia across a full range of financial products and services. **Find out more**

Australian Financial Services

Responsible for brand management, marketing services and product development for the Group's retail, small and medium business customer segments. **Find out more**

Institutional Banking

Provides corporate and general banking, international financing, merchant and investment banking and stockbroking. **Find out more**

Technology, Operations and Property

Provides world's best practice processing capability, systems development and property management to the Commonwealth Bank Group. **Find out more**

Financial and Risk Management

We support the Group's vision by providing professional services to other areas of the Group as well as to external clients. We add value by providing information, policies, strategies and specialist advice on financial, risk and capital management matters as well as comprehensive investor relations. **Find out more**

Group Human Resources

Working with all Business Units, it's mandate is to grow revenue and reduce costs through alignment of the Group's people and business systems. **Find out more**

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Customer Service Divison

Name: Eugenie Duff

Business Unit: Customer Service Division (CSD)

Degree: Bachelor of Business majoring in Business Management and Human Resource Management - Charles Sturt University, Riverina Campus, Wagga Wagga.

Why did you choose the Commonwealth Bank Group?

The Commonwealth Bank was one of the few companies I was aware of that offered such diversity. Where else can you do Human Resources, Systems Development, Relationship Management, Commercial Lending and Retail Management plus more in one place?

Where have you worked since joining the Group?

I started on the Branch Management Graduate Program in January 1997 and in my first twelve months I had stints in every job within a branch from Teller through to Teller's Supervisor and Assistant Branch Manager.

In early 1998 I spent a couple of months in both Assistant Branch Manager and Branch Manager positions. Everything really came together for me during this time. I was very lucky to have the flexibility to learn on the job with experienced people around me to assist whenever needed.

My first promotion was to Assistant Branch Manager in June 1998. This position really opened up doors for me. It was quite different from what I was used to but fantastic just the same. During my 13 months in this role, I relieved for two to three month stints in Branch Manager roles, which gave me heaps of experience and allowed me to focus on my future career path.

My current position is Assistant Manager Sales Support for an Area office. In this job I use the skills I learnt in branches but in a different way. My role focuses on branch visitations and following up on any issues found, which can be anything from Audit requirements to Occupational Health & Safety issues.

What have been your career highlights to date?

What have been your career highlights to date?

Definitely my first promotion to Assistant Branch Manager, as it provided me with so many experiences and a great grounding for my future career.

What did a typical day involve as Assistant Branch Manager?

The fun began at 9.30am when the doors opened!

Besides completing my own responsibilities, such as processing commercial bills and large term deposits, throughout the day I took on the role of first reference point for staff. I also made time to talk to staff about sales techniques and performance.

At 4.00pm the doors closed and I checked that all work was completed and ready for the mailbag. This was usually when staff came to ask more difficult questions that we didn't have time to cover during the day. During this time the Manager collected sales results for the day and congratulated achievers.

At around 5pm it was time to say goodbye and inspect the branch to make sure all cupboards were locked and no confidential information was left out.

Apply

Find out **How to Apply** for the Customer Service Division Graduate Program.

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Australian Financial Services

Name: Angelique Papaioannou

Business Unit: Australian Financial Services (AFS)

Degree: Bachelor of Commerce, majoring in Marketing and Human Resource Management - University of NSW.

Why did you choose the Commonwealth Bank Group?

I knew that I'd be proud to work for such a large, successful, Australian-owned organisation that sets the standard in financial services and would provide me with challenging career opportunities. Also, I've been a Commonwealth Bank customer since the age of four and a shareholder for many years. Becoming an employee seemed like a natural next step.

Where have you worked since joining the Group?

I'm on the AFS Graduate Development Program, which is a sixteen-month program that offers the opportunity to work in a number of different areas within AFS. My first placement was in the Cards & Financing Products area, where I was introduced to the asset/lending side of the Group. I was involved in marketing campaigns, customer service and strategic work.

For the past few months I've been working in Savings and Investment Products where I've been exposed to the Group's liability products, with a focus on business accounts.

My next placement will be in the Youth Segment of the Personal Customers area and my final placement will be Marketing Communications in the Brand, Marketing and Information Management area.

What have been your career highlights to date?

At the Graduate Welcome Breakfast in March 2000 I sat next to David Murray, our Managing Director and CEO, and had the opportunity to speak with him.

Other highlights have included attending 'Strategy Days', which are very interactive, informative and enjoyable. I've also

undertaken internal training courses in Effective Leadership,
Project Management and computer skills. I have been able to
directly apply what I've learnt back in my workplace.

What does a typical day involve?

The great thing about AFS is that there is no typical day! Every
area involves different types of work with many different
people. The only typical activities are common things like
checking your internal mail, responding to email, answering
phone calls, dealing with queries and watching CBA-TV.

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Institutional Banking

Name: David Stefanoff

Business Unit: Institutional Banking (IB)

Degree: Bachelor of Commerce & Bachelor of Economics - Australian National University. Currently completing Graduate Diploma in Corporate Finance and Investments - SIA.

Why did you choose the Commonwealth Bank Group?

I was attracted by the Commonwealth Bank's reputation as one of the strongest and most successful public companies in Australia, as well as the leadership the Group has shown in the area of electronic commerce, in particular, the success of their online share trading subsidiary, ComSec.

