

### 3. CRISIS AND TRANSITION

#### Sources of the crisis

The developments that took place in the ideology and organization of Hubbard's following emerged partly as the resolution of a variety of strains and conflicts in the Dianetics community, which existed between Hubbard and other leaders; between Hubbard's desire for a strong central organization and the amateur groups keen to retain their independence; and between Hubbard and other innovators of theory and practice. They were also, in some measure, a response to external vicissitudes: a hostile environment, and a declining market.

The break between Hubbard and Purcell was the culmination of a series of strains in their relationship and even earlier difficulties with other coleaders of the movement. Ninter, for example, had broken with Hubbard over a number of issues, of which the financial precariousness of the Elizabeth Foundation was only one. Firstly, Winter found

a difference between the ideals inherent within the dianetic hypothesis and the actions of the Foundation in its ostensible efforts to carry out these ideals. The ideals of dianetics, as I saw them, included non-authoritarianism and a flexibility of approach; they did not exclude the realization that this hypothesis might not be absolutely perfect. The ideals of dianetics continued to be given lip-service, but I could see a definite disparity between ideals and actualities.'

He had growing doubts about the possibility of achieving the state of 'clear', and was concerned at the extent to which the effects of Dianetic therapy were simply the results of suggestion. He felt that the effect of the techniques might not always be beneficial to the pre-clear, and that it might sometimes be positively dangerous in the hands of poorly trained auditors without adequate medical knowledge. The increasing disparagement of 'the medical profession and the efforts of previous workers in the field of mental health' disturbed him, as well as the absence of scientific research for the purpose of which the Foundation had supposedly been established.<sup>1</sup> The research which was being conducted was

<sup>1</sup>Joseph A. Winter, A Doctor's report on Dianetics: theory and therapy (Julian Press, New York, 1954), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 40-78

'THE CULT A-D ITS TRANSFORMATION:" directed to 'investigating the possible therapeutic benefits of "recalling" the circumstances of deaths in previous incarnations'<sup>1</sup> and Winter did not regard this as likely to result in acceptance by the medical profession. Finally, he objected to the uncontrolled administration of a vitamin and glutamic acid compound known as 'Guk', as an aid to therapy.<sup>2</sup> His protests concerning these matters met with sharp rebuff 'and I was led to infer that I was acting as a deterrent to the progress of the Foundation'.<sup>3</sup> Winter resigned from the Foundation and established a private psychotherapy practice in Manhattan where he combined Dianetics with psychoanalysis and General Semantics.<sup>4</sup> In due course, Dianetics dropped from his practice.<sup>5</sup>

John W. Campbell in retrospect also criticized the increasing

dogmatism and authoritarianism of Hubbard. The relationship between Hubbard and Purcell followed a similar pattern. After a short period of co-operation, Hubbard began to feel that Purcell was constraining his control over the development of dianetics. Purcell attempted to establish the Foundation on a sound business footing, but Hubbard rapidly began generating new techniques faster than students could be trained in them. More money was being spent than was being earned as experimentation continued with vitamin compounds and later started with electropsychometers.

When Purcell insisted that expenditure be reduced to meet income, Hubbard began initiating independent fund-raising schemes<sup>7</sup> which were a source of embarrassment to other foundation directors, and a source of further expense.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Hubbard insisted on pursuing the matter of past-lives in spite of the protests of other leaders of the Dianetics movement, including Purcell.<sup>9</sup>

Ibid, p. 189. <sup>3</sup> On 'Guk', see L. Ron Hubbard, *Science of Survival*, 1, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Winter, op. cit., p. 40. <sup>4</sup> 'Departure in dianetics', *Time*, 58, 10 (3 September 1951), p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> See his later book: Joseph A. Winter, *Are Your Troubles Psychosomatic?* (Messner, New York, 1952).

<sup>6</sup> Letter in *Life* Arc Light, 25 (May 1952), pp. 6-8.

<sup>7</sup> Such as the Allied Scientists of the World, discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of Don Purcell, 19 April 1952 in *The Dianetics* 1, 21 (April 1952); Letter of Don Purcell, 21 May 1952 in *The Dianetics* 1, 22 (31 May 1952), pp. 9-12; 'Foundation Story', *Dianetics Today*, 3, 1 (January 1954), pp. 1-3; interviews with leaders of the Dianetic movement.

<sup>9</sup> A footnote in *Science of Survival* indicates that past-lives had been an early source of strain:

'The subject of past deaths and past lives is so full of tension that as early as last July (1950) the board of trustees of the Foundation sought to pass a resolution banning the entire subject. And I have been many times requested to omit any reference to these in the present work or in public for fear that a general impression would get out that Dianetics had something to do with spiritualism.' (*Science of Survival* I, footnote, p. 61).

r. secure sole authority:

Ron's motive has always been to limit Dianetics to the Authority of his teachings. Anyone who has the authority to suggest that others besides Ron could contribute creatively to the work must be inhibited.

In the later bankruptcy action, it was alleged that:

...Hubbard completely dominated the affairs of the corporation and dominated the meetings of the Board of Directors to such an extent that only those matters which he approved were discussed at

the Directors' meetings and other matters were not considered. During such periods of time, said Hubbard exercised complete control over the employees of the bankrupt, to the extent that from time to time he countermanded the orders of the other officers and directors and ran the business of the bankrupt according to his own whim and choosing.

By the time this action took place, it was clear to Hubbard that any future organization would have to be based on his sole leadership.

While Hubbard was facing challenges to his authority at the centre of the movement in the Foundations, challenges were also appearing from the grass roots. These took a number of forms.

The dispersed amateur groups which formed the main active body of support for Dianetics exhibited a considerable independence. They tended to view with suspicion attempts to create more than a loose central organization and the possibility of the infringement of their autonomy. The attitude most prominent in the publications was one of independent, democratic individualism. One description of the movement by a Dianeticist represented it as:

processing of ordinary cases by ordinary people. It means ordinary people getting together for study and practice. It means little groups of dianeticists up and down the country.:

While others saw Dianetics as moving towards a professional rather than an amateur basis they retained a preference for a democratic form of organization. When Dianeticists proposed to set up a national organization in Britain, three possible models were envisaged.

. There might be one central organisation, tending to paternal authoritarianism,

with individual auditor relatively unqualified...

2. A state of affairs might be reached in which individual members would be sufficiently highly qualified to be able to look after themselves legally, professionally, etc. and so need from the central organisation the minimum of Dianetics today, 3, 1 (January 195.). r Hubbard Dianetic Foundation Inc. re Bankruptcy Jo. 37g-B-z, District Court of the United States for the District of Kansas. r 'the Dianeticist, I (April 1952), p 3. authority compatible with the maintenance of those standards which the individual members would eventually be adopting. Thus Dianetic would be safeguarded from exploitation by any biased section by ensuring the competence of each individual auditor, so ensuring maximum individual freedom. g. Or there might be a central organisation whose functions were so limited that it could not claim the authority to take much responsibility, with individual members and local groups left largely autonomous to feel their own way towards the sort of standards which will eventually become necessary if they are to have safety as well as freedom as dianeticists.

Model one was totally rejected, and while model two was seen as the form of organization towards which Dianetics would eventually move, three was seen as the only viable interim form of organization. The Dianetic Federation of Great Britain followed such a model, with no

control over affiliated groups, and little responsibility beyond the circulation of information.

Hostility was frequently expressed in the independent Dianetics literature for 'authorities' of any kind:

In working with advanced cases we have discovered much that is not in accordance with Hubbard's teachings. For example, reality. There is only one reality for each of us and we destroy it by accepting the realities of others...Dianetics is Hubbard's reality. Christianity is Jesus' reality, Theosophy is Blavatsky's reality, etc. All of these must be given up before a person can go optimum. In a healthy and growing science, there are many men who are recognised as being reality. Christianity is Jesus' reality, Theosophy is Blavatsky's reality, etc. All of these must be given up before a person can go optimum.' In a healthy and growing science, there are many men who are recognised as being competent in the field, and no one man dominates the work [...]. To the extent dianetics is dependent on one man, it is a cult. To the extent it is built by many minds and many workers, it is a science.

As early as mid 1951, at the time of the much publicized divorce case between Hubbard and his second wife, Sara, it was argued that the movement could well proceed without Ron Hubbard:

...Dianetics no longer revolves wholly around Hubbard. He developed it, and gave it to the world and the world has taken it and gone on from there. Other groups besides the Foundation are carrying on research and processing. As for the Hubbard affair, we dianeticists do not have to either explain or deny it. Dianetics does not depend on their actions and if they choose to disqualify themselves as leaders, we now have others.'

On the occasion of the split between Hubbard and the Wichita Foundation, a section of the movement took the view that there was no reason to identify Dianetics with Hubbard, and that as....

' Letter from Secretary, Dianetics Study Group, to Dianeticists n.d. (probably early 1952) . Letter from Jim Welgos, 'The Preclear', 1, 7 (5 June 1952), p 12 Letter from John W. Campbell, 'Arc Light', 25 (1 May 1952), pp 6-8' Dianetos, I, 3 (15 April 1951). Hubbard . .. Hubbard is not the only original thinker in Dianetics many others are thinking and producing ideas, some, elucidations of Hubbard's ideas, some ideas that Hubbard has never mentioned.

Dianetics would progress, they argued, 'with or without Hubbard'.<sup>2</sup> This attitude of independence and individualism led many practitioners to generate new Dianetic techniques and theoretical rationales. Some felt their innovations to be so far reaching as to have become a completely new practice deserving a separate name and recognition, and set up institutes, schools and foundations of their own to propagate the practice. This diversification was deplored by some Dianeticists:

The Dianetic population, though of unknown size, certainly is small compared to the total world population. Even so, there have already appeared many vectors of effort (factions) among this relatively small group. Recriminations, name-calling, denials of others' reality...are a part of the scene. Some of the vectors involved are Kitzelman's Institute of Integration, and Automatic Scan

Clearing; Altman's Examiner Theory and Techniques; Fisher's Integrator Therapy; Taylor's PCMA techniques, Winter's modification of 'classical' (1950) dianetics, Home Work techniques, Hubbard's 1950 theory and techniques, recent developments in theory and technique now coming from Wichita, and many others; the Hubbard Dianetic Foundation, as a commercial institution...HDF as a school; Power's Function Processing; the HDAA-I, a society of professional auditors with their own individually varying attitudes; and all the individuals and groups throughout the country who act to any degree along any of these vectors, or along one of their own S

It was, however, applauded by others:

Each of these cell-divisions accomplished something positive. Hubbard built more wisely than he knew when he insisted on a principle of non-authoritarianism for now

we have dianetics, we have therapy, we have ER, we have Taylor's PCM, we have . . . analytical procedure and nexology, and humanics, and, as an adjunct, gestalt therapy [Etc]. We have all these things and I, for one, believe the whole is worth while. These cell divisions have made possible our survival. More important, they have made our potentialities limitless as compared to those of our cousins, the psycho-analysts because of our essentially non-authoritarianistic structure.'

Such innovators often believed their own developments to have greatly surpassed those of Hubbard:

Dianetas, 1, 22 (31 May 1954) p. 2. Ibid. p. 3. 'Editorial, Dianetics, 1, 5 (December 1953) pp. 2-3. Art Coulter, 'Cell Division and Growth', Dianotes, 3, 34 (July 1954), p 9; for an amusing account of the factionalism in Dianetics, see Vox Populi, 'Origin and development of Psychoreligion', Dianotes, 3, 31 (April 1954), pp. 10-11. . . . we have progressed beyond Dianetics... Now we are promulgating teaching of greater depth, 'Ligetic Psychology... We find agreement with all techniques in part, but it seems that the higher goals produce greater results while admitting their basis in Dianetics: only one third or less of the total process is based on Dianetic Procedure . r

One former Dianeticist who established his own foundation even had the temerity to offer for sale a book entitled Dianetics Perfected. 3 Others, while not extensively developing independent theories and procedures, eclectically combined Hubbardian theory and practice with those of other psychological and philosophical schools: Carbon Dioxide Therapy, 4 New Thought affirmations, 9 nutritional regimes, Orgone Therapy, etc. S

A widely prevailing view was that any theory or technique which could help gain the ends sought through Dianetics should be employed. Thus one Dianetics newsletter editor reviewing a book on Huna (Hawaiian magic), Max Freedom Long's The Secret Science Behind Miracles, suggests:

Open-minded Dianeticists might do well to consider much of this data in the light of blending some of the suggested techniques into our present procedures. If they will simplify and speed up processing, they are well worth a trial. 9

Some practitioners became extremely eclectic, one describing a technique derived from

Krishnamurti, Henshaw Ward, Gestalt Therapy, Analytical Procedure, and some practitioners became extremely eclectic, one describing a technique derived from Krishnamurti, Henshaw Ward, Gestalt Therapy, Analytical Procedure, and

Karen Horney<sup>1</sup>

A few moved towards more occult realms, one group even began delving into alchemy in order to create gold.<sup>11</sup>

For many others, however, the direction in which they wished Dianetics to

John B. Lewis, 'A report on the investigation of dianetic phenomena', the *Arg Light* 15 April 1952), pp. 5-7

James Welgos, *Dianetics Perfected* (Human Engineering Inc, Fairhope, Alabama, 1955)

<sup>1</sup> *Dianotes*, 3, 26 (November 1953). <sup>t</sup> *Dianotes*, 4, 45 (June 1955), p. 6. For example, 'I will not gain (or lose) weight anymore... Food can be fattening or not, as I wish it to be...'

; *Journal of the Association of Dianetic Auditors*, 5 (May 1955).

<sup>1</sup> *The Arlight* (26 January 1952).

5 of 21 professional Dianetic auditors in Southern California in a 1955 Dianetic publication, 14 were listed as practising and offering other techniques as well as Dianetics and Scientology - including General Semantics, Nutritional Therapy, Gestalt Therapy, Psycho-analysis, Rogerian therapy, Concept Therapy, etc. <sup>t</sup> *ADA Bulletin*, 1, 8 (1955), pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> *Dianotes*, 3, 15 (December 1952).

*Dianotes*, 3, 28 (January 1954), p. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Letter in the *Ghost of Scientology*, 3 (April-May 1953), p. 8. proceed, towards a rapprochement with the medical and psychological professions. They viewed Dianetics explicitly as a form of psychotherapy, tending to reject the occult and spiritual aspects of the theory that developed out of the notion of theta, such as past lives, and restricted themselves to the form I practice presented in Hubbard's early Dianetic works. The shift towards more mechanistic procedures of rote processing, on the basis of lists of auditing commands, alienated them further.

Some of those who possessed a model of Dianetics as a therapeutic art advocated the assimilation of elements of orthodox healing theory and practice

...we should not hesitate to carefully examine and integrate into Dianetics, where applicable, any and all of the techniques which are in common use in psychological and psychiatric practice. Certainly these practices work to a certain extent; in so far as they are useful and safe, they will have to be integrated into Dianetics eventually. If they are not, then Dianetics will not

develop into the complete, well-rounded and comprehensive science of the mind that it now potentially is. Finally, a number expressed a commitment to the notion of Dianetics as a science, independent of the medical or psychological professions, but rejecting Hubbard's occult developments.

All such views were reported in the independent Dianetics media. New techniques were presented and new theories discussed with considerable tolerance:

Mr Powers has his ideas about this...others have other ideas .  
..and Dianetics has tolerance:

Mr Powers has his ideas about this...others have other ideas..  
. and Dianetics has room for all.e

The newsletters and bulletins reflect the tolerance and eclecticism of many of their readers and correspondents:

I feel in dianetics we have a segment of the truth...but in order to get this segment of truth in perspective, we need to compare it to other truths. If so indicated, we can then individually decide whether or not we wish to add to the original segment.n

What constituted the truth was held to be an individual affair, up to each member of the Dianetics community to determine. As one E-therapist stressed:

In discussing the psychic aspects of E, I wish to state, first of all, that whatever I may say is only my truth. By this I mean that what may be true for me, may not be true for anyone else in the world.:

Hubbard himself did not view such attitudes and developments favourably. From the time of the Elizabeth Foundation he had called developments of Dianetic techniques that he did not sponsor Black Dianetics 5, and declared

Introductory Bulletin of the Central Pennsylvania Dianetic Group (August 1951), pp 2-3. 'The Dianetic News', 22 (July 1952), p. 10. 'Dianetic Bulletin', 1, 19 (1953), p. 18.

' Dianetic News, 3, 33 (June 1954), p 4

L. Ron Hubbard, Suggested Changes in the Organisation of the Foundation mimeo (Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1950). the mixing of Dianetics with some other therapy to be the source of many problems with students I

A severe challenge to Hubbard's standing in the movement came when independent auditors began to proclaim that they had produced 'clears'. Such auditors were eagerly sought for guidance, training and auditing, and rapidly moved into positions of leadership in the Dianetics community. However, it was one of those declared 'clears', Ronald B. Howes, rather than his auditor, who presented the gravest potential challenge to Hubbard's leadership within the Dianetic community.

Howes was a Dianeticist in Minneapolis. Like many others, he had got into the movement as a result of the article in Astounding. He had

previously been briefly a convert to Catholicism, and was declared clear in January 1952. A close associate at this time described him before he had attained the state of clear, as tending to be a 'promoter with his feet off the ground' and having big ideas which didn't work due to other people's lacks'.

Howes had been audited by a man who had been associated with the Wichita foundation. As a result of processing and conversation with this auditor, Howes went through what appears to have been an intense mystical experience which convinced him and many others that he was clear. Many Dianeticists hurried to Minneapolis to meet him, and later to Colorado Springs where he established the Institute of Humanics. Tape-recordings and transcripts of his conversations with other members of the Minneapolis group, and visitors were widely circulated. They convey an attitude of considerable awe on the part of his associates, who regarded him as capable of displaying miraculous powers: U

nr nnirclllmls nowfrs We have in Ron me validation for me vision of 'Perfect aan' which has haunted mankind through the centuries. Ron will demonstrate the absence of galvanic reflexes to the most extensive and exhaustive questioning, the absence of body tremors or other waste motion such as oculomotor jerks. He will be completely relaxed save for the particular activations required for particular requirements. He can induce cellular proliferation at any point in the body, grow cancerous or other tissue and make it disappear at will. His sleep requirements are reduced to an optimum for him of four hours to five hours per night, with full alertness on awakening. His 'psychic' activities are phenomenal; he can read other's thought-feelings as though they were an open-book.. . His mental calculations are with extreme speed and precision.

He was believed to be engaged on projects such as:

further development of his conquest of gravity and space... explorations into the mechanics and manipulability of life and behaviour towards more optimum human beings and societies.a

I L. Ron Hubbard, 'Instruction Protocol, Official', mimeo (20 November 1950, -r^lizabETH, NewJersey).

' Grace Krausy, ';\leet Mr Ron B. Howes', Dianosis, I, m (May 1952), p. 11.

S Dwight H. Bulkley, 'Introduction' to Gordon Beckstead, ed.. Prologue to Survival, Part III (Psychological Research Foundation, Phoenix, Arizona, 1952) . pronouncements during this period without extensive quotation, but as a sample:

Q. What is your reading speed compared to what it was? A. It is mighty fast and improving steadily every day. I noticed and my wife remarked upon it, that I seemed to be turning the pages about three times as fast. My comprehension of printed material has gone up enormously compared to the past. The most difficult paragraphs in technical reading are very easy now. No confusion, no identity, no failure. My ability to pick out errors in judgement of other people on paper is much higher. Q. How do you find the field of physical chemistry now? A. I have never discovered a cave with aboriginal drawings in it but when I opened my physical chemistry text book I did. The child has more intuitive knowledge about the world than the adult scientist, if the child is reasonably high toned. At one



time I was in that state for a period of approximately two years. There were peaks, of course, and there were valleys. There were moments when I as an individual was higher than I am right now, and certainty was absolute. There were no goals impossible to achieve. I was right. My ability to solve a problem was complete. I could do it. I was me. I was a strong force. My heart sang and the stars were alive and then I went to school it may sound like a jest, but it is not. Our educational system is one of

the finest methods of controlling society of which I know, and the most insidious. Q. Can you be affected by bacteria? A. I still believe there are bacteria which I can't resist, but there must be many

bacteria which I can resist now that I could never resist before. Q. What do you contemplate as your duration of life? A. In chronological years, if my anti-gravity plan works, I would assume approximately another four hundred years. Under present circumstances, one hundred

and a quarter. Q. How much concern have you at this time over income? A.

None of fear, worry, anxiety. All my postulates on losing my job disappeared; about being successful, disappeared. I can do more for any particular person who employs me than any other person possibly could. And I find it very easy to talk them into giving me money if I so desire no difficulty. What experiments have you performed on yourself?

I've also tried to see if I can regenerate teeth. For the moment I've got some very sore gums but no teeth. Perry suggested to me, in a roundabout way that I should regenerate teeth. Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, I got extremely sore gums. Teeth were pulled out. I've regenerated tissue to the maximum extent I can. The soreness is now disappearing. The gums are much more healthy. Next point is what constitutes a seed tooth? I think it's possible to construct them again See Appendix 1.

Incidentally, I haven't decided what I am going to look like yet. It's variable and to a large extent subject to one's pleasure.1

Although other auditors also announced that they had produced clears3 none of these was to cause the excitement in the field of Dianetics aroused by Howes. He rapidly gained a reputation second only to Hubbard himself His theories and practices were widely taken up, and the question was raised whether with Hubbard apparently leaving the field, Howes might be 'A new leader in the making?'3 When Hubbard began publicizing Scientology, some Dianeticists felt the community had split into two 'apparently conflicting camps of "thought": the Howes ideas and the Hubbardian ideas'.

'Many Dianeticists pilgrimaged to the Institute of Humanics in Colorado Springs to receive processing from him, but he made no attempt to organize his clientele, and his prestige received a shattering blow when police investigation of the Institute was widely reported, and Howes was found to have been claiming a doctorate which he did not possess. Howes closed the Institute, and although a small personal following remained associated with him, his influence on Dianetics was thereafter negligible.5

While the Dianetics community was splitting into competing factions,

it was also suffering a considerable attrition of membership..SA/I had, according to its publisher, sold 10,000 copies during its first year of issue. Many thousand people had tried out the practice, and a proportion had actively pursued their interest in Dianetics by taking courses at the Foundation, or by joining amateur groups. A tailing-off of interest had appeared, however, as early as the beginning of 1952. The income of the Elizabeth Foundation had dropped from \$28,160 in January to \$20,620 in February of 1952. After the initial boom, a slump had begun to set in. By mid-1952 it was clear to one newsletter editor that: r TA Fl:,.1. FiAn h Irnnlrd lml1 528.160 in

The public, it would seem, does not want to participate in Dianetics, but rather they want to benefit by it...They want, in Dianetics, to be able to purchase the resultant end product without actively doing the constructive work that it requires, like buying an automobile without helping the assemblage.'

I Gordon Beckstead, ed..Prologue to SUTCWtI Part II (Psychological Research Foundation, Phoenix, Arizona, 1952), pp. 5-6. r See 'Jack Horner' in Ibid..pp. 14-15. 3 Dianotes, 2, 14 (November 1952), p 2.

he Communicator, 1, 9 (November 1952), p n

5 Howes appears to have had less interest in founding a movement, than in establishing a self-supporting community. He continued in this attempt after his 'exposure', founding among others the St Eloi Corporation where a small group of followers worked with him on various research and development projects, including a 'rare-earth' separation plant. The community appears eventually to have foundered, and Howes and some of his followers were reabsorbed back into the Catholic Church. Interviews. Documents available to me by a former Foundation director. 7 Dianotes, 1, 12 (June-July 1952), p. 2. As another Dianeticist observed in retrospect, 'Whilst dianetics reached the proportions of a national craze in 1950, by late 1951 it had largely collapsed'. A number of groups had disappeared, and many had experienced a decline in active membership.

Dianeticists had a number of hypotheses concerning this decline. The most important reason for the loss of interest many believed, was that the promise had been very great but that it had not been fulfilled:

The promise made in Dianetics: the Modern Science of Mental Health was a very definite and simple one. It was stated that the application of the approach described in the book would within a few hundred hours of auditing time produce a cleared individual, free of all aberration. It was also stated that as auditing continued, progress toward 'clear' became consistently more easy. The reason that dianetics did not retain its original impetus and, in fact, rapidly lost almost all the ground it had gained at first, was due simply to the fact that, when dianetics was put into practice, it was observed that none of these statements was correct.

Many Dianeticists had become 'disappointed because we weren't clear after one hundred hours of processing. This disappointment was heightened by the apparent failure of those declared 'clear' to perform in a manner regarded as appropriate. Sonya Bianca, Sara

Betty Hubbard, Ron Howes; and the failure of the two hundred or so individuals, Hubbard maintained that he had cleared before the publication of his book, to manifest themselves in any way. Hubbard's own behaviour between Igo and 1952 had given some cause to doubt the efficacy of his 'science'. Others had abandoned Dianetics in the face of attacks upon it by psychiatrists and psychologists.<sup>4</sup> Yet another reason for attrition was the presentation of Dianetics as a psychotherapy. Whatever their feelings about the state of clear, many people had gone into Dianetics to solve relatively specific problems of illness or psychological handicap. Whether through spontaneous remission, the hope given them by Dianetics, the attention they received as pre-clears, or the therapeutic validity of the practice, a number had felt improved in consequence. Having secured what they had wanted from Dianetics, some discontinued involvement

1 James H. Schmitz, 'What happened to the tens of thousands?', International Dianetic Society Letter, 1 (1957). 'Ibid.

11t Carland, 'Remember that bridge?', Dianotes, 1, 5 (December 1951) p r.

That people had drawn away from Dianetics because of bad reviews of L. Ron Hubbard's Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health by psychologists and psychiatrists, was certainly believed by Dianeticists themselves Dianotes, 1, 5 (December

11;t riews with former GLCU leaders and Dianetic auditors.  
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From the earliest days of the movement, Hubbard had attempted to assert control over its direction and development. He first sought to control the theory and practice of the movement, attempting to prevent the submergence of his own ideas under the weight of synthesis, or ideological or technical innovation. While technical innovations by others were permitted, such developments only received publicity in official media if they were approved by Hubbard:

Our subject is standard procedure, a routine of auditing devised by James E. Hurt in July of 1950. It had become obvious by that time that many people, who had studied the book only, were running into problems which their knowledge of dianetic procedure would not resolve. When this became apparent to Jim, he sat down one evening and outlined a procedure for dianetic processing which would eliminate these apparently irresolvable situations. His plan was studied by Mr Hubbard and then adopted by the Foundation for general use.<sup>1</sup>

Other theoretical or technical innovations of which Hubbard did not approve, or which had not been submitted for his approval, were attacked in official publications:

E-therapy is an outgrowth of an amalgamation between dianetics and a system of opinion held by an individual. The advice of the Foundation is: Don't use it. At best, it is another wild variable in an area which already has too many variables. At worst, it can be actually dangerous. Dianetics should not be diluted.

