

HUDSON INSTITUTE

U.S. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRENDS FOR CHARACTER STRUCTURE (1960-1975) (1975)

THE ANTI-GROWTH TRIAD

Herman Kahn

Brigham Young University

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HUDSON INSTITUTE, INC.
Quaker Ridge Road
Croton-on-Hudson
New York 10520

U.S. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES (OR CHARACTER STRUCTURE) TEND TO EMPHASIZE

1 GOD'S WILL 2 CONSCIENCE 3 REASON 4 IMPULSE 5 TRANSCENDENCE 6 COMMON POSSIBILITIES

LEADING TO, AT BEST, A REASONABLE OR ACCEPTABLE EMPHASIS ON

REVEALED TRUTH	DEDICATION	RATIONALITY	FREEDOM	SPIRITUALITY	INDIVIDUAL MEANING
WORSHIP	LOYALTY	SYNTHESIS	CREATIVITY	MYSTICISM	& PURPOSE
SALVATION	RESPONSIBILITY	CALCULATION	PERCEPTION	REVERENCE	SOCIAL COHESION
AWE	ORDER	PLANNING	SPONTANEITY	IDEALISM	INNER TRANQUILITY
DIGNITY	ORGANIZATION	PRUDENCE	SELF-ACTUALIZATION	ALTRUISM	MORALITY
ESCHATOLOGY	TRADITION	COMPREHENSIVENESS	PARTICIPATION	PAN-HUMANISM	SELF ASSURANCE
RIGHTEOUSNESS	JUSTICE	FLEXIBILITY	SENSORY AWARENESS	PERSPECTIVE	"HUMANISM"
SUBMISSION	OBEDIENCE	MODERATION	JOY AND LOVE	DETACHMENT	"SELF ACTUALIZATION"
FATALISM	SELF-SACRIFICE	MELIORISM	ECSTASY	OPENNESS	"CREATIVITY"

BUT WITH A CORRESPONDING POTENTIAL FOR A PATHOLOGICAL DEGREE OF

FANATICISM	FANATICISM	DE-HUMANIZATION	ANARCHY	DROPPING OUT	ELITISM
DOGMATISM	DESPOTISM	SCIENTISM	LAWLESSNESS	PASSIVITY	SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS
BIGOTRY	AUTHORITARIANISM	TECHNOCRATISM	CHAOS	UNWORLDLINESS	INTOLERANCE
INTOLERANCE	SADO-MASOCHISM	RATIONALIZATION	VIOLENCE	CULTISM	CULTISM
SUPERSTITION	VINDICTIVENESS	MERITOCRACY	NIHILISM	WITHDRAWAL	HYPOCRISY
HYPOCRISY	PUNITIVENESS	THEORIZING	SELFISHNESS	MYSTICISM	PHARISAISM
PHARISAISM	GUILT	ABSTRACTION	PROMISCUITY	FADDISM	BIGOTRY
PASSIVITY	RIGIDITY	CALCULATION	PERMISSIVENESS	SUPERSTITION	RATIONALIZATION
FATALISM	CALLOUSNESS	INDECISION	SELF-INDULGENCE	NAIVETÉ	CALLOUSNESS

CURRENT ORIENTATION OF U.S. ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

RELATIVELY TRANSCENDENTAL	RELATIVELY DOCTRINAIRE
CONGREGATIONALISTS	BAPTISTS
PRESBYTERIANS	CHURCH OF CHRIST
DUTCH REFORMED	SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS
EPISCOPALIANS	MORMONS
NORTHERN METHODISTS	ORTHOODOX JEWS
UNITARIANS	ORTHODOX CATHOLICS
QUAKERS	JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES
REFORM AND SECULARIZED JEWS	VARIOUS PENTECOSTAL SECTS
HAUTE BOURGEOISIE ROMAN CATHOLICS (E.G. JESUITS)	SOUTHERN METHODISTS
OLD YANKEE ELITES, ESPECIALLY THE DECLINING EX-RICH	"JESUS FREAKS"
	GREEK ORTHODOX

BACKGROUND OF THE IDEA OF THE NEW CLASS

1. NEED TO EXPLAIN THE PHENOMENON OF "POWER WITHOUT PROPERTY" OR POWER WITHOUT "TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY."

2. TERM "NEW CLASS" EMPLOYED IN 1956 BY MILOVAN DJILAS TO LABEL COMMUNIST RULERS.

3. TERM FIRST APPLIED TO U.S. BY DAVID T. BAZELON IN 1967.

4. TERM USED, MORE OR LESS IN OUR SENSE, BY D.P. MOYNIHAN AND NORMAN PODHORETZ IN 1972. INTERPRETED, CIRCULATED, AND PUBLICIZED BY IRVING KRISTOL.

5. TERM NOW WIDELY USED--E.G., RECENT ARTICLES IN FORTUNE, THE NEW REPUBLIC, THE PUBLIC INTEREST, THE NEW YORK TIMES, HARPERS, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, ETC.

6. WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT NEW CLASS WILL BE THE DOMINANT CLASS IN THE FUTURE.

OUR USE OF THE TERM NEW CLASS

THE NEW CLASS IS LARGELY COMPOSED OF UPPER MIDDLE CLASS INTELLECTUALS WHO ARE INCREASINGLY IN POSITIONS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE IN THE U.S. THEIR SOURCES OF POWER AND INFLUENCE DIFFER FROM THOSE OF THE OLDER UPPER CLASS AND UPPER MIDDLE CLASS ELITE WHOSE BASE HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL PRESTIGE ASSOCIATED WITH WEALTH AND PROPERTY OR HIGH POSITION IN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT.

AS A WHOLE, THE NEW CLASS DERIVES BOTH ITS INFLUENCE AND INCOME FROM POSSESSION AND MASTERY OF VERBAL, SYMBOL, AND "PERSUASIVE" SKILLS. SKILLS ENGENDERED MORE BY FORMAL ACADEMIC AND ANALYTICAL TRAINING THAN BY PRACTICAL TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE. NEW CLASS PEOPLE TEND NOT TO SPECIALIZE IN ENTREPRENEURIAL, ENGINEERING (ESPECIALLY CIVIL AND POWER) OR ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS. NOR DO THEY, NORMALLY, EXERCISE CLERICAL OR MANUAL SKILLS AS A MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD.

WE DISTINGUISH FIVE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE NEW CLASS: TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIVE, NEO-CONSERVATIVE, TRADITIONAL LIBERAL, NEO-LIBERAL, AND HUMANIST LEFT. IT IS THE NEO-LIBERAL SUBGROUP WHICH WE BELIEVE NEEDS MOST TO BE CRITICALLY EXAMINED AT THIS TIME.

IF THERE IS AN EMERGING NEW CLASS IT SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED BY:

- HIGH FORMAL EDUCATION
- RESPECTABLE SOCIAL ORIGINS
- HIGH PERCENT HAVING "PROFESSIONAL" OCCUPATIONAL STATUS
- HIGH (BUT NOT HIGHEST) INCOME. (IF INVOLVED IN MANUAL SKILLS IT IS AS PART OF THE "VOLUNTARY SIMPLICITY" MOVEMENT OR RELATED TO THE SELF-FULFILLMENT ETHOS. IF LOWER INCOME, THIS MAY BE BECAUSE STILL A STUDENT OR WORKING FOR A LOW PAYING PUBLIC INTEREST GROUP)
- TYPICALLY SOURCE OF INCOME IS FROM A NON-MARKET ORIENTED SOURCE SUCH AS:
 - GOVERNMENT
 - NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
 - GRANTS
 - SELF-FULFILLING PURSUITS
- RELATIVE YOUTH

A PARADIGM OF UPPER MIDDLE CLASS LIFESTYLES

TRADITIONAL	EARLY INDUSTRIAL	MATURE INDUSTRIAL
MODEST STATUS	HIGH STATUS	NO SPECIAL STATUS
1 OR 2 SERVANTS	2-5 SERVANTS	1 OR NO SERVANTS
LOYAL SERVANTS	SKILLED SERVANTS	50-50 SERVANTS
EXPENSIVE GOODS	CHEAP GOODS	PLASTIC GOODS
FEW SERVICES	MANY SERVICES	SERVICE "RIP-OFFS"
NO CARS, LITTLE OR NO COMMUTING	CARS, OPEN ROADS, EASY PARKING	LONG DISTANCE COMMUTING, TRAFFIC JAMS
URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS	SUBURBS	SUBURBAN SPRAWL
UNNOTICED POLLUTION	LESS POLLUTION	POLLUTION SENSITIVITY
LIMITED TRAVEL	TOURISM	TOURIST POLLUTION

MISUNDERSTOOD "MIDDLE AMERICA" ISSUES

1. LAW AND ORDER
2. BUSING
3. BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGRO
4. GUN LAWS AND OTHER GUN ISSUES
5. PORNOGRAPHY ISSUES
6. SEX EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
7. SCHOOL TAX REVOLT
8. ATTITUDES TOWARD FLAG, RELIGION, FIGHTING-WORDS, ETC.
9. ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENT PROTEST AND PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY
10. HYPOCRISY
11. GRAFT VS. CORRUPTION
12. BACKLASH AGAINST NEGROES

SOME ALLIES AND CO-BELLIGERENTS OF THE NEO-LIBERAL NEW CLASS

DECADENT OLD RICH
 MORE RADICAL TRADE UNIONS
 OLD LEFT
 NEW LEFT REMNANTS
 MILITANT FEMINISTS
 ORGANIZED MINORITY GROUPS
 BLACKS
 OTHER NON-WHITES
 PSEUDO-ETHNICS
 (LEFT) PSEUDO-POPULISTS
 "TRENDIES"
 THE UPPER MIDDLE CLASS IN GENERAL

KEY NEW CLASS INSTITUTIONS

UNIVERSITIES
 RESEARCH INSTITUTES
 GOVERNMENT STAFFS
 PUBLIC INTEREST LOBBIES
 OTHER NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS
 MEDIA CONGLOMERATES

SOME LIBERAL LEANING ORGANIZATIONS WHICH LEAN TOWARD NEO-LIBERAL NEW CLASS POSITIONS

ACLU
 ADA
 LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
 NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
 COMMON CAUSE
 NADERITES
 CONSUMERS UNION
 SIERRA CLUB
 FORD FOUNDATION (?)