The level of competition facing the Group through the widening of the banking and finance industry has also resulted in exceptional product innovation and a new organisational structure that better reflects customers' needs and focuses on developing employees.

Where have you worked since joining the Group?

I was recruited into Institutional Banking via a direct advertisement for Management Associates within Business Development with a Government focus.

I perform an analytical role within the Government Finance Unit, working with other areas of the Group such as Corporate Finance and Financial Markets to develop ideas and concepts for the Government Team and clients.

I work closely with the Head of Government Finance who has overall accountability for Government clients Australia wide. Daily exposure to the dealings and issues facing senior level staff provides a good balance between critical short-term tasks and a focus on the longer-term strategy of the Business Unit.

What have been your career highlights to date?

Working with the Head of Institutional Banking to prepare a

presentation that was delivered to the Head of every
Commonwealth Government Agency at their annual retreat.

What does a typical day involve?

First thing in the morning I respond to emails and read
government media releases from the daily newspapers. Then I
review my current projects and liaise with other Associates in
preparing project briefings and continuing project development.
Before lunch I discuss projects with the relevant project Team
Leader.

The afternoon is usually taken up with further project
development through client meetings, brainstorming sessions
and developing pitches.

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Technology, Operations and Property

Name: Sarah Tay,

Business Unit: Technology, Operations and Property (TOP)

Degree: Bachelor of Economics and a Bachelor of Science degree - Australian National University.

Why did you choose the Commonwealth Group?

After University, I headed overseas for a twelve month working holiday. When I returned home, reality hit that it was time to get serious and start my career. The TOP Graduate Program caught my eye as very interesting and professional. Although I applied for several graduate positions, it was the Commonwealth Bank position I wanted most. To my surprise I made it through the selection process!

Where have you worked since joining the Group?

Initially I was placed in the Fraud & Investigations area, which quickly opened my naive eyes. My role was diverse and included participation in various fraud detection and prevention projects. I learnt an enormous amount and I value the time I spent in Frauds.

After 12 months, I was rotated to my current position within Strategy & Performance Improvement. I assist with data gathering, analysis and development of staffing workload models for the Group's central processing sites. The diversity of work has allowed me to develop skills in all areas, especially analytical skills and the ability to work in a team environment. Again, I was fortunate to be placed in a great team.

I am very fortunate to be part of such a professional Graduate Program within a leading organisation that is dedicated to learning and encourages personal development.

What have been your career highlights to date?

Obtaining my first promotion within the Group was definitely a highlight. Also, assisting in the detection and apprehension of 'fraudsters' was always extremely satisfying.

What does a typical day involve?

Luckily, I'm not able to define a 'typical' day as every day differs from the next.

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Financial & Risk Management

Name: Wendy Yip

Business Unit: Financial & Risk Management (FRM)

Degree: Bachelor of Commerce majoring in Accounting (Hons) and Finance - University of New South Wales. Postgraduate Diploma in Finance - University of Melbourne.

Why did you choose the Commonwealth Bank Group?

When I graduated my goal was to work for an organisation that would help me develop specialist knowledge, as well as interpersonal and management skills. As a leader in the Australian financial services industry, the Commonwealth Bank has given me the opportunities to achieve this goal. The structure of the FRM Graduate Program was also very appealing as it gave me rotational placements in different areas of FRM.

Where have you worked since joining the Group?

During the 18-month program I performed a variety of tasks including:

- conducting monthly accounting for a portfolio of the Group's subsidiary companies
- coordinating financial information for the Group's annual report and profit announcement
- preparing budgets and forecasts for Business Units and projects in FRM
- assisting in preparing monthly financial reporting of projects
- Systems Analyst on the Group's Profitability Project.

My last rotation was to Capital Attribution and Shareholder Value. This area is responsible for the integrated risk management framework that measures risk, allocating risk adjusted capital and measuring risk adjusted returns, as well as

analysing shareholder value of the Group. I was responsible for calculating credit risk capital each month and providing analysis and results to management as well as other divisions.

In September 2000 I was promoted to my current position, Analyst, Capital Attribution. In this role I prepare and analyse capital allocation to products, customer segments and channels.

What have been your career highlights to date?

There have been so many! I've had the opportunity to work in diverse and challenging roles with experienced and friendly people, from whom I have learnt a lot. Teamwork and knowledge sharing is very important here and everyone's contribution is valued - even new graduates!

Another highlight was designing the winning logo that represents the FRM Social Club!

What does a typical day involve?

There is no typical day, but there are several key ingredients:

- interactions with internal customers
- different and challenging tasks
- teamwork.

Each day I face new challenges, which is why I never feel bored!

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Group Human Resources

Name: Tim Collins

Business Unit: Group Human Resources

Degree: Bachelor of Science (Psychology) - University of New South Wales.

Why did you choose the Commonwealth Bank Group?

I wanted to apply the knowledge and analytical skills I'd gained through my university studies to the world of business. This led me to pursue a career in human resources. The Commonwealth Bank seemed an ideal place to start, given the wide range of opportunities available.

Where have you worked since joining the Group?

My first placement was with the Executive Development section of Group Human Resources. This role involved working on a variety of projects, such as researching best practice models of high potential staff development and developing corporate policies for succession planning. I was also responsible for the operation and maintenance of the Group's executive succession planning database. This role was a great introduction to human resources and the Group's various divisions.