As early as h1SMH, Hubbard had attempted to protect the practice against compounding:

Don't mix gasoline and alcohol, or dianetics and other therapy except purely medical...

Crossing Dianetics with an older therapy was considered one source of troubles with students in training and a dangerous practice. The term Black Dianetics had come into use at the Elizabeth Foundation with the meaning of any form of, or variation on, Dianetics, or any use of it, of which Hubbard disapproved. The dangers of Black Dianetics became a part of the course

I Anonymous, An Outline of Dianetic Standard Procedure, mimeo transcription of tape, n.d. probably 1951. For a general statement of this policy, see L. Ron Hubbard, A definition of standard procedure, Appendix Two, Science of Surdistan (Hubbard Dianetic Foundation, Wichita, Kansas, 1951).

2 Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin, 1, 8 (February 1951). See also L. Ron Hubbard, A definition of standard procedure, op. cit. p. 80, where an attack is made on a doctor who can be no other than Joseph Winter, for his attempts to develop, without facilities or experience, certain techniques of application.

MS. 1111, p. 80. L. Ron Hubbard, Instruction Protocol, Official, op. cit. 2 Slit, p. 165 curriculum at the Wichita Foundation, although it was not a widely publicized idea until Scientology was launched.

Having established the existence of heresy, Hubbard had also to establish machinery for locating and managing it. This remained rudimentary during the Dianetics period. A code of Ethics was established at the Elizabeth Foundation in November 1950 with the brief of 'checking on alignment with Standard Procedure', but the activities of this Board do not appear to have had any great influence on the Dianetic community at that time.

An attempt was also made to constrain the free use of the term 'Dianetics' and to exercise some control over independent and competing professional schools:

Dianetics has encountered its greatest difficulty with those who have tried to jump on the bandwagon for personal gain. It has had to resort to legal measures against unqualified persons who style themselves professional dianeticists, those who misrepresent the name of dianetics by opening unauthorised schools and clinics and others who attempt to publish plagiarised or fraudulent dianetic literature.'

Hubbard and his associates also sought to distinguish Dianetics from what its detractors in the press had seen as its principal sources, hypnosis and psychoanalysis. Dianetics was distinguished from hypnosis by a number of factors. In Dianetic auditing, the pre-clear retained full consciousness of his environment, and of what occurred. No form of positive suggestion was used, it was argued. Indeed post-hypnotic suggestion was regarded as aberrative in Dianetics, and a form of engram. Hypnosis was held to be dangerous since while in the trance state, anything said by the therapist would be engramic.

Psychoanalysis was held to differ from Dianetics in that the former was concerned primarily with sex, while this was only one among

four dynamics in Dianetics Psychoanalysis sought to recover unconscious memories only from childhood (or in the Rankian variant, from the birth trauma) while Dianetics returned to the pre-natal period. While psychoanalysis stressed it tight as an

L. Ron Hubbard, 'Danger: Black Dianetics', Journal of Scientology, 3G, n.d. (1952), p. 7. The term had been employed publicly before in reference to A. L. Kitzelman's E-Therapy. Alan A. Engelhardt 'An analysis of E-Therapy' in Waldo Boyd, ed., Supplement 2 of 'Science of Survival' (Wicbita, 1951), p. 4. There are, of course, close parallels between 'Black Dianetics' and 'Malicious Animal Magnetism' which Mrs Eddy accused her apostate and heretic students of employing to evil ends.

2 John Maloney, 'Organisational Memorandum', mimeo (6 November 1950, Elizabeth Foundation).

3 The Dianetic, 1, 16 (30 March 1951), p. 2. It is unlikely these 'legal measures' ever went beyond attorney's threats, though a progress report issued by the Foundation in August 1951 indicated that suit had been filed against one individual who, although not a qualified auditor, was advertising courses in Dianetics, and giving the degree of Dianetic Auditor upon graduation. Reported in the Dianews, 1, 1g (December 195-), Pp. 6-7

4 hrSMH, p. 66.

5 Ibid..p. 124. 90

#### THIS CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

essential therapeutic agent, Dianetics stressed the recounting of incidents to the point where they were erased. The Dianetic auditor, unlike the psychoanalyst, never interpreted or evaluated material, but only acknowledged it.<sup>1</sup>

Hubbard's most important reaction to the crisis within Dianetics, however, was its abandonment, and the promulgation of Scientology as a separate system of beliefs and practices. It was around this ideological innovation that all other adaptations were based.<sup>2</sup>

As early as the Elizabeth Foundation, Hubbard had found that pre-clears produced material which seemed to have no relation to their experience in this life. It appears that he briefly resisted the notion that this material emanated from past lives,<sup>3</sup> but shortly became reconciled to this view and began experimentation on the running of past-life engrams.<sup>4</sup> It is not hard to see how a Conviction of past lives would develop out of Dianetic technique. Since the location of the basic-basic and its erasure would quickly result in clearing the case, it followed that if individuals were not cleared there must necessarily be an earlier incident to resolve.<sup>6</sup> When pre-clears had returned to conception without clearing as a consequence, they began to produce material prior to conception of the 'sperm-dream' variety.<sup>6</sup> When even this did not solve the problem, some began recalling past deaths. Hubbard had also early noted the phenomenon of 'exteriorization',<sup>7</sup> but in Dianetics this was seen as a matter to be handled by releasing 'moments of painful emotion' before turning to the process of engram running.<sup>5</sup> In Scientology, extensorization was a state to be sought. Both pastness and extensorization were predicated on the assumption of the 'thetan', the entity which could exteriorize from

the body, the essential persistent individuality that formed the continuity between various past lives.

I Donald H. Rogers 'Dianetics and psychoanalysis', Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin, I, 8 (February 1951). Hubbard later wrote a 'critique' of psychoanalysis along largely these lines, L. Ron Hubbard, 'A critique of psycho-analysis', Part One, Certainty 9 7 (1962); Part Two Certainty, 9, 8 (1962).

: Dianetics again became part of the corpus of Scientological theory and practice after the return of the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation to Hubbard's control in late 1954. See p. 95 below.

Students of the Elizabeth Foundation have claimed that the first person to 'run a past-life' was expelled from the course. I have been unable to verify this, although reference is also made to this story by George Vialko, Scientology, The New Religion (Dell Publishing Co, New York, 1970), p. 17, and certainly up to and including August 1954: and the publication of Science of Survival, Hubbard's public pronouncements on past-lives were extremely cautious.

' Winter, op. cit..p. 189

L. Ron Hubbard, Dianetics: (the Original) thesis, Scientology Publications Organization (Copenhagen, 1951), p. 16. First published HDRF, Wichita, Kansas, 1951

. ' Winter, op. cit..p 189.

' A dissociated state in which the individual believes himself to be outside his body It is a familiar symptom in psychiatry, and has had an important role in occult and religious experience as 'astral travel'.

MSM, p. 256.

Scientology was a new revelation entirely transcending the limitations of Dianetics. While Dianetics had been a form of psychotherapy concerned with eradicating the limitations on the achievement of full human potential, Scientology was heralded as the 'Science of Certainty' concerned with rehabilitating the thetan to its full spiritual capacity.

While Hubbard's theory and techniques had been moving increasingly in this direction, it was not until his break with Purcell and the Wichita Foundation that Hubbard established Scientology in Phoenix, Arizona. Phoenix had a flourishing Dianetics community, organized under the auspices of the Psychological Research Foundation, and an independent auditing practice, which provided an immediate clientele on which Hubbard could draw. (As the Scientology organization correctly point out, however, Hubbard's parents lived in Phoenix at this time. This may have influenced his decision to settle there briefly.) In Phoenix, Hubbard established the Hubbard Association of Scientologists (HAS), and a journal, which announced that he had discovered 'The source of life energy' and the reason for the existence of matter, energy, space, time and thought 2

On the basis of his new revelation Hubbard sought to establish

control over the Dianetics community. His publications roundly attacked the Wichita Foundation which had continued to operate under Purcell's ownership. He hinted broadly that receipts from the sale of his books had found their way into private pockets (other than his own) rather than into furthering the purposes of the Foundation. It was asserted that the directors of the earlier Foundations had been motivated solely by a desire for profit.<sup>3</sup> The Wichita Foundation was classed as an 'unauthorized' group and it was argued that the Wichita Foundation was

the enormous change in Scientology in the last year and the great advance in its effectiveness...have rendered unimportant organisations which falsely offer certification in Dianetics or Scientology.'

Purcell found it necessary to defend himself against the charge that he aimed to destroy Dianetics or Ron Hubbard, and that he had received half a million dollars from the American Medical Association to put the Foundation into bankruptcy. S. Hubbard appealed to the amateur following, seeking to secure its support

, Journal of Scientology, 3G (I gsz), p. n Z Ibid..p. 2 Journal of Scientology, 4G (rgs2), p. I. Later Hubbard would refer to 'money mad millionaires, crooked, dishonest and incompetent management...'. Professional Auditor's Bulletin (May 1953), p. 1. Journal of Scientology, 6G (rg j2). c Letter from Don Purcell, re Donrus, r, z2 (3r May 1952), p. r2. On the split between Hubbard and the Wichita Foundation, see also Helen O'Brien, Dianetics in Limbo (Whitmore Publishing Co, Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 49-51. against the Wichita Foundation, placing many Dianeticists in a considerable dilemma:

While the Foundation has not asked us to renounce Hubbard in order to work with the Foundation, Hubbard has insisted that we follow only him and reject all others. If we do not do this, he replies by rejecting us.

This appeal was supported by changes in organizational practice. Those who adopted Scientological theory or techniques were at first urged to join the HAS, but by late 1954 more forceful methods were employed to secure support.

Amateur groups were notified by the Hubbard Association of Scientologists International (to which the HAS had been changed) that:

...only a member...of the HASI or its affiliated organisations shall have the right to possess and use the information of Scientology.

As a result, a new policy for amateur groups was to be enforced. To qualify as affiliated groups all group members were to hold HASI memberships and monthly reports of activities were to be submitted to the HASI. Those groups which did not comply would be regarded as inactive and have their certificates revoked, and would become ineligible for Scientology materials.

A similar policy was also applied to independent practitioners. A Committee of Examination, Certification and Services had been established by the HASI to secure conformity from practitioners. Practitioners who had manifested a consistently independent line of

thought were informed that their right to practice Dianetics and Scientology, and their certificates as professional auditors, were revoked.<sup>5</sup>

A former member of the Committee of Examination, Certification and Services expressed the direction of policy at this time.

A lot of other things came out, ideas and -ologies, and some people halted at the split and some...took off in their own direction. ..Ron was trying to get a codified procedure and a set of ethics...and a standard group activity...But this is pretty hard when there are people calling it psychology, or a guy is still being a psychologist, or a Rosicrucian, or a 'Mixologist'. We were trying to be a Scientologist, be a group...It was trying to define, to differentiate Scientology from other -ologies. This was the basic effort of that time and it did come out in revocation of certificates.

These policies aroused protest from those sectors of the Dianetic community which had not followed Hubbard unquestioningly, and saw this as an attempt on Hubbard's part to secure a monopoly of Dianetics and Scientology, and as authoritarianism

The Danews, 1, r2 (31 May 1952), p. t. : Letter from HASI Group Secretary to Group Members, g October 1954. J Dianoes, 4, g7 (October 1954). Interview with former member of CECS. 'Poor Man's Psychiatry', Dianotes, 4, 39 (December 1954). r Bristol Dianehr Revirw, 3, 3 t (October 1954), pp. 1 701

Since his removal to Phoenix, Hubbard had sought to secure the support of some of the Dianetic newsletters and magazines, and through them, of the Dianetic community. In a letter published in one of these newsletters he expressed his dissatisfaction with the factional state of Dianetics and Scientology: 'these splinter groups and copyists are holding back the entire movement of Dianetics and Scientology.' Only one of the many newsletters responded by adopting a totally Hubbardian line. The editor of 7h (Glost of Scientology) attacked deviation from Hubbard's policy, and supported him in his attempt to gain control of the field:

If you are not a Hubbardian Scientologist, then you are not a 'scientologist' at all, as Hubbard coined that word to fit HIS Science. This publication attacked other newsletters which did not follow the same practice and individual practitioners who continued to adopt, sponsor, or promulgate non-Hubbardian theory and technique.<sup>3</sup>

Hubbard's own publications followed a similar practice, advocating the harassment of groups which appeared to be engaged in any activity remotely connected with Dianetics and Scientology, but not approved by the HASI:

if you discovered that some group calling itself 'precept processing had set up and established a series of meetings in your area...you would do all you could to make things interesting for them. In view of the fact that the HASI holds copyrights for all such material...the least that could be done...is the placement of a suit against them for using materials of Scientology without authority...The purpose of the suit is to harass and discourage rather than to win. The law can be used very easily to harass, and enough harassment on somebody The law can be used very



easily to harass, and enough harassment on somebody who is simply on the thin edge anyway, well knowing that he is not authorized, will generally be sufficient to cause his professional decease. if possible, of course, ruin him utterly.<sup>g</sup>

Independent newsletters were also threatened with legal action if they persisted in 'defaming' Scientology.<sup>5</sup> It was suggested that one editor had practised fraud<sup>6</sup> when he had earlier worked for the EIASI, and a detective agency was commissioned to investigate another editor 'to disclose any criminal past or connections..'<sup>7</sup>

An attempt was made to force organizations of independent practitioners to disband. The California Association of Dianetic Auditors, for example, was informed that its charters, certificates and permissions to employ Dianetics

Letter from L. Ron Hubbard, the Ghost of Scientology, IO (April-May 1953), p. 2. J the Ghost of Scientology, 11 (15 June 1953), p. 4.

Ibid. 11 (15 June 1953), pp. 10, 15, 16; 14 (20 November 1953), pp. 5, 7; 17 (25 June 1954) passim. : 'Dissemination of material, Ability Major, 1, n.d. (late 1954/early 1955), p. 7.

'Aberec [sic] you said it', Ability Minor, g, p. 3.

7 'Detective Hired', Ibid. p. 11; Bliston Dianetic JieDiew, 4, g7 (April 1955), p. 6; he abertee, 1, 6 (October 1954), p. 1g; the Aberec, 1, 7 (November 1954), p. 1. were withdrawn.<sup>1</sup> Since it was an independent corporation, however, its members declined to disband and refused to observe the requirement of the HASI that all CADA members also become members of the HASI.<sup>r</sup>

Hubbard sought to move Scientology away from the amateur practitioner basis of Dianetics. Group processing had been extensively promoted during 1954, but an increasing distinction was emerging between the certified auditor and the ordinary member. The latter was permitted only limited access to information. Training became a prerequisite for access to advanced material.<sup>5</sup> Advanced training and certification were centralized in the HASI and its associate schools, and an attempt was made to require practising auditors to contract to pay a percentage of their fees to the HASI, and to sign promissory notes for \$5000 as a bond of good behaviour.<sup>4</sup> This attempt to control practitioners met with little success and the policy was abandoned.<sup>5</sup>

While Hubbard sought to exert control over practitioners and other followers in the field, he also tightened control over his central organization, dismissing officers who failed to perform precisely in accordance with his requirements.<sup>5</sup> Executive officers in Hubbard's organizations typically enjoyed only brief tenure-in-office. In 1954 during an absence in England, for example, Hubbard directed the leaders of his Philadelphia Associate School to move the HASI from Phoenix to Philadelphia; fire various officers; and tighten up control on the flow of information to members of suspect loyalty. On his return from America, in the face of a barrage of protest from followers against the actions of his Philadelphia lieutenants, Hubbard disclaimed all responsibility for the actions they had taken and expelled them from office.<sup>7</sup>

Hubbard progressively gained complete control over Scientology, its

membership, ideology, practices and organizations. The development of those sectors of the Dianetics movement which did not follow Hubbard was very different. The Wichita Foundation continued to operate after Hubbard's departure, but its membership and clientele declined rapidly in the absence of Hubbard. By 1954 the active membership of the Foundation was down to 1 or 2. While originally aiming to remain within the field of Dianetics, new theories and techniques were developed at the Foundation, leading to an increasing diffuseness of its ideological base and a decline in the immediacy of its appeal.<sup>1</sup> Don Purcell had become disillusioned with Dianetics, and increasingly interested in a new development produced by one of the HDRF members, 'Synergetics':

I Ability Major, u, n.d. (early 1955). t Dunbrr'sARC (11 April 1955), p..Disseminatmn of material', Ability Mejor, I, p. m . : the aberree, 3, 1 (April 1955), p. 9. 5 interview wltb former members of CECS. ' Letter from Reg Gould, e-director, HAS London . ..the Ghost oJ Scientolog, (January 1954), p 11. 7 Imerviews Also see Helen O'Brien, op. cit..pp. 68 77. · Dienrtics roey 3, 7 (July 1954). In synergetics Art Couher has created a new scientific approach to the solution to the problem we are dealine with. Synergetics includes much that is included in dianetics and a great deal that is not.<sup>1</sup>

Late in 1954, Purcell announced that he would support Dianetics no longer, but would devote his resources in future to Coulter's Synergetics. After tahng a 'straw voe' among the membership concerning disposal of the Wichita Foundation, Purcell advised Hubbard that he would hand over to him the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation whose principal assets were the copyrights to sl/S..and a mailing list. Hubbard accepted gladly, and announced that 'the entire and complete control without contest of Dianetics, as well as Scientology...' was vested in the HASI 2 It was undoubtedly the return of Dianetics to Hubbard's control which led to the more rigorous attempts to end fringe practices, exclude practitioners who compounded Dianetics or Scientology with other practices, and force critical newsletters to cease publication.

Some of the remaining amateur groups and newsletters allied themselves with one of the leaders who had emerged from the Dianetic community to found their own InstitutesCoulter's Synergetics, Howes' Humanics, Welgos' Institute of Integration.<sup>3</sup> Others moved toward an increasingly eclectic position, or shifted their ideological loyalties to other systems of thought. Minneapolis Dianetics Inc and the Minnesota Scientology Council, for example, had united in 1954 as a result of the reuniting of Dianetics and Scientology in Hubbard s hands. By 1955, however, they had split again because of conflict between the two groups. The Dianetic group which controlled the newsletter, / he Dianotes, moved under the auspices of the Institute of Humanics. It later pnnted an increasing number of articles promoting the practice of Yoga. Another prominent newsletter, ·the qtierree, moved progressively further from Dianetics and Scientology, becoming after 1956 an open forum in which followers of any cultic belief could present their ideas. During the following years articles appeared on astrology, atlantis, Totology, Yoga, ew Thought, mystic Christiampy, hypnosis, numerology, Subud, etc. By 1961 it bad become a general occult-metaphysical magazine with only one small article on Dianetics in its July-August issue.

The founder of E-Therapy, A. L. Kitzelman, attempted to found an

eclectic colony devoted to self-improvement:

...the Pyramid Lake Project is a resort-community specialising in the human mind and its functions.

I Don G. Purcell, 'Special Announcement', *Dianetics Today*, 3, m (October 1954) "Dianetics and Scientology organisations united again", *Group Newsletter* (September 1954)

Only Synergetics and E-Therapy appear to have survived through the 1950s, and Synergetics disappeared early in the 1960s.

' See *Dianetics*, volume 4, nos 47 (August 1955), 48 (September 1955); and volume 5, nos 51 (December 1955), 52 (January 1956), etc. The Project was started on October 1st of 1956 by A. L. Kitselman, developer of a form of lay psychotherapy known as 'E-Therapy'. It was Kitselman's wish, however, to establish a project not dominated by any one man or doctrine, and, accordingly, the Pyramid Lake Project is being used by many persons who have little interest in E-Therapy. Now that the Project has completed its first year there is nothing spectacular to report. The enterprise is slowly growing in size, and persons who are strongly interested in self-improvement are becoming permanent residents at Pyramid Lake. Others visit the Project regularly whenever free to do so.

The project shortly failed, however, although Kitselman continues to write on, and practice, E-Therapy and appears to have a small, unorganized following. Only scattered individuals remain in the United States who maintain a loyalty to early Dianetics. As far as I can ascertain there are now no full-time Dianetic practitioners in America practising only the Dianetics of the early years. Only one independent organization remains to foster the practice of traditional Dianetics, the California Association of Dianetic Auditors, with a persistently declining membership.

In England, after the establishment of the Dianetic Association Ltd, and the Dianetic Federation of Great Britain, as loose national organizations to facilitate communication between Dianetic groups, and between them and the American organizations, Hubbard announced that he would visit England, and proposed the establishment of a Hubbard Dianetic Foundation in Great Britain as a subsidiary of the HAS. Some leading British Dianeticists favoured the establishment of a Foundation but felt that his 'proposal re control would not necessarily be acceptable to all British Dianeticists'.<sup>3</sup>

Hubbard was not prepared to accept the attempts by some British Dianetics leaders to limit his authority. He approached a Dianeticist outside the leadership echelons of the movement and asked her to establish a Hubbard Association of Scientologists in Britain, as a profit rather than non-profit corporation, and under his complete control. As he made clear in his letters to her, he blamed the failure of the Dianetic Foundations on the fact that he lacked complete control over them, and had no desire for members or co-directors with voting rights in Scientology organizations. He saw no virtues in the factional independent groups around which Dianetics was organized in Britain and sought to establish a strong central organization which would eliminate them.<sup>4</sup> The HAS was established in London. When Hubbard made his first visit to England in late 1952 groups rapidly flocked to affiliate with the HAS, and independent Dianetics

Anonymous mimeos from News from Pyramid Lake c. 1957.

'Among his writings are, for example: A.L. Kitselman, Hello Stuid! (Translator's Press, La Jolla, California, 1962); E-ther: y (Institute of Integration, New York, 1953); What Integraton is About (Institute of Integration, La Jolla, California, 1960) .

' British dianetics the present position', icentre: Bulletin of the Dianetic Federation of Great Britain, z (September 1952), p 1.

L Ron Hubbard, Letters to D-, August-September 1952. groups almost entirely disappeared. The last remaining independent group finally disbanded and ceased publication of its newsletter in 1955 in the face of increasing hostility from the HAS.s

The personal paths of those involved in Dianetics during the early rgSOs provided the pattern for the development of the groups, organizations, and publications. It is not possible to calculate how many of the initial following remained with Hubbard during the transition to Scientology. A number experienced no difficulty in making this transition. Some do not seem to have noticed any major change:

I wasn't too aware of that [the transition from Dianetics to Scientology]...I went to Phoenix with the idea that I was going to study Dianetics, but when I came there they gave us some Dianetics and then it was already Scientology and I just couldn't see too terrible big a difference between Dianetics and Scientology. It all dealt with communication and getting a person to trace back his experiences. I wasn't unhappy about that [the notion of past lives as a matter of fact I am very fascinated with it....I found it very absorbing.t

Some lost interest as their own problems seemed to be resolved; as a result of domestic or occupational pressures on their time; as a result of alienation from Hubbard's progressively more overtly metaphysical pronouncements; or through some combination of these factors. Others left from hostility to Hubbard's organizational changes.

Among the early Dianeticists from whom interviews were obtained, many of those who objected to what they thought was a developing authoritarianism in Hubbard's organization, passed on from Dianetics to other forms of cult belief:

We did a period of research with something connected with something they do in California, and also other types of Dianetic techniques. Benefit came when we went on to study Ouspensky and Gurdjieff. We became interested in Indian stuff, Hindu and meditations. We've been interested in meditative techniques. I find meditation of tremendous benefit. I've gone on to Krishnamurti...I personally consider I've reached the end with Krishnamurti because the things he teaches are so true to life...so concrete...I'd come across Krishnamurti before Dianetics and found him very difficult to understand, but after Dianetics I really began appreciating him.:

Some continued the practice of early Dianetics, paying little or no attention to Hubbard's later developments, although introducing modifications of their own. A number of others made a point of

indicating to me that they had later joined MNSA.s

Bristol Dianetic Review, 4, 40 (August-September 1955). Bristol  
Dianetic Review, 3, 27 (June 1954); 3, 32 (November 1954). S  
Interview: American Dianeticist.

1 Interview: English Dianeticist.

5 While MNSA is not a self-improvement organization it seems to have a clear status-conferring and ego-enhancing function for individuals who are convinced they are institutionally fragile and the strategy of sectarianization. The origins and early development of Dianetics bear a close resemblance to those of a number of other cultic movements. Mary Baker Eddy claimed a new revelation which led her to move away from the ideas of Phineas P. Quimby which she had earlier taught under the name Moral Science. Aspects of the healing practice most closely associated with Quimby, such as manual manipulation of the patient's head, were dropped, and new doctrines such as that of malicious animal magnetism and a radically idealist metaphysics were introduced. Mrs Eddy's developing system drew heavily on Quimby's work as well as owing a lesser debt to other currents of thought then prevalent in New England: Transcendentalism, Swedenborgianism and spiritualism. When faced by challenges to her authority both from members of her Church, and from former students who had established their own Institutes and Colleges and had begun developing new ideas of theory and practice, or combining Christian Science with Theosophy or even orthodox medical practice, Mrs Eddy dissolved or suspended the operation of the movement's organization. In their place she erected the highly centralized Mother Church, administered through a personally appointed bureaucracy. She drastically reduced the authority of local leaders by limiting their duration of office; of teachers by permitting them to teach only the preliminary levels of doctrine and by restricting the frequency of their classes; and of practitioners by making their continued practice depend on their good standing with the central organization. Members were forbidden to join more than a limited range of voluntary

Members were forbidden to join more than a limited range of voluntary associations; constrained from seeking medical assistance or advice; and forbidden to read other occult or metaphysical literature. Mrs Eddy's preoccupation with the influence of malicious animal magnetism sensitized her followers to the dangers of the world outside the safety of the Church.

Bryan R. Wilson, 'The Origins of Christian Science: a survey', the Hibbert

Journal, 57 (1959), pp. 161-70.

