

**INTEGRALISM, ALTRUISM, AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION:
A SOROKINIAN MODEL OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR
AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION**

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Integralism is simultaneously an epistemology, psychology, sociology of change and theory of history. As used here it provides the theoretical underpinnings of Sorokin's general sociology and later works on altruism and social reconstruction. This paper explores the evolution of the concept from Social and Cultural Dynamics through his later works on the crisis of modernity, and the studies of social reconstruction at the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism. The results of this evolving chain of analysis was an integrated conceptual statement on the nature of humanness, knowledge, conflict resolution, altruism, and prosocial forms of human organization. Sorokin's model along with selected themes from the writings of John Paul II sharpens their shared insights into the resolution of social problems.

The Sorokinian oeuvre is remarkably wide and complex. Don Martindale (1972, 5) has noted that by January 1963 Sorokin had published thirty-five books, over four-hundred articles and essays and there were more than forty-two translations of his volumes. This exceeded the published work of Talcott Parsons and C. Wright Mills, and as far as these things can be ascertained made Sorokin the most productive and translated sociologist ever. Underlying a substantial portion of this massive and diverse body of work is Sorokin's integral perspective. This more inclusive theory of humanness replaced his earlier preference for positivism and scientific sociology. The epistemic shift resulted from the loss of historical optimism that had characterized his science prior to the first world war. As he noted:

...World War I [and]... the Revolution of 1917... shattered this [positivistic, scientific, and humanistic] world-outlook [and] forced me... to sternly re-examine my prewar [views].... This reconstruction took place slowly [and]... in [its] mature form the basic principles of Integralism are systematically stated in my volumes published in the last three decades. (Sorokin 1963, 204-205).

The works to which he refers begin with *Dynamics*, progress through his crisis studies, and culminate in his works on altruism and social reconstruction. As demonstrated below integralism binds these studies and gives them unity. It emerged first as a theory of social change, evolved into an explanatory principle for the crises of modernity, and culminated in a sociological axiom for the reconstruction of society. In all its manifestations it adumbrates a new approach to social science and the treatment of social problems.

In 1937 Sorokin published the first three volumes of *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. Each contained an enormous amount of comparative statistical data, but the book was not a work in empirical sociology. The volumes began with concepts and definitions for the analysis of cultural mentalities, integration, and change. These were then used to analyze 2500 years of change in the forms of art, literature, systems of truth (science and animism), ethics, (absolutism and relativism), forms of social institutions (family and the economy) wars, revolts, and revolutions among other things. In each Sorokin found changes in substance but no intensifying progression from primordial forms to higher levels of achievement and integration. Indeed, he used his finding of a trendless historical flux to attack the idea of a progressive linear evolution that culminated in the modern age of science and progress.

Regrettably, the reviews of the 1937 volumes were mixed and the book fared poorly at Harvard and in the sociological community. (Tibbs 1943: 473-480, Johnston 1995: 114-123.) More importantly, the fourth volume of *Dynamics*, which contained the most powerful argument and evidence for Sorokin's Integralism, was not published until 1941. By then many sociologists had lost interest (Nichols 1999: 139-155). In volume four Sorokin presented Integralism as an epistemology, and a theory of social change and human improvement. Sorokin's discussion of complex cultural supersystems also gave great insight into the dynamics of social transformation and historical process. Integralism as systems of truth and human nature posited that humans were three dimensional creatures possessing body, mind, and soul. Each dimension knew the world differently and supported a distinctive epistemology. The body learns through the senses and knows the world empirically. The mind seeks knowledge through reason, and understands the world rationally. The soul or supersensory capacity develops from intuition, grace, and God's revelation. Through it humans grasp the sublime or transcendent truths of their existence.

These three capacities were also collectively expressed at the macrosociological level as major types of culture. The pure forms are ideational and sensate, and the third was a mixed form that Sorokin called idealistic. The defining characteristic of each type comes from the principle of ultimate truth through which it organizes reality. In ideational cultures, ultimate reality flows

from immaterial everlasting being. Human needs and goals are spiritual and realized through their supersensory capacity. There are two subclasses of this mentality: acetic and active ideationalism.

Sensate cultures are the opposite of ideational and take ultimate reality to be revealed through the senses. The supersensory does not exist and secularization and agnosticism pervade the culture. Human needs are physical and satisfied by developing the environment. Sensate cultures have three forms: the active, passive and cynical sensate. Many cultures fall between these extremes, and Sorokin gave them little attention. The exception was a true idealistic culture in which reality was many sided, and human needs were both spiritual and material with the former dominating. The vitality of this idealistic culture sprang from its complex conception of reality. The world was constructed through the intertwining of spiritual and empirical truths.