In early 1998 I was promoted to Research Analyst in the Human Resource Research team. Over the following six months I further developed my communication and data analysis skills through collection, analysis and dissemination of key workforce information for reporting to the Board of Directors and senior management. I also gained some handy computer spreadsheet skills.

Following a restructure, I moved into my current role in Leadership, Systems and Research. The focus of my work is the research, design and implementation of best practice people management systems, such as recruitment and organisational structure. Exposure to the latest research, involvement in key policy development and regular contact with the Group's business units are all key aspects of my role.

What have been your career highlights to date?

I have particularly enjoyed conducting focus group research with Group employees around Australia on their perceptions of structure, career and pay issues. I find it very rewarding translating organisational design and leadership theory into workable policy and procedures and having real input into people management systems that support the strategic direction of a large, successful Australian company.

What does a typical day involve?

The variety of areas my role encompasses means there is no such thing as a typical day. Some of the activities I am regularly involved with include the following:

- skimming the headlines of the Financial Review and other papers
- reading and responding to emails
- attending team meetings where I hear and contribute project progress reports
- attending internal staff development seminars
- meeting with HR managers from other business units to develop corporate HR policies and procedures
- researching HR issues, policies and procedures and their relevance to the Group.

Apply

Find out **How to Apply** for the Group Human Resources Graduate Program.

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GKN PLC INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME 2001

THINK BIGGER

Think of a company that operates in more than 40 countries around the world and employs over 57,000 people in its subsidiaries and joint ventures.

Think of a company whose 3 main businesses are leaders in their respective markets.

Think of a company that allows you to train and work overseas, that's keen for you to challenge and be challenged and that encourages you to think bigger.

Think of a global industrial company committed to growth. Think bigger. Think GKN

GKN's distinctive mix of businesses and global spread has enabled us to enjoy six consecutive years of record results. A succession of acquisitions, strategic alliances, contract wins, new products and new markets has helped us to go from strength to strength.

We operate in three key markets: automotive, industrial services and aerospace.

In Automotive systems, GKN is a leading, global supplier to the world's manufacturers of cars, light commercial vehicles, trucks and off-highway vehicles. We are the world's number one supplier of constant velocity jointed halfshafts with a 39% share of the global market in this key component fitted to 85% of cars and light commercial vehicles. And following a series of acquisitions during 1997, 1998 and 1999, GKN has also become the world leader in powder metallurgy — a technology that is increasingly important to the automotive industries.

GKN has four Industrial Services businesses — CHEP, CLEANAWAY, Interlake Material Handling and Meineke. The largest of these is CHEP, the world's pioneer and leader in the provision of services for pallets, automotive crates and containers. CLEANAWAY is one of Europe's leading companies in waste management and recycling, with extensive interests in the UK and Germany. Interlake designs, manufactures and sells racking for pallets and containers and Meineke is a US-based car exhaust franchise. (CLEANAWAY, CHEP Europe and CHEP Americas are 50:50 joint ventures with Brambles Industries of Australia.)

In Aerospace, which is one of the Group's growth businesses, a series of acquisitions has seen us develop into an international supplier of structures and components to the world's leading aircraft and aero-engine manufacturers. We design and supply airframes, nacelles and components for civil and military aircraft. We are also one of the world's leading helicopter manufacturers.

The GKN International Leadership Development Programme serves our Automotive and Aerospace divisions and you can read more about these on pages 8 to 11.

What is it like to work for GKN?

All of us who work for GKN share the same ideals — to produce the best products and deliver the best performance for our customers. We believe in values that will never go out of fashion — integrity, commitment to quality, concern for our customers, our people and the communities in which we operate. And because we're a dynamic and fast growing company, we also pride ourselves on the new values of entrepreneurship, empowerment and innovation.

It's a challenging and tough environment — yet rewarding and exciting too. Few companies today can offer opportunities on the same scale. Opportunities to join a business that is growing fast and strongly — and to play a leading role in taking it there. We're looking for people who thrive in this type of environment to join us. We're looking for people who think bigger.

Our challenge

We already employ 40,700 people in our subsidiaries and 16,700 in our joint ventures, yet our biggest challenge is to find the right people to help us keep our leading market positions. Interested? Then read on...

Marc Gabriel

Matthew Bradley

Hugh Wells

Think of a company that welcomes initiative and imagination, that encourages you to stretch and grow and make a difference

People are individuals. That's why your development, your career path and your time on our International Leadership Development Programme will be unique to you.

In the past, we've run a highly successful UK graduate development programme (that's why all the people you'll see featured in this brochure are UK nationals). Now, fuelled by our strong growth internationally, we're moving to a high potential development programme that focuses on Europe and the US.

You'll join one of the two legs of our Programme — engineering or commercial. We need people who have the potential to be leaders in each of these areas, from the continually evolving and challenging world of engineering, through the demand for commercial, communication and people skills. You can expect at least one of your placements to be outside your home country, in one of the Group's operations in Europe, the Americas or Asia.

The essence of the International Leadership Development Programme is supported, self-managed development. From the moment you join, you've got a real job in a real world — and you'll be taking on a live, challenging project in one of our businesses.

