

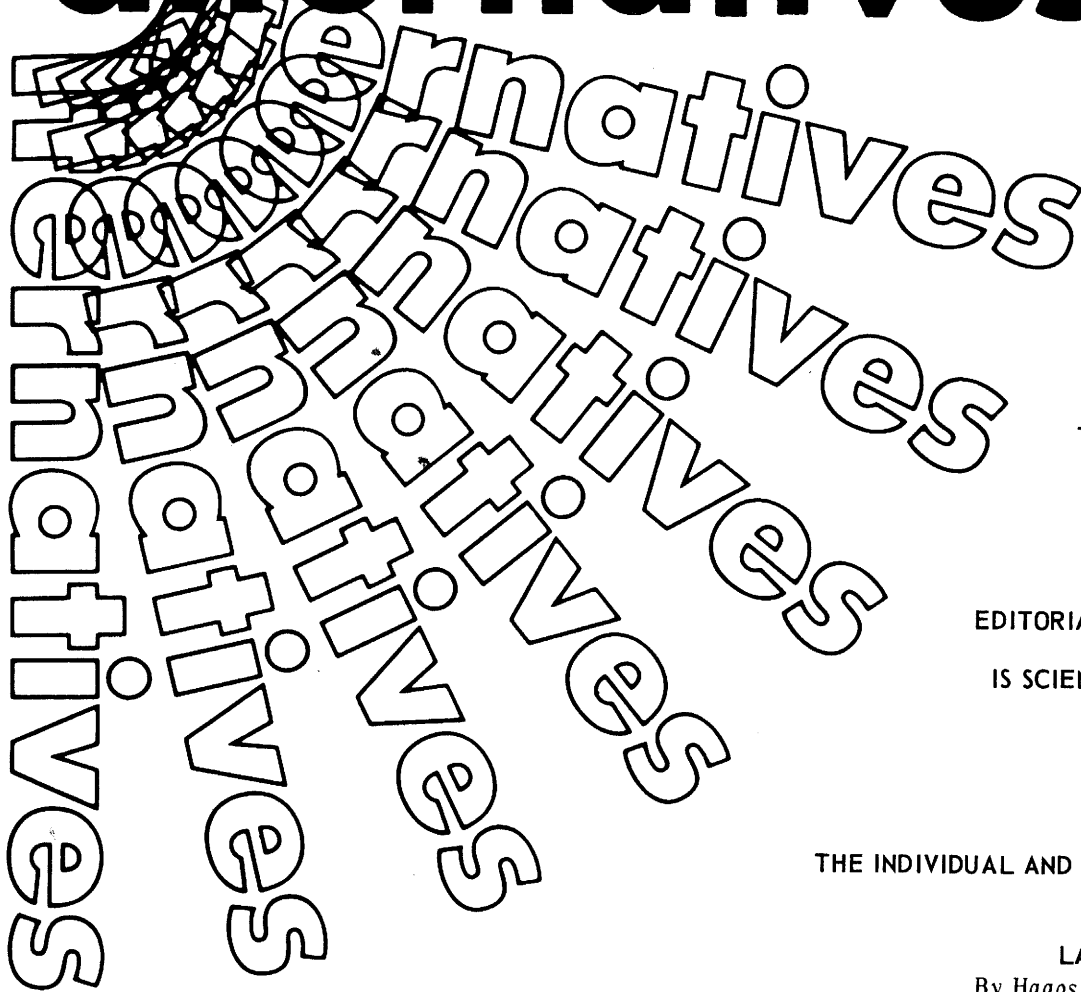
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By Guenter Anders

**The New Magazine of
Politics and Society**

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March-April 1966

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This first issue of Alternatives is dedicated to the memory of Hans Meyerhoff (1914-1965).