5 Roy Wallis, 'Ideology, authority and the development of cultic movements', Sociological Research, 43, 2 (1974), pp. 299-327. Roy Wallis, 'A comparative analysis of problems and processes of change in two manipulationist movements: Christian Science and Scientology', in The Contemporary Metamorphosis of Religion? Ch of the 22th International Conference on the Sociology of Religion (The Hague, Netherlands, 1973), pp. 407-22; Ernest S. Bates and John V. Dittmore, Mary Baker Eddy: the

truth and the tradition (George Routledge & Sons, London, 1933); Edwin Franden Dakin, Mrs Eddy: the Biography of a Virgin . . . find

(Charles Scribner's & Sons, London 1929); Charles S. Braden, *Christian Science Today* (Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas, 1958); Bryan R. Wilson, *Sects and Society* (Heinemann, London, 1961).

have greater capabilities than their other status attributes would suggest. It provides a conviction of hidden powers, talents and abilities for individuals who lack clear sources of such conviction in their other achievements. It perhaps provides a functional alternative for those who sought psychological and social improvement through Dianetics. Science teaching. Its founders, Charles and Myrtle Fillmore appear to have been active in the cultic milieu of Kansas City. Charles Fillmore had been a follower of spiritualism for many years and had a clear acquaintance with various metaphysical schools, as well as having contact with a number of Christian Science schismatics and teachers in the emerging New Thought movement. The sources of Unity teaching have been traced in New England Transcendentalism, Theosophy, Christian Science, spiritualism, and New Thought.<sup>1</sup>

The movement was organized primarily through the medium of a number of magazines produced by the Fillmores. While early editions of their magazines exhibited an eclectic orientation, containing articles on Christian Science, Theosophy, spiritualism and Rosicrucianism, they progressively moved toward a more rigid and intolerant editorial policy, and a less open doctrinal system. Elements derived from Christian Science and the New Thought Movement became more prominent, although Unity was distinguished from these movements by the extent to which it incorporated features of traditional Christian doctrine. Unity broke with the loose International New Thought Alliance because of the 'open-platform' policy of that body, which permitted lecturers from all affiliated groups to lecture at centres of other members. The Fillmores began to resent this freedom to present ideas at variance with their own at Unity centres, particularly when they discovered that in some centres teachers were holding spiritualist seances and practising numerology.<sup>2</sup>

A 'Statement of Faith' was drawn up, to which followers were required to subscribe, and greater controls over ministers and centre leaders implemented.

A 'Statement of Faith' was drawn up, to which followers were required to subscribe, and greater controls over ministers and centre leaders implemented. Formerly autonomous centres were required to use textbooks and other literature published by the central organization, and to eliminate all literature and teachings not approved by the leadership.<sup>3</sup>

Dianetics, Christian Science and Unity illustrate in their early years the problem of institutional fragility faced by the leaders of cultic movements. Their belief-systems were precarious in that they were liable to selective acceptance and synthesis by seekers recruited often from other cultic groups. Authority within the movement was open to challenge by practitioners, teachers and leaders of local followings. The commitment of members was limited because the doctrine and practice offered was not seen as having any unique salvational efficacy, and hence the loyalty of members was often shared with other groups and practices.

James Teener, 'Unity School of Christianity', Unpublished Paper

dissertation,

J. Shllson udag, 7 k Hislory ard Philosohy oJhe .fetallys)cal  
lforemer5 ir .merica (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1967), p.  
z44.

Roy Wallis, 'Ideology, authority and the development of cultic  
movements', op. 100

#### THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

These features of cultic movements provide a set of environmental and structural contingencies with which the movement leadership is faced. They pose a threat to the persistence of the collectivity. In the face of such a threat, a strategy of sectarianization, the arrogation and centralization of authority and control, appears to have had a considerable appeal to cult leaders. If successfully implemented as in the cases of Dianehcs, Christian Science, and Unity such a strategy may result in the emergence of a distinct ideology which only the leadership may interpret or ctend; a reduction in the autonomy of members and practioners; and the emergence of a stable and cohesive collectivity organized around the leader. 4. THEORY AND ITS

TRANSMISSION Several million words have been written on the theory and practice of Scientology, for the most part by Hubbard himself. While the basis of the theory has changed relatively little since 1952, the techniques employed to secure the ends specified by the theory have changed frequently as one thing after another was tried in an effort to find the set of techniques which would routinely achieve these ends. A full account of the theory and practise of Scientology and their vicissitudes over the past twentv-two years or so would be tiresome and unenlightening, perhaps even to the committed adherent. Moreover, much of the matenal to provide such an account consists of confidential documents and tape-recordings available only to the thoroughly initiated. However, published materials do permmt the presentation of an outline of the theory of Scientolog and a description of some of the techniques that have been prominently employed It is hoped that the following account will convey the 'flavour' of both practic and doctrine, although it must necessarily fall short of being a complete set o recipes for the attainment of the state of 'Operating Thetan'.

Cos7nologic Cos?lologicitt The theory and practice of Scientology is underpinned by a eosmology. Hubbard's notion of 'theta' began life as 'thought' or as an impersonal life-force, but became in the course of several re-workings an animate entity, the 'thetan'. The thetan according to Hubbard is

A Static with the ability to eonsider, postulate, and have opinions, that has, through postulates and considerations, developed a differentiation from the static theta. The thetan is me 'I' the individual that force, not a part of the physical universe, which is direeting the organismB The thetan is immortal. 'omniscient and omnipotent'.t the true self of each individual, which has ecisted since before the beginning of matter, energy, space, L. Ron Hubbard, 'the Creation of Humon Abiility (Scientology Publications, London, ), p. 286.

2 Robert H. Thomas, Guardian of the Church of Scientology in the

l;SA, quoted in Omar V. Garrison, 'the Hdden Story of ScientoloFy (Arlington Books, London, 1974), P-53 104

TtlE SECT: SCIE:'ITOLOGY

and time. These latter are merely the creations of thetans bored with their existence. 'Life' Hubbard assures us, 'is a game'.<sup>1</sup> To enliven the game, thetans permitted limitations upon their abilities. They began to create matter, energy, space, and time (MEST), to form universes and worlds with which, and in which, they could play. These worlds might take any variety of forms, but gradually the thetans became increasingly attracted by the universes they had created. Progressively they became absorbed into the games they were playing, permitting further limitation of their abilities, imposing limitations upon other thetans, forgetting their spiritual nature, and becoming more dependent upon the material universes that they had created. While the MEST universe began as the postulation of thetans it gradually acquired an overwhelming sense of reality. The thetans became so enmeshed in their creation they forgot their origins and true status, lost the ability to mobilize their spiritual capacities, and came to believe that they were no more than the bodies they inhabited.

Hubbard therefore claims that each thetan has taken on many millions of MEST bodies during the millions of years of its existence. During this time it has been subjected to many traumas, such as the loss (through death) of the MEST body with which it has come to identify itself entirely; attacks by other thetans or other life forms (in which 'implants' are received); and the psychic damage to itself which accrues when the thetan, or the body which it was inhabiting, harmed or sought to control another. The techniques of Scientology aim to harm or sought to control another. The techniques of Scientology aim to restore to the thetan his original capabilities:

Almost the entirety of Scientology consists of the discovery and refinement of methods whereby the Thetan can be persuaded to relinquish his self-imposed limitations.

Having relinquished them, the individual achieves the state of 'Operating Thetan', a state, the exalted nature of which, is indicated by the following:

Operating Thetan has not before been known as a state of being on Earth. Neither Lord Buddha nor Jesus Christ were OTs according to the evidence. They were just a shade above Clear.'

The methods employed in the process of achieving the states of clear and OT, have taken a number of forms,

Incidents on the whole track' or the recordings of events possessed in the form of 'facsimiles' or mental image pictures by each thetan, may be 'run' (that is, audited or processed) as engrams. Have 'You Lived Before his Life? is a collection

L Ron Hubbard, Scientology 8-800e3 (Hubbard College of Scientology, East Grinstead, Sussex, 1967), p. m7.

Christopher Evans, Cults of Unreason (Harrap, London, 1973), pp. 43-5; Cyril Vosper, The Mind Benders (Neville Spearman, London, 1971), pp. 28-31; Garrison, op. cit., pp. 49-53; Vosper, op. cit..



p. 31. Ability, 81 [c 1959], p. 6. of reports by auditors and pre-clears of the process of whole-track (or past-life) engrams. For example: Scientolr's e, bort Located the incident with the command 'Have you ever died?' The F-meter needle dropped. 'Was it more than mo years ago?' ,eedle dropped..Carried on like this and finally located it at ss,000,000,000,000,000,000 years ago.. . 'Be in that incident'. 'Whrt part of that incident can you confront?' and we were away. First picture that came was of the sea, great deal of unreality but by discussion and conbnuing the question 'What part of tha incident can you confront?' various other pictures and sensations uncovered which eventually added up to a section of the incident concerning a giant Manta Ray type of acquauc creature which the preclear had seen while underwater... the engram started on [a] spaeship. The ship had needed an outside repair. On going outside, the preclear had been hit by a meteorite particle which had not punctured the suit. At this point an acute pain undt r the arr . where the meteor had struck, occurred. The Pc clambers back into the space-ship. Later the atomic engines of the ship break down and the Pc has to repair these and apparently receives radio-acti-e burns. He finds that he has to leave the ship and so falls from a ladder into the sea where he encounters the Manta Ray.l

...Pc, after a period of 440 years without a body, arrives in error on a planet which ir being taken over by 'Black Magic' operators who are very low on the ethical scale and using electronics for evil purposes. HaviDg come originally from a 'good' plane he battles for a long, long time againSt the forces of 'blaek magic', which, like a mfth column, are subvrtng the originally 'white magic' populace. It is a losing battle, implant after implant gradually weakening his ability and control by causing hallucinated perception..Eventually after a period of spiritual torment and grief he abandons his former high goals and goes over to the 'Black Magic' faction, not having entirely given up the idea of outwitting it from within. This occurs some 74,000 years after his first arrival on this planet. He now goes to another planet by space ship. A deeeption is accomplished by hypnosis and pleasure implants (rather like opium in their effects) whereby he is dece-ved into a love affair with a robot decked out as a beautiful red-haired girl who receives all his confidences for a period of 30 vears [EtC.t

The other incidents reported in this work range across lives as a supporter of the Pretender after the '45, a Tibetan nobleman in the sitteenth century, the captain of a space-ship, a space pilot with a robot body over a million years ago, etc.

I L. Ron Hubbard, leue rOu Liurd Before r/is Life?, A Scirntiic Suruey (The Department of Publications World Wide [Church of Scientology, East Grinstead], 1968), PP 53-4

2 Ibidpp. 156-7

TIE SECT: SC1EtTOLOCY

Running past-life incidents as engrams is not, however, typical of contemporary Scientology technique. Un ike Dianehcs, Scientology does not seek to crase the causeS of limitadons on the individual's full capacity, since with the development of the belief in the whole-track, this would be far too lengthy and arduous a process. The aim of Scientology is therefore to free the thetan from the

limitations of vLEST and the control of the facsimiles he has recorded, and to increase his awareness of his spiritual capacities to such an extent that he becomes the cause and not merely the effect of his environment and his life (and of course, his past lives) I

Central themes in Scientology theory While Scientological theory is underpinned by a cosmology and extensive metaphysics little of this is initially transmitted to the following in an overtly dogmatic fashion. There is a recognition that the theory of the origins of the universe and the space-operative scenarios of some of the more distant past-lives may have very little reality' for some adherents. These aspects of the ideology are referred to as 'para-Scientology', a category variously defined for example:

that large bin which includes all greater or lesser uncertainties. Here are the questionable things, the things of which the common normal observer cannot be sure with a little study...Some of the classified bodies of data which fall in Para-Scientology are: Dianetics, incidents on the 'whole-track', the immortality of Man, the existence of God, engrams containing pain and unconsciousness and yet all perceptible, pre-natals, clears, character, and many other things which, even when closely and minutely observed, still are not certain things to those who observe them. Such things have relative truth. [...] Also under the heading of Para-Scientology one would place such things as past-lives, mysterious induements, astrology, mysticism, religion, psychiatry, nuclear physics and any other science based on theoryd

The para-Scientological is held not to be required belief, and indeed Hubbard has frequently expressed the view that new followers or potential converts should not be exposed to it at too early a stage. 'Talking whole track to raw meat is frowned upon,

Nov, in talking to a group, steer off from para-Scientology. Lay off the whole track

stuff,  
huh? Lay off the fantastic. If you have some chap around who insists on telling people about these things, just note him down; he isn't working for us, fellows. The quickest way to lose a beset person or group is to load him down with phenomena Talk, instead, about the fact that there is a spiritual side to Man. Talk about the fact that Scientology solves social problems, when they are very initiate and it's a

I L. Ron Hubbard, Dianetics 55! (Department of Publications World Wide, Eat Grinstead, 1968) p. 18. S L Ron Hubbard, The Creation of a New Religion (Scientology Publications, London

), pp. 188-9. in good fun and they've also got the HPA or HCA, do what you like with the whole track. Or use it in private sessions. Don't hand it out to the public raw. It's too strong '

This policy is also reflected in the relative dearth of published information on this aspect of Scientological belief. Past-lives are discussed in only three of the movement's books in any detail, and there is no systematic account of the cosmological doctrine in any publicly available documents.

Most published work deals with those aspects of the doctrine which have practical relevance, and it is to these that Scientologists themselves seem to have strongest commitment. Many of these derive directly from earlier Dianetic practice. The notion of ARC and the tone-scale, for example, were carried over into Scientology with only minor modification. With the transition to Scientology, however, a number of new elements were added or differently stressed. While 'exteriorization' had been seen as a state in need of remedy in Dianetics, it was now seen as a state to be aimed for:

The usual residence of the thetan is in the skull or near the body. A thetan can be in one of four conditions. The first would be entirely separate from a body or bodies, or even from this universe. The second would be near a body and knowingly controlling the body. The third would be in the body (the skull) and the fourth would be an inverted condition whereby he is compulsively away from the body and cannot approach it....one of the many goals of processing in Scientology is to 'exteriorise' the individual and place him in the second condition above, since it has been discovered that he is happier and more capable when so situated 8

Recovering the thetan's ability 'to confront' his environment is also an important goal.

That which a person can confront he can handle. The first step of handling anything is gaining an ability to face it.3 Problems start with an inability to confront anything.

Not confronting things one has done leaves one 'in mystery' about them and subject to their impact. Being able 'to confront', to face up to, and take responsibility for, things one has done would erase their power. One might illustrate this as follows: a man who causes an accident which injures others might repress his part in the incident and in his future interactions with these others behave in an aberrated fashion for example, attacking them for their clumsiness and causing further trauma out of fear of being found out. Were he able to confront

IL Ron Hubbard Professional Auditors Bulletin, 1 (6 September 1968), p 2.  
: L. Ron Hubbard, 'The Fundamentals of Thought' (The Publications Organisation World Wide, Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 57-8. t L. Ron Hubbard, 'Scrienology A Stew Slant on Life' (The American St Hill Organisation, Los Angeles, California, 1968), p. 85 9 Ibid. his part in the incident and take responsibility for it, the situation might improve rather than continue to deteriorate. The theory of 'confronting' has a number of ramifications. In this life and in past lives we have all performed a number of 'overt acts'.5 Generally we justify such acts by means of a 'motivator's and they become 'withholds'.3 Having withholds against some person or group leads to guilt and fear about being found out which in turn leads one to perform further overt acts against them. It is by means of this theory that Scientologists explain attacks upon them by press, politicians, doctors, and psychiatrists, and other 'enemies' of Scientology. I The notion of the withhold became particularly prominent in the practice of 'Sec checking'.5

A further fundamental concept in Scientology theory is that of communication. The individual spends most of his time out of communication with his environment (out of present time). He is held at some point on the 'time-track' as a result of trauma or '.

isemotion' and lives out his present involvements from a point of view in the past. Scientology aims therefore to bring the individual 'up to present time'.

When we say that somebody should be in present time we mean that he should be in communication with his environment. We mean further that he should be in communication with his environment as it exists not as it existed.'

Many psychosomatic ailments are held to be the result of the individual, the thetan, being out of communication with a particular part of his body, and living, in relation to that body part, at some point in the past when it suffered pain. Techniques have been developed which seek to bring him into communication in present time with that body part.<sup>7</sup> *mumcanon Wlth hls envuonment as it exu ts, not as it existed.*<sup>5</sup>

I 'OVERT ACT (Overt): Harmful or contra-survival act. Preeisely, it is an act of commisslon or omission that harms the greater number of dynamics', Anonymous, *Scientology Abridged Dictionary* (Scientology Publications Organization, Copenhagen, 1970-

Z'The consideration and dramatisation that one has been wronged by the action of another or a group, and which is charactensed by constant complaint with no real action undertaken to resolve the situation'. Ibid. 'WITHHOLD: Undisclosed contra-survival act; a no action after the fact of action, in which the individual has done or been an accessory to doing something which is a transgression against some moral or ethical code consisting of agreements to which the individual has subscribed in order to guarantee, with others, the survival oi a group with which he is coachng or has coacted towards survival'. Ibid. See Chapter 8, below. <sup>5</sup> For the practice of 'Sec Chechnng', see Chapter 5, below; Paulette Cooper, *h9 Scandal of Scisntology* (Tower, New York, 1971), pp. 85-92. <sup>9</sup> L. Ron Hubbard, *Dianstics 55!* (The Department of Publicahons World Wide East Grmstead, 1968), p. 62. These techniques of an informal kind are known as 'assists, on which see L. Ror Hubbard, Jr.. George Richnrd Haipern and Jan Halpern (compilers), *CC Preara*

Improving the individual's ability to communicate therefore improves his ability to handle his body and his environment, bringing him to present time, and releasing him from points on the time track at which he has become stuck. Improving communication therefore means improving the individual's abilities in general.

The notion of control is important in Scientology theory. The thetan has permitted itself to become 'an effect' of the universe. It has allowed itself to believe that it has no spiritua powers and that it is merely the body it inhabits. Having denied its spiritual powers it has become prey to its creation, suffering the traumas and injuries of its bodies, the guilt and fear of its overt acts, reacting tc. its environment on a stimulus response basis, obsessively holding on to MEST and facsimilcs out of confusion and insecurity. One aim of Scientology processing is therefore to increase the thetan's ability to control the body it inhabits and its environment, to be willing to have and 'not-have' MEST, postulates, facsimiles, etc. That is, to overcome the stimulus-response reaction and increase the self-determinism of the thetan; to restore its ability to be 'at cause' over its environment.

CLEAR: (noun) A thetan who can be at cause knowingly and at will over mental matter, energy, space and time as regards the First Dynamic (survival for self).<sup>1</sup> O.T. (Operating Thetan': A Clear who has been familiarised with his environment to a point of total cause over matter, energy, space, time and thought, and who is not in a body.'

The final aspect of the theory of Scientology which I wish to discuss is that of its metatheoretic assumptions. Hubbard has defined Scientology in a variety of ways. In his early formulations, he stressed the scientific status of the enterprise.

Scientology is defined as the science of knowing how to know.<sup>a</sup>

Hubbard developed the principle that in contrast to the fields generally termed 'sciences' which were full of 'maybes' Scientology was 'the science of certainty'.

You aren't a scientist, and you don't have to be wishy washy and indefinite about what you say.<sup>5</sup>

Scientology was the study of knowledge, dealing in 'stable data'. 'Knowledge is certainty'<sup>5</sup> and moreover 'Certainty is sanity'.<sup>7</sup> This conception of what issued

Anonymous, Scientology Abridged Dictionary, o p. cit. ' Ibid. ' L. Ron Hubbard, Scientology 800ed, 2nd edn (HASI, London, :gjj3), p. 5. ' Journal of Scientology 166, n.d.

5 Professional Auditor's Bulletin, r6 (September 1955) p. 3.

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'The three universes, Certainty, unnumbered issue, n.d. (transcription of a lecture delivered by Hubbard at Birmingham Town Hall in 1953), p. 5.

7 Ibid..p 4.

Scientology. Iqannual for dDanced Students in Scientology (The Academy of Scientology, [Washington DC], 1957), pp. 30 45110 TIE SECT: SCIENTOLOGY

from the mouth of Hubbard as certain knowledge seems to stand in contradiction to the distinction drawn elsewhere between Scientology and para-Scientology, and the principle often quoted to show the non-dogmatic nature of the movement, that 'If it's true for you, then it's true.' Since Hubbard's science is a matter of knowledge and certainty, certainty is sanity, and reality is agreement, it would seem to follow that those who decline to agree with Hubbard's conception of what constitutes knowledge are out of touch with reality; and that those who reserve their judgement, or who retain some uncertainty as to the truth of his claims, are insane.

This impression is strengthened elsewhere. In his volume Scientology to-o, for example, Hubbard argues:

Neither you nor a part-clear need accept 'whole track' or the identity of the thetan as described fully in Scientology. Not to begin. You'll very rapidly make up your own mind about it when you start to process 'Black and White' I As for 'whole track' and thetans, I wouldn't dare say a word if 'Black and White' didn't

show them up with alarming velocity.<sup>5</sup>

In the same volume Hubbard provides a technique 'to separate the preclear from bodies and discover rohy he thinks he is only the current body...<sup>13</sup> and in one of his recorded lectures he states: Those who do not believe in past lives do not have to believe in past lives...<sup>bm</sup>

don't get audited !<sup>4</sup>

There can, therefore, be no doubt about how Hubbard intended his followers to make up their own minds.

Inutnces on Scientoloiv theory A number of sourcethave been suggested for aspects of Hubbard's theory and presentation. George alko suggests that Hubbard may have found some inspirahon in an early work by R. Buckminster Fuller, called Jint Chains to the Moon. Apart from one passage in which Fuller argues that 'the sum-total of human desire to survve is dominant over the sum-total of the impulse to destroy' . and his propensity to utilie upper-case type for emphasis, I can discover nG convincing links behreen the work of Fuller and that of Hubbard.; Dr A.

L. Ron Hubbard Scientology 8-ho (The Distribution Center, Silver Springs aryland, 195Z), p. 2t. 2 Ibid. ' Ibid..p 31. 4 L. Ron Hubbard, 'The skills of clearing', Leecture 2 of the Lectures on Clearing London Congress, 1958 (Hubbard Communications Office, London, 1958. R. Buckminster Buller, Vine Chains to the

oon (Southern Illinois l.niversity Press, rg38); George alko Scientology: the Now ReligioN (Dell Publishing Co..New York, 1970), pp. I 19-21. IIEOEY ND ITS TUNSMISSIUN

...Nordenholz, whom Malko rlsO suggests as an important influence on Hubbard, secms an initially more plausible candidate.

Nordenholz, in a thoroughly opaque work of philosophical speculation published in 1 934,<sup>1</sup> presents the notion of 'scientology' as a science of knowledge to be developed on the basis of a set of axioms. Apart from the name of the 'science', its concern with knowledge and how to grasp it, and the idea of erect ing a set of axioms as the basic formulation of the science, it is not evident that ordenholz provided much that became incorporated into Hubbard's Scientology.a

It has also been suggested that Hubbard secured some of the material incorporated into Scientolo y fromJack Parsons, a follover of Aleister Crowley and briefly the head of a Lodge of Crowley's Ordo Templi Orientis in Pasadena.<sup>3</sup> That Hubbard was associated with Parsons early in 1946 is not in doubt, although a press release issued by the Church of Scientology after the appearance of Alexander Mitchell's article offers a different interpretation of the facts, ' claiming that he was sent to live with Parsons by 'certain agencies [wbicb] objected to nuclear physicists being housed under the same roof'.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence that Hubbard's system of Scientology owes any gTeat debt to that of Crowley, Parsons or the O.T.O. Indeed none of the four members of Crowley's order whom I have contacted in l3ngland and America has been able to confirm

' A. Nordenholz, Saentologle, Wissenschaft uon der seschaJenheit

und Der rauglich,teit des IVissens (Ernest ReinhardE Munich, 1934).

It i also a mvttterv how ubbard could have come into contact with Nordenbclz's

I A. Nordenholz, Saentologie Wissenschaft von der Beschaf enheit und Der rauglicheit des Wissens (Ernest Reinhardt, Munich, 1934).

' It is also a mystery how Hubbard could have come into contact with Nordenholz's work. Hubbard did not, as far as I have been able to discover, read German, nor have I been able to locate a translation of this hook by Nordenholz prior to the version produced by a former Scientologist in 1968 (A. Nordenholz, Scientologie rg3.f, trans. Woodward R. McPheeter, Causation Press, Lucerne Valley, California, 1968). It is on the basis of this translation that Malko suggests Hubbard was indebted to Nordenholz (Malko, op. cit..pp. m6 19) but McPheeters was a Scientologist of many years standing who left the movement for a schismatic offshoot, and in an atmosphere of mutual hostility. It is at least a porsibility that this may have inducenced the trnsnslation. An independent translation which I commissioned, of some pages from the original, seems to bear this out. The possible parallels with Hubbardian formulations are very much less evident.

9 Although he does not refer to Hubbard by name, I think there can be no doubt that this is the implication to be drawn from Kenneth Grant's remark that an unnamed associate of Parsons after the death of the latter 'is still at large, having grown wealthy and famous by a misuse of the secret knowledge which he had wormed out of Parsons'. Kenneth Grant, the hAGICA Reriral (Muller, London, 1972), p. 107. The context makes it quite clear that Hubbard is the man referred to. The same implication is to be found in a newspaper feature by Alexander Mitchell, 'The odd heginning of Ron Hubbard's career', Sunday rimes, 5 Oetober 1969, p. m .

' Which are mmsreported or misunderstood in some particulars by Mitchell.

5 Thms press statement was for the most part reproduced in the Sunday rimes 28 December 1969. The newspaper also paid the Church of Scientology a small sum in settlement of an action initiated by the Church in respect o Mitchell's article. (Parsons was a research chemist working at the California Institute of Technology.) any significant points of similarity.<sup>3</sup> The only apparent simmlarities are those which are common to a number of systems of magical and occult practice for example, the belief that the individual has supernatural abilities such as telepathy, teleportation, and telekinesis, which can be achieved or regained through mental and spiritual exercises. In the case of many magical and occult systems these practices and their goals have been absorbed from Yoga.

In Yoga a number of parallels with Scientology are evident. Yoga offers a system of metaphysical knowledge leading to 'rebirth to a non-conditioned mode of being'.<sup>3</sup> The aim of the earliest philosophy of Yoga, sumkhya, was to dissociate the spirit from matter.<sup>3</sup> In Yoga the world is real not illusory, but its endurance is the result of the ignorance of spint. When 'the last self shall have found its freedom, the creation in its totality will bc reabsorbed into the primordial substance.' The source of the soul's suffering is held to be man's solidarity with the cosmos, his participation in nature (the enturbulation of theta and MEST?).s

The conception of Spirit in Yoga is remarkably close to that of the thetan:

Vedanta...regards Spirit as a unique, universal and eternal reality, dramatically enmeshed in the temporal illusion of creation (maya). Samkhya and Yoga deny Spirit (purusa) any attribute and any relation; according to these two 'philosophies', all that can be affirmed of putusa is that it is and that it exists..Y

Elements of the cosmology, appear similar (although Yoga seems to have only a very rudimentary cosmology).