During your time on the Programme, you will take on up to four 4-6 month placements — the key to your personal and professional development. Each one will differ in content and location and will cover a wide range of engineering and commercial issues. We approach each placement individually; carefully planning the best option to meet your development needs, enabling you to demonstrate your skills and ability, motivation and commitment and make a measurable impact on the company's bottom line. Each placement will be discussed carefully with you and will be designed to give you maximum exposure to the diversity of the Group.

We'll guide and support you all the way. We'll allocate you a Development Manager to help plan and guide your personal and professional development. You'll also have a mentor trained to listen and help you throughout the Programme. Most important of all will be your own input. It's your career — and it will be you who drives it.

You'll complete the Programme in your own time. Typically this will mean moving into your permanent role within the first two years of joining — exactly when will depend on the placements you have undertaken, your aptitude and the right job opportunity. Just because you've left the International Leadership Development Programme doesn't mean our involvement with you ends there. We'll work closely with you, your mentor and your new management over the next couple of years to continue to move your career in the right direction.

Think of a company in 40 countries around the world, where global is local, and where the language you speak may not be your own

GKN is a global company, operating in more than 40 countries across the world. Most of GKN's manufacturing operations are in Europe and North America, with increasing numbers elsewhere. We need a growing number of managers and specialists who can work across country boundaries, as part of international teams, and lead the development of our businesses and markets all around the world.

When you join the GKN International Leadership Development Programme, broadening your horizons by working in another country will be a key part of your development. You will be part of an international development programme in which at least one of your assignments will be outside your home country.

During the first year of the Programme, we'll train you to speak another language. And if you already speak more than one language, here's your opportunity to learn another! You'll also take part in a programme of cross-cultural development, learning about the customs and cultures of different nationalities, working in international teams across international boundaries. Then you'll take up a six-month project in one of our operations. This may be in a country that will consolidate your language learning, or elsewhere. At least one-third of Programme members undertake two international placements — depending on individual circumstances and the needs of the business.

Whether it's in Germany, Thailand or Mexico, you'll get invaluable experience in the customs and demands of different markets, and develop your cross-cultural understanding as you live and work in another country, building an early foundation for an international career. You'll find it demanding — and stimulating. And you'll probably surprise yourself by how much you can achieve and the impact you can make.

In fact, about one in four of the people on our Programme took up their first post-Programme appointment outside their home country. So, dig out your passport!

Think of a company's

products and power

"Through the skills I've developed on the Programme, I now have the opportunity to work almost anywhere in the world. I was fluent in four European languages so I learned Mandarin Chinese on the Programme and wanted to move into one of GKN's Asian businesses. After a placement in Thailand, I spent a year at GKN's Corporate Centre in purchasing, and decided to move into that field. I'm now enjoying a three year secondment handling purchasing decisions for GKN Driveshafts Thailand."

"Travel was a huge incentive for me. I wanted to use my German and learn Italian and I've been lucky to have placements in both Germany and Italy. I've now moved from commercial engineering into a strategic business role and I am enjoying the pace, dynamics and excitement of the internet world and its new business opportunities. To get the most from the Programme you have to keep pushing yourself onto new things, be proactive and enthusiastic."

Think of a company that's number one in both driveline products and powder metallurgy

What can you expect if you join one of our automotive businesses? A strong focus on operational excellence, continuous improvement, new products, new ventures and new contracts. A commitment to people and to our customers — and a world class reputation for technical innovation.

The chances are that the car you drive has a part designed and produced by us. Our largest market is driveline systems, where our Automotive Driveline Division (ADD) is the world leader. Applying innovative design to our existing engineering expertise has given us 39% of the global market for constant velocity (CV) jointed halfshafts. This key component is fitted in 85% of modern cars and light commercial vehicles giving improved ride comfort and better handling. ADD is growing fast with manufacturing operations in 31 facilities in Europe, North and South America and Asia, plus 12 joint ventures mainly in emerging markets.

GKN Sinter Metals — one of our fastest growing companies and the world's largest supplier of powdered metal components. This is a technology that is becoming increasingly important as powdered metal components replace cast and forged structural parts in the automotive and other industries.

GKN OffHighway Systems serves industries involved in moving and cultivating the Earth's surface — like agriculture, forestry, construction and mining. We design and produce a range of components and systems, including power take-off shafts, gearboxes, clutches and wheel cabs. From wheels for Paris Metro trains to cabs for earthmovers, OffHighway Systems has manufacturing operations in Europe and North America.

GKN AutoComponents produces chassis frames and underbody members.

Suppliers like GKN have to be able to deliver globally, working in multi-functional teams, across companies and cultures. It's a challenge many will strive for but few will meet. Could you?

Think of...
techni...
world...

"I currently manage the accounts of our Japanese customers and some new business opportunities. I was attracted to GKN by its market leadership which I wanted to be part of and the mentoring system gave me confidence that I would have support when needed. For me there's been endless variety for example, a spell last year in Barcelona has inspired me to try new things, meet new people and be open to different ways of working and living all fundamental to my current job."

Think of a company whose engineering expertise and technical crafting has given it a leadership role in the world's aerospace structures and components industry

We have a strong reputation in the aerospace industry, backed by a strong order book and leading edge technology — and we aim to keep it that way.