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Hans Meyerhoff was born in Germany, but spent all of his adult life in the United States. A noted philosopher and author, his most important work is Time in Literature. At the time of his death he was a Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles. Elliott Coleman has published eight books of poetry. He is presently Chairman of the Writing Seminars at the Johns Hopkins University. Barry Commoner is Professor of Plant Physiology at Washington University in St. Louis. He is a prominent participant on committees of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and has written many important articles on the social implications of science. Jan Diepersloot is a graduate student in the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, San Diego. Herbert Marcuse, a widely known social philosopher, is the author of Reason and Revolution, Eros and Civilization, One-Dimensional Man, and other works. He is now Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, San Diego. Hagos Gabre Yesus is an Ethiopian citizen who has pursued graduate studies at the University of Illinois and Brandeis University. William Leiss is a graduate student in philosophy at the University of California, San Diego. Their article is adapted from Challenge, the Journal of the Ethiopian Students Association of North America. Günter Anders is an important German author, best known in this country for Burning Conscience, his correspondence with Claude Eatherly, a participant in the atomic attacks on Japan. Mr. Anders lives in Vienna.

This is the text of an address delivered at the November 12, 1965 Teach-in at UCLA. It is an excellent example of the kind of rational analysis and passionate concern representative of the Teach-in movement across the nation. As Professor Meyerhoff's address shows, this movement has begun to fill the gap in the democratic process created by an irresponsible government and an uninformative press. The remarkable accuracy of his predictions on the course of the war in Vietnam supports his contention that the citizen, and not the expert, is the proper authority in the determination of American foreign policy.

THE EXPERTS AND VIETNAM

By Hans Meyerhoff

I feel somewhat out of place on this program. I am not a political scientist; I am not an area specialist on Vietnam, China, or Southeast Asia; I am not even a member of Congress. Since 1948 when I retired from the State Department, I have been teaching philosophy - or, at least, what I think is philosophy. So what am I doing here? Well, in thinking about this question, it occurred to me that maybe somebody should come forward to examine the credentials of these experts and see how good they are. Maybe somebody should check up on the experts. I don't mean the experts who are here today - that would be impolite; I mean the experts who are not here; I mean the experts in Washington who are behind this war.

These experts, as you know, enjoy a great reputation. In fact, their power and prestige are so great that we have all been brainwashed. How dare we who are not experts challenge the authority of the experts in the White House, in the State Department, and in the Pentagon? How dare we trust our own judgment against theirs? How dare we think we can understand what is going on in Vietnam?

This attitude, I believe, is all wrong. So maybe somebody should challenge the mystique of the experts; maybe somebody should plead the case of the non-expert, i.e., the case of the ordinary citizen like you and me. This is what I intend to do in the few minutes I have.

The expert, of course, knows many things that we do not know, and we need specialists in politics as we need specialists in other fields. But this is no reason why we should put our fate into the hands of the political expert. He may know many things, but there are many things he does not know. He can do some things, but there are other things he cannot do. He can help us think, but he cannot think for us. He can help us decide, but he cannot decide for us. And he should not. He should not because that is the end of the free society. If we simply take his word for it, then let us all go down deep into the heart of Texas and follow Big Brother wherever he may lead us.

I repeat: the expert knows many things that we don't know, but he does not know as much as you may think he does. Politics is not a science. Much of it is guesswork, not scientific knowledge. It is difficult enough to get the facts straight; it is difficult enough to get the experts to agree on the facts. It is even more important to realize that in politics (as in history) there are no facts without interpretation and in the case of Vietnam,

that there is no agreement among the experts on the interpretation of crucial facts. They do not agree on the question of the Geneva Agreement, and our obligation under it; they do not agree on the nature of our obligation under the Charter of the U.N.; they do not agree on what are the relations between the National Liberation Front and Hanoi; they do not agree on the dependence of Hanoi upon China; they do not agree on what are the economic and military capabilities of China. Not one of these questions is a matter of scientific knowledge; all of them are a matter of interpretation and guesswork. In all these matters we must exercise our own judgment. We must argue with and against the experts. We must not simply take their word for it.

Again, when the experts predict what the Chinese will do or will not do, in Korea or in Vietnam, when they argue as to whether or not there is a blueprint for Chinese aggression, they are not making scientific predictions. They are making guesses, and sometimes bad guesses. For example, when Mr. Rusk was Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (under John Foster Dulles) he guessed that the Peking regime had become a "colonial Russian government." It is this regime that is now Russia's No. 1 rival; yet Mr. Rusk is still the President's No. 1 adviser on China. It's foolish to believe everything the experts say.