From all eternity Spirit has found itself drawn into...illusory relation with psychoall that can be affirmed of putusa is that it is and that it exists..Y

mental life (that is, with 'matter') This is owing to ignorance..  
.7

While Yoga accepts the existence of God, the work of Patanjali, like that of Hubbard, did not accord him very much importance. Yoga also contains the notion of the transmission of the 'subconscious' through Karmic transmigration. After penetrating normally inaccessible areas of consciousness and reality, the yogin was believed to acquire siddhis, or miraculous powers knowing one's previous existences, invisibility, great physical power, the power of rising in the air, of controlling and dominating any being, etc..1 although without use of

I The author, John Symonds, also paid a sum in settlement after his book on Crowley, the Great Beast, suggested a connexion between Crowley's 'tenets' of black magic and 'the principles of Scientology' (the Guardian, 22 November 1974). See also Eliade, Yoga - Immortality and Freedom (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London,

8), p. 4. 3 Ibid..p. 8.

Ibid..p. 6. 7 Ibid..p. 27.

8 Ibid..p. 29 God or the Supreme Being is mentioned in Scientological works, (see, for example, the Background and Ceremonials of Church of Scientology of California, World Wide Church of Scientology, East Grinstead, 1970), p. 2, but does not figure

7 Ibid..p. 42. 10 Ibid..pp. 85, 129.

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them was believed to preclude further advance to the ultimate goal of yogic practice, immortality.

Eliade even gives some ground for believing that the nature of the practice, while updated and elaborated in Scientology, may have had common features with Yoga:

The scholastic Buddhist texts give us some details of the technique employed. It is the faculty that consists in retracing in memory the days, months and years until one arrives at one's time in the womb



and finally at one's past lives...'

This is, however, clearly more reminiscent of early Dianetics than of current Scientology practices. Hubbard has credited the Vedic Hymns as one source of his inspiration<sup>3</sup> and the claim that Scientology has been most strongly influenced by such ancient eastern sources is one that might perhaps be taken more seriously. Certainly on the basis of Eliade's account of the theory and practice of Yoga, impressive similarities are to be found with the theory and practice of Scientology and Dianetics.

Auditing Thousands of techniques to be used in auditing have appeared, although many are no longer in use and only a practising Scientologist would be able to say what currently constituted 'standard technology'. Many techniques are

Hubbard has also counselled against the misuse of occult abilities regained on the

Hubbard has also counselled against the misuse of occult abilities regained on the through operating Thetan TheSafe harrier progress to 'tzkb2\* (NiTT2ns)

'1. Knowledge of previous life (that is, total recall of all of his existences and of 2. Power of great sight (not only to see great distances but also to see through,

over, and under objects. To see anything in the world at any time) . 3. Complete absence of sexual desire indicating fulfillment and complete 4. Ability to change his size (to any largeness or smallness). 5. Power of great hearing to hear any sound anywhere at any time). 6. Power to cause events (if he wants a thing to happen, to will it) . 7. Power to be where he wants (by an act of will to transport himself to where

he wishes to be). 8 Power to be invulnerable 9 Power to walk on air

m. Power to know all that is known Manning Nash, 7:he Golden Itozd to ModeTnity (Wiley, New York, 1968), p. 149 Scientologists have claimed all but items 3, 5, and 6 I have not known Scientologists anxious to achieve item 3, and since Scientology is the science of knowing how to know, the achievement of Item 3 must ultimately be a goal, although I have not known any Scientologist to claim that he possessed this ability.

2 Eliade, op. cit..p. 184.

t L. Ron Hubbard, Scientology 8-eoo, op. cit..'Foreword'. Eliade, (op. cit..p. 102) suggests, however, that 'only the rudiments of classic Yoga are to be found in the Vedas...' directed to the goal of giving the pre-clear a 'subjective reality' on his abilities as a thetan. One of the most basic is that of asking the pre-clear (the thetan) to give up the (self-imposed) need to be in a body, by 'exteriorizing' from that body:

Ask preclear to be three feet behind his head. If stable there, have him be in various pleasant places until any feeling of scarcity of viewpoints is resolved. Then have him be in several undesirable places, then several pleasant places; then have him be in a slightly dangerous place, then in more dangerous places until he can sit in the center of the SunP

A development along these lines was known as the 'Grand Tour',

The commands of the Grand Tour are as follows 'Be near Earth', 'Be near the Moon', 'Be near the Sun', 'Earth', 'Moon', 'Sun', giving the last three commands many times. Each time the auditor must wait until the preclear signifies that he has completed the command. The preclear is supposed to move near the bodies or simply be near them, it does not matter which. The Grand Tour continues with 'Now find a rock', 'Be inside of it', 'Be outside of it', 'Inside', 'Outside', 'Inside', 'Outside', 'Be in the centre of the Earth', 'Be outside of Earth', 'Inside', 'Outside', and back and forth until the preclear is able to do this very rapidly. Then the Grand Tour continues, 'Be near Mars' etc.] r

Another purely mental technique much employed in Scientology's early days was a technique known as 'holding anchor points'. The purpose of this technique was held to be that of enabling the thetan 'to tolerate or make space'. The preclear while seated would be told

...'Close your eyes', 'Locate an upper corner of the room behind you'. When he has done so, 'Now locate the other upper corner behind you', 'All right, hold on to these two corners, and don't think'...At the end of 15 minutes the auditor says, 'Now, find the third corner behind you',...When the auditor is assured the preclear has done this, he says, 'Now hold on to the same two you had before and the new one'. When the preclear has all three corners at once, the Auditor says, 'Now hold on to those three corners and don't think'...The auditor then has the preclear locate all eight corners of the room and says, 'Now hold on to all eight corners of the room, sit back and don't think'...the Auditor has the preclear do this for at least fifteen minutes.'

Some thetans have allowed themselves to become so overwhelmed that they are no longer even able to control their bodies. A series of processes was designed to put the thetan back into communication with and control of his body. The first of these processes, known as CCH 1, involves the auditor and preclear sitting

I L. Ron Hubbard, 'This is Scientology: the science of certainty', Journal of Scientology, issue 16G, n.d. (some time in 1953), p. 12. L. Ron Hubbard, The Creation of Human Ability (Scientology Publications, London, ), p. 37, emphasis omitted

' Ibid..p. 93. Ibid..pp. 93-6. facing each other. The auditor commands, 'Give me that hand'. If the preclear gives him the hand the auditor gives it a slight pressure then returns it to the preclear's lap. If the preclear does not proffer the hand, the auditor takes it and does the same. This process may be run for several hours.

CCH 6 took the following form:

(auditor takes a book and bottle, placing them some distance apart on tables so that the preclear doesn't have to bend) . 'With that body's eyes look at that book'. 'Thank you'. 'Walk that body over to that book'. 'Thank you'...'With that hand pick up that book'. 'Thank you'. 'Put that book down in exactly the same place'. 'Thank you'. 'Turn that body round'. 'Thank you'. 'With that body's eyes look at that bottle'; etc.:

A further technique of some prominence in the 1950s was known as 'Waterloo Station' (or 'Union Station' in America).

In a populated area (park; RR Station, etc) have pc tell auditor something he wouldn't mind not-knowing about persons or the persons not-knowing about him which auditor spots for him. Commands:

Auditor: 'Do you see that (man, woman, described slightly) ?' Pc: 'Yes'. [...] Auditor: 'Tell me something you wouldn't mind not-knowing about that person'. [...] the pc selects things he already can know to not-know. He does not give things he does not know anyway. This stress is the willingness to Not-Know things one already knows [sic]. Otherwise pc will become confused. [...] When...run Rat or to a dope-off, reverse to :1 Auditor: 'Tell me something you wouldn't mind that person not knowing about

[...] When...run flat or to a dope-off, reverse to :'  
Auditor: 'Tell me something you wouldn't mind that person not knowing about you' .

[...] Run one side for hours then the other side in ordinary use.  
[...] The goal of Waterloo Station is not to make the pc make one thing vanish. That phenomenon is just the start. Auditor's have been quitting when the pc made somebody's hat disappear When the pc can make the whole universe wink on and off at his consideration to know or not know it, you're getting somewhere so don't stop at a hat.'

One basic aim of Scientology auditing is therefore to make the preclear aware that reality is a matter of his considerations, and changing his considerations will change the nature of reality. The theory and practice of Scientology is radically idealist in orientation. S L. Ron Hubbard, 'Procedure CCH', Professional Auditor's Bulletin 133 (1 April 1958)

S L. Ron Hubbard, 'Procedure CCH continued', Professional Auditor's Bulletin, 135 (1 May 1958)

a That is, a process is flat when it no longer produces change; dope-off is a sensation

of drowsiness.

' L Ron Hubbard, 'Six levels of processing', Professional Auditor's Bulletin 69 (6 January 1966) .

5 L. Ron Hubbard, Dianetics 55! (The Department of Publications World Wide, East Grinstead, 1968), p. 67. The E-meter Most current auditing (or processing, the terms are synonymous) is conducted with the aid of the E-meter. The E-meter is a technological aid which has been developed to assist the process of auditing. It is a form of skin galvanometer operating on the principle of the Wheatstone Bridge which measures resistance to a current passing between two terminals. The terminals usually employed in Scientology auditing and training are ordinary tin cans. In the auditing situation, a slight current is transmitted through the pre-clear from one terminal to another, the resistance being measured on a dial. The needle on the dial moves in response to a variety of factors such as an increase in skin salinity resulting from sweat, skin surface area in contact with the terminals, pressure, etc. It is the view of some Scientologists that they are

able to detect what are known to them as 'body-reads', and therefore are able to isolate readings which reflect changes in the state of the thetan. The E-meter is held to be infallible. It 'sees all, knows all. It is never wrong.' A complex terminology is associated with 'needle action' on the E-meter 'theta bop', 'rock slam', 'floating needle', etc..each of which indicates particular characteristics of the pre-clear, his mental and spiritual state. Although the E-meter was first introduced into Dianetics by Volney G. Mathison in 1952, it has little been employed until the emergence of Scientology in 1952. Mathison continued to mix Dianetics and Scientology with other practices. For a time he formed an alliance with the leaders of a therapeutic movement known as Concept Therapy, and marketed his meters to Concept Therapists and Chiropractors. Later Electropsychometry seems to have become an independent, if rather insignificant, movement in North America. Mathison's incorrigible eclecticism led to a break between him and Hubbard, after which, for some time, the E-meter fell out of use in Scientology. By 1957, however, Hubbard and his associates had developed their own transistorized version of the machine and it returned to favour.

"The E-meter is essential for all modern auditing with but a few exceptions'. Cyril Vosper, the former Bender (Nelle Spearman, London, 1971), p. 83.

' L. Ron Hubbard, Electro-psychometric Auditing Operator's Manual (HASI, London, n.d. [c. 1953-41]), P 57

' On the E-meter, see: L. Ron Hubbard, E-Meter Essentials (Hubbard Communications Office, East Grinstead, 1961); L. Ron Hubbard, the Book Introducing the E-meter (The Publications Organisation World Wide, Edinburgh, 1968); Mary Sue Hubbard (Compiler), the Book of E-meter Drills (Hubbard College of Scientology, East Grinstead, 1967). Also see Kevin V. Anderson, Report of the Board of Inquiry into Scientology (Government Printer, Melbourne, 1965), Chapter 4; Cooper, op. cit. Chapter 18; Evans, op. cit. pp. 6g-6.

' See John A. Lee, Sectarian Healers and hypnotherapy (Queen's Printer, Toronto, 1970), Chapters 5 and 6.

3 Anonymous, the Story of Dianetics and Scientology training, (the Auditor, Supplement 6), SPO A/S, Copenhagen, 1969. Processing or auditing is organized on the basis of a strict progression of procedures. Each level or 'grade has set processes associated with it which aim to produce different abilities. Passing through this progression of levels is known as 'getting your grades'. The first of these, Grade 0, seeks to release the pre-clear from inhibitions about communication. When successfully completed, one becomes a 'communications release'.<sup>3</sup>

the auditing commands (questions) are: 'What are you willing to tell me about?'; 'What are you willing to tell me about it?' The pre-clear, holding the cans of the E-meter, answers each of these questions in turn until the auditor spots a 'floating needle'. This indicates that the pre-clear has achieved a 'cognition or insight concerning communication (or whatever he is being audited on) and should be accompanied by 'good indicators', a bright, aware, happy expression. In the course of such a process the pre-clear may offer many hundreds of answers to the auditing question. As may readily be seen, the nature of these answers may become very intimate,

personal, even obscene. This feature of auditing has sometimes disturbed investigators of Scientology practices,<sup>3</sup> but in this respect, opposition to the techniques would seem to be no more rationally based than earlier opposition to Freudian revelations, particularly with respect to the sexuality of children and infants.<sup>3</sup>

Grade I is Problems Release. The auditing commands are, 'Tell me a problem' and 'How would you solve it?'<sup>4</sup> Grade II is Relief Release, which deals with 'Overts' and 'Withholds', with the commands: 'What have you done?'; 'What haven't you said?'. Several further levels have to be negotiated before the pre-clear can undertake clearing and then the processes for the OT levels. Since some of these more advanced levels are self-audited (the pre-clear, employing a specially designed E-meter attachment, himself reads the E-meter and gives himself the auditing commands, or undertakes the other technical requirements for the process), the pre-clear who wishes simply to achieve the goals of auditing for himself has to undertake only the minimum amount of training required for him to be able to conduct self-auditing. This is known as the 'Processing Route'. The pre-clear is, however, strongly encouraged to take the 'Training Route', that is to become an expert auditor, able to carry out auditing upon others as well as himself. By this means, the pre-clear is encouraged to seek clearing, etc. not only for himself but also for others. The client of Scientology

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'Classification gradation and awareness chart of levels and certificates' (Athena Publications, Denmark, 1970).

for example, Anderson, op. cit. passim.

' For a reconstruction from his own experience of auditing session. see Robert Kaufman, Inside Scientology (Olympia Press, London, 1972), passim. Grade 0 may sometimes be preceded by Straight Wire Release in which the auditing commands are: 'Recall a communication'; 'Recall something real'; 'Recall an emotion; repeated (or run) until a 'floating needle' appears. See Malko, op. cit, p. 133. ' Kaufman, op. cit

p. 14 et seq. and thereby transformed into an agent of the movement whose personal goals in Scientology become closely bound to his successful dissemination of the belief system to others.<sup>1</sup> The lower levels of both auditing and training can be secure at a 'Franchise' or 'Mission' of the movement. These are semi-autonomous organizations which may be run by a single professional auditor, or in partnership. After completion of Grades I to IV, more advanced auditing (and all but the lowest levels of training) must be secured from a central organization. A fixed price-list exists for auditing and training. A franchise is not permitted to charge less than the central organization. In the Grades cost total of around £200 for the levels from 0 to IV.<sup>5</sup> Additional auditing may be purchased as a block of hours typically twenty-five hours at a time. According to a price list issued in 1972, twenty five hours of auditing could be bought for £50 with reductions for larger blocks purchased at one time and with discounts for various kinds of member (for example, someone both an International and local member could secure a discount of 20 per cent). a

Training in Scientology usually begins with the HAS (Hubbard Apprentice Scientologist) Course. With this, as with most other levels of training, successful completion of the course is signified by an impressive certificate, and members often affect

the initials of the successfully completed courses as honorary appellations to their names John Smith HPA, for example. It is not unknown for individuals who have been awarded a Book Auditor's certificate, after reading and successfully applying the principles and practices indicated in one of Hubbard's texts, to employ the style B.A. after their names.' At one time 'degrees' were issued permitting the individual to employ the styles B.Sc., D.Sc., D.D., and even 'Freudian Analyst' after their names,

The HAS or Communications Course inculcates the basic training routines (TRs) which a successful auditor should employ. A well-trained auditor will always 'have his TRs in'. The purpose of the TRs is to train the student to confront the pre-clear without extraneous behaviour or habits getting in the way; to direct commands at the pre-clear in a clear and authoritative manner; and to ensure that the pre-clear replies or follows the command without allowing him to distract the auditor from carrying out the process; to acknowledge the pre-clear's communications, etc.

The first routine, TR 0 requires the student and the coach (typically a fellow student, each taking turns at the two roles) simply to sit facing each other, neither

' This is taken up in detail in Chapter VI of the author's 1972 Leaflet sent to book purchasers. See the letter signed Frank E Walker B.A. (Book Auditor) in *Crucially*, 1, 9 (n.d.), p. 13 making any conversation or effort to be interesting. Have them sit and look at each other and say and do nothing for some hours. Students must not speak, fidget, giggle or be embarrassed or annoyed. It will be found the student tends to confront with a body part, rather than just confront, or to use a system of confronting rather than just be there. The drill is misnamed if Confront means to do something to the pre-clear. The whole action is to accustom an auditor to being there three feet in front of a pre-clear without apologising or moving or being startled or embarrassed or defending self. After a student has become able to just sit there for two hours 'bull baiting' can begin.

'Bull baiting' involves the coach seeking to provoke a reaction from the student by actions, other than touching the student, or by 'treading' on the student's 'buttons', that is referring to subjects about which the student is likely to be sensitive and to which he might react. Kaufman details amusingly a bull baiting session.

Most coaches found it most convenient to try to make the auditor-in-training laugh. Morton described to me one such session. He and his coach sat in chairs facing each other, the coach almost on top of him, with his knees tightly pinning Morton's. The coach then set out to find Morton's buttons subjects which broke him up and diverted his attention from his auditing. He began by investigating the possibility that Morton had a 'Jewish button' which needed fattening (the majority of Jewish people happened to have such a button). 'Mishter Morvish' crooned the coach, 'mosht pipple leff et me ven I tzing but you von't leff et me ven I tzing will you, Mishter Morvish?' With that he cleared his throat and went into repeated choruses of *rum golly golly golly*. Other Scientologyists took up the refrain until the tune reverberated in various voice registers throughout the room. An ingenious girl added as counterpoint *romt from l:rodus: 'Dai dam..dai dai.. . dai dai dai dai dai DAIEE...'*. The organ resounded with the music and Morton's gasps of laughter. Just as he had calmed down a

stranger stepped into the room and announced 'I've just come from the planet Sholom in the galaxy of Sheket. Did you ever see a thetan wearing a yarmulka?' and they were off again. All told it took six hours to 'flatten' Morvis's Jewish button.<sup>5</sup>

The more advanced training courses require the reading of 'packs' of bulletins and policy letters by Hubbard, duplicated and stapled in folders. Each course has a particular pack. There are also voluminous tape-recordings of Hubbard's lectures to which the student must listen. The student may also be required to demonstrate his understanding of the material by producing a model in clay at the Clay Table, which illustrates the point of what he has learned. Students on courses are normally paired off to test each other in their knowledge of the course materials and to carry out training in auditing techniques. Each Course pack has a 'check-sheet' indicating what has to be done to complete the course successfully. Each item on the check sheet has to be initialled by the coach or course instructor when the student has acquired the knowledge or skill required.

L. Ron Hubbard, 'Modernized training drills', HCO Bullstin, 29 April 1963, cited in Anderson, op. cit..p. 8m

' Kaufman, op. cit..pp. 4-j.

At each level in training, the student acquires the ability to audit pre-clears on the corresponding processes. An auditor may only process pre-clears up to the level for which he has received training. Part of the course requirement is therefore to find one or more pre-clears to audit through the necessary levels to demonstrate one's proficiency.<sup>1</sup> In this way, training further mobilizes the student as an agent for the dissemination of Scientology. While one may find one's pre-clears among friends, since the pre-clear goes to a central organization for training he may often not know anyone whom he can ask, and he therefore has to secure 'raw meat' through dissemination on the street, or at his lodgings.

On commencing the course the student is introduced to the others en masse, who warmly applaud him. Similarly, on the completion of any level of auditing or training the individual is congratulated by his auditor or his classmates. At the central organizations a student or pre-clear will be brought to the room where study is in progress. The instructor tells the students to stop work and announces the individual's achievement. The student/pre-clear then gives a short speech indicating his 'gains' from auditing or from the course, and is applauded by those present. On completion of auditing the pre-clear is taken to the Qualifications Division of the 'Org' where he is briefly checked on the meter to make certain that he has been released on the grade. At more advanced levels, 'attestation that one has achieved the grade is generally all that is required. Similarly, having completed training, the student will 'attest' to his successful completion. He is then taken to the Success Department, where he is asked to write a 'success story', a few lines indicating his gains from the auditing or the course. These success stories are frequently printed in Scientology publications and provide an indication of what various levels of training and auditing meant to those who had undertaken them.

I am no longer afraid of causing an unwanted effect on another being. This Grade has cleared out such a lot of garbage that I knew

was there but eDuld never put my finger on, and so was therefore the eflfeet of it. I &el great now that it's gone !

Expanded Grade z Clive Niehol.' It's really great not to be constantly worrying and bogging myself down with a burden of PROsLEMS Another great win I have had from this level is that my eyesight has improved a lot, and it was good before !

Expanded Grade I Clive Nichol.' I am now beainning to get freedom from my compulsions which I have had for twenty years or more. These eompulsions have always blunted my intentions. I now see mysehf beooming free and er panded It means the restoration of life to me.

Quintin McDougall.s Before Scientology I didnt now what I wanted in life or what to do with my life.

I See ibid..p. 186. r Moreover, most students and pre-clears will have passed the level he is on and are not permitted to go through the lower level audihng again. S 'Audifing Successes', Cange Sg (1973), no paginafion.

ibid. S Dianeoc Successes', leadet (1971).

know just w hat I want to do and I am getting it done. Jenny Good.l What a perfect gradient these Expanded Grades are. I no longer feel afraid of anything. I feel calm and very stable. I can grant more beingness eo others. I like myself a lot better too. Ron has given man a terrific thing with the Expanded Grades. It's great to see the things that have been bothering me for years disappearing for good. Robin Youngman. For the first time for a long time I feel free to communicate. It is really great and I know I can do it Shirley Pyle.a Right after Clear I hit a keyed out OT state and could change my body size about

I to I t inche5 in height by actual measurement. Some people s-vore it was z to 3 inehes, which it might have been, but it was I inch difference the time I measured. The ability was under control and I could do it at will. Fred Fairchild OTv I Clear No 49 Duplication of data often brings interesting abilities into view. I'm OT 1. While studying with intention in the privacy of my bedroom, I heard a noise in the adjoining den. I looked around to 'see' what it was, and behold, I looked right through the wall into the next room as though no wall was there. When your intention is very strong you can do what ya

intend to do. Wow ! Do you intend to go CLEAR' And O.T.' Herb Stutphin, OTI Clear No 2313.5 Yesterday I was walking down the main street. A woman ahead of me coming in the opposite direction was coughing badly. I put across to her telepathically 'Are you OK?'. When she got beside me she beamed and said 'Yes, that is a lot better now, thank

When she got beside me she beamed and said 'Yez, that is a lot better now, thank you' . Well ' The secret is on tho OT Courses - come and get it too.

Vih Dickey OTs Today was fantastic. I walked downstairs to get some coffee and the coffee machine was buzzing. So I put my hands out and mm ed them around me machine putting out beams to bounce back and thereby I could tell by watching the particle dow exactly where



the error in the machine was. I found it and corrected the molecular structure of that area in the machine and the buzzing stopped.

Then I heard my air conditioner rattling so I looked at why it was rattling and it stopped.

I'm becoming much more at cause. I love it like Superman !

Michael Pincus OT7 Thank you, Ron, for immortality S

'Wins every day with Scientology!', leadet (1971). ' Ibid. 3 Ibid. 'Success beyond man's wildest dreams !', Clee7 .Serl)s, 6 ( 12 December 1 969) . S Ibid.

'OT Phenomena Successes', Advanve! Issue 17 (1973), p. 14. 7 Ibid.. pp. 16-17. 8 A-S-, after Class Ten auditing. Original source unknown, but cited in an affidavit to the South African Commission of Enquiry into Scientology shown to me by its author. Religious practices Despite its stridency in the proclamation of Scientology as a church in recent years, the religious practices of the movement other than processing, and training, are quite rudimentary. The central organizations of the movement usually have a chapel at which a Sunday service is given. This service generally takes the form of a lecture by the minister on some basic principle of Scientology. Part of a recorded lecture by Hubbard is sometimes played. There may be a question and answer period 2 At one time a session of group auditing might be conducted.3 Wedding are solemnized with full legal recognition in America and, following recent legislation, in Australia; or after a civil ceremony in Britain. Funerals and naming ceremonies are also performed and the movement, from time to time, holds Prayer Days which are well supported by its followers. It is difficult to see these as more than peripheral aspects of the practice of Scientology. The theory and practice is highly individualistic in orientation and has little communal significance which might be recognized and celebrated through public ceremonial The chaplain has a rather marginal role within the organizational structure of the movement; he acts as a marriage guidance counsellor, and as an arbitrator for interpersonal disputes between members on matters of a non-organizational and non-ideological kind. Scientology auditors must undergo ministerial training before practising professionally. Press photographs in recent years have usually shown Scientology Ministers attired in clerical collars; have usually shown Scientology Ministers attired in clerical collars.

Conclusions Scientology theory and practice seems to be oriented to goals that have been traditional in the realms of the occult and to derive this orientation and some of its philosophical rationale from Yoga. The abilities to which Scientologists lay claim parallel the siddhis of the yogi. In their techniques, Dianetics and Scientology depart radically from the meditative techniques of earlier occult practices. The largely passive meditation and the exercises for physical, mental, and spiritual control have been replaced by highly directive, activist techniques. The use of the E-meter clothes these exercises in a scientific garb and provides an aura of technological precision and contemporaneity.

In the years since 1952 and the transition to Scientology, a clear direction is visible in the development of the practice and training. Dianetics, for all its pretensions to be 'an engineering

science of the mind' was essentially an art,

On the historical and organizational aspects of which, see Chapter 5 5 Anonymous, Ceremonies of the Founding Church of Scientology (Department of Publications World Wide, East Grinstead, 1967, pp. 78. 3 Testimony of Joseph Charles Belotte in Founding Church of Scientology v. U.S. in U.S. Court of Claims, No. 226 61, Washington, D.C. 1967, stenographic transcript, Pp. 244-5 dependent upon the ingenuity inventiveness, and charisma of the practitioner. It therefore contained a number of fundamental dangers. The practitioner in the therapeutic situation, with only general guidelines to the correct practice of auditing at his disposal, was thrown upon his own resources. In such circumstances many practitioners independently developed methods of their own which finally diverged so far from Dianetics as to challenge Hubbard's practice. The clientele became attached to a particular practitioner rather than to the movement as a whole, or to Hubbard as its leader. Moreover, given the relatively limited aims of Dianetics practice and the nature of its techniques, many of the clientele, regarding it purely as a psychotherapy, departed when they achieved (or sometimes when they failed to achieve) some concrete psychological or psychosomatic benefit.