Sorokin searched the histories of Greco-Roman and Western civilizations, and to a lesser degree those of the Middle East, India, China, and Japan for actual cases of these cultural types. The results showed that cultures move through ideational, idealistic and sensate periods separated by transitional times of crises. Over the last 2500 years Western culture had passed through the sequence twice, and was now living in the declining phase of a third sensate epoch.

Sorokin explained these cultural changes as the result of two forces: the principle of limits and immanent determinism. Social systems, like biological ones, change according to their inherent potentialities. Immanent determinism claims that the social structure and culture of a system establishes its capacity for change. Systems, however, have limits. For example, as they become more and more sensate, moving towards the extreme cynical sensate, they reach their limits of development. In a dialectical fashion, ideational countertrends are produced that grow stronger as the system polarizes. These countertrends start to move the culture towards an idealistic form. The dissonant changes reverberate throughout the system and violence increases as it takes on a new configuration.

Integralism

Sorokin's solution to this endless cycle of historical change and crisis was an Integral culture based on Integral truth. This epistemology and cultural form connected the truths of the senses, reason, and faith. This broader base of knowledge sustained an Integral culture which was better adapted to human nature and hence more stable.

In his Integral philosophy Sorokin affirmed that cultures change out of a quest for a more comprehensive and balanced base of knowledge from which

to deal with life's major questions. Sensate knowledge has given humans science, technology and physical comfort, but tells them little of the spirit. The truths of faith address that issue, but leave one relatively helpless in the face of nature. As each cultural type struggles to provide what is missing, it enters a period of crisis and changes. Integralism, however, binds the truths of science, reason and intuition into a comprehensive whole. It is humanity's way of creating a more satisfying cultural framework from which to comprehend life, cosmos, and the role of humankind in each. The Integral system binds the three dimensions of truth in a way that more closely correspond to the three-dimensional nature of humankind and reality. Integralism thus provides a more satisfying and complete way of knowing and understanding. Similarly, an Integral culture and personality are more harmoniously balanced, integrated and stable because they incorporate the heterogeneity of their essences. Through Integralism we come to know ourselves, the things we make, and the cultural world we construct more completely. It is simultaneously an epistemology, psychology, sociology, and theory of history. Indeed, it was this Integral analysis of history that focused Sorokin on the current crises of modernity and drove him to seek a method of social reconstruction (Jeffries 1999a:30-55).

Prophetic Sociology And The Crisis of Modernity

Sorokin's historical analysis determined that humankind was now in the declining years of its third sensate period. Like its predecessors it was a time of social upheaval, destruction, and conflict. But *Dynamics* suggested more terrifying upheavals than those of earlier times. One global war and a series of revolutions had already taken place, and humanity was now moving toward a second global confrontation. Additionally, the moral fiber of society was weakening and people no longer valued their systems of truth, justice and law. Instead these were increasingly seen as the means by which the rich and powerful manipulated disadvantaged underclasses. Even more dangerous was a growing sense that only the childlike and dull treated others with honesty and respect. The wily citizen of the modern age sought advantage not fairness in interpersonal relationships. This ethos undermined civility. Knowledge too was instrumental and pragmatic. Functional rationality replaced substantive reasoning, personally and collectively. Love of learning, aesthetics, and creativity declined as people became increasingly trained rather than educated. In this era of rationality people became frighteningly comfortable in their "iron cages". There resulted a crisis of the pipit as potentially damaging as the new weapons of mass destruction. For Sorokin the crisis demanded the skills of the scholar-activist. It was this sense of urgency, that moved him to the borders of the academic community and into the public arena. Sorokin became a prophetic sociologist.

As a prophet, Sorokin toiled to broaden humankind's awareness and understanding of the crisis of modernity. His work sent clear messages to lay and professional readers: There is a crisis and it was described and analyzed in *Dynamics* and the jeremiad *Crisis of Our Age*. However, we are not dominated by it. An alternative to sensate, ideational or ideological culture is the Integral civilization which replaces functional rationality with substantive direction and moral relativity with absolute values. Sorokin reasoned that epistemology and morality were intertwined. Hence sensate epistemology and science could produce no eternal truths, just probabilities. Therefore, as a knowledge system its fundamentals were continuously in flux, and so was the system of morality based on these sensate understandings. Integralism provided a more inclusive epistemology and thus a more stable basis for knowledge, morality and society. In Integralism moral relativity can be replaced by a set of genuine values Conducive to a more peaceful, fulfilling, and satisfying way of life. The question dangling before his audience was how does this come to be so? At that point Sorokin had no answer, but he had ideas. These were later developed and promoted through the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism.