GKN Aerospace is one of our growth businesses, designing and producing aircraft structures and components in carbon fibre, reinforced plastics and titanium. We have a major presence in airframe structures and transparencies (such as cockpit canopies) and we're a major supplier to the aero-engines market.
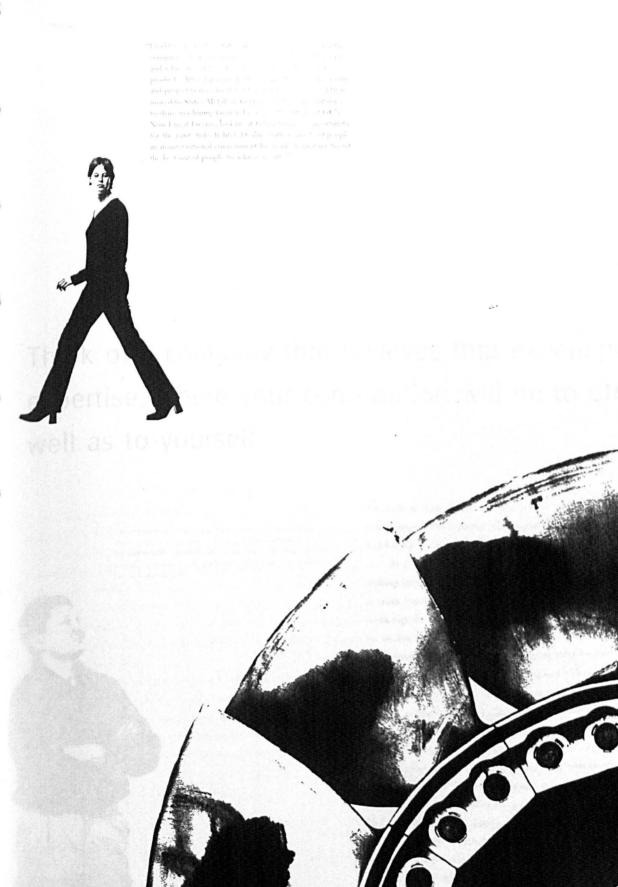
GKN Aerospace, with operations in the UK, continental Europe and the US, is rapidly emerging as a first tier supplier to the world's aircraft and engine manufacturers.

GKN Westland Helicopters is the UK's only helicopter designer, manufacturer and systems integrator, and one of the world's leading helicopter prime contractors, with a £3 billion order book based on the EH101, the Apache and the Lynx. We're now bringing our highly specialised and sophisticated helicopter activities together with those of Agusta of Italy in a joint venture announced in July 2000.

In March 2000, GKN launched a new business — 'Engage', to develop and manage engineering support services. GKN's entrepreneurial spirit and innovative approach are central to its business.

The aerospace industry is one that is rapidly consolidating with fewer, larger players as it becomes increasingly global. The impact on the market is that prime contractors are seeking partnerships with fewer, stronger suppliers like GKN, who can offer total support in design, development and manufacture.

It's a business that demands the very best. In all of these areas we're looking for people who can rise to the challenge of satisfying the technical and commercial demands of our customers.

Think of a company that believes that experience creates expertise, where your contribution will be to others as well as to yourself

Throughout your career the approach we want you to take is one of supported self-managed development. This begins from the moment you join the International Leadership Development Programme.

At GKN, we want you to explore all the opportunities we offer before making up your mind. So we don't select you for any one division or company or push you into a particular job when you join us. We believe that we should work together to ensure that you choose the job that's right for you as well as for us. You might start on a technical project, say, looking at design improvements to composite discs in one division, opting next for something in a manufacturing environment, in another, introducing a newly developed powder feeding system into production. Next, it could be in another country, improving manufacturing systems and processes in a plant and then on elsewhere for a stint as the leader of a project team responsible for design and manufacture of an aerospace component. This is the path followed by one of our recent engineering graduates. Each person's experience is different, using what needs to be done in a business to meet individual development goals. It's all part of our aim to ensure that you develop quickly and experience a variety of roles, responsibilities, challenges and cultures before focusing on your chosen area.

You will put together a personal development plan, which will be regularly reviewed with development managers, your placement supervisors and your mentor to make sure that you are getting the personal and professional development you need.

The only choice you have to make is whether to join the Programme's engineering or commercial stream. Whichever you choose, you'll be learning with us from the day you start — through the projects you undertake and through training in a language, cross-cultural awareness, communication, project management and business skills — all you need to start building a career as a senior manager in our global organisation.

Thinking of joining a company where you
be an individual, encouraged
challenge and make a real di

It's not hard for a successful company to recruit people with potential. The
challenge is to realise and develop that potential. At GKN we take an active
interest in you as an individual. We follow your progress, using mentors to guide
and support you and actively promoting opportunities for you so that you can
perform well. What's in it for us? As a business, we recover the investment we've
made in you, as you contribute to our success. What's in it for you? Performance
creates opportunities and opportunities develop careers. Quite simply, you
develop your career — and yourself — within a forward thinking, challenging,
successful global company.

We select people we know are going to take leading roles in the organisation
and we're confident that the right opportunity for each individual will present
itself. Most of the graduates appearing in this brochure did not join to take
up the particular position they now hold, or are working towards. Each
progressively focused his or her development to lead in their chosen direction.

Thinking of joining a company where you will always be an individual, encouraged to stretch and grow, to challenge and make a real difference?

What are we looking for?

As you can see from our International Leadership Development Programme, we're looking for people who are highly motivated, enthusiastic and adaptable, and who learn fast. The essence of our approach is to create an intensive period of learning through a variety of short, challenging projects.