Hubbard sought to control the movement by ideological and technological as well as organizational means. 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 resort to the central organization much more frequently 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 acknowledgments. 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. Since anyone could be trained to carry out the highly standardized forms of practice, the individual practitioner was thereby rendered far less important than formerly. Practitioners became highly substitutable, limiting their autonomy. The likelihood of schism and fission, while not eliminated, was greatly undermined by limiting the practitioner's independent authority. The practice of Scientology was considerably de-personalized by these measures. (The Scientologists advise me that: 'The requirements for certification of auditors have risen as time has gone by... graduates of the Saint Hill Special Briefing Course are required to study the entire evolution of auditing in all its facets and to demonstrate their ability to apply this data.')

Through the management of theory and practice, Hubbard sought not only to control practitioners, but also to mobilize pre-clears A highly differentiated

1 Personal communication, Guardian's Omce, Novennber 1974.  
programme of auditing and training was made available, leading to  
esotenc occult goals rather than to mere psychological improvement.  
Only the lowest levels were available from practitioners and  
teachers not employed by the organization. Thus, rather than  
fully competent professionals, the franchise operator and field  
auditor became largely recruiting agents. Courses were organized on  
a continuous production-lice basis. Since the material for the  
course 'packs' v-ritten by Hubbard and the tape-recordings of his  
lectures, the student could begin at almost any time rather than  
wait as in normal academic practice for the beginning of the  
academic year or term, or, as in other forms of training, until  
there were enough students to make it w3rthwhile. The authority of  
the teacher or instructor was also undermined by forbidding him to  
'evaluate the data' for the student. Rather than a teacher the  
course instructor became little more than an index ,whose role was  
only to refer the student with doubts or confusions to the  
appropriate location in the material provided by Hubbard for their  
resoluhon.

The theory itself became differentiated into what w e may refer to  
as an esoteric and an exoreric ideology. The exoteric ideology is  
presented in most of the movement's pubications, the works for  
pubication of Scientologists other than Hubbard, and rympathizers  
of the movement. Such · orks present Scientology as concerned with  
the spiritual nature of man (the thetan); with increasing  
communication, understanding of others, ability to control oneself;  
one's interactions with othels, and the surrounding environmentP

Most of these works deal wieh the value of Scientology in handling  
ever-, day problems and situations; how to brina up children;Z how  
to manarc orrrraniza-

Most of these wortc deal with the value of Scientology in handling  
everyday problems and situations; how to bring up children;t how to  
manage organizations ;a or the app'ication of Scientology theory  
and technique to education.4

The esoteric ideolog,v develops a cosmological doctrine of the  
ongin and development (or degeneration of the thetan,; and  
manifests far greater concern with past lives,S and the  
supernatural abilities that the individual can acquire through the  
practice of Scientology.

ISee, forerample,thefollowingworLsbyL.RonHubbard:Dieneticsss!,  
op.cit.; 7he iunrlantenhls of rh ught, op. cit.; Scientolagy q hrew  
Slant orl Life. See also J. F. Horner, A 3rete Undersnding of Life  
(Hubbard Communicahons Office, Auckland, New Zeaiand, 1961); Ruth  
Minshull, Mirades for Breakfast (Scientology Ann Arbor, Ann Arbor,  
Miceigan 1968), and idem, .irow to Choose our People (Scientology  
Ann Arbor, Ann Arbor, Michigan, tg72); Walter Lraddeson,  
Scientology for the hrillion (Sherbourne Press, Las Angeles, 1969);  
Omar V Garrison, ·the hridden Story of Scientoloty, op. cit.

a Ruth Minshull, Mirecles for Breakfast, op. eit.

3 L Ron Hubbard, llow to l.ive ·rhough An Execuhve (Department of  
Publications World Wide, Last Grinstead, 1953).

Victor Silcox and Len Maynard, *Creative Learning: The Scientological Experiment in Schools* (Scientology Publications, London, 1955);  
Muriel Payne, *Creating Education* (William Maclellan, Glasgow, 1958).

6 L Ron Hubbard, *The History of Man* (HASI, London, n.d.).

7 L. Ron Hubbard, *What I Lived Before This Life*, op. cit. areas of Scientology's operation. The movement currently maintains an extensive public relations apparatus, part of the function of which is to ensure that esoteric interpretations are available and publicized for organizational activity.

Scientology developed a transcendental doctrine, or theodicy, to explain the individual's current condition. This doctrine incorporated an elaborate metaphysics based around a theory of reincarnation. It was thereby greatly broadened from a 'do-it-yourself' psychotherapy to a cosmology, endowing the universe and individual human life with meaning. The belief-system of the movement became increasingly esoteric, and a 'hierarchy of sanctification' emerged. Members could locate themselves on levels of initiation into the movement's mysteries through 'the grades', 'clear,' and the 'OT levels'.

The charismatic nature of the revelation, the gnosis, is evident in the power which it is conceived to have. Viewing the materials of a higher level than one has yet achieved, even by accident, is held to be dangerous. Hence, the 'advanced materials' are kept secret from the uninitiated. The doctrine and practices of the movement therefore became available as a means of control, since access to higher levels could be denied to those who deviate from its norms.

With the promulgation of Scientology, Hubbard was able to claim the new gnosis as a revelation into which he had privileged insight, heightening his authority over the movement, and inhibiting competing claims to revelation. Aspects of the theory and practice most closely linking the belief-system to the cultic milieu were abandoned. Dianetic 'reverie' with its clear links to hypnosis, and the concern with the trauma of early childhood and birth, with clear links to psychoanalysis and its developments, were abandoned. New elements of doctrine and practice the thetan and the E-meter, for example were introduced. Training and auditing were thoroughly routinized, inhibiting the development of any claim to charismatic leadership on the part of instructors and practitioners, minimizing their autonomy and power and heightening their substitutability.

The strategies employed in coping with the doctrinal precariousness of the movement bear strong similarities to those employed by Mary Baker Eddy. Mrs Eddy claimed that her writings, in particular *Science and Health*, were inspired revelations. Some aspects of the teaching became a hidden doctrine available only to those undergoing special instruction. Students of the Normal Course were carefully vetted for their loyalty to the Church and forbidden to take notes while undergoing instruction (as is still the case today). Mrs Eddy became the sole source of doctrinal innovation, adaptation and interpretation. Until the establishment of the Board of Education, she alone could claim to

' Seven OT levels are currently available (1974), although Hubbard has indicated that 'there are perhaps 15 levels above OT V which he developed but existing only in unissued notes...which he

threatens to release in due course. See Advance, issue ro (August/September 1975), p. 6. teach the advanced levels of Christian Science. Students were required not to indulge in writing on Christian Science or in reading other metaphysical literature, and heretical teachers who persisted in teaching despite being excommunicated were pursued by Mrs Eddy in the press and lawcourts for infringements of her copyrights. There had to be a clear ideological boundary between Christian Science and any other metaphysical system, and this boundary was heightened by the fear instilled in her students of malicious animal magnetism held to be the real nature of the practice of heretics, apostates, and imitators.

The authority of local teachers was undermined by constraints on teaching beyond the preliminary levels of doctrine. Teaching and practice became increasingly standardized and depersonalized. After 189, the only 'pastors' permitted in Christian Science churches were Science and Health and the Bible. Preachers were reduced to Readers, whose performance was controlled to the extent of standardizing even the emphasis with which passages were read. Their expository task was taken over by a Board of Lecturers, appointed by the Directors and obliged to submit the text of their lectures in advance to the Mother Church. The technique of healing became standardized on the basis of Mrs Eddy's textbook. The annual re-election of Lecturers by the Directors and the requirement that Readers could hold office for three years only, precluded the development of these offices as a source of independent authority that could be directed against the Church leadership. Teachers were brought under increased control by permitting them to hold a class only once a year, for no more than thirty students, and forbidding gatherings of teachers and their students on other occasions.

Christian Science thus provides an earlier example of a process later followed in Scientology, in which an attempt was made to manage the problem of institutional fragility faced by the cult leadership. The beliefs and practices of the movement, and their mode of transmission and application, were mobilized in the process of arrogating and centralizing authority, and maximizing control. One aim of these adaptations was to eliminate challenges to the authority of the leader, and to secure a disciplined and cohesive following.

Roy Wallis, 'A comparative analysis of problems and processes of change in two manipulationist movements: Christian Science and Scientology' in *11th Contemporary Reflections of Religion 5*, Acts of the 11th International Conference on the Sociology of Religion, The Hague, Netherlands, August 1973. 5. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

#### AND SOCIAL CONTROL

#### Historical background

After Hubbard moved his headquarters to Phoenix in 1952, Scientology went through a period of considerable organizational flux. The Hubbard Association of Scientists (HAS, later the Hubbard Association of Scientologists International, HSI) was incorporated as a 'religious fellowship' under Hubbard's direct control. Hubbard travelled a great deal during the following years, particularly to England to consolidate and promote the growth of Scientology in Britain.

In his absence, he became dissatisfied with the way things were being conducted at Phoenix. The financial situation there had apparently deteriorated,<sup>1</sup> and the editor of the journal of Scientology, Alpha Hart, employed a rather liberal policy in the conduct of the periodical. While lauding Hubbard and his practice, he printed letters critical of the movement and its beliefs and probably maintained too great an independence of his leader.<sup>8</sup>

Accordingly, Hubbard instructed the loyal organizer of an independent Scientology school, Helen O'Brien, to fly to Phoenix, sack Alpha Hart and remove the HAS to Philadelphia. There a new corporation was established, much of the running costs of which were covered by the Philadelphia practitioners,<sup>3</sup> and the journal began appearing under Helen O'Brien's editorship. Hubbard, however, appears not to have been greatly reassured that his organization was now in safe hands.

He was a strange partner in business, because he seemed determined to undermine us. He airmailed our U.S. subscriber lists offers of books for sale from England, but

Helen O'Brien, Dianics in Linbo (Whitmore Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1966), p.68.

' Helen O'Brien, who despite her own later fall from grace remained loyal to Hubbard's interpretation of many events at this time, complains that he had hired an editor who never really understood the subject and who for several months injected his personal viewpoint in Hubbard's American communication here'. Helen O'Brien, op.cit..p.61,

' At least according to their own account, Helen O'Brien, op. cit.. p. 69 reneged repeatedly on promises to ship us a supply, after we'd backlogged orders to the ceiling by advertising them on his instruction. He said that all letters should be forwarded to him for his reply, and then, when they went unanswered, dubbed us the 'Philadelphia Incommunicators. When I hired a secretary, he wrote directly to her, with pages of instruction about how I should be conducting the operation !'

On his return to Philadelphia late in 1953 for a Congress, Hubbard was able to appear as if responding to complaints from 'the field' present at the Congress that O'Brien and her partner had refused to communicate relevant information. He dismantled the Pennsylvania corporation and excommunicated O'Brien and her partner.<sup>3</sup> The headquarters of the movement were moved a short distance to Camden, New Jersey.

There, late in 1953, three churches were incorporated. Only two of these, the Church of American Science (represented as a Christian Church) and the Church of Scientology (represented as non-denominational) were activated. The third corporation. (which appears to have been called the Church of Spiritual Engineering [!]) was never utilized. Early in 1954 Hubbard removed the functioning corporate superstructure back to Phoenix, Arizona, and began 'franchizing' independent churches of Scientology in other states.<sup>4</sup> In 1955, Hubbard again moved his organization, this time to Washington DC, where William Young had built up a thriving practice. (The Scientology organization argues that Hubbard moved to Washington DC because of local attacks on Scientology, and Hubbard deemed it safer to be under the jurisdiction of Federal

rather than State courts, in order to guarantee the Church's constitutional rights.) In 1959, Hubbard purchased Saint Hill Manor in East Grinstead, Sussex, which became the movement's headquarters until the establishment of the 'Sea Org' in 1966.

It is no easy matter to provide a clear picture of the corporate involvements of Hubbard and his movement. Hubbard was well aware of the value of corporate structures as weapons in the control of both his movement and its environment. A complex corporate structure maximizes the difficulty of surveillance, or investigation of the movement's affairs, and also maximizes the number of public images through which the movement can be promoted. These exoteric 'faces' to the movement can then be differentially shed (at different times) depending on public receptivity at any given time to any given image. The letter-paper of the Founding Church of Scientology of Washington DC in 1957 listed seventeen organizations which the movement leadership owned or controlled. These included the Congress of Eastern Scientologists, the American

Helen O'Brien, op. cit., pp. 74-5

J. Journal of Scientology, 2, n.d.

J. Journal of Scientology 4 (31 January 1964) p. 2

' A Church of Scientology was 'franchised' to J. Burton Farber in California and another to William Young in Washington DC.

' Philip Selznick, re-organizational work (Free Press, Glencoe 1960). Society for Disaster Relief, Scientology Consultants to Industrial Efficiency, and the Distribution Center Inc. From 1954 Hubbard also promoted a Freudian Foundation of America. After Hubbard's re-acquisition from Purcell of the legal rights in the Wichita Dianetic Foundation in 1954, there were also among the list of corporations of the movement various Dianetic organizations, such as the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation. Sundry other legally incorporated organizations had been established in England.

Most of the organizations were ad hoc and temporary. The movement was largely organized, during the 1950s, through the HASI. The HASI provided public services through the Hubbard Guidance Centre (HGC) which offered individual auditing; the Academy of Scientology which offered training; and later the Personal Efficiency Foundation which offered the free or inexpensive introductory courses designed to draw in new recruits. The HASI also published various magazines and other promotional materials. A separate organization was the Hubbard Communications Office Ltd (HCO) which was Hubbard's direct administrative machine. Throughout the 1960s, considerable re-organization of the corporate structure took place as more of the corporate operation of Scientology was brought under the legal auspices of the Church of Scientology of California. 'Field' organization During the 1960s, despite a progressive tightening of control over the movement during the 1950s, despite a progressive tightening of control over the movement as a whole in comparison with the days of Dianetics, organization of the following of Scientology in the field remained somewhat loose. By requiring affiliation of amateur groups with the HASI, Hubbard sought to control the grass-roots following. New information on theory and technique was now less readily available through public documents. Instead, practitioners were encouraged to take professional courses

at considerable cost. The HPA course cost 500 and Advanced Clinical courses which led to the conferring of the 'Doctorate of Scientology' cost 1800. Only those who had taken advanced indoctrination were permitted to teach and certify competence beyond the most basic levels.<sup>3</sup>

These developments led to a rapid 'professionalization of field practice. Amateur groups could not secure the training or access to the material that had formerly made their existence worth while. The professional auditors and their organizations began to dominate the field. Amateur groups gradually disappeared. Those who remained committed to the movement affiliated with and became absorbed into the clientele of a local or central organization. The possibility of opposition to the leadership from the grass roots was thereby rendered virtually impossible. Members had no formal and few informal

See Sir John G. Foster, Enquiry into the Practice and Structure of Scientology (HMSO, London, 1971), pp29-33

Journal of Scientology 19, 1 (1963), pp 9,

' Journal of Scientology, v2G, n.d. 'horizontal' relationships with each other. The movement was transformed from an almost federal association of independent, autonomous groups into a 'mass' movement, with few ties other than those of an almost entirely 'vertical' kind between the central (and to a lesser extent, local) organization and individual members

Professional practitioners might operate as independent 'Field Auditors' with a minimum of organization, or establish 'franchises' which received direct assistance, preferential discounts, and other concessions from the central organization, and in return were expected to send 10 per cent of their receipts to the Hubbard Communications office. Some of the more ambitious practitioners organized Churches of Scientology in their local area.

During 1954 various strategies were employed to tie practitioners more closely to the central organization. 'Bonding of auditors' proved unsuccessful, but auditors were required to remain 'in good standing' with the central organization and to purchase annual professional membership of the HASI at a fee of 525.00 a year in order to ensure that their certificates remained valid. The names of auditors who were not in good standing were published in movement periodicals,<sup>3</sup> and the membership were enjoined to have no dealings with nonapproved practitioners. Various publications carried advertisements for local practices approved by the central organizations, and lists of approved franchises were occasionally published.

Practitioners were encouraged to recruit new members and to maximize their involvement in the movement. Group processing gradually fell from favour as involvement in the movement. Group processing gradually fell from favour as Hubbard found it did not lead to increasing the involvement of members. One source reports a lecture by Hubbard in 1954 in which

Ron told the assembled auditors that group processing was proving valueless both from the standpoint of help to the audience and in revenue. Those helped were hardly bad off to begin with he said, and when these get past whatever may be bothering them at the moment - they go



on their way and that's mat.' (The Scientology organization express the view that this statement appeared in an apostate's publication, and that it is not true. However, Hubbard's own words cited on p. rSg below have much the same substance.)

After the mid 1950S, practitioners were encouraged to attract recruits bT means of a Personal (or sometimes Personnel) Efficiency Course, an Anatomy of the Mind Course, or some other introductory series of lectures and basic practices, from which recruits could be secured for more advanced training and auditing

I Diseussed in Cbapter g. 2 3ournf l of Scientolo g7G, n.d..p 1 .  
a For example, Ablih mimeoed edition, no number, no date, warns o 3  
its rear page, 'Marcus Tooley of Au.tralia: all eertificates and  
memberships HASI, HDRF su pended pending retrainingh

rk6 Abrrfc, 1, 7 (N3vember 1954), p. 8.

Whlte practitioners in the field were permitted to train and audlt the less advanced levels of Scientology, Hubbard restricted certification to the central organizations. Currently even the iouer grades have to be verified and certified at the 'Org'.l On completion of the lower levels, practitioners are encouraged to send pre-clears and students on to the Org by commission payments on the amount spent at the Org by the pre-clear. Independent practitioners are not permitted to charge less for their services than the charge made for equivalent services by the Org.

During the 19505 Hubbard encouraged the estabiishment of franchise operations,t but after the secession of a number of independent practiuoners late in 959 and early 1960, Hubbard became increasingly disenchanted with the idea of 'private practice'.

The idea of 'One Organisation and That's Scientology' is receiving much commendation everywhere. The idea of 'the private practiuoner' has never set well on us as it's borrowed from oranisations with few ansv ers. You don't have to become 'private practice if you've got the answers. There's enough action and money in sight to include everyone in. A united Scientology alone can stand up to the buffets of world clearing.S

Franchise holders were encouraged to set up as City offices owned and controlled by Hubbard rather than remaining independent.4 During the secessions of the late Igs^searly 19605, Hubbard had continually to reassure himself of the loyalty of practihoners. A Field Auditor Ethical Committee appears in Scientology publications in 1959, to investigate irregularities in the practise of these professionals,S and the certmcates of a suspected practitioner would be suspended until he came into an Org for a check that he had 'Clean Hands'. \_An

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eted nractitinner would be sus-

Hubbard controlled training and practice through ownership of copyrights to material, ability to certify practitioners and their

cientele, and through control over the communications of the movement. He was therefore able to determine whether or not an individual was recognized as an auditor in good standing and to publicize this fact to the field. By these means, Hubbard was able progressively to reduce the autonomy of practitioners, transmuting them from

I See, for example, Robert Kaufman, Inside Scientology (Olympia Press, London, 1972), p. 27 et seq.  
'Org' is a Scientology abbreviation for the Scientology organization.

See, for example, Ability Major, 10 (c. late 1959).

S L. Ron Hubbard, 'Ron's Journal', HCO Information Letters, 27 October 1962.

' Various HCO Information Letters, 1962.

5 Certainty, 6, 6 (1959), p. 5.

There is no clear evidence that independent publications were frowned on, but only one periodical publication independent of the Org appeared, as far as I can trace, after the disappearance of the various Dianetics newsletters and other similar circulars, which was sponsored by a practitioner in good standing with the Org. This was the Auditor and Philosopher, which ran for only 2 or 3 issues during 1956. Independent communications media were clearly not encouraged. Independent professionals to functionaries and recruiting agents for the central organizations. 1 'rh Org

The founders of many social and religious movements, while bearing the charisma necessary to mobilize a large following and convey an innovative message, not infrequently lack the administrative ability to establish an enduring organizational structure which will continue to promote that message after their demise. Hubbard, however, is an extraordinary administrator. Developed in its present form largely during the years after establishing his headquarters in East Grinstead, the Org is an elaborate and imposing bureaucratic machine.

Max Weber detailed the following characteristics of bureaucracy: fixed official jurisdictional areas ordered by rules; the distribution of regular activities as official duties; the stable and strictly delimited distribution of the authority of officials; and the restriction of office to those appropriately qualified. Bureaucracy rests on an ordered hierarchy of office and authority with the lower offices supervised by the higher; the extensive use of written documents preserved as 'the files'; specialized office management with expert training; and an elaborate body of general rules, knowledge of which constitutes part of the technical expertise possessed by officials. 2 As we shall establish below, in many respects the Scientology organization approximates very closely to this ideal type.

The structure of the Org is established by an organizational chart generally known as 'The Org Board'. The Org Board divides the organization into seven

Divisions: Executive; HCO; HCO Dissemination; Treasury; Technical;

Qualifications; and Distribution each, as will be evident from their titles,

Most books on Scientology by individuals within the movement other than Hubbard are copyrighted in Hubbard's name. When a writer falls from favour they are withdrawn from circulation. Thus when Reg Sharpe, a prominent aide of HubScientology organization approximates very closely to this deal type.

The structure of the Org is established by an organizational chart generally Executive Director ED 716 WW

November 7th 1967 HCO SEGS FRANCHISE FSMS Cancellation of Issue Authority LRH Issue Authority is hereby cancelled on the book 'This is Life' by Reg Sharpe. This book can no longer be issued, sold or displayed by Scientology orgs, ESMS, Franchise or Scientologists.

Issue Authority WW

For the

LRH Communicator WW for

Board of Directors of the Church [Seal]

of Scientology of California, i K.

Max Weber, 'Bureaucracy', Chapter 8 in Hans H. Gerth and C Wright Mills, eds, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1970), pp. 196-8.

..11 IIU UOILES TepC Oy n pdl

Every post within the organization has associated with it a 'hat' file. The hat file contains the relevant policy for the operation of that post, plus memoranda from its former incumbents which will aid a newcomer in 'wearing the hat' that is, operating the post effectively. Hat files are written up with such specificity that theoretically any individual could take over and operate the post after simply learning the file. The 'Org Executive Course' provides executive training for higher echelon personnel that is operating the post effectively. Hat files are written up with such specificity

having distinct functions. Below these with yet more specialized functions are twenty-seven Departments. The chain of command culminates in L. Ron Hubbard, currently shown as 'Founder', below whom is ranged his (third) wife Mary Sue Hubbard as 'The Controller', and the Executive Directors of each organization. Beneath 'The Controller' lies the office of 'The Guardian' and the HCO side of the organization, which deals among other things with external relations; communication to and from Hubbard; general communication within the organization; personnel; and internal social control of the movement. The Org Executive Directors have responsibility for the operating divisions of the organization processing, training, accounting, etc.

Each department has a particular function and jurisdiction as established in Hubbard's Policy Orders. These documents specify the

grounds for the operation of each unit within the organization, the responsibilities of its officers, and the organization's goals and procedures. Many of them are collected in a series of eight volumes as an 'Encyclopedia of Scientology Policy', which collectively form 'the O'Gani ah6n Exectztire Cotrse.1 Org executives are required to have an operating knowledge of these volumes, and an executive is expected to be able to legitimate his actions by reference to relevant policy.

The Org maintains extensive files. Policy now demands that all orders be

The Org Board provides the model for all Scientology organizations. In small organizations which lack sufficient personnel to staff every post separately, one staff member may 'wear several hats'. However, the Org Board is presented not merely as an appropriate structure for Scientology organization; rather it is taken to be the perfect organizational form, applicable from the level of the individual (who could operate, it is argued, on the same functional model) to that of the world. As Scientology expands, its followers believe the whole world will gradually get 'pulled in under the Org Board'.

I L. Ron Hubbard, the Organization Executive Course (Scientology Publications Organisation, Copenhagen, 1970). This volume will hereafter be cited simply as OIC. I was initially permitted to purchase only the first two of these volumes, which alone comprise some 600 pages of policy letters. The Scientology publishing company did not agree to sell me the other six volumes until too late to utilize them for the purposes of this research.

OIC, Vol. 0, p. 296.

5 Posts in Scientology orgs are known as 'hats', from the phrase 'wearing his hat', meaning acting in his sueh-and-sueh role.

The virtues of the Org Board derive particularly from the fact that it is held to be a practical representation of the basic scheme of Scientology theory:

Thetan

HCO

Divisions Org

Public Divisions

Divisions

Under his direct subordinates are the guiding spirit, the thetan, of the Org operating through its 'mind', the HCO Divisions including the Guardian's Office and the Ethics Officers 1 Pugh and Hickson in their analysis of the structure of fifty-two organizations found none which showed the kind of profile to be expected from Weber's model of bureaucracy, that is one which

would appear as highly specialised with many narrowly defined specialist 'offices', as highly standardised in its procedures, and as highly formalised with documents prescribing and recording all activities and available in the files as precedents. IE everything

had to be referred upwards for decision, then it would also score highly centralised. In configuration it would have a high proportion of 'supportive' or administrative or 'non.work-dow' personnel.' They suggest that such 'extreme total bureaucracy' may only exist among the bureaux of central government. Yet the Scientology organization appears to fit this model singularly closely. While not every decision could conceivably be referred upwards, few need to be in the Org, since most decisions can be made on the basis of the centrally prepared policy documents, which specify in great detail how operations are to be carried out.<sup>3</sup> Only in the event of ambiguity or unprecedented circumstances need matters be referred upward for decision.

While the organization has become highly bureaucratized, it departs from the classic Weberian model over the position of 'the official'. Staff posts are presented

I Ibid..p. 252.

3 D. S. Pugh and D. J. Hickson, 'The comparative study of organisadons' in Graeme Salaman and Kenneth Thompson, eds, *Peoplt aDd organisatioDs* (Longman, London, L973), p59

i When he lived at Saint Hill, for e:ample, Hubbard wrote a lengthy memorandum detailing the proper way to wash the Hubbard family cars. This is still printed in OEC, Vol. I, pp. 295-6. as fulfilling a duty in assisting Ron to 'clear the planet',<sup>1</sup> and enjoy a measure of social esteem, particularly in the more specialized and executive positions.<sup>3</sup> Posts are filled by appointment<sup>3</sup> and the hierarchy of offices might be said to provide a career, and will no doubt increasingly provide an established ladder of advancement as the movement becomes more thoroughly institutionalized. However, the concept of career is only loosely applicable, since many staff members join the organization only temporarily, working out contracts of specified length (typically two and a half years) in return for free auditing and training.<sup>4</sup> vMany therefore see their staff membership as of limited duration. It is doubtless in part because of the rapid turnover in staff engendered by the contract system that the highly formalized machinery of staff hats, etc..has been instituted, to equip an individual to cope with a post after minimal trainin<sup>8</sup>. lloreover, even the executive officials of Scientology Orgs do not enjoy security of tenure. Security of tenure, as Weber has indicated, enhances, even if it does not ensure, the independence of the office holder. Such independence is entirely contrary to the spirit of Scientology's organizational practice.