Integral Social Science and Ethics

Early on Sorokin grasped the connection between a descriptive/nomothetic science, and prescriptive ethics. While the ethicist was concerned with what ought to be, and the scientific sociologist with what is, they were linked in the applications of their crafts. The practical ethicist often lacked the knowledge of social structure and the data needed to develop effective implementation strategies. The sociologist, in turn, could provide the contextual understandings necessary for moral principles to be transformed into practical implementation formulae. The possibilities embedded in this conceptual partnership drove Sorokin and others to improve the discipline as a science. Just as dealing with biological facts made for better medicine, Sorokin reasoned that better understanding of social facts would enable sociologists and ethicists to reduce human misery and help society live more wisely.

Toward this end Sorokin's writings informed specialists and citizens about the modern crisis, and attempted to stimulate their commitments to social improvements. After *Dynamics* and *The Crisis of Our Age*, he wrote "The Declaration of Independence of the Social Sciences" and followed it in 1942 with *Man and Society in Calamity*. To these were added two articles on the nature of conflict and reconciliation: "The Causes and Factors of War and Peace," (1942) and "The Conditions and Prospects of a World Without War" (1944). These works aspired to inform and mobilize people for action. They combined analysis with moral injunctions and wrapped Sorokin in the cloak of prophetic sociology.

According to Robert W. Friedrichs (1970: 57-110) prophets are driven by distinctive principles and goals. Their sociology goes beyond science and seeks the improvement of society. They are value committed, see truth in many forms, and are scholar-activists. For them the objective of science and sociology is service to humanity. Friedrichs observed that prophets have a long and distinguished history among sociologists. It extended from Comte and the “Prophets of Paris” to more modern scholars, such as: Karl Mannheim, Pitirim Sorokin, Robert Lynn, Robert MacIver, and Louis Wirth. (Friedrichs 1970: 74). As a participant in the prophetic tradition, Sorokin became isolated from a profession hungry for legitimacy as a pure science.

The Sociology of Moral and Social Reconstruction

Above all, Sorokin was a sociologist and his interest in the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism was a product of academic concerns, philosophical commitments, and cultural origins. As Lawrence T. Nichols (1998:15-31) reveals in his translation of Sorokin’s study of Tolstoy they shared major domain assumptions about the nature of the world, humanity, and how life is to be lived. These primitive agreements were grounded in their shared ethnicity and philosophy. Ethnically, the Russian worldview is committed to: the importance of feelings over rationality and science; the centrality of the soul and God; the importance of love in social relations; and the values of peace, equality, and altruism.

Indeed God, love, the actualization of the soul, and happiness are the roots of personal and social peace. They are also among the answers to the four most important questions in philosophy: What is the essence of the world? What is the essence of the I? What is the relationship of the I and not I? Who am I, and how am I to live? The essence of the world is God. The essence of the I is the soul. The relationship of the I to the not I is the difference between wisdom and knowledge. Wisdom comes from knowing God and the growth of the soul. The world of knowledge (fact, theory) tells us many things, but little of the core concerns of existence. Additionally, one should live happily, and true happiness comes from connection to God and others. We connect through love which nourishes the soul and bonds the one to the many.

Sorokin recognized that such tenets were part of many of the world’s major religions. Indeed he ends *Crisis* by asserting that this is the direction the prophets and their followers should take. Had he stopped there his critics would have been correct: Sorokin was looking for a new age of faith, and that he had become a modern Jeremiah, exhorting us to prepare for the coming Kingdom of God. But Sorokin, the sociologist, recast his philosophy in sociological terms. A common denominator of the essence of the world, the I,

wisdom and proper living, is love. It ties humans to each other and to the transcendent, promotes a commitment to wisdom, and empowers one to live a life of connection with God and others. In consequence it promotes peace and reduces suffering. The interesting psycho-social questions are: How does one cultivate the growth of love personally, in primary and secondary groups, in community and society, and thereby increase amity and reduce conflict? In short Sorokin was looking for an answer similar to that put forth by his countryman Peter Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid; A Factor of Evolution*. Kropotkin asserted that the evolution of animals and the ethical and social progress of humans resulted not from struggle, but from learning to cooperate and help each other. Love and related emotions were, in Sorokin's mind, the foundation for such prosocial behavior. Consequently, increasing them would promote cooperation as a social force and as an important factor in the progressive evolution of humankind. (Jaworski 1993: 72). Indeed the how of this, and its social implementation would become a central concern of the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism.