The projects are real jobs. So, we're looking for achievers, people who are determined to succeed, who are ready to take responsibility, and who want to get results and make a contribution.

We want people with the potential to develop into leaders in our business innovative, entrepreneurial, organised and able to work well with others, leading teams and happy and effective within a team.
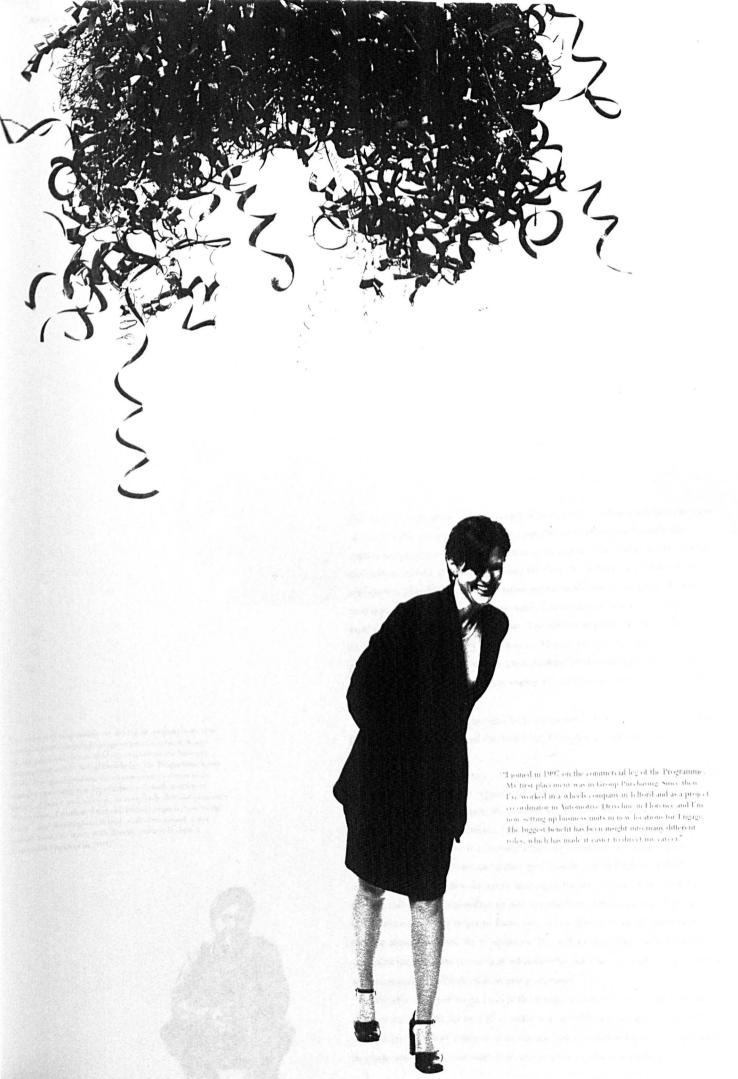
What sort of degree will you have.

We recruit from the following degree disciplines.

For Engineering places: mechanical, manufacturing/industrial, aeronautical/aerospace, automotive or materials engineering or any of these with a language or management/business studies.

For Commercial places: any engineering degree or a business studies/management degree, especially with a language or international component.

While we take an international approach to your development, inevitably English is a common language across many boundaries. So you will need to have a good working knowledge of English if it is not your first language.

"I joined in 1997 on the commercial leg of the Programme.
My first placement was in Group Purchasing. Since then
I've worked in a wheels company in Telford and as a project
co-ordinator in Automotive Driveline in Florence and I'm
now setting up business units in new locations for Engage.
The biggest benefit has been insight into many different
roles, which has made it easier to direct my career."

"I'm currently responsible for driving all company wide cost saving activities through design or process related changes to our products. It's an ideal opportunity to use both my commercial and technical knowledge. The Programme is one of the few good graduate development programmes in the country providing real opportunities to work at different places, at home and overseas, on completely different projects. Where have I worked? Lichfield, Wolverhampton, New Delhi, Paris and Birmingham! Whilst on the Programme I also gained Associate status with IMechE and will become a Chartered Engineer in 2001."

The easiest and fastest way to apply is through our on-line application process on our website www.graduate.gknplc.com. We've worked hard to make the application process as quick and efficient as we can for you. Simply move through the on-line screens, page by page, using the drop down boxes and submit your application. We will allocate you a password to enable you to return to the site to complete your application on any number of occasions. This way we'll get your application immediately and we'll be able to respond rapidly. We have no deadlines but if you apply early, you could pass through the whole selection process and have a decision within a few months. Once your application has been individually reviewed by one of our managers, we'll get back to you very quickly with a decision.

If, for any reason, you are unable to access our website, there is an application form inside the back cover of this brochure. Complete it and return it to the address on the form.

After the application stage, the second step is a preliminary interview, usually at your university or in that region, and following this you may then be invited to one of our selection centres. We hold these events in November and December each year, with others in January, February and March, and later, as necessary.

The selection centre is a one and a half day event in your home country, involving a mix of exercises and ability tests (conducted in English) and an interview (conducted in your native language). We try to make these events as friendly and relaxed as possible, to give you the best chance to get to know us and us the best chance to get to know you. It also gives you ample opportunity to learn about GKN and the Programme. We will let you know our decision a few days after the selection centre, and whatever the outcome, we will give you honest and constructive feedback on how you performed.