The Org bureaucracy departs from the Weberian model in two further particulars While Weber spccified that 'official activity demands the full working capacity of the official, irrespective of the fact that his obligatory time in the bureau may be firmly delimited',<sup>5</sup> Scientology personnel are utilized as disposable agents by the leadership to an extent far beyond that usual in bureaucratic organizations. In periods of organizational or departmental crisis, personnel may be required to remain at the Org working, except for brief periods of rest snatched on the floor or wherever is available, for forty-eight or more hours at a time<sup>5</sup> or sent offwith case-loads of books to be sold in distant towns after a normal day's work at the Org.<sup>7</sup> The extent to which the organization may encroach on the 'private' time and activities of its personnel is a function of the ideological commitment of its staff, a personal

involvement that departs from the impersonal aura of Weber's bureaucrat.

Secondly, Weber's official 'receives the regular pecuniary compensation of a normally fixed salary and the old age security provided by a pension'. As far as I can learn no pension provision is made by the Scientology organization, and staff are not, for the most part, paid a fixed salary. Remuneration in the

I 'A post in a Scientology Org isn't a job. It's a trust and a crusade', OEC, Vol. 0, P 34

2 Incumbents of lower posts are often regarded with pity, even by staunch adherents, rather than respect, but that is probably true of bureaucracy everywhere.

3 The more important posts are appointed only by Hubbard himself. See OEC, Vol. 1, pp. 2, 100, 12j. See, for example, OEC, Vol. 0, p. 48. S Weber, op cit. c Cyril Vosper, Is Mird end THZ SICT: SC1Zts'TOLOOY organization is based on gross receipts. Fifty-five per cent of the gross income for a particular Org is transferred to a Salary Account. Each post within that Org has a certain number of 'units' allotted to it, each unit entitling the staff member to a certain proportion of the salary fund. Hence, as Org income fluctuates so, accordingly, will individual salaries. The Anderson Report indicates that the resulting salary levels achieved by staff of the Victoria Organization were relatively low, often less than the state's basic wage level. For example, for the week ended 17th May 1962 where the unit appears to have been \$ 6d, a person on 16 units received as little as

4 \$s for 40 hours work. Other instances for that week were: J'fo. of units

Hours worked

Gross salary

40

42t

42t

40

325

7

33

47

9

1

6 The highest paid employee in the HASI in this week was the cleaner, who was paid The highest paid employee in the HASI in this week was the cleaner, who was paid

at the rate of ms per hour. HCO staff fared a little better than the HASI, two of

them getting £16 I /s 6d and £16 respectively.

Interviews with former employees of the Org in England and America confirm the low average level of pay and its ductuations, although there may have been some improvement in recent years.

Two of the factors which normally play an important part in recruitment to bureaucracy, job and income security, are thus dispensed with in the Scientology organization. Personnel are attracted to Org posts as a result of ideological commitment, and the fact that contracting to work for the Org permits access to training and auditing they could otherwise ill afford. Dispensing with these two aspects of bureaucracy also facilitates greater control by the leadership of the incumbents of staff posts.

The Org is a highly bureaucratized structure although it retains distinctive patrimonial characteristics.

It is decisive for the specific nature of modern loyalty to an office that, in the pure

type, it does not establish a relationship to a person, like the . . .disciple's faith...in

patrimonial relations of authority.<sup>3</sup>

I Kevin Victor Ancerson, Report of the r70ad of EnquiTy into ScienoloD (Government Printer, Melbourne, Avstralia, 1965), pp. 26 et seq.

S Anderson, op. cit..p. 27.

Weber, op. cit..p. 149. The employees of Hubbard's Org are not merely officials, but also disciples. Hence commitment of staff to the Org is secured by ideological means, replacing the need for the attractions of tenure, secure salary and orderly promotion through a work hierarchy. Moreover, the movement leadership seeks to proscribe the development of an independent basis of authority within the movement, even in its own bureaucratic structure. The absence of tenure and the considerable substitutability of employees even at the highest levels, enhances the dependence of the bureaucracy on the authority and direction of the leader, and the maintenance of ultimate control in his hands.

### Statistics

An important element of the organization's bureaucratic practice is its 'statistics', or 'stats'. Statistics provide both a measure of organizational efficiency and a means of control. The development of statistics was one major aspect of the bureaucratization of the movement and the shift in administration from a purely patrimonial, personally directed staff of disciples to impersonal control through formal rules and procedures.

An org today is not run on personalities. It's run on statistics. All orders are based on statistics .1

The statistic is a measure of operating efficiency based on some readily available indicator. Each Org, division, department, and hat is assigned a statistic which indicates 'normal operation'. The statistics are indicated by the gross income of the facility; number of letters mailed out with promotional material; gross book sales; number of students enrolled; number of 'success stories' written; or some similar objective indicator.<sup>2</sup>

Weekly statistics reports are transmitted up the organizational chain of command and provide a ready means of checking the productivity of lower echelon departments and personnel. 'Up statistics', that is a level above the arbitrary norm set for normal operation indicate that the individual occupying the post, or the department concerned is in a 'higher condition'<sup>3</sup> and therefore eligible for various awards. An individual in a condition of 'Power' on his post receives

Pay and full bonuses. Awarded \$25.00 credit for Org Services at own org or is payable by Org as credit against services in a higher Org. Has top priority on Org service lines. Gold star on Comm bas:et and on Org Board.' ' L. Ron Hubbard, HCO Policy Letter, I February 1966, p. 2.

S L. Ron Hubbard, 'statistics for divisions, HCO Policy Letter, 30 September 1966, in OEC, Vol. I, pp. 328-g.

See 33rd section below. 'Conditions, awards and penances, HCO Policy Letter, 16 November 1971. On the other hand, 'down statistics', that is, below normal operation, indicate that the individual or org is in a 'lower condition' and becomes liable to various penalties. In 'Liability' an individual receives Pay, but no bonuses. Must submit and execute a 40 hour Amends Project in own time. Is off all training and auditing except for Gramming, Word Clearing or hatting actions necessary to handle own post. Minimal meal breaks. Austere working uniform or clothing. May not have time off or receive vacation while in this condition. A gray ribbon is placed on their Comm basket and a gray flag by their name on the Org Board. Must wear a gray armband on left arm. The leader

At least until recent years, Hubbard indisputably controlled the Scientology organization. Until 1966, he and members of his immediate family occupied the more important directorship positions of the various Scientology organizations. During 1966 he was said to have resigned from all directorships of such organizations. While Hubbard appears to have relinquished direct legal control, he retained certain rights: as 'Trustee' and signatory to various international bank accounts of the movement until at least 1966. According to the Guardian's Office of the Church, Hubbard is not currently a signatory on any Church of Scientology bank account, nor does he have any 'Trustee' status.<sup>a</sup>

While policy documents are now often issued over other names than Hubbard's, many are still issued over Hubbard's name. The Guardian's Office advise me that Hubbard has 'sold his name' to the Church, which they indicate means that the right to append Hubbard's name to policy is vested in the Board of Directors of the Church of Scientology World Wide.<sup>4</sup> This may indicate that Hubbard has relinquished direct administrative control over Scientology. It may, however, indicate that like Mary Baker Eddy, Hubbard found it convenient not to appear to be directing the Scientology



organizations. Until her death, Mrs Eddy actively supervised the administration of the Christian Science Church, although she had nominally relinquished control to the Board of Directors.

The policy of the movement states that Hubbard is the source of all Scientological theory and practice in the sense that even where he did not invent a particular practice, only his approval legitimates its use and is often referred to in Scientology publications as the 'Source'. The Guardian's Omce claim,

I Ibid.

5 Testimony of Herbie Parkhouse, Church of Scientology of California Inc. v. Bernard Green and Barbara Ferraro, etc..60 civ 5745 before Hon. Richard H. Levet, District Judge, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, Stenographer's Minutes, October 4, 5 6, 1972, pp. 577-609.

Lcncr from David Gaiman, Guardian's Office, Church of Scientology, Zl v[arch 974 4 Ibid. however, that owncrship ol all llubbard's phllosopllicnl and techmCal m.....

now vested in the Church.

Evidence tendered by officers of the Washington Founding Church of Scientology in legal actions in 1967 also indicated that, whatever the legal position, Hubbard remained in ultimate control of the movement, and could reassume day-to-day operational control without difficulty.

He still issues our policy letters as the founder which are applicable to Scientologists everywhere I

...I think it is fair to say that from the viewpoint of all Scientologists, we accept Ron Hubbard as the final authority and the source of Scientology.3 Q. Let me ask you this. Is it within Mr Hubbard's power at any time to assume the control of the Founding Church and all other Scientology organisations ?

A. Only by the agreement of Scientologists. Q. If Mr Hubbard tomorrow were to issue a memorandum where he was to state that he was taking back what he had said last year and he was again to be put on the board of directors of all organisations, would the Scientologists allow him to be put back?

A. May I answer that in two parts?

Q. Please answer yes or no and then explain. A. The answer is yes, and I will elaborate on that by saying that theoretically, or better said, as a point of practicability, the boards of all churches could actually refuse that, but in actual fact, I know that would never happen.3

Moreover, as Hubbard has apparently withdrawn from operational direction of the movement, other members of his family have come to play a larger role. His wife, Mary Sue, is 'The Controller' to whom the Guardian is responsible. The Guardian directs the operations of

Moreover, as Hubbard has apparently withdrawn from operational direction of the movement, other members of his family have come to play a larger role. His wife, Mary Sue, is 'The Controller' to whom the Guardian is responsible. The Guardian directs the operations of

the Assistant Guardians based in each organization. The Assistant Guardian is the senior and most powerful executive in every local organization.<sup>4</sup>

' Testimony of John Bevis Fudge, Founding Church of Scientology v. USA in US Court of Claims, No. 226-61, Washington D.C. :1967, transcript, pp. 217-18.

r Ibid..p. 2t8.

3 Ibid..p. 29 n In his deposition, Bevis Fudge, Legal Omcer and Assistant Guardian of the Founding Church of Scientology also makei this point clear: 'Q. Does Ron Hubbard have, let s say, the power within the organisation to influence its activities and operations since he resigned his directorships in 1 966 ? A. Definitely. Q. So there has been no real change then in his control over the organisation? A. No, not to my knowledge.' ('Deposition of Bevis Fudge' in Founding Church of Seientology v. U.S.A..3 January 1967, stenographic transcript, p. 12.) Documents made available to me by a reently defected Sea Org member make it quite clear that there remains a direct chain of command from Hubbard through the Sea Org to all Scientology organizations.

4 Deposition of Anne L. Ursprung, in Founding Church of Scientology v. The Washington Post Co, Civil Action No. 214 1-68, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, tg68. Miss Ursprung testified that as Assistant Guardian she was superior

Hubbard's daughter, Diana, and son, Quentin, are assuming a progressively more important place in the affairs of the movement, figuring prominently in recent publications, and acting as Hubbard's proxies at major gatherings of the movement. As Hubbard has withdrawn from the direct public control of the movement, other members of his family have moved into leadership roles. 'the Sea Otg

A relatively recent aGdition to the organization of Scientology is the Sea Org. Shortly before the Bitish Home Office advised Hubbard that he would no longer be permitted entry to the United Kingdom, he acquired, with considerable foresight, a sea-going vessel, the avowed purpose of which was to enable Hubbard to explore ancient civilizations. By 1971 the Sea Org fleet contained some six ships.t

Its purpose has been variously presented.

The Sea Org was formed to compose a superiorly disciplined, elite group working directly under Ron to aid the creation of a new civilisation on mis planet.<sup>3</sup>

The Sea Organisation operates on a high standard of mobility and comfront. Its end product is Ethics and Order. Its purpose is to get ETHICS IN.

The Sea Organrsation is the most powerful organisation in the world. It works wi the primary rod of Emhics.'

The Sea Organisation is composed of the aristoeracy' of Scientology. The Sea Organisahon (the research and management branch of the Church The Sea Organisation is composed of the 'aristocracy' of Scientology.' The Sea Organisation (mhe research and management branch of the Church of Scientology)...<sup>5</sup>

The Sea Org has no separate corporate status, but comprises an elite order of Scientologists, with a broad authority to intervene in the affairs of Scientology organizations.<sup>7</sup>

I See, for example, the letter from David Gaiman to Sir John Foster cited in Foster, op. cit..p. 34. This is one clear example of the exoteric versus the esoteric presentation of Scientology. While it may be true that Hubbard desired to explore ancient civilizations, this can have been only a very minor part of the Sea Org's purpose.

Z Foster, op. cit..p. 35m

<sup>7</sup> Aduance, 7, n.d..n.p. 'LBana Hubbard, 'What is the Sea Org?', mmeo (15 March 1968). 5 Leaflet, no publisher (1972).

S 'the JView Civilization, 12 (1972), p. 3.

' The ownership of the vessels of the Sea Org is something of a mystery. Herbert Parkhouse, a senior Church executive, testified in Church of Scientology of California Inc. v. Bernard Green, etc.. op. cit..that the vessels of the Sea Org were owned by a corporation known as Operations and Transport Services Ltd, which also receives fees paid by students for Sea Org and other advanced courses. Parkhouse testified that in the Washington Church to the HCO Exec Sec, the Org Exec Sec and the Public Exec Sec, the Board of Trustees, whose decisions she could veto, the President of the Executive Council, and that she had ultimate authority in administrative matters. The Sea Org sends its officers to individual orgs with unlimited powers to handle

a. Ethics

b. Tech

c. AdminP

The vessels of the Sea Org are surrounded with an aura of mystery and secrecy. The whereabouts of the Flag Ship on which Hubbard resides is kept a closely guarded secret even from rank and file Scientologists. The 'Missions' are despatched from the Sea Org to take command of organizations with 'do vns-statistics', to remedy the situation. Among their 'unlimited powers' is that of superior authority to the land organization executives. For example:...as per HCO POL 20 June 1968, the senior Ethics Officer on the planet is the International Chief Ethics Officer WW. OVER THE CHIEF E/O ARE THE MASTERS AT ARMS OF THE SEA ORG.s

The salaries of the Sea Org Missions are paid for at far from meagre rates by the organizations concerned.<sup>4</sup>

Advanced organizations, that is those that provide upper-level training and OT courses, are located aboard Sea Org vessels or otherwise staffed by Sea Org personnel. The members of the Sea Org are completely committed followers of Hubbard. Recruits are required to sign a 'billion year contract' on entry,<sup>9</sup> are paid little more than pocket money,<sup>9</sup> and are subject to more severe discipline

i L Ron Hubbard, CO Polioy L9tr, Issue 11, 8 February 1968 (rny

emphasis.

I L. Ron Hubbard, UCO Policy Letter, Issue 11, 8 February 1968 (my emphasis). 9 Interview.

9 Tom Moore, Master of Arms, AOLA, 'Subject: Conditions Orders' (mimeo), Department of the Master at Arms, The Advanced Organisation, Los Angeles, A Mission of the Sea Organisation-Flag, 12 August 1968.

S This is evident, for example, from the following (despite the confusion as to who is to pay whom): 'There has been a rumor started to the effect that AO [Advanced Organisation] owes 55000 to the L.A. [Los Angeles] Org for a Sea Org Mission which declared 2 Liabilities, 2 Doubts and 1 Enemy [Ethical Conditions, See pp. 142-8 below]. These were said by the S.P. [Suppressive Person] to be wrong conditions. These were in fact 100, correct as out Tech and out Ethics were found in L.A. The L.A. Org does in fact owe the Advanced Organisation 54,500 for an Ethics Mission and 520,000 as an order from Flag.'

Fran Deitsch, Supercargo, Flag Mission, Sea Org, 'Malicious rumor mongering-S.P.', CO Ethics Order Master of Arms, 14 August 1968. 9 'Sea Org requirements changed', letter, n.d.; and Foster, op. cit.. p. 35.

; 'A Sea Org member draws only about four pounds a week and his room and board'. the Auditor, 51 (1970). He also receives a maritime uniform which while 'optional when they are on land' (David Gaiman cited in Foster, op. cit..p. 34) is usually worn as a mark of status in Scientology circles.

various Orgs charter vessels from Operation and Transport Services for training and other purposes. Ibid..pp. 67-71. 142

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than ordinary followers or staff members I They also receive all training and auditing free.Z

Sea Org personnel are generally trained on the most advanced procedures and constitute a powerful elite, commanding widespread respect within the movement.5 Officially, individual Sea Org members are employees of the various Churches of Scientology, and are subject, like all other employees, to the Board of Directors. My impression is, however, that the Sea Org, whether formally or informally, has a considerable commitment to Hubbard personally, and provides an executive force mobilizable by Hubbard to maintain his authority and carry out his policy anywhere in the world. It is also mobilized in public relations exercises to provide a good image for Scientology, or for OTC Ltd (one designation for the company owning the Sea Org vessels), which is represented as a management training organization in various Mediterranean and Latin American countries. In some of these, no link between OTC Ltd and Scientology is publicized. The public relations exercises include an 'open-house programme', in which members of the public are given a tour of Sea Org vessels and 'V.I.P.s' are entertained. The purpose of this programme is detailed in a Sea Organization Flag Order

Production target No 1: Increased number of allies.

Production target No 2: Existing allies more firmly allies.

Production target No 3: Many well-handled visitors who leave the ship with an

excellent reality on it and its operation, officers and crew, who will spread this affinity and reality widely.

The Scientology leadership has developed, over the history of the movement, an extensive system of social control. In essence, of course, all organization is a form of social control in that it establishes limits on what may or may not be done, where, and when. Hence, everything that has gone before in this chapter is germane to the question of how the employees and followers of the movement are controlled.

Beyond these practices, however, Scientology employs a formal machinery of control, the Ethics system of the movement. The Ethics system is based upon a

HCO Policy Letter, 26 September 1967

'OEC, Vol. 1, p. 88. Subject of course to the proviso that they are charged that everything should they decamp.

'If almost any person in the Sea Organisation were to appear in a Scientology Group or Org he would be lionized, red-carpeted and Very-Important-Person beyond belief', L. Ron Hubbard, 'The Sea Organisation', pamphlet, [Church of Scientology] n.d.

We are unlikely to learn the true extent of Hubbard's control over the organization of Scientology, and the Sea Org, until well after his death.

'Ship Open-House Programme, Sea Organisation Eligibility Order, 29m, August 1971. Danger Non-Existence Liability Doubtful Enemy Treason I

Below Normal Operation, the individual or organization is liable to penalties, while above it they may receive rewards. The Condition of Liability, for example, is assigned when

The being has ceased to be simply non-existent as a team member and has taken on the colour of an enemy. It is assigned where careless or malicious and knowing damage is caused to projects, organisations or activities. It is adjudicated that it is malicious and knowing because orders have been published against it or because it is contrary to the intentions and actions of the remainder of the team or the purpose of the project or organisation.

list of 'Conditions' which could be said to indicate the state of grace of any individual or organization. The following Conditions are specified:

Power Power Change Affluence Normal Operation An individual assigned to a Condition of Liability

may not wear arty insignia or uniform or similar clothing to the group [sic] and must wear a dirty grey rag tied around the left arm. The formula of liability is: 1. Decide who are one's friends 2. Deliver an effective blow to the enemies of the group one has been pretending

to be part of despite personal danger. 3 Make up the damage one has done by personal contribution far beyond the

ordinary demands of a group member. 4. Apply for re-entry to the group by asking the permission of each member of it

to rejoin and rejoining only by majority permission, and if refused, repeating

(2) and 3) and (4) until one is allowed to be a group member again. The penalties attaching to the various Lower Conditions have varied since 19 is when they were instituted. The Condition of Enemy until late 1970 when penalties for Lower Conditions were said to have been abolished by the Org, indicated that the individual was a Suppressive Person . A Suppressive Person

I L. Ron Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology texts (Scientology Publications Organisation, Copenhagen 1970), p 23. 2 Ibid..p. 33t Ibid..pp. 33-4; for a reconstruction of the experiences of an individual in Liability, see aufman, op. cit..pp. 164-7.

Foster, op. cit..p. 128. or Group is one that actively seeks to suppress or damage Scientology or: Scientologist by Suppressive Acts. Suppressive Acts are acts calculated to impede or destroy Scientology...n Apart from the other penalties which included 'May be restrained or imprisoned',<sup>8</sup> a Suppressive Person became 'Fair Game',

By FAIR GAME is meant, without right for self possessions or position and no Scientologist may be brought before a Committee of Evidence or punished for any action taken against the Suppressive Person or Group during the period that person or group is 'fair game'.<sup>3</sup>

May be deprived of property or injured by any means by any Scientologist without any discipline of the Scientologists. May be tricked, sued or lied to or destroyed.:

In 1968 Hubbard issued a policy which ordered an end to the practice of declaring people 'fair game', on the ground that it caused 'bad public relations.' He added, however, that this order did not 'cancel any policy on the treatment or handling of an S.P.'s

Someone connected to a Suppressive Person was a Potential Trouble Source (PTS) and was required (until 1968) to 'handle' the S.P.. which seems to have meant showing him the error of his ways, or to disconnect from him. Disconnection involved cutting off all communication with the S.P. and declaring one's intention to do so publicly. Disconnections were at one time published in the Auditor. For example:

1, Heath Douglas Creer, do swear that I do disavow and thoroughly disassociate declaring one's intention to do so publicly. Disconnections were at one time published in 'The Auditor. For

e7rample:

I, Heath Douglas Creer, do swear that I do disavow and thoroughly disassociate myself from any overtly or covertly planned contact or association with J. Roscoe Creer and Isabell Hodge Creer or anyone demonstrably guilty of Suppressive Acts (as described in HCO Policy Letters, March 1965). I understand that any breach of the above pledge will result in my being declared immediately a suppressive person. signed H. D. Creer.'

Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology Ethics, op. cit..p. 48. ' Foster, op. cit..p. 128.

L. Ron Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology Ethics (Publications Organisation World Wide, Edinburgh 1968), p. 49.

L. Ron Hubbard, HCO Policy Letter, 18 October 1966, cited in Foster, op. cit..p. 129 The esoteric interpretation of this presented by public relations officials of the movement is that it meant no more than that the individual no longer received the protection of the movement's ethical codes. This is an interpretation which employs all hermeneutics to which I am not privy, seeming to be contradicted both by the word on the page, and by actions taken against those regarded as enemies of the movement

Foster, op. cit..p 129.

Although it was 'Policy' to require the PTS to handle or disconnect, I have copies of Ethics Orders (one of which appears to have been validated by Hubbard), which order disconnection to be carried out. This does not, however, appear to have been usual

practice. In the Auditor, 9, n.d..p. 8. More usually, a brief note was sent to the S.P. by anyone who might be ordered or feel inclined to do so.

12.4.68 G-HI hereby disconnect from you

A-L-

12.4.68 From M-S to H: Dear GI hereby disconnect from you.

M-S-.3

An individual could be required to disconnect from a relative, friend or a total stranger. Some interviewees who had been declared S.P. received as many as 200 disconnecting letters.<sup>3</sup>

Organisations or smaller sub-units could be assigned a Condition if they persistently manifested down-statistics, employed 'out-tech' or 'out-admin'. When such a Lower Condition is assigned to an Org, its personnel are required to work longer hours, receive reduced pay and are liable for more severe ethics treatment. Practices similar to disconnection are relatively common among sectarian movements. Deviants or defectors from groups such as the Amush are 'banned', or 'shunned'. The Christadelphians practice 'disfellowshipments'

In each case, the practice involves the exclusion of the individual from effective interaction with the believers. He may not be allowed to enter the Church or to take communion, and believers in

good standing may not be permitted to communicate with him. The ban usually extends even to members of his own family. When repentance has been appropriately signified and the elders or congregation agree, the individual may once again be accepted back into fellowship. Whole congregations might sometimes be 'disfellowshipped' .3

Conditions are normally assigned by an Ethics Officer. The Ethics Officers are located in the HCO Division, and their appointment is subject to approval by Hubbard on whose behalf they directly administer ethics.

The actual authority on which Ethics operates, no matter who signs the order, u

LRH.' Disconnection letters provided by an informant. Ibid. One formerly prominent figure in the movement received over 400. OEC, Vol. 0, p. 195. S On the Amish, see J A Hostetler, Amish Society (Johns Hopkins Press, 1968). On the Chnstadelphians, see Bryan R Wilson, Sects ali Sociey (Heinemann, London,

61).

' Ibid. OEC, Vol. I, p. 496. Ethics O fficers are looked on by me as my Ethics Officers and none may be appointed without my okay with a review of their record by myseh I

The Ethics Officers act as an internal police force and a substantial body of such personnel are maintained by each Org.

By recent experience and tests in the Sea Org It requires a ratio of one Ethics Officer for every 20 people being handled in or by an Org.'

As well as a police force, there e:cists an established judicial structure operated through 'Committees of Evidence' and 'Courts of Ethics', with Hubbard as the final court of appeal.

Ethics are adrninistered on the basis of the mozement's Ethics Codes which classify a wide range of acts as Errors, Misdemeanours, Crimcs and High Crimes (Suppressize Acts). Among the Crimes are such offences as

Not directly reporting dagrant departures from International Board policy in a section, unit, department, organization, zone or Division.'

By this means Org personnel are constrained to monitor and control each other.

Allying Scientology to a disrelated practice.5 Organizing or allowing a gathering or meeting of staff members or field auditors or the public to protest the orders of a senior G

Only indiuiduul petitions are permitted, thus atomizing the personnel and

Only individual petitit ns are permitted, thus atomizing the personnel and preventing organized opposition to, or constraint upon, the authority of the leadership.



Heckling a Scientology Supervisor or lecturer.'

Among the High Grimes Hubbard specifies are:

Proposing, advising or voting for legislation or ordinances, rules or laws directed towards the Suppression of Scientology.  
Testifying hostilely [sic] before state or public inquiries into Scientology to suppress it. Bringing civil suit against any Scientology Organisation  
IG Testifying as a hostile witness against Scientology in public  
Publicly resigning staff or executive position in protest or with intent to suppress

Ibid. Ibid. p. 482. J L. Ron Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology Ethics (Second edition), Scientology Publications Organization, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1970, p. 42. ' Staff members are also encouraged to report on each other for idleness, error, failure to carry out policy, etc. See OEC, Vol. 0, pp. 66-7. 5 L R on Hubbard, Introduction to Scientology Ethics, op. cit. p. 4. D Ibid. p. 46. ' Ibid. p. 47 · Ibid. p. 49. D Ibid. IG Ibid. 11 Ibid.

