

„The Puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force. Perhaps it will so determine them until the last ton of fossilized coal is burnt. In Baxter's view the care for external goods should only lie on the shoulders of the "saint like a light cloak, which can be thrown aside at any moment". But fate decreed that the cloak should become an iron cage" (Weber 2005: 123).

What is striking here, is the religious aspect in the genesis of modern social organization, that in the process becomes more and more marginal. Rationalism in this way becomes the new belief system. It is furthermore important to acknowledge that Weber in no sense tried to perform a critique of capitalism. On the contrary, for Weber one of the few powers (next to a charismatic sovereign) capable of curbing the expansion of bureaucracy into all spheres of life, was capitalist economy. Opposing the socialist model with the capitalist model, Weber anticipated that socialist societies would turn out even more bureaucratized, as management positions in the economic realm would automatically be held by government officials as well (Greisman & Ritzer 1981: 48).

DAVID GRAEBER – THE NEW CORPORATE BUREAUCRATIC CULTURE

„The Iron Law of Liberalism states that any market reform, any government initiative intended to reduce red tape and promote market forces will have the ultimate effect of increasing the total number of regulations, the total amount of paperwork, and the total number of bureaucrats the government employs" (Graeber 2015: 9).

Between Weber's analysis and David Graeber's accounts on bureaucracy more than one hundred years have passed. It is therefore no surprise that their appraisals on the relationship between bureaucracy and ca-