With a grant from the entrepreneur and philanthropist Eli Lilly, Sorokin established the Harvard Center in 1946. Sorokin used the money to commission anthropological, clinical and mediational studies of altruism, and write *The Reconstruction of Humanity*. This book served as the exemplar of the Center and guided its fourteen year research program.

Sorokin's initial research was committed to discovering the nature of love and learning how to produce, accumulate, and use it to form better people and groups. Over the years, the results of these efforts were reported in many books and articles. The more important are: *Altruistic Love: A Study of American Good Neighbors and Christian Saints* (1950), *Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior: A Symposium* (1950), *Social Philosophies of an Age of Crisis* (1950), *S.O.S. The Meaning of Our Crisis* (1951), *Forms and Techniques of Altruistic Love and Spiritual Growth: A Symposium* (1954), *The Ways and Power of Love* (1954), *Power and Morality: Who Shall Guard the Guardians* (1959). The goals of the Center were to produce practical and applied principles in psychology, sociology and history capable of transforming and reconstructing behavior at different levels of social organization extending from the dyad to the society as a whole. These works reflect the efforts of Sorokin, as an applied sociologist, to develop a conceptual and practical algorithm for human improvement and social reconstruction based on his Integral view of society and humankind (Jeffries 1999b:73-89).

Amitology and The Harvard Research Center In Creative Altruism

Writing in 1951 Sorokin defined Amitology as an applied science that developed the capacity for love, friendship, and cooperation in personal and social relationships. The guiding assumptions of Amitology and the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism were Integral. Humans, as the creators of a complex social life, had added to the inorganic and organic worlds, the superorganic realm of culture. Their cultures tied them to a total reality and through it they sought the supreme Integral value: the unity of social peace, harmony with nature, and the growth of the soul. The way to these ends was altruism. How to make humankind more altruistic was the task of the Center.

Humans became altruistic by practicing love in all their social relationships. The capacity to love grew by giving the soul (superconsciousness) increasing control over the mind. World religions were rich sources of norms to direct such growth and deepen altruistic potential. Particularly useful, for Sorokin, were the Ten Commandments and Sermon on the Mount. These were more than biblical injunctions, they were principles for character development. If society wanted to eliminate social evils, then develop better people. The Sermon and Commandments provided norms and values for doing this. Sorokin saw society as the result of millions of individual acts. If each of us avoided the selfish abuse of our functions then the world would be improved. But if we each behaved altruistically then the world would be enriched.

The Center would develop methods to encourage the expression of love, compassion, sympathy, and empathy in all social relationships. The results would be a safer society that nurtured human development and constructive interpersonal relationships. The research agenda focused on seven levels of social action: the preparation of individuals, the primary group, secondary group, collectivities and communities, and altruistic action at the national and international levels (Johnston 1998:18-20, 42-49).

Sorokin's program was based on comparative, cross-cultural studies like Roger Godel's work on Eastern and Western science and religion. Godel observed that the Hindu turned inward, and the Westerner outward in their pursuits of scientific knowledge and religious experience. Religiously, both approaches left the seeker waiting in quiet supplication for the presence of God. Scientifically, they remained separate paths until Western science learned the limits of objectivity in its exploration of the subatomic world. (Godel 1954: 3-12). Quantum physics confirmed that each was partially valid, but that they were stronger and more productive when combined. (Sorokin 1956: 279-296). Godel's essay supports Integralism as a theory of human nature and as an epistemology. Sensate and ideational truths intertwine to produce a more comprehensive understanding of the natural and the sublime. Accordingly, the

combined experience of many cultural traditions provides a rich medium to develop knowledge.