12 Ibid. Anyone performing any of these acts is a Suppressive Person, and until 1968 was 'fair game'. Ethics are administered by means of Ethics Orders. These may be issued for the most trivial or the most serious offences.

HCO Ethics Order To: Those Concerned

Date 16 August 1965 From: Ethics Officer

No F-g Subject: Suspension from Staff.

Mary Austin is hereby suspended from Foundation Staff for creating DEV T [Dev T developed and unnecessary traffic] on August 13, 1965, by stopping ETHICS OFFICER, Anne Fewell, in her Route of Business to pay a personal compliment, and on the same date, distracting D. of T. [Director of Training] John Gillespie's attention from making out chits and other reports.

To: Those Concerned From: Ethics Officer Subject: Disconnection Order Anne Fewell Ethics Officer, Foundation  
HCO Ethics Order Date 6 September 1965 >No 69

I . Dick Saunders is hereby ordered to totally disconnect from literature issued by the Food and Drug Administration as it is restimulative to him. The FDA literature he comes in contact with is not to be read by him at all. [Seal.]

Anne Fewell [Seal.]

Anne Fewell Ethics Officer. E.O. 3.7 AOLA

Date 7 December 1969

Harvey Thorpe is assigned a condition of Doubt for spreading false reports about the location of Flag. He is to apply the formula immediately.  
5 Wn of Expulsion

Date 7 December 1969

1. Maxine Johnson and Michael Childs, practitioners, New York City,

no longer being in agreement with or willing to support the stated aims of Scientology, are on this date duly expelled from the Church of Scientology of California.

2 They have aided and abetted Bernard Green, who was duly expelled from the Church, and condoned his erroneous Counselling of parishioners v hen he was not ordained to do so.

3 All certificates and awards issued to them by the Church of Scientology are hereby cancelled.

. therefore, they are expelled from the Church of Scientology and may not receive spiritual counselling or training in any Church of Scientology until hey

Cea/,Vcus,issuenumbrunknown(lg6g),p.s.  
'Cle2/JVeuos,issuenumbrUnknown(lg6g)p s

THE SUCT: SCirNTOLOGY have performed an zct of contrition and availed thentselves of resources to re-enter the Church. They mzy not enter any Church of Scientology.

5. They are declared in no condition, as their actions indicate that mhey are below any condition currertly assignable.l

While the sanctions for Ethics offences have been much modified in recent years, during the mid-1g60s the leadership briefly flirted with the use of coercive sanchons. Provision existed within the Ethics codes for the restriction of movement of those who contravened ethics regulations<sup>2</sup> and former members have claimed that oflenders were locked up for periods on Sea Org vessels and at the Edinburgh Ofli es of the movement.<sup>3</sup> A prachce known as 'Instant Ethics' was employed at one time. This consisted of throwing an offender over the side of a Sea Org vessel sometimes with his hands or feet tied. On land organiations this practice was modified to throwing the offender in the lake at Saint Hill or throwing buckets of water over the offender elsewhere.

Schismatics, seceders an t social control The most severe treatment appears to have bcen reserved for schismatics and seceders. Indeed an analysis of the development of social control within the movement clearly suggests that the threat of schism and secession was one of the major factors leading to the emergence of a severe formal machinery of social control. Until 1959 such formal control mechanisms were merely rudimentary.

Inthisyear,however,  
severaloftheleadingexecutivesinthemovementdefected including Hubbard's eldest son L. Ron Hubbard Jr. ('Mbs'). Their defection was not accompanied by heresy, however. Hubbard's son left his Org office to take up more profitable private prachce independent of the organization. Hubbard initially attributed these defections to lack of sufficient auditing of his executivesS but he shortly came to the view that mere auditing was not sufficient to avert further serious defections. An attempt was made to isolate defectors by threatening to cancel the certificates of anyone giving them supportq and the practice of 'security checking' was instituted. Security checking involved asking an individual a series of questions while watching for 'meter reads' on the E-meter, to locate questions which would not 'clear' indicating that the individual being checked was withholding sometffing concerning that subject. Ibid.

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'Penalties for lower condition', HCO Policy Letter, 01 July 1968. Those in a condition of Doubt may be confined in or be barred from premises'.

The existence of a 'dungeon at the latter was also alleged by Alexander H. Fitchell, Sunday Times, 12 February 1966.

The practice of 'Instant Ethics is portrayed photographically in the Auditor, 4 (1968).

6 L. Ron Hubbard, Individuation, lecture 26 of the First Melbourne Advanced Clinical Course, 05 November 1959 (tape-recordings).

L. Ron Hubbard, 'Cancellation of Certificates, HCO Policy Letter, 03 May 1960. On a Security Check sheet you only note those questions that wouldn't clear. If something won't clear or clear off the person is a security risk. If he does tell you and clear it, if it's a heavy crime, note it. Remember as a security checker you are not merely an observer, or an auditor, you are a detective.'

Among the questions asked on 'Sec checks' were:

z. Are you a pervert? o.  
Are you guilty of any major crimes in this lifetime? 1 1. Have you been sent here knowingly to injure Scientology? 12. Are you or have you ever been a Communist? s

A security check to be administered to students before acceptance on courses contained the following questions:

2. Do you or your close family currently have any connection with organisations

violently opposed to L. Ron Hubbard? g. Are you here purposely to upset or damage Scientology or Scientology organisations?

hons? 9. Do you intend to quit this course just as soon as you have achieved your own

ends? I During 1962, the Johannesburg HASI appeared unresponsive to Hubbard's orders and among his efforts to restore control, he invented a particularly stringent security check known familiarly as the 'Jo'burg'. This security check contained 50 questions including:

Are you guilty of anything? stringent security check known familiarly as the 'Jo'burg'. This security check contained 150 questions including:

Are you guilty of anything? Do you have a secret you are afraid I'll find out? Have you ever assaulted anyone, practised cannibalism, been in gaol? Do you have any overb on L. Ron Hubbard, Mary Sue Hubbard? security check

Have you ever had any unkind thoughts about L. Ron Hubbard or Scientology? Do you plan to steal a Scientology organisation?'

In 1964 a movement initially called Compulsions Analysis was founded by two individuals who had briefly been associated with Scientology in London, Robert and Mary Ann de Grimston. This

movement, later known as The Process, and as the Church of the Final Judgement, began as an eclectic synthesis partly based on Scientology, employing the E-meter and many basic Scientology techniques. It later developed in altogether different

L. Ron Hubbard, 'Security checks', HCO Bulletin. 26 May 1960.

2 Ibid.

' L. Ron Hubbard, 'HGC Pre-processing security check', CO Policy Letter, 26 October 1960 L. Ron Hubbard, 'HCO WW Security form SA, HCO Policy Letter, 1 November 61 . 6 L. Ron Hubbard, 'Ron's Journal', CO Policy Letter, 27 October 1962.

L. Ron Hubbard, 'The only valid security check', CO Policy Letter, 22 May 1961, cited in Andenon, op. cit. pp. 139-150

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directions, moving toward an hierarchical occult order with a flexible system of beliefs, practices, and location.

Neither the defection of Hubbard's son, nor the appearance of Compulsions Analysis had any profound effect on Scientology. Independent practitioners could not, in the long term, compete effectively with Hubbard and the organization while they remained orthodox in their practice, since only in the Org could the client be assured of receiving the most recent techniques and training. Senior executives who defected could initially secure a sizeable clientele on the basis of the charisma they had acquired in office. When out of contact with the organization, this charisma typically faded rather rapidly, and the clientele declined particularly in the face of the threat from Hubbard that those who supported non-approved practitioners would receive no future service from the organization. Compulsions Analysis never posed any serious threat to the organization. It has aimed its fluid and variable message at a particularly youthful, upper and upper-middle class following, and its leaders made no attempt to win over Hubbard's followers.

Precisely because it developed an heretical theory and practice and because its initial recruits were sought among Scientologists, Amprinistics, which emerged to prominence in 1965, posed a particularly acute threat. Amprinistics was the first major heresy to affect the movement since the days of Dianetics. Harry Thompson, its founder, had been a prominent Scientology practitioner. Early in the 1960s he began to formulate a set of theories and practices at variance with those of Hubbard, although these were not generally publicized until late in 1964. Early in 1965, Thompson and his associates many of whom were also prominent Scientology auditors began offering professional training in Amprinistics (for 200 guineas in England and \$1000 in the United States). Scientology mailing lists were employed to solicit support for the new movement.

The heresy was well-timed. Social control within Scientology was becoming increasingly rigorous, as the Ethics system was applied with increasing severity. Many of the Scientologists approached thought that Amprinistics might be worth trying. The incipient schism within the movement rapidly came to Hubbard's attention, and his response was draconian. Amprinistics was savagely attacked. Its leaders were characterized as thieves and sexual deviants. The

techniques were claimed to be composed of outmoded Scientological practices:

Daily Mail, 8 December 1965; News of the World, 3 May 1970; Sindy Telegraph,

July 1966; Mental Health (Spring 1967).

Interviews with Master of The Process; 'The Process', Mental Health (Spring 1967), pp 17-21; Daily Mail, 8 December 1965; News of the World, 3 May 1970. See also The movement's publicly distributed magazine, The Process.

George Malkin, Scientology: the 20th Century Religion (Dell, New York, 1970), pp. 136-67; I am indebted to Miss Sheila Hoad for making available to me a number of documents concerning Amprinistics, and detailed notes on the history and belief-system of this short-lived heresy.

L. Ron Hubbard, Amprinistics, HCO Executive Letter, 27 September, 1965

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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We don't object to Dianetics and Scientology being used. We prefer it to have its right name. But we like to have it in clean hands. There's been too much betrayal in this universe already and for fellows whose records include homosexuality and theft to start up a fuss with 40 year old technology is a bit thick

Loyal followers were enjoined to report to the Ethics Officer anyone they knew who was going to this group:

Treatment They are each fair game, can be sued or harassed. H-can be barred out of any Commonwealth country or England as he was the subject of a deportation order from England and his file has come alive again in the Home Secretary's Office. H-T-'s wives and victims are always looking for him to have him arrested. W-is a set-up for arrest as a homosexual. Any meeting held by them should be torn up. The names of any persons attending should be collected and they should be labelled SP as they have left Scientology. These people are SP because they are seeking to avoid auditing and retain their withholds. Once labelled, these persons will not then be covered by amnesty and will never be admitted to further training or processing. Persons messing themselves up with Amprinistics selfaudit and restim should be refused any assistance. If these persons move into your area act through any agency you can to have them deported or arrested on whatever grounds.

Those who attended Amprinistics meetings claim that they found themselves spied upon by Scientology personnel, and shortly after were declared Suppressive Persons, Enemies and Fair Game.

Amprinistics only remained a potential threat to Scientology for a very brief period. The central Core of Thompson's disciples became disaffected when he began introducing elements into the belief system which accorded him a superior 'godly' status. He appears, moreover, to have lacked the requisite skills to institutionalize

the movement's following. He relied to a great extent on direct personal communication and in his absence his dispersed following fell away. When Thompson's Core disciples broke away they organized the New Principles Society and attempted to revive interest among the remaining followers of Amprinistics. This new group operated primarily through a correspondence course, but it progressively moved into financial difficulties. In 1971 one of the remaining core disciples of Amprinistics and its developments, Sheila Hoad, formed the Society for the Promotion of Principles. The belief systems of these developments from Scientology have moved increasingly far from their origins until the philosophy and educational system of Miss Hoad's Society bear little relation to Scientology. They have correspondingly proved progressively less of a threat to the Scientology organization.

Several other schismatic and heretical movements have developed from Scientology. One prominent secession was led by Charles Berner in 1965. He Ibid.

' Ibid. The names of the individuals have been omitted here since the statement is most probably libellous.

' Interviews. initially split with Hubbard over the attempts of the movement leadership to exert greater control over his autonomous 'franchised' Church. Shortly after this schism, Berner began introducing new ideological elements and techniques and founded Abilitism.<sup>1</sup> Later he moved closer to Eastern philosophy and founded the Anubhava School of Enlightenment.

Dianology or Eductivism was started as an independent heresy by a formerly prominent Scientologist, Jack Horner.<sup>2</sup> It has developed relatively little from Scientology theory and practice, and it is perhaps for this reason that it has appealed to many Scientologists who have left the movement in protest against its severe internal controls.

Other secessionary practices have been started by former practitioners who have defected from the movement or who have been expelled from it. Many of these non-approved practitioners are in contact with, and occasionally cooperate with each other. However, despite some attempts to form a more organized alliance, no formal organization has emerged. Usually, while their initial form of practice is close to that of Scientology, it progressively diverges further according to the personal predilections of the leader. It would appear, however, that all of these marginal practices have a common antipathy to the severe social control employed by Scientology, None, as far as I have been able to determine, employs anything approximating to the Ethics system of Scientology. These movements display the re-emergence of cultic tendencies within Scientology, much like the New Thought Movement which burgeoned around Christian Science.<sup>3</sup>

It is undoubtedly the challenge that these schismatic and heretical movements represent to the sectarian, authoritarian, and dogmatic nature of Scientology that has led to the animosity visited upon them by the Org. The leaders of several of these movements have complained of harassment which they allege to stem from the Org. This harassment in some cases has been relatively trivial as in that of a practitioner who, until recently, continued to promote and practice Dianetics, and who often suffered from persistent spurious telephone

I On Abilism, see Robert S. Ellwood, Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America (Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1973), pp. 76-80.

5 Jack Horner, Productivism and Power (The Personal Creative Freedoms Foundation, Westwood, California, 1971); Jack Horner, Dianology and the Structure of Personal Creativity (The Association of International Dianologists, California, 1970); see also the movements periodical, Alternatives.

5 This cultic orientation is evident, for example, in the following statement of a schismatic who has moved some way from his Scientological origins in his current practice, incorporating Yoga and meditational techniques, as well as many of his own ideas:

'Millions of people have a role to play in the spiritual growth of the people of this planet. I don't have anything special. I prefer my own methods. I like them and they're good. If I see something that's better than mine, I take it and incorporate it.' Interview.

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calls from young people inquiring whether they were speaking to the Scientology Organization. These calls ceased when he complained to the Scientology leadership. In other cases, schismatic leaders have found the bookings for halls in which they were to speak mysteriously cancelled. Yet another case reported to me by several independent witnesses involved a false announcement in a California newspaper that a prominent defector was to give a public lecture. When the audience arrived they were subjected to a barrage of stereophonic cacophony and chanting which included what were construed as threats against a local schismatic leader. It is alleged by my informants that Sea Org personnel were the organizers of this event. Some schismatic leaders claim their offices have been broken into and mailing lists and pre-clear files stolen.

After the disappearance of mailing lists from the office of one schismatic leader, the individuals whose names were on the list were circulated with documents which were designed to suggest that this leader and his movement were close to bankruptcy, and which made other claims that would have been a source of embarrassment to him. His forged signature was appended to these documents. Copies of what appeared to be a page of the Los Angeles Times were also circulated, containing a story which reported the conviction of another schismatic for criminal sexual offences. This story was a complete fabrication and had never appeared in the Los Angeles Times.

The existence of such independent leaders and their movements are seen as a threat by the Scientology leadership without regard to their size. The schismatic groups are numerically insignificant in relation to Scientology. For all its bureaucratic organization, Scientology is a charismatic movement. The doctrine is subordinate to the character of the leader who, since first introducing Dianetics, has modified the doctrine frequently without precipitating any significant opposition. Joseph Nyomarkay has argued that whereas in movements based around an ideology, such as Communism, factions within the movement seek to capture the ideology and in consequence effective schisms may develop around differing interpretations, this is not possible in charismatically led

movements. In this case the belief-system is subordinate to the leader. Factions must therefore compete for the leader's support since only he, and not the belief-system, provides legitimacy. Hence in the Nazi party, factions appealed to the leader for support and legitimation. When Hitler supported one particular view, opponents either ceased their opposition or left the movement as individuals, In the case of Communism, however, appeal was to the legitimacy provided by the belief-system, and factions defended their own interpretation of the ideology against each other, leading to schisms in which the schismatic could claim to be offering the 'correct' interpretation. a Scientology's schismatics, unable to

I Letter to the author from Richard W. Smith, Assistant to the Editor, Los Angeles Times, 7 May 197 ;.

Joseph Yonarkay, Charisma and Actionism in the Nazi Party (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1967). capture the leader, the Source, have never carried with them more than a handful of Hubbard's following.

The movement leadership has reacted violently against independent practitioners and movements competing on the basis of principles and practices drawn from Scientology, and to any threat to its exclusive control over the movement, its organization, or its belief-system. One clear example is the case of a group of Scientologists who were distributing 'Advanced materials' at a reduced price. A widely promulgated Ethics Order declared them the 'Enemies of mankind, the planet and all life' and ordered the following sanctions.

4. They are fair game. 5. No amnesty may ever cover them. 6. If they ever come to a Qual Division they are to be run on reverse processes. 7. Any Sea Org member contacting any of them is to use Auditing Process R2 45. 8. The Criminals Prosecution Bureau is to find any and all crimes in their pasts and have them brought to court and prison I

Maintaining a watchful eye on heretics, schismatics and prominent defectors is among the duties of the Guardian's Office 2

Schismatics, heretics and defectors who publicize their disaffection present challenge to Scientology, by indicating that the structure or beliefs of the movement have been found less than perfect by insiders who have experience it sufficiently to have an authoritative view of its operation. Unlike the outsider, they can not easily be shrugged off as merely ignorant. By criticizing the movement or establishing competing organizations or belief-systems, they offer a threat to the structure of power within Scientology, and to the validity of the social reality it maintains. a offer a threat to

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Hubbard has exhibited a great deal of concern to ensure that senior executives within the movement do not become sufficiently powerful to challenge his own authority, or to lead away any substantial following on secession. Senior executives have been purged when they appeared to be opposing Hubbard on

I L. Ron Hubbard, 'Rackets exposed', HCO Ethics Order, 6 March 1968. Auditing process R2-4s refers to a joke Hubbard once made that there was only one certain way to produce a 'one-shot' clear!

S 'Enemies' of Scientology are the responsibility of the Guardian's Office. OEC, Vol. 0, p. 260. Such enemies, as 'Suppressive persons' are construed as beyond the protection of the organization. See OEC, Vol. 1, p. 554:

no Committee of Evidence may be called to punish any Scientologist for any offences of any kind against the suppressive person....

The homes, property, places and abode of persons who have been active in attempting to suppress Scientology or Scientologists are all beyond any protection of Scientology Ethics....

as Dwight Harshbarger, The individual and the social order: notes on the management of heresy and deviance in complex organizations Human Relations, 26, 2 (1973) pp. 251-69. organizational or ideological issues frequently thereafter they would be castigated in movement publications as criminals, Communists or sexual deviants. Removing authority figures and charging them with deviance legitimated their dismissal and provoked less questioning of the prevailing social order than charging them with heresy alone.<sup>3</sup>

The tendency to impute immorality to defectors has also been characteristic of Christian Science. Mrs Eddy had Daniel Spofford, a former close associate who had turned against her, expelled from the Christian Scientists' Association 'for immorality and as unworthy to be a member', and a notice to this effect was published in the Newburyport press.<sup>3</sup> Mrs Eddy equated any disloyalty with 'immorality', and was reported on one occasion to have charged a woman prominent in the Boston Church with adultery, on the grounds, she later discovered, that 'You have adulterated the Truth; what are you, then, but an adulteress?' Defectors and heretics were accused of practising Mesmerism and even v.itchcraft. 5

## Conclusions

After the collapse of Dianetics, Hubbard sought to exercise greater control over his new movement. He organized it on centralized lines and arrogated authority by eliminating the lay basis of the practice and instituting a professional basis. Subsequently, professionals were transformed into organizational functionaries as Hubbard undermined their independent authority and sought to eliminate 'private practice' independent of the Org.

An elaborate bureaucratic machinery was created and an internal disciplinary system developed, particularly in response to the emergence of heresy and the defection of senior officials. Organizational controls were increased as Hubbard sought to avoid the earlier individualism of Dianetics and its accompanying organizational fragility. A high degree of substitutability was built into the bureaucratic posts of the organization, so that

neither in the bureaucracy, nor in the ranks of the professional practitioners of the movement, should there be any locus of authority which might effectively challenge his own. As a further safeguard, an elite corps, the Sea Org, was established with international authority to which national leaders could be subjected. Dissenters within the

For examples, see the cases of Helen O'Brien and Alpha Hart discussed earlier.

For such attacks on former senior executives, see among the multitude of such cases, Ability, mimeographed edition, no number, no date, p. 3, copy in the author's possession; Anderson, op. cit., p. 137; Ros Vosper, 'Subject: John McMaster writ of expulsion', HCO 71:1hics Order, 19 December 1969.

See Ernest S. Bates and John V. Dittmore, Mary Baker Eddy: the prophet and the religion (George Routledge & Sons, London, 1933), p. 185.

In Georgine Milmine, the

life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the history of Christian Science (Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971), p. 33.

• Ibid.; Bates and Dittmore, op. cit. movement were expelled, and those who continued to challenge Hubbard's authority after leaving the movement were roundly attacked in its publications.

Scientology displays a fusion of charismatic and bureaucratic domination also evident in some other manipulative sects. It was a notable feature of Christian Science during the lifetime of Mrs Eddy, and appears to be characteristic of the contemporary Soka Gakkai. The latter case differs from those of Scientology and Christian Science. In these two movements the charismatic leader gradually developed an elaborate bureaucratic machine to cope with the administration of large, widely dispersed movements. The Soka Gakkai, however, was bureaucratic from the beginning and charisma was only attributable to later Presidents of the movement, rather than to its founder.'

As Scientology has become institutionalized, Hubbard has been less obliged to rely on a highly centralized authority structure as a means of control. The implementation of a high degree of formalization of rules and procedures made it less necessary for him to maintain a direct personal command of operations, and permitted him to delegate authority to other family members and to members of his bureaucratic staff. Peter Blau has argued that

Formalised procedures and centralised authority may not be two expressions of the same underlying emphasis on strict discipline, but they may rather be two alternative mechanisms for limiting the arbitrary exercise of discretion.

Analysis of Scientology, however, supports the more familiar view that centralization and formalization may sometimes not only both be expressions of the same emphasis on strict discipline desired by the leadership of an organization, but may indeed be implemented sequentially as the leader relinquishes direct personal control over day-to-day operation of the movement or organization, and as his charisma becomes routinized.

Formalised procedures and centralized authority may not be two expressions of the same underlying emphasis on strict discipline, but they may rather be two alternative mechanisms for bringing the arbitrary exercise of discretion.'

James W. White, *The Sokagakkai and Mass Society* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1970).

Peter M. Blau, 'Decentralisation in bureaucracies', in Mayer Zald ed., *Power in Organisations* (Vanderbit University Press, Nashville, Tennessee, 1970), p. 152.

On the routinization of charisma, see Max Weber, *Charisma*, in Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1970) 6. THE SCIENTOLOGICAL

CAREER: FROM CASUAL

CLIENT TO DEPLOYABLE

AGENT

Scientology possesses an 'enrolment economy'. Its economic base is dependent upon the sale of services in the form of auditing and training, books, E-meters and memberships. Like any sales organization, therefore, Scientology is faced with the problems of marketing the available range of products locating and attracting potential consumers, and creating 'brand loyalty' in all, with mobilizing commitment. The movement leadership has always displayed a highly commercial orientation in its operations. The beliefs and practices of Scientology have been seen as a valuable commodity, worth whatever the market will bear, and to be distributed wherever a market can be found. Recruitment has always been a major imperative for the organization in the view of its leadership...promote until the doors cave in because of the number of people and don't even...promote until the floors cave in because of the number of people and don't even take notice of that, just keep on promoting.

With the disappearance of the mass following generated by his article in *Astounding* and by his book *MSIH*, and after establishing internal control of the movement, Hubbard increasingly turned his attention to the problem of recruitment. In a *Professional Auditor's Bulletin* distributed to practitioners in 1956, Hubbard outlined 'Three methods of dissemination'. The first of these he labelled 'I will talk to anyone'.

The gist of this plan was to place in newspaper an advertisement which says 'personal counselling I will talk to anyone for you about anything. Phone Rev so-and so between hour and hour'...If it is the purpose of the minister simply to solve the problem of the preclear thus phoning, he can of course cancel out his clientele with the I OIC, Vol. 0, p. 83. with the greatest of ease. This however is not his purpose. His purpose is to get this individual into a weekly group processing unit...He should not talk to the person in such a way as to ease the problem. This may be the last problem this person has and it would be a disaster to simply solve it as easily as that. One makes something of the problem, not makes nothing of it...at the interview the minister places in the hands of the person material relating to the work of the church group which the minister is actually conducting every Sunday

morning...Of course it stands to reason that any auditor who has a fairly good sized group which is undergoing free processing will get from the group many candidates for (1) personal auditing and (2) a basic course in Scientology for which charge can be made.'

The second method was labelled 'Illness researches'. This again required the placement of a newspaper advertisement as follows:

'Polio Victims. A research foundation, investigating polio, desires volunteers suffering from the after effects of that illness to call for examination at address'. When the people arrived, usually with a phone interview first, they were immediately given about three hours of auditing...We did this for polio victims, arthritics and were about to do it for asthmatics when the surging success of the project frightened various individuals who had other plans for Dianetics...He [the auditor] would not tell the person he was doing other than investigating the cause. He would tell them he was not interested in curing their polio but that educationally he could of course improve their ability to walk or breathe or whatever....One would then follow up the same principles of group [sic. He would compose a group of such people....From this group he would tell them they could have free group processing and he would sell them individual auditing., ,s

The Third method recommended by Hubbard at this time was called 'Casualty contact' .

One takes every daily paper he can get his hands on and cuts from it every story whereby he might have a preclear. He either has the address in the story itself or he gets the address as a minister from the newspaper. As speedily as possible he makes a personal call on the bereaved or injured person....He should represent himself to the person or to the person's family as a minister whose compassion was compelled by the newspaper story concerning the person. He should then enter the presence of the person and give a nominal assist, leave his card which states exactly where church services are held every Sunday and with the statement that a much fuller recovery is possible by coming to these free services takes his departure. Some small percentage of the persons visited or their families will turn up in his group. Thus he will build a group and naturally from that group he will get a great many individual preclears.<sup>3</sup>

L.Ron Hubbard, 'Three methods of dissemination', Professional Auditor's Bulletin, 73 (28 February 1956), pp 1-3.