We also want you to go away with enough information to be able to decide whether we are right for you. If we make you an offer and you accept, we will ask you to come in before you join us to discuss your initial development, to consider language options and your start date, and to choose your first project.
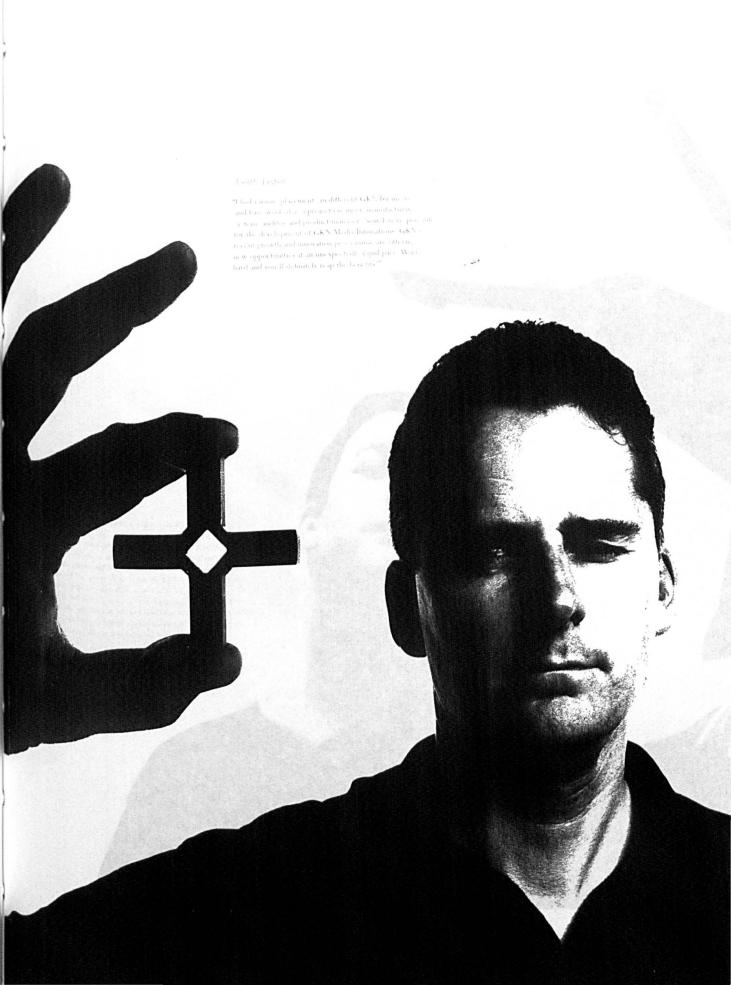
If you have any questions about the Programme, how to apply, the selection process, or anything else, please talk to us.
We are very happy to take you through anything you are not clear about and to help you make the right choices.

Ralph Frith

"I hadn't really identified which industry to select for an engineering career. GKN offered me the chance to move between different sectors to establish this. After leaving the Programme in 1996, I joined GKN Westland Helicopters and became Aircraft Manager responsible for one of the assembly cells for the EH101 helicopter. I then moved to Procurement, responsible for all purchasing tasks for the Super Lynx 300. I am currently responsible for the submission and pre-contract management of EH101 aircraft bids to potential customers. GKN has recognised my potential and is helping me fulfil my aspirations."

"I joined the Programme with a first placement in Automotive Driveline in 1996 and then moved to Helicopters in the UK and Italy. Eighteen months after leaving the Programme, I was given responsibility for a multi million pound cell, and now have total responsibility for all helicopter production work at Cowes, largely due to the training and opportunities that GKN and the Programme have given me. One of the strongest points of the Programme is the mix of ideas, learning and people across the company."