Western religions, like those of the East, had also developed physical techniques that promoted the growth of the soul. Anthony Bloom described the spiritual exercises of Orthodox Christian monks, and Pierre Marinier explored the phenomenon of prayer. The linking of body, mind, and soul was strengthened by Orthodox monks through mortification, meditation, and a set of physical postures that Bloom (1954: 93-108) described as Christian Yoga. These practices synergistically prepared the mind and body to experience the transcendent. Prayer however, was more typical of the religious and Christian experiences. It is an exercise and discipline that focused attention on God and yielded physical and psychological benefits. Marinier was particularly interested in the somatic effects, but he also described prayer as means to moral recovery, heightened awareness of reality and the intentions of God. Prayer was a transcendental universal. (Marinier 1954: 145-164). These and other techniques in *Forms* taught one to discipline the flesh, transcend ego, and develop the soul. They were only a few of the methods used by Jewish, Christian, Moslem, and Buddhists seekers to enhance their spiritual and altruistic capacity. As methods of character development they motivated members to overcome egoism and behave altruistically.

Altruization techniques could also improve the quality of relationships in larger social contexts. For example, J. Mark Thompson studied inimical relationships in groups of students. His research demonstrated that sustained acts of kindness by an adversary regularly transformed hostile relationships into congenial ones. (Thompson 1954: 401-417). Strained, and often angry relationships were also studied in a mental hospital. There the focus was on patients and nurses. The tensions inherent in this relationship were greatly reduced when each learned to imaginatively take the role of the other. As empathy increased nurses moved beyond a clinical indifference to compassion. Similar empathetic efforts by patients resulted in less hostility and more responsiveness. The longer they persisted the better things became. (Hyde and Kandler 1954: 387-399). These studies are illustrative and by no means exhaust the Center's research and publications on such subjects. Indeed Sorokin broadened and deepened the discussion of techniques in several volumes including *The Ways and Power of Love*.

Two exceptional examples of altruistic communities are found in the Center's studies of the Mennonites and Hutterites. The Mennonites ranked high on all Sorokin's dimensions of love. Their altruism was extensive and broad in scope. It went well beyond the community to the nation and the world. It was intense and pure, meaning that Mennonites performed significant acts of assistance without expectation of reward. These behaviors were

institutionalized in their cultures and inculcated by socialization in the personalities of the young. In the process altruism became a stable and durable component of the culture. The Mennonite's altruistic commitments extend to all who experience loss and suffering. They maintain hospitals, orphanages, homes for the elderly, banks, cooperatives, and burial societies for Mennonite and non-Mennonite alike (Krahn, Fretz, Krieder 1954: 308-328).

What motivates people to do these things and how is their altruism institutionalized and passed to new generations? A highly developed answer is found in Eberhard Arnold's essay on the Hutterites in Paraguay (Arnold 1954: 294-307). Like the Mennonites, they are direct descendants of the Swiss Anabaptists and teach their young early that time and resources are to be used in the work of God. Adult role models are the key to socialization and demonstrate egoless behavior, personal responsibility, cooperation, and Christian love. Adult examples are reinforced by older children who take responsibility for younger members. Peer groups are never exclusive, provide normative reference points, and sanction behavior. But they always leave open clear paths on which the unruly can return to full membership. The family, however, is the most important agent of socialization. There, children learn all required life skills.

In late adolescence the Society of Brothers gives young members the opportunity to leave for education and other experiences that expand their awareness and personal development. Afterwards, each freely decides whether or not to return to the community. Most do, and assume their positions as role models for the next generation.

Altruistic Transformations in Complex Societies

Sorokin next asks whether institutionalized altruism is possible at the highest levels of sociocultural integration. In *Power and Morality: Who Shall Guard the Guardians?* he and Walter A. Lunden deal with the obstacles that nations face in becoming more humane and altruistic. To overcome these challenges they put their hopes in a government of scientists, sages, and saints. Sorokin and Lunden argue that the traditional politician is in decline because the technical complexity of today's world requires greater intellectual skill than is characteristic of these leaders. As a result politicians have been replaced by scientists. But does this mean better government or simply one oligarchy replacing another? Existing evidence suggested that a shift to a scientific elite, in and of itself, would not improve the current situation.

What scientists lacked was the wisdom of the sage. Society required a pansophic intellectual capable of integrating scientific understanding into a broader blueprint of moral principles for social reconstruction and progress.

(Sorokin and Lunden 1959: 169). Thus, the pansoph would provide the ethical leadership required to replace moral relativism with a set of cross-culturally applicable moral norms. To be complete, this moral transformation also required the participation of global religious leaders, and exceptional altruists. However, such leaders must be more ecumenical than those of the past, and promote a moral education suitable for a global population. Clearly, great religious leaders had changed the path of history. The demands for a new international moral order now required today's religious leaders to rise to the levels of past historical accomplishment. (Sorokin and Lunden 1959: 175-189).