It is also foolish to think that when they come up with a theory - for example, the domino theory - that this is a scientific theory. It is not. You will hear enough in the course of this Teach-in to learn that our experts in Washington are practically alone in holding this theory, just as we are practically alone in waging war in Vietnam.

Or, when you hear alleged experts expound phony analogies, you must not believe that this is a model of scientific thinking. Some say, the war in Vietnam is like the confrontation over Cuba. It is not like it at all. Cuba is 70 miles away from the American mainland; Vietnam is 9,000 miles away. Others say that we must not follow a policy of peace, because that is appeasement. Why? Because Vietnam in 1965 is like Munich in 1938. This analogy is so far-fetched, it is so misleading (not to say fraudulent) that it is no more than a piece of propaganda dressed up as political science. It is your right and mine to expose these phony analogies some experts have used to justify the war in Vietnam; and we do not have to be specialists to do so.

Nor do we need to be specialists to challenge the reasons official experts have given explaining *why* we are in Vietnam. We are not there to defend the people's right to self-determination. Otherwise we would have permitted national elections. We are not there to make the country safe for democracy - under General Ky. We are there to make it safe for American power in the Far East. We are there as part of the cold war; and we are there to stay regardless of what happens to the people of Vietnam. We were not invited by the people of Vietnam; we were invited by our puppet Diem. These are unpleasant truths about the war we are waging 9000 miles from home; but it is well to remember that the alleged experts in Washington are by no means pure servants of the truth; they are by no means pure seekers of the truth. Sometimes they are nothing but propaganda experts. Sometimes they are simply agents of the cold war; and a great deal of what they call expert knowledge is merely a smoke screen for paid propaganda.

While I am on the subject of analogies, it is perhaps appropriate to point out that wars are not all alike. Going to war means different things, and wars are waged for different ends. Going to war after bombs drop on Pearl Harbor is one thing. Self-defense is in everybody's self-interest; and the defense of one's own country and one's own way of life is a natural right. It is our right as it is the right of the people of Vietnam.

Yet going to war in South Vietnam is quite a different thing. (It is more like Mussolini waging war in Ethiopia.) Nobody attacked us, and I know of no expert - pro-Administration expert, I mean - who seriously believes that Hanoi threatens our national security or our American way of life. Moreover, even if you say that Hanoi is helping the Viet Cong, this does not relieve us of the charge of interfering in a civil war. For both the people in the South and the people in the North are Vietnamese, and both have been fighting a war of liberation for a long time, first against the Japanese, then against the French, and now against us.

These are some reasons - and a few only - why we must not think of politics as a science. They are good reasons for challenging the mystique of the experts, for questioning the professional competence they claim to have, and for trusting one's own judgment against theirs. Remember President Kennedy kicked himself for the expert advice he got on the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Let me now raise some questions about the competence of the political expert on altogether different grounds: In the decisive matters of right and wrong, I believe, he has no privileged knowledge at all. He knows no more - and perhaps less - than we do who are not experts.

Perhaps less because he cares less about these matters. He is not interested in them. He is interested in the technical problems of politics, not in the human problems, or he is interested in the techniques of war, not in the men who must die; and in both politics and war, he tends to analyze the problems that arise within a fixed frame of reference. There is something called self-interest or there is something called the national interest, and it is taken for granted that we know what it is. If we do not, then the experts know what it is. Generally, this means two things: (1) The government in power decides what is in the national interest; (2) your life and mine do not count in defining the national interest. The expert may even say that thinking about human life is not politics. It is philosophy or it is morality.

That is not what I would call it. I prefer to call it thinking about human life, but if you wish to call it morality, make the most of it, for it is your life and mine that we are thinking about. What it amounts to was well expressed in a statement recently reported in the *Daily Bruin*. It was made by Joseph Heller, the author of *Catch 22*. Said Mr. Heller, "I think the position of this country in relation to all other countries is one that belongs in a comic book or in a horror story." That is not being moralistic; that is exposing the hypocrisy and absurdity of our policy. Mr. Heller, of course, is not a foreign policy expert in Washington. But then, I suggest, he may know something about human life that these experts have forgotten or have never known.

