

Contents

CONVERGENCE	<i>Ruth Nanda Anshen</i>	xiii
THE MÖBIUS STRIP	<i>R.N.A.</i>	xxv
PREFACE		xxvii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		xxix
1 AN ERA IN TRAVAIL		1
Global Transformation and Its Conflicting Trends		2
Emancipation and Freedom		4
Planning as an Instrument of Stabilization		6
Behavioral Conformity as a Condition for Stability		8
External Roots of Conformity: Acculturation and Planning		9
Spontaneous Conformity		11
Nonconformity as a Source of Emancipatory Progress		12
Transition to a Higher Stage of Emancipation		14
2 EMANCIPATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE		17

	The Takeoff into Emancipation	17
	Absolutism as the First Emancipatory Stage	19
	Liberalism as the Second Stage	22
	Political and Economic Liberalism	23
	How to Assess the Liberal Era	26
3	THE PRESENT STAGE OF EMANCIPATION	31
	General Characteristics	31
	The International Scene	33
	The Domestic Scene	35
	The Rise of the Welfare State and Its Present Crisis	38
	A Summary of the Destabilizing Factors	41
	Demand Inflation	42
	Cost-Push Inflation	44
	The Microelectronic Revolution	46
	Maldistribution and Ecological Limitations	48
	The Failure of Welfare Governments	50
	The Role of the Subjective Factor in Destabilization	52
4	BALANCING FREEDOM AND ORDER: SOME HISTORICAL MODELS	55
	Societal Constraints in Antiquity and the Middle Ages	56
	Liberal England as a Paradigm of Spontaneous Conformity	57
	The Paradox of English Conformity	58
	The Role of Education	61
	The "Ends" of English Conformity	63
	The Historical Roots of English Conformity	65
	The Problem of Freedom	67
	"Die Deutsche Freiheit"	68
	Conformity as a Threat and a Rescue	73

5	A VIABLE TOMORROW	77
	The Postwar Disintegration of English Conformity	78
	The United States as Potential Successor	80
	Conditions of Stabilization	84
6	THE SPECTER OF TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT	95
	Sources of Long-term Unemployment: The New Technology	95
	Why an Uncontrolled Market Cannot Compensate for the Displacement Effect of the New Technology	97
	Palliative Measures of Compensation	103
	Planned Domestic Colonization as a Policy of Compensation	106
	Obstacles to Public Intervention	109
7	BEHAVIOR IN THE PRIVATE DOMAIN: THE TRUE PRIVATE INTEREST	113
	Welfare State and Welfare Society	113
	Planned Adjustment of Private to Public Interest	115
	Social Learning and Manipulative Controls	116
	Overcoming the Uncertainty of Expectations	118
8	BEHAVIOR IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN: CONTROLLING THE CONTROLLERS	121
	Bureaucratization and Modern Society	121
	Government as a Subject and as an Object of Control	122
	Business Executives as Subjects and as Objects of Control	124
	Participation and Decentralization	127
	Education and Self-Control	128
	A Bureaucratic Class?	130

9	TOWARD A COMMUNAL ETHIC	133
	A First Commandment	133
	Traditional and Communal Ethics	135
10	THE PROSPECT OF FREEDOM	139
	A Summary of the Main Sources of Instability	140
	A Minimum Program of Reform	142
	Is "Muddling Through" a Solution?	144
	The Alternative of Autocracy	146
	Epilogue	147
	FOR FURTHER READING	151
	ABOUT THE AUTHOR	155
	ABOUT THE FOUNDER OF THIS SERIES	157