

Large firms have been encouraging "involvement" of blue-collar workers that goes beyond the popular Quality of Work Life programs of the 1980s, which brought workers together in quality circles to talk about their work and recommend improvements. Now, a few companies are setting up "autonomous teams" of workers that control scheduling, discipline, and other managerial functions. Equally significant changes have been taking place in the work of middle managers, Heckscher says. In "the golden age of bureaucracy," when groups were deemed ill-suited to the making of decisions, committees and task forces were relatively rare; now, such team-oriented groups are common.

The shift away from hierarchy is not just a fad, Heckscher believes. "Bureaucracy is ill-suited to the demands of advanced markets for innovation and quality," he asserts. But its demise is hardly assured. He outlines four alternative models for the future corporation:

- *Purified Bureaucracy.* "In the old-line companies—the General Motors, the AT&Ts, the Dow Chemicals—leaders frequently talk of 'empowerment' and 'autonomy.' . . . [They want to return] to individuals the 'power' to perform the roles that have been established for them, allowing them to use their knowledge to carry out the tasks defined by their superiors. This [is] a return to true bureaucracy."

- *Community with Shared Values.* Xerox tried to create "a culture of quality" during the 1980s with a massive education campaign. (A 92-page book on developing corporate quality was put out and discussed throughout the firm.) Other cor-

porations, such as IBM, have long emphasized the importance of shared values. These firms show concern for their employees' welfare, and employees respond with a voluntary commitment to the good of the whole corporate community. But this kind of paternalism—in which hierarchy remains important—has its drawbacks, Heckscher says. An "excessive inwardness" may develop, with the result that qualified outsiders are kept out and insiders become too cautious and rigid.

- *Free-Market Corporation.* "Pay for individual performance, the promotion of internal competition, [and] the conversion of departments into profit centers . . . are all examples of this movement" to make the corporation itself a market. General Electric's Jack Welch, a fervent apostle, declared loyalty no virtue in his company. But, as many investment-banking and high-tech firms have found out, a company's rejection of loyalty encourages talented employees to jump not only to other posts within the firm but to other firms.

- *Cooperative Association.* The corporation stresses "teamwork" and the use of task forces and committees, with decisions at all levels made by consensus. One medium-sized manufacturing firm Heckscher studied uses teams for virtually all decisions. The "human benefits of such an approach are obvious," but Heckscher concedes, it still "does not work very well on a large scale."

"In the modern economy," he concludes, "bureaucracy no longer enjoys a massive advantage . . . over more open and participatory alternatives." Nevertheless, he admits, "bureaucracy is not yet dead."

SOCIETY

How To Get More Justice

"The American criminal justice system is breaking down," claims Charles Maechling, Jr., an international lawyer. He points

"Improving Our Criminal Justice System" by Charles Maechling, Jr., in *The Brookings Review* (Summer 1991), 1775 Mass. Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

to clogged prisons and court calendars, and to the fact that it can take years to put a rapist behind bars or to execute a mur-

derer. Much of what's wrong, he says, is rooted in the courts' adversarial nature, which necessitates "a bristling array of constitutional safeguards and procedural rules" to protect the accused. Maechling argues for radical reform: taking a leaf from the so-called inquisitorial criminal-justice process used everywhere in Europe except Great Britain and Ireland.

The European approach relies on "objective methods of inquiry rather than . . . pit-bull confrontations," says Maechling, who, as a visiting Fellow at Wolfson College, Cambridge University, in 1985-87, led a study of the subject. After police make an initial investigation of a fel-

ony case, an examining magistrate conducts a detailed inquiry, questioning witnesses, scrutinizing physical evidence, and weighing information from other sources. All relevant information about the case and people involved goes into the record. Only after the magistrate has built up a coherent case, and resolved any ambiguities or uncertainties, does he decide whether to bring a suspect to trial.

If the case reaches a courtroom, the *prima facie* case against the accused is strong. But the defendant has the opportunity to prove his innocence or, more likely, show extenuating circumstances. He has the right to counsel and can refuse

The Transformation of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Acknowledging the seriousness of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s recently revealed plagiarism in his doctoral dissertation at Boston University, King biographer David J. Garrow offers in the *Journal of American History* (June 1991) this interpretation:

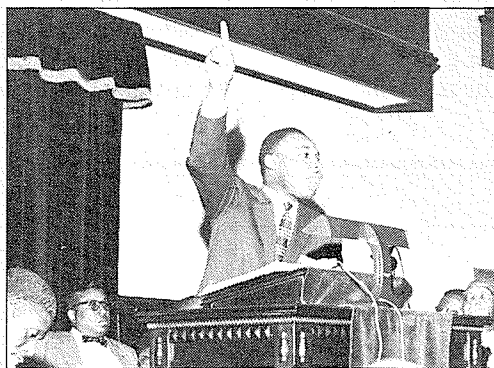
[It] forces us to address a central question: Was the [Martin Luther King, Jr.] of Crozer [Theological Seminary] and [Boston University] actually a rather immature and insecure young man? Was he a talented young preacher with no particular aptitude for scholarly creativity, a man who was somewhat out of his element as a student yet who quickly began to mature and grow into himself once he put graduate school . . . firmly behind him after returning south to pastor

Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church? The project findings should cause us to think again about how fundamentally transforming an experience the early leadership of the [1956] Montgomery bus boycott was for King, and whether the Martin Luther King who was molded and reshaped by

those early months of the Montgomery struggle was, in some very significant ways, a distinctively different young man from the one who had pieced together "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman" in the winter of 1954-1955 . . .

Perhaps even more than has previously been appreciated, King's acquisition of that fundamental sense of mission, calling, and obligation that came to him in Montgomery transformed him into someone whose newly enriched self-understanding gave to his future life an integrity, a dedication, and a sense of purpose reaching well beyond himself that simply had not been present in his life, and in his academic studies, up until that time. We need to ponder whether acquiring

such a sense of mission can fundamentally transform a person's life and whether the tough-minded integrity, and the courage, that [King] demonstrated so repeatedly and so often in the years after 1956 was not something he brought to the black freedom struggle, but rather something he gained from . . . it.



King speaks during Montgomery bus boycott.

to answer questions, although the jury, unlike a U.S. panel, may draw a negative inference. The defense counsel may cross-examine witnesses and make legal arguments, but "cannot disrupt the proceedings with delaying tactics and frivolous objections on points of procedure."

Drawing on the European approach, Maechling recommends reversing the Supreme Court rulings that make evidence obtained in violation of the Fourth Amendment's prohibition against unreasonable searches and seizures inadmissible in court. He would also eliminate the rule against admission of hearsay evidence, which is just "the kind of information governments and ordinary people use daily to make decisions." Furthermore, he says, all witnesses in a criminal trial should be wit-

nesses for the court, rather than for the defense or prosecution, and "chosen and screened for competence and objectivity." And most of the questioning should be done by the judge, with the lawyers only afterward allowed to make a limited cross-examination.

Finally, Maechling says, appeals in criminal cases on minor procedural or technical grounds should not be allowed. Appeals instead should be limited, as in England, to a review of the whole record of the case, except where there is "some gross irregularity at the trial" or new evidence. Nothing in the Constitution forbids doing this, he says, and the U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision last April, "has already gone part of the way," by limiting capital-punishment appeals.

Blacks Who Made It

"The Great Sharecropper Success Story" by David Whitman, in *The Public Interest* (Summer 1991), 1112 16th St. N.W., Ste. 530, Washington, D.C. 20036.

In his best-selling book, *The Promised Land* (1991), Nicholas Lemann contends that today's urban black underclass and many of its well-known ills have some decades-old roots in black sharecropper society in the rural South. That society, Lemann writes, was "the national center" of illegitimate births and female-headed families; it had a very high rate of violent crime; and it had special problems with sexually transmitted diseases and substance abuse. Five million southern blacks migrated to the urban North between 1940 and '70, he says, and they brought this dismal heritage with them.

Lemann's sharecropper thesis is not really new, says Whitman, a senior editor at *U.S. News & World Report*. It was in vogue during the 1950s and latter half of the '60s. *Fortune*, for instance, published a lengthy story then on the "Southern Roots of Urban Crisis." By the early 1970s, however, the thesis had been discredited by Census Bureau and other studies indicating that the migrants were relatively successful in the urban North. About a dozen major studies completed between 1965

and '75 found that after a short period of adjustment, the black men from the South typically flourished in their new environment. The blacks who ended up poor, on welfare, or in broken families in northern cities, the studies repeatedly showed, "tend[ed] to be natives of the region, not southern migrants."

Given their background, what accounts for the sharecroppers' success? Whitman says that they had some important virtues, particularly "a strong work ethic" and "little familiarity with welfare." And contrary to Lemann's claim about sharecropper society being the national center of illegitimacy, Whitman says, "black women in the rural South were *more* likely to be married than were urban black women living in the South or North from at least 1910 to 1960." In 1940, for example, 73 percent of black women in the rural South lived in intact families, compared with only 58 percent in the North.

"[By] concentrating so heavily on the urban woes of displaced tenant farmers," Whitman writes, "Lemann diminishes the migrant success story that lies at the core