It is well to remember that politics is practised by and on human beings - in the South here and in South Vietnam over there. It is also well to remember that

the experts in Washington have no privileged knowledge on how to live or on what it means to be human. If there be experts on this subject, they are to be found elsewhere, perhaps among some writers and poets, perhaps among some religious thinkers, yes, perhaps among some philosophers, too. Perhaps the Jewish lady, the Quaker, and the Catholic who set fire to themselves and burned to death knew more about the human issues at stake in this war than the experts in Washington.

There are a number of such issues on which, I believe, the expert has no privileged knowledge at all and which anybody can understand who takes the trouble to think about them. For example, being a cold war expert, he may tell you that anything done to defeat Communism - or what looks like Communism - is good. But if you argue this way, you need not be a political expert. You can be a Goldwater. In fact, you need not know anything about politics except the slogans we have lived by for 20 years. You and I are as qualified as any expert to condemn the principle that the end justifies the means, any means. What happens when the means we use defeat the ends we believe in: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? If that is good enough for us, why not for others? You and I are as competent as any expert to judge a policy that permits us to impose our will on any people whether they like it or not.

Or, take a more serious matter revealed this week. In August 1964 Hanoi did make an offer for discussions through the U.N. For months our government did not respond to it and then declined the offer after the Presidential election. In the words of the *Los Angeles Times* - pro-Administration and pro-war - "the United States deliberately misled reporters by a series of denials" that such an offer had been made. The experts in the State Department, of course, say there were good reasons for declining the offer and ask us "to take their word for it." But we need not and we must not. Why not? Because you and I are as competent as any expert to say what we think of such lies. Furthermore, it is also known now that Hanoi extended feelers for negotiations on the last day of the five-day period during which we suspended our bombing raids last April. Again, these feelers were disregarded; yet the President has told his people - not once, but many times - that Hanoi had shown no desire to negotiate. You and I are as competent as any expert to judge what happens to a democracy when its duly elected representatives lie to their own people.

Here is another case in point. The experts - in this case, I guess, the military experts - are responsible for the policy of saturation bombing in South Vietnam which we are now carrying out around the clock. They think, of course, that this will finish off the Viet Cong. Whether it will is a separate question on which other experts disagree. But even if it should finish them off, there are those of us who think that such a policy of saturation bombing is criminal. There are some who say, it is a form of genocide. Whatever you call it, crimes are committed as a result of this policy, crimes against humanity; and even if you forget about the victims in Vietnam, it is legitimate to ask the question whether it is in our own interest to commit them. What does such a policy do to us who practise it?

The expert is no more competent - and perhaps less - than we are to decide whether this policy is

criminal or whether it is in the national interest. He may, of course, say that we who oppose it are sentimentalists. Why not kill everything in sight if it works? The answer is: What right does he have - as a political expert or as a military expert - to decide whether or not we should consult our feelings on this matter. There is something wrong with a man (though he be an expert) who does not permit himself to feel anything; and by "wrong" I do not mean that he is "immoral." Maybe he is a good respectable citizen. What I mean is that there is something wrong with him because he has a serious human deficiency. There is something inhuman about a man who does not feel appalled by a policy that envisages the systematic destruction of a people and a country. Such a man is not even an "expert": He does not know enough, because he does not feel enough.

In conclusion, perhaps the most serious matter. I am not a political expert on Asia; but everything I have read and heard about the war in Vietnam leads me to one conclusion: We are not fighting the Viet Cong; we are fighting China; and the big question to come is, how far should we go in this war with China: In a lead article last Sunday the *Los Angeles Times* announced: "Massive buildup in Vietnam yields few solid results." So where do we go from here? What is the next policy decision to come out of the Texas White House? Half a million American troops in South Vietnam? War for the next three or five years, as our experts estimate? A big war with China?

Is this in the national interest? Who decides? The experts or you and I? The experts have no monopoly on

the national interest. It is your interest and mine; and we are as qualified as any expert to judge what is in our own interest. It would be the height of folly to follow the expert down the road to death.

In the good Book that some of you may have read in Sunday School it is written: "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore, choose life." No expert has any privileged knowledge on how to make this choice for you. It is your choice and mine.

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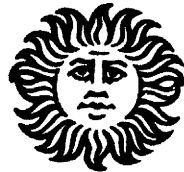


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Nobody else necessary.
No other soul, brain, voice
necessary
but everybody welcome.

Interarboreal flight
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Ends the Lesson.