The guardians of the guardians were thus the moral leaders of the new global community. In the process they would also transform sensate government into an Integral form. If such leadership could deliver a few decades of peace then the most dangerous part of the declining sensate transition would pass, and a solid foundation for an emerging Integral order established. This required that the new elite assume increasing control as soon as possible and work to frame the new Integral civilization (Sorokin and Lunden 1959: 184-193).

A Road Not Taken

Integralism is an epistemology, theory of human nature, and framework for understanding history and social change in Western society. It is a crisis oriented model that takes us to the edge of civilizational changes and provides an exemplar for character development and social reconstruction. As a paradigm it frames a universe of discourse; produces an ontological and epistemological consensus on the nature of social reality and knowledge; sets malleable boundaries for doing sociology, and emphasizes the application of knowledge to practical problems of existence.

The crisis of modernity which launched Sorokin's engagement with character development and the improvement of society is still palpable and many would argue more acute. Nations crumble, revolutions are common place, and violence appears omnipresent. At a time ripe with challenge, sociology seems immobilized by a crisis that has undermined its theoretical power and drained its vitality as a prophetic/action oriented discipline. In times like these Integralism challenges sociology to rediscover its core. As a body of sociological thought it contains a historically grounded theory of social change; an integrative epistemology from which a methodological base is easily developed; and an orientation to problem solving. In this regard it is a classic sociological theory: simultaneously concerned with nomothetic understanding, a methodological rigor that triangulates intuitive, rational and empirical understandings, and focused on the solution to social problems. It is a

philosophy for the times, and demands that we think with a more complex and powerful model. The Integral foundation that Sorokin developed was intended to solve the problems of classical sociology and in the process promote a scientifically based, multidimensional understanding of society capable of directing programs for social improvement. The system, as demonstrated above is coherent and organized. It provides a promising theoretical and practical direction for the reconstruction of sociology and the amelioration of social problems. Interestingly, at this time it is the road not taken by sociologists. But the resistance seems more a product of a declining academic culture among sociologists than a rational choice on how to construct an integrative, problem oriented, and empirically verifiable theory of society. The why of this has less to do with the nature of Integralism than with the domain assumptions and organization of academic sociology.

Integral sociologists will find that Sorokin's call for a new epistemological foundation for the social sciences, and greater involvement by religious leaders has not fallen on deaf ears in the Catholic Church. Francis Cardinal George (2000:11) has written that Pope John Paul II also recognizes that science by itself cannot provide an adequate framework for reckoning the human good. Indeed, to rise to this task require that science be complemented by philosophy and faith if it is to be a suitable guide for human development and progress. Furthermore the pope "...is open to scientifically-established descriptive claims about human affairs, but he judges and employs them in the light of philosophically and theologically established normative criteria. What one does not necessarily expect is a pope who also employs..."phenomenology and hermeneutics in order to apprehend these normative criteria. (George 2000: 11-12). Integralists and phenomenological sociologists will, to different degrees, be pleased by the convergence of their reasoning with that of the Pope. For each, truth is the dynamic creation of science, reason, and faith. Indeed, it is comprehensive thinking of this type that promises the most all-encompassing basis for powerful reasoning, social policy, and strategies of social reconstruction that can soften some of the sharp edges of modernity.

The integral tie among the forms of knowing is not the only one between Sorokin and John Paul II. Both are committed to social justice, and worried about the challenges to freedom that modernity brings. Sorokin's emphasis on the promotion of altruism in social groups as a antidote to modernity is reflected by the Pope's concerns about "the individualistic concept of freedom" which often underlies modernity. The Pope writes: "By its single minded focus on the autonomous will of the individual as the sole organizing principle of public life, it dissolves the bonds of obligation between men and women, parents and children, the strong and the weak, majorities and minorities. The result is the breakdown of civil society, and a public life in which the only actors of consequence are the autonomous individual and the state.

This, as the twentieth century ought to have taught us, is a sure prescription for tyranny.” (quoted in Grasso 1999:29).

The sociologist and the Pontiff each focused on reducing egoism and promoting cooperation as a mechanism for moderating the excessive individualism of modernity and advancing a more equal and open society. The points of convergence between integralism and Catholicism suggest rich ground for future exploration. To date it is a road not taken, but that is a topic for another time.

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