' Ibid..pp 3-4. Helen O'Brien describes this practice in operation at the Wichita Foundation. Helen O'Brien, Dianetics in I. Imbo (Whitmore Publishing Co., Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 34-7. L. Ron Hubbard, "Three methods of dissemination", op. cit..pp. 4-5. THE SCIENTOLOGICAL CARROLL

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As indicated earlier, however, Hubbard had begun to feel that group auditing was an ineffective means of gathering a permanent following. Individuals received group processing and ceased to attend or to devote further resources to Scientology.

Auditors are pleaded with not to go on group processing people. Group processing people results in better individuals, but not

better individuals for Scientology...It is not enough to make people feel better. What we're trying to do is to reach out into the publicP

Hence from the mid 1950s on, Hubbard advocated the establishment of Colleges of Personal (or Personnel) Efficiency which would offer basic courses in the more esoteric aspects of Scientology at a nominal fee, from the recruits to which paying preclears and students could be drawn 2

Hubbard realized that direct personal contact with prospective customers was not always necessary. Impersonal advertising might serve as well, if individuals could be located who were predisposed to purchase a commodity of this kind. In 1964, for example, Hubbard pointed out to the organization's executives the effectiveness of advertising by the Rosicrucians, and ordered a survey of all magazines and newspapers to find where the Rosicrucians placed advertisements. He then proposed that advertisements for his next book should be placed in the same locations.<sup>3</sup> He also advocated the purchase of mailing lists, which could be used for the distribution of promotional material. The kinds of mailing could be used for the distribution of promotional material. The kinds of mailing lists which he recommended for purchasing provide an indication of his own view of the market for Scientology: The mailing lists of most interest would be:

n Those of mystical groups. 2. Those of self-betterment groups. 3. Those of self-study groups.

4 Those of health groups. g. Those who subscribe to magazines of special interest to the above categories. 6. Recent buyers of books in the above categories.' Addresses of prospective customers were also secured through writing the name and address of every purchaser of any Scientology item on the receipt and its duplicates, and through mail-back cards enclosed with every volume on Scientology or Dianetics published by the organization. Initially Scientology staff would write to all those whose names were collected in this way, to lapsed students and to preclears to try to interest them in further items or services. In more recent years the post of Letter Registrar has emerged, whose job it is to contact such individuals, and get them into communication and 'on

Ibid..p. n Profession 21 studtor's Bulletin, 78179 (April 1966). L. Ron Hubbard, EerutiDr Letter, October 1964. ' L. Ron Hubbard, Poiy LHter, 6 September 1966. lines' for Scientology services. Once one's name is on a mailing list, one is generally subjected to a barrage of letters and promotional materials over many months. The letters are warm, friendly, 'personalized' by the use of first names, and often handwritten rather than printed or cyclostyled. For example:

Dear Roy, Hello there ! Do you remember who is writing to you. I signed you up for the communication course. Hope you are applying the data you learnt at college or what-

Whatever meaning you everyday life ! [sic !] As usual we are very busy here but do find time to enjoy the sun. Funny how the weather changes so often in England. One day you are roasting and the next day you know thick sweaters are needed.

Today being the perfect example of what I mean. Well Roy, do drop

me a line as I really would like to now what's happening your end of the line.

Best wishes

M-p\_

Dist Exec Sec Fdn p.s. please excuse the terrible typing but this is the 73rd letter I have typed today and my fingers are aching

Students and preclears waiting for services that is for an auditor, Ethics Officer, or some other official to become available are often expected to stuff addressed envelopes with promotional material for mailing out to potential customers. Promotional activities are also carried out by entertainers comcustomers. Promotional activihes are also carried out by entertainers committed to Scientology. The Incredible String Band, a pop group, have distnbuted mail-back cards at their concerts which suggested the sender would learn more about the group, A pamphlet is received in return telling how the group members came into Scientology and suggesting the inquirer also try out the practice at his nearest Org, the address of which is supplied t

As well as advertising in local and other newspapers and magazines, and whenever possible in the telephone book Yellow Pages, the central organizations of the movement have also sought to attract the general public through subway advertisements (New York) or through the offer of a 'Free Personality Test'. The inquirer would be given a booklet and test sheet for the 'Oxford Capacity Analysis', an approximation to a schedule for the production of a personality profile. The inquirer would complete the schedule and after it has been processed, he would be shown an impressive graph divided into 'Desirable' and 'Unacceptable' states for a variety of dimensions: 'Stable'-'Unstable'-'Dispersed'; 'Composed'-'Nervous'; 'Capable'-'Inhibited'; 'Appreciative'-'Lack of Accord', etc. The sections of the graph falling into the 'Unacceptable' category would be pointed out to him. He would be told that he had a problem there, and that Scientology could help him. He would be encouraged to take the first

etter to the author. I am grateful to Gordon Marshall for bnnnging this to my attention. course, available at a nominal fee, as quickly as he possibly could, or he might be encouraged to take individual auditing.

A further method of recruitnment that has been used is personal dissemination. Hubbard established a 'Dissemination Drill' to facilitate this mode of recruitment, following four stages:

( I ) Contct the individual

(z) Handle him '...handle any attacks, antagonism, challenge or hostility that the individual might express towards you andlor Scientology'.

(3) 'Find their ruin and selDage. lFind out what is 'Messing them up? It must be a condition that is real to the individual as an unwanted condibon, or one that can be made real to him'.

(4) Bring to understanding that Scientology can handle this problem.l

The promotional material of the movement has aimed at a variety of interests and concerns. Much of it shows bright, happy, young people jubilant after completing auditing or a course. A general promotional magazine, 'the Auditor, which has been widely distributed to potential customers, tends to lay a great deal of visual and textual emphasis on the successful and creative individuals who employ Scientology. Beneath a photograph of an attractive girl and the headline 'Top Model' is the following text:

Carlyn Ericksen is a beautiful photographic model and actress from New York City. She has been doing TV commercials for four years shown nationwide in the States and has also done magazine and fashion work. 'I love high randomness and doing new especially something truly creative.'

Carlyn, who was introduced to Scientology through a friend in 1968, as far as training goes, has done the HAS, the HQS and is now about to complete the Hubbard Standard Dianetics Course in New York. Beneath another photograph and the headline 'Jesus Christ Superstar': Famous actor and musician Peter Winsnes is one of the most recent celebrities to enter Scientology.

Dr Harry Wood, Professor of Art at Arizona State University has been applying Scientology concepts to his teaching of art.'

The successful businessman and the scientist have also been used as promotional material:

INDUSTRIALIST. Unsure whether his business would expand and if he could handle the new problems growth implied, Ken Kirk of Adelaide, South Australia enrolled on the HCA Course in 1965...]

. From Hubbard, 'Dissemination Drill', 7th Auditor, 22 (1967), p. 3. he Auditor, 70 (1971), p. 5. and 7th Auditor, 80 (1972) p. 5. The Auditor, 82 (1972), p. 8. Since he became a Scientologist, the value of the company's equipment has jumped from \$5,000 to \$25,000.

PHYSICIST Research Associate at Hansen Physics Laboratory (Stanford University) near Palo Alto, California, Dr Hal Puthoff is very much a Scientologist. He is OT 111 Expanded and OT 711. An author and expert on laser beam technology, Dr Puthoff... considers Scientology an invaluable part of both his personal and professional life and is currently busy applying Scientology concepts to modern physics.

Other promotional materials have been directed less to displaying the kind of individual that one might become, than to attracting individuals with problems.

We don't care what your problem is we can help you. Get some auditing. Wouldn't it help to know... how happiness happens ?:

UNDERSTAND OTHERS These books give you the keys to understanding the human mind and human nature, With them you have the Vital Knowledge necessary to understanding other people, handling them, and establishing sane, growing relationships.

BE A MEMBER OF SCIENTOLOGY. The world has waited thousands of years for a technology to change conditions for the better. Scientology

is the answer.<sup>5</sup> If you have ever taken drugs of any kind you need  
L. Ron Hubbard's drug rehabilitation intensive.<sup>7</sup>

'Success stories' have often been reprinted in promotional  
publications. Hence the potential customer may be faced with  
material on the following lines: Is my chronic illness handled? It  
is indeed. I've had it going more aeons than I can easily remember.  
And now it's gone. No more, finished, handled. And it feels great.  
Thanks to my Auditor for the application. Thanks to the Commodore  
for the Tech .

#### Expanded Dianetics Case B.t

The first thing I did on becoming Superliterate was pick up the  
most complicated book I could find. It was a dictionary of music -  
a subject I could never grasp at all. I started at 'scales' and  
eventually worked through most of the dictionary by cross  
reference. I sat back and gasped. I'd picked up the information of  
a whole technical subject in 40 minutes, and I understood it! I  
couldn't believe it. [...]

Vic Lyons (Superliterate) *The Auditor*, 68 (1971), p. 7. *The  
Auditor*, 64 (1971), p. 5. *The Auditor*, 19, 7 (1973), n.p.

Leahlet (1972). Science Change, 62 (1974). Science Change, 55 (1976). Leahlet  
(1971) Leahlet (1973). Leahlet, n.d. The second generation As the  
movement has approached a quarter century of existence, provision  
has gradually emerged for recruitment from among the offspring of  
members. Separate courses of training and auditing have been  
available for children for some years in various Orgs, although the  
formalities surrounding auditing children have become greater in  
the face of public criticism. Increasingly, however, independent  
schools have appeared to educate the children of Scientologists,  
in a Scientological manner. In Hollywood, the Theta Power School  
has been established, primarily for the children of Sea Org  
members. Our purpose is to educate the children so that when they  
are old enough and ready for it they can then go into Orgs or  
Franchises and get their Scientology processing or training. We use  
Scientology study data, and also the codes, such as not forcing a  
child to communicate if they don't want to. We do not teach  
Scientology as such, but all the teachers are somewhere on the  
bridge, and most of our parents are Scientologists, so the children  
will probably be future leaders in it. Naturally we use all we know  
to see that the children learn and keep their ethics in it. Another  
such school is the As-C School at Kollerod in Denmark. In 1968 this  
school was reported to have twenty-one pupils.

Membership: background characteristics Like their Dianetics  
precursors, Scientologists are overwhelmingly middle class. The  
occasional titled individual and the occasional manual labourer  
appear in the literature of the movement, but only rarely. This is  
reflected in the responses of thirty seven practising or former  
Scientologists to my questionnaire. The educational level of the  
respondents was above average.

#### Secondary education

' Secondary modern/Elementary/Technical grammar ,.....

Public/Boarding/Other private



Unclassifiable

Further education Teacher training or other full-time professional  
College of Advanced Technology University None

, Julia Lehis Salmen, Principals, letter to the author, 5 December  
1973. The Auditor, 43 (1968).

It should be noted, however, that three respondents indicated  
that they had not completed their university courses, and there may  
have been others. 64

THF. SrCT: SCIFN Age at the end of full-time education Under 13

Unclassifiable

The responses on a question concerning occupation indicated only  
one respondent to be a manual worker. Occupation Housewife White  
collar Manual o. 4 32

Among the white-collar workers, there were relatively few engaged  
in lower level white-collar occupations. Thus there were no clerks  
among my questionnaire respondents. Among the occupations listed  
were: university lecturer, several teachers, two draughtsmen, two  
photographers, two copy writers, several branch and sales managers,  
two scientific research workers, two psychotherapists, a  
commercial artist, etc. As one might expect with such educational  
and occupational backgrounds, most of the respondents saw  
themselves as middle class. To a question on self-assigned class  
the following distribution of responses appeared.

Self-assigned class Upper Middle Working class Do not recognize  
classes No response

37

The data available, although not of a form to permit any rigorous  
correlational analysis, suggest a relatively low rate of  
inter-generational mobility. Most respondents had come from  
middle-class backgrounds. Father's occupation when you were 15 years  
old Manual White collar Dead No response Most of those in the  
manual category had skilled occupations. Treating all the  
respondents as "white collar", it is evident that there is a  
considerable discrepancy between the rate of mobility for my  
respondents and the rates in the population of England found in  
four studies compared by McDonald and Sidge S

Father's occupation of non-manual sons: pccan2ges3

(a) (b) (c) (d) Scientology

respondents Non-manual 58 48 47 50

74 Manual 42 52 53 50

26

The Scientology respondents display a very much lower rate of  
upward mobility than that exhibited in studies of the general  
population. They are more solidly middle class in their social  
backgrounds.

Given the small numbers of respondents in the Scientology study, however, it is not possible to have any great confidence in the validity of this finding.

A guide to the movement's sex distribution was obtained through classification of the first names of 823 individuals listed as 'clears' after 1966 in available issues of 'The Auditor'. Of these 29 could not be allocated. Of the remainder, 446 were male (59 per cent) and 348 were female (41 per cent). Observations, promotional and other material suggest that the average age of the current following has dropped from that of the Dianetics following. This was confirmed in the case of my questionnaire respondents. The distribution of their ages on entry into the movement were as follows:

i A step not licensed by the data as the earlier table for occupation shows. The possibility of an analysis of rates of intergenerational mobility was pointed out to me by Richard Bland, but unfortunately by this stage the data were not in a form to permit the elimination of the four housewives and one manual worker

' K. McDonald and J. Ridge, 'Social Mobility', in A. H. Halsey, 7 Trends in British Society (Macmillan, London, 1972).

3 Tables (a), (b), (c) and (d) are adapted from McDonald and Ridge, op. cit., p. 146. I am grateful to Richard Bland for recasting these tables in the form of percentages of fathers of non-manual sons.

' Even if the four housewives and the manual worker were withdrawn from the category for non-manual fathers, reducing the percentages to: non-manual fathers, 69 per cent and manual fathers, 31 per cent, it is still evident that the Scientology respondents are more solidly middle class in their social origins, and have therefore experienced a lower rate of upward mobility than has usually been discovered for the general population. The average age of entry among these 37 respondents was 32 years. It is my impression, but not one that I can support, that the age distribution of members has been dropping since the early 1960s and particularly since 1965. If this is the case I suggest it can be accounted for in terms of the image of the movement gleaned from the mass media coverage by youthful potential recruits. Some younger former followers suggested that they were attracted in part by its anti-establishment character and its message of 'Total Freedom'. Moreover, the 1960s was the period when a post-war generation of young people was growing to adulthood, a generation which was richer, more leisured, better educated, and more self-conscious than any which had preceded it.

motivation for recruitment

As with followers of the early Dianetics phase of the movement, the motivations of recruits fall into three analytically distinct types: the career-oriented; the truth-seeker; and the problem solver. The career-oriented Those who fall into this category saw Scientology as either providing a new or an alternative career, or as providing the means of advancing or developing a career in a psychological or therapeutic field in which they were already engaged. One young man, for example, had attended university in Canada where he had not been satisfied by his psychology courses

and had therefore failed to complete his degree. He had read widely in religious literature, including Buddhism and Theosophy, had tried meditation, and was interested in the work of Wilhelm Reich. Through his interest in Reich he became acquainted with Subud, since some of the Subudians in Canada were former disciples of Reich. He had tried psychoanalysis briefly when his studies were not going too well. On his return to England he took up a course of study in Osteopathy and Naturopathy, but found it too physically oriented. He had always wanted to work in the area of psychotherapy but found that a medical degree was generally required. He heard of Scientology and thought he would give it a try. He had no definite idea of practising as an auditor, but rather of acquiring skills that might be useful as a therapist in the future.

One young man, for example, had attended university in Canada where he had not been satisfied by his psychology courses and had therefore failed to

'the truth seeker

Some recruits identified their motivation for recruitment to Scientology in terms of a search for the truth:

I've always studied comparative philosophy and comparative religion since as far back as I can remember...They've been my chief interest because there didn't seem much purpose in living here and not having any purpose or any plan. Way back in my teens I more or less threw out the orthodox religion that I was brought up in because it didn't seem logical. Quite frankly the first half of my life was seeking for logic, believing that logic held the whole answer to everything. I learned better. Later...One went through all the rather far south people like Gurdjieff, Ouspensky, and then after handling that quite a lot I went totally the other side the didactic materialists, the logical positivists, and so on... Somewhere must come that leap forward which transcends reason... You can go along with logic so far and then you've got to just leap forward...or lateral thinking if you like, on a philosophical level. At this point I saw one must look a bit beyond logic. Of course that led naturally into studying extra-sensory perception... Then I thought, so many people much wiser than I have lived by some religion. The only way to study religion is to go back to the roots...the source. So I spent several years doing just that... It didn't lead one anywhere...I'd read the Secret Doctrine and the Secret Doctrine. I read every word of the Secret Doctrine.

After this intellectual journey of many years she read a copy of the Secret Doctrine which her husband had been given.

I thought if part of this is true, only a little part, it's worth investigating. So I will investigate it. So I wrote and asked where my nearest therapist was.

'the problem-solver

The dominant motivational theme, however, was that provided by a problem solving perspective. Many questionnaire respondents indicated that they had earlier sought solutions to the problems facing them through medicine, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, hypnotherapy, marginal and fringe religious movements, marriage guidance counselling, speech therapy and Shamanism. Despite the reduced emphasis on healing after the transition to Scientology,

some recruits were attracted to the movement by what they regarded as an implied claim to therapeutic efficacy for physical illness and disability. They entered the movement in pursuit of therapeutic methods to alleviate themselves or someone close to them of physical problems. (The Guardian's Office assert that: 'The Church does not attempt to handle physical illness and disability and ensures that all newcomers are made aware of this.')

I had only been married less than six months, and my wife had contracted cancer. I was told she would live maybe 12 weeks to 12 months and that would be it...Prior to her operation I called the organisation because that was the only group I knew of that could be in some way of assistance to me and to her.' [What attracted you to it?] At first I was not attracted to it, but tended to argue with the ideas expressed about it by my friend. However at this time (and actually for most of my life) I had a rather bad speech impediment, and my friend suggested, on a number of occasions, that

Interview. Personal communication, November 1974. Interview. Scientology therapy might enable me to overcome this difficulty. Eventually I agreed to read one of the elementary books on Dianetics. I was particularly attracted by the scientific approach which appeared to have been made, in investigating the mind, and the behaviour of man. I was also attracted by the suggestion in that book, that the use of the therapy proposed would enable a person to overcome a stammer I

Others saw the movement as a possible source of alleviation of problems they regarded as psychosomatic in character.

I was having a few psychosomatic ills at the time things one got pills for but didn't really know what they were one of which was a thyroid condition. Another suffered from migraine headaches for which he had received medication, but had come to the conclusion that they were of psychological origin. He therefore bought works of popular psychology from time to time in an attempt to find a solution to his problem. One day he came across MSMH in a bookstore and was excited by the prospect that this might solve his difficulty. Finding the book hard to follow he contacted the Org address given in the book and one Christmas in a fit of depression went in for auditing.<sup>3</sup>

The boundary between physical and psychological problems is obviously a fluid one. Some respondents identified their problems in unambiguously psychological terms. For example, one man who had first contacted the movement in the late twenties, and who was out of work when he first became interested in Scientology:

[What did you think it might be able to do for you?

[What did you think it might be able to do for you?] Well I knew damn well at the time I had to sort myself out. I had a nervous breakdown about nine months previous. Found out my medical profession were a load of charlatans and I had to find my own salvation.

He saw an advertisement in a magazine inviting the reader to come and have your personality tested. He went along for a test and a lecture, found the lecture logical, and began to attend co-auditing sessions. A questionnaire respondent indicated that he was

attracted to Scientology by the hope that it might help to tackle my nervous trouble .

Some recruits indicated that they were suffering from difficulties of a primarily social or interpersonal kind. One young man interviewed had had a very unhappy home life with a violent father and a large and inadequately provided for family. His father had been resentful of his staying on at a school until he was 19. He had no friends and heightened adolescent difficulties with girls. After being rejected by a girl whom he wished to marry and a final row at home, he left Glasgow for London. There, lonely and frustrated, he came across a sign: Solve your problems by increasing your mental ability. Phone D-F-, Scientologist. He arranged an appointment. Similarly, a questionnaire respondent. Interview. a Interview. 4 Interview.

Interview.

#### THE SCIENTOLOGICAL CAREER

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respondent indicated that he was attracted to Scientology in the hope that it would 'solve my problem of loneliness'.

Most of those interviewed, from whom such information could be secured, had rather more mixed motivations. The following respondent displayed a combination of seeker and psychological themes.

I was always interested in things like spiritualism. I went to one or two spiritualist meetings...From about the age of 13 I was trying to find the answer to the Mystery of Existence. I used to read anything I found on mysticism, philosophy, spiritualism, and so on.1

He and his wife would follow up advertisements in ste and similar periodicals. His wife had a great deal of 'emotional trouble' and he now regards her as having been 'a borderline psychotic'. When he came across FS./fH in a local library he had considerable hope that Scientology would help to alleviate her problems.

A large number of respondents displayed a combination of psycholog\*al and social themes. One respondent was 21 to 22 years old when his mother became interested in Scientology. He had dropped out of medical school because he felt that he wasn't 'cut out to be a doctor'. He was very shy at the time, felt unable to study, to communicate with people, or to make friends. He was suffering from lengthy periods of 'black depression', and felt that Scientology might be able to help him.2

Some displayed a combination of psychological and career-oriented themes, like the following respondent who was a qualified doctor of medicine and had been undergoing Jungian analysis for personal problems when a friend told him he was getting a lot out of Scientology:

I had been interested in the field of mental health since my undergraduate days, having done a degree in psychology, and intending to do something in this line. I had got a bit dissatisfied with conventional approaches like hospital psychiatry. 1 thought

I'd see what there was in it. There was no harm in going to a lecture. So there was this kind of professional interest. There was also a personal one in that I had some problems myself at the time which weren't being solved by conventional analysis.<sup>3</sup>

A number displayed more, sometimes all, of these themes in their accounts. The following individual exhibits at least a combination of seeker, problemsolving (psychosomatic illness), and social themes:

I used to be an avid reader of almost every book I could get my hands on. I used to haunt the public libraries for books, which I read in an attempt to satisfy my thirst for knowledge. I would read of this and that and the other and would often feel I'd found something only to follow it through and find it lead up a very interesting but quite blind alley. I could never find the answers to the questions I had been asking myself and others from childhood up.

' Interview. ' Interview. ' Interview.

#### THE SECT: SCIENTOLOGY

I wanted to know what I was doing here, why I was here and what was the purpose behind this experience we called life. These were some of my questions. I searched and searched for the answers but with no real success.

I found my reading and searching was often interfered with quite considerably by the regular attacks of migraine headaches which used to lay me out completely for several days at a time. This, together with the frequent attacks of rheumatism to which I was subject, did not make my life particularly enjoyable. In fact, looking back to-day [sic], I would say that a large percentage of the reason why I was searching so avidly, was to take my mind off the reality of my own situation. Life was really a bit too grim for me, so I would lose myself in my books and long philosophical discussions which seemed to relieve the pressure of everyday living.

My job, which I did not care for particularly, was that of a 'white collar worker' and as I used to attend various evening classes for the study of psychology and related subjects, I did not have much time for feminine company. Anyway I was a little too shy to talk to girls very much.

Then one day, while browsing through the book-shelves in the public library my usual shelves, those on philosophy, psychology and comparative religions the librarian drew my attention to a book which the library had recently acquired at the request of another member. The title of this book was 'Scientology 8-8008' by a

author called L. Ron Hubbard...I took it home with me to study  
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Twenty-nine of the 37 Scientology questionnaire respondents completed a question directed to ascertaining the kind of problems which they hoped Scientology would solve for them when they joined. Four indicated that they did not join in search of a solution to any problems. The remaining 25 displayed a wide range of problems (they could indicate more than one). The least important category

was that of marital problems, while the most important was that of psychological problems. The distribution of problems to which respondents were indicated, was as follows:

Problem (a) Loneliness (b) Financial problems (c) Marital problems  
Other problems of interpersonal

relationships

(e) Psychological problems (f) Physical illness

Combining categories (d) and (c), it would seem that in general, problems of interpersonal relations were prominent sources of motivation to seek help through Scientology, particularly if combined with category (a). Over half of

Frank Harding, 'How I became a Scientology Auditor', *Constraint*, 3, 7, n.d..PP 2-3

A self-completion category elicited the further responses: philosophical; deafness;

sexual inadequacy; speech impediment(s); problems with communication; smoking; 'enigma of life'; 'why people behave as they do'. Those who responded to this question acknowledged some form of psychological problem as a motivating factor, and over one-third, a physical problem.

Given its general style and teachings, it would be surprising were individual to move into Scientology as a result of dramatic conversion experiences although this sometimes occurred as a result of sudden cures. Those interviewed generally revealed that their association with the movement was the result of a progressive process rather than a sudden event. Few felt they had made any major commitment, that what they had entered embodied the complete truth from the beginning. Kaufman recounts the process of 'drift' by which he entered the movement, and his experience may not be untypical:

If anyone had asked me 'Why would you be willing to join a cult?' I would have contended that I wasn't joining anything. I didn't even consider Scientology a cult. Cults were peopled by the lonely, the alienated, the not-so-bright, not by comfortable, intelligent individuals like Felicia and her husband...I thought it the result of a combination of chance meetings, fortuitous circumstances, and the gentle suggestions of valued friends who believed that I had wanted auditing all along I

Lofland and Stark and Gerlach and Hine argue that new social movements spread through networks of acquaintances on the basis of face-to-face interaction. My own findings bear out this hypothesis to a considerable extent. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents to my questionnaire had a friend or relative involved in the movement, and 68 per cent claim that they first came into contact with it by such means. Thirty per cent (2 per cent did not respond) claim first to have come into contact with the movement by impersonal means through the medium of a book, magazine article, an advertisement, or a circular. In many cases, however, personal contact seems to have been sought and of only limited importance in their recruitment or their attachment to the movement. m

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Attachment Once an individual has come into contact with Scientology, the organization brings to bear on him a great deal of pressure to amliate himself further with the movement. As one Policy Letter states,

When somebody enrolls, consider he or she has joined up for the duration of the universe never permit an 'open-minded' approach.'

The individual v ho takes a 'Personality Test' is uniformly advised that Scientology can help him in some way, since that is the sincere belief of most

' Robert Kaufman, Inside Scientolog)l (Olympia Press, London, 1972, p. 8. r Jobn Lofland and Rodney Stark, 'Becoming a world-saver: a theory of conversion toadeviantperspective', ASP, 30 (1g6s), pp.862-7s; Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, Peopl, Power, Chante: Mouements of Sociol 7r:nsformrtion (Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1970. ' OEC, Vol. O, p. 38.