In all of this, it's our people who make the difference, not being afraid of finding new ways of doing things, learning from each other and turning ideas into action fast. That's why we place the highest priority on the personal and professional development of our people. At GKN we don't just develop your professional skills, we encourage you to grow as an individual too.
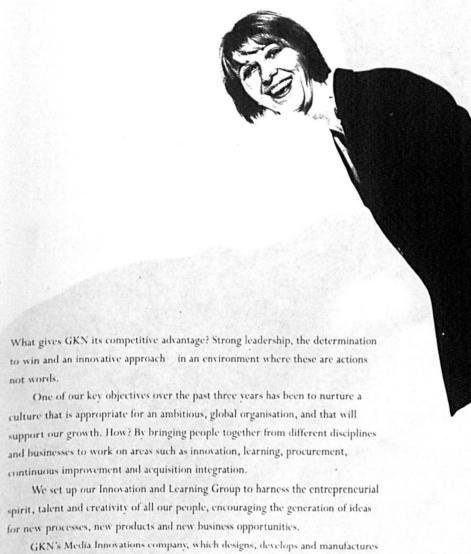
Our International Leadership Development Programme is a partnership between you and GKN. We know that by providing a stimulating, challenging and supportive environment, you will develop your skills and qualities to become a future leader in our business. After all, your growth is our growth.
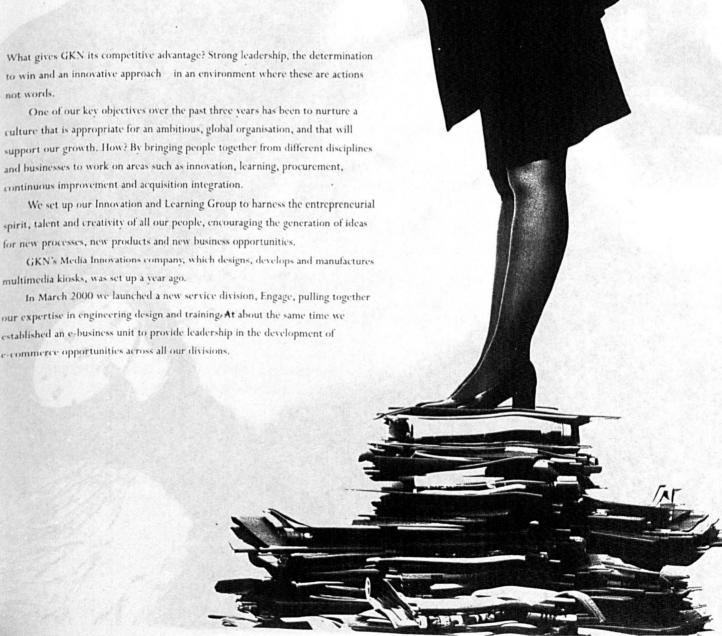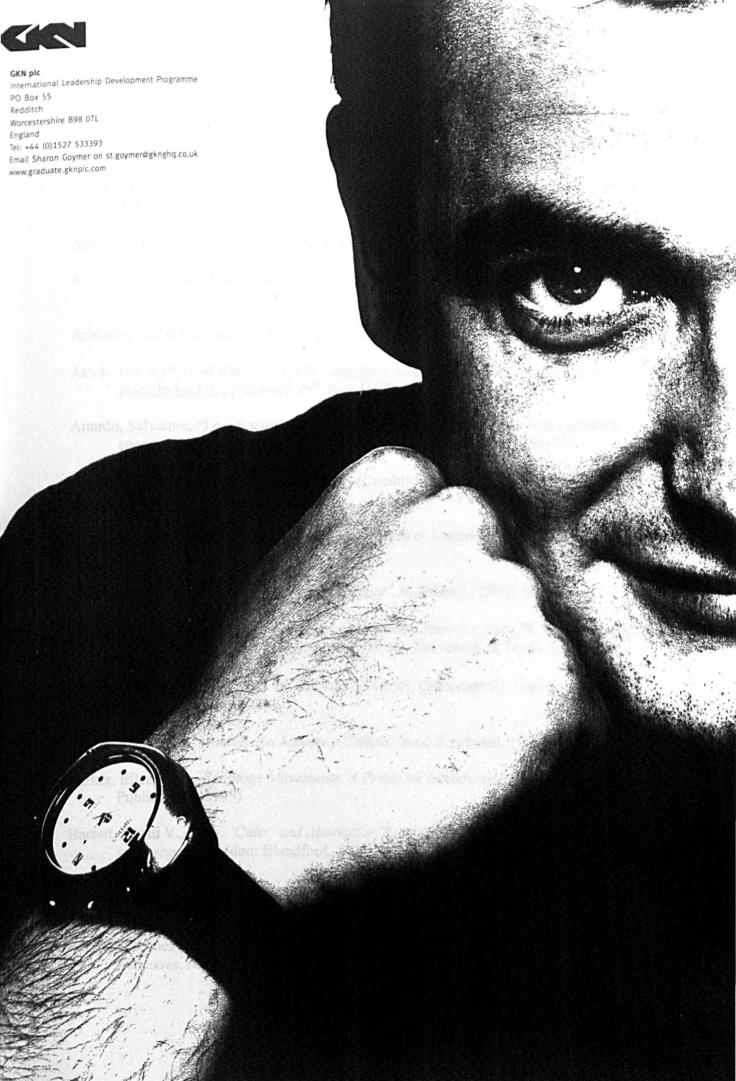
Jenny Smith

"The GKN International Leadership Development Programme is
a great stepping stone to unlimited career opportunities. My first
role was development metallurgist at GKN Technology. Then I
progressed to project management and technical marketing before
working with the chief executive to develop strategic plans and
acquisitions for the businesses within GKN Sankey AutoComponents
Division. Now I'm managing our Innovation and Learning scheme
which is all about growth — using web-based technology to gather
and evaluate ideas for new business from around the company."

What gives GKN its competitive advantage? Strong leadership, the determination
to win and an innovative approach — in an environment where these are actions
not words.

One of our key objectives over the past three years has been to nurture a
culture that is appropriate for an ambitious, global organisation, and that will
support our growth. How? By bringing people together from different disciplines
and businesses to work on areas such as innovation, learning, procurement,
continuous improvement and acquisition integration.

We set up our Innovation and Learning Group to harness the entrepreneurial
spirit, talent and creativity of all our people, encouraging the generation of ideas
for new processes, new products and new business opportunities.

GKN's Media Innovations company, which designs, develops and manufactures
multimedia kiosks, was set up a year ago.

In March 2000 we launched a new service division, Engage, pulling together
our expertise in engineering design and training. At about the same time we
established an e-business unit to provide leadership in the development of
e-commerce opportunities across all our divisions.

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