White smoke of Selma and Saigon.

Out of the dark condition of my heart,
Lights.

All conditions are green?
Some conditions are red.
All systems are go?
Some systems are stop.

ALTERNATIVES LOOKS AHEAD:

The Importance of Wildcat Publications

A salesman is supposed to convince his clients that his goods are underpriced. It is usually considered bad business to reveal the fact that one is dealing in inexpensive merchandise. But the editors of Alternatives, believing that there are values other than financial to be considered in relation to journalism, have decided to risk telling the whole truth. Alternatives is wildcat journalism. It is published from conviction, not for money. Like all such enterprises, it depends on the freely given labors of its staff and the freely offered contributions of its writers. With modern printing methods, a magazine like this one can be put out for very little money indeed.

If this were not an important fact, we would not trouble you with it, but today the media of mass communication (newspapers, radio and television, magazines) have more influence than ever on the political and social life of America. Napoleon once said that he preferred the loss of a division to the loss of the confidence of a newspaper, and more than ever the political leader finds himself in this position.

Originally printing acted as a revolutionary force in the life of nations. The printed Bible spurred on the protestant reformation. Voltaire's pen has been given much of the credit for the French revolution, and radical pamphleteering has been an important force in revolutions ever since. Marx himself developed many of his early ideas in political journals, journals of the opposition to be sure. But in contemporary American life, the word is too important to be allowed to stray from the beaten path. The press exposes us daily to an endless barrage of essentially conservative propaganda, all tending to confirm us in a complacent satisfaction with the powers that be. Unfortunately, it turns out that the press can be at least as strong a force for regress as for progress, as recent opinion polls on Vietnam have shown.

As long as printing remained an enormously costly and difficult business, it was understandable that most newspapers and magazines should belong to large corporations, dedicated to the preservation of the status quo. Today the situation is different. A small tabloid newspaper or a magazine like the one you are reading can be produced for some hundreds of dollars an issue. The result has been the growth of a new opposition in the press among small groups of wildcat publishers and writers. This movement is a hopeful sign on the American political scene and deserves aid and support. It is necessary to the preservation of our fundamental freedoms because the very power of the press makes it impossible to imagine the continued existence of these freedoms in the face of a universal brainwashing of the large majority of the population to a single point of view.

Alternatives therefore views itself as more than a voice of dissent. It and other wildcat efforts such as *Liberation*, *Viet Report*, and *Scientist and Citizen* perform an important positive function in freeing the free society for change and growth. We hope that you find this to be true and continue to read publications like our own.

Before we stop talking about ourselves, we would like to make several suggestions. The editors of Alternatives would like to see two things happen in the

near future on the wildcat publications front. Because we want the movement to which we belong to continue to grow, we offer to give what advice and help we can to any group that wants to start a magazine dedicated to the spread of new and progressive ideas on politics and society. We would also like to establish closer contacts with those magazines on the left today. The editors of Alternatives believe that many opportunities exist for mutual aid between such magazines and only await the recognition of the significance of this new publications movement to be exploited.

America and World Opinion

In 1917 the United States decisively entered the arena of world politics for the first time. It was Woodrow Wilson who brought our country out of isolation, and soon he was in Paris to conclude the peace treaties ending the first world war. While Wilson and the rulers of Britain and France decided the destinies of nations, Ho Chi Minh, a young Vietnamese living in Paris, searched for solutions to the problems of his troubled country. So great was America's prestige among the poor and oppressed at this time that Ho rented a tuxedo and tried, unsuccessfully, to get a word with President Wilson on the subject of Indochina.

Times have changed. We still pay daily tribute to the ideals with which Wilson led us into international affairs, but since the second world war, the ideals and the realities of American foreign policy have grown more and more hopelessly separated. As a result, it has become extremely difficult for Americans to understand the real position of their country in the world. The news media have helped us very little because they refuse to differ seriously amongst themselves or with the government. The basic premises of American policy go unchallenged in America, the one country with the power to change them. Thus Americans have developed a dangerous blind spot with respect to some of the things they need most to understand. This fact makes it especially difficult for us to see ourselves as others do, to make some sense out of world opinion.

Overcoming the handicap to self-knowledge will be arduous and painful. Last year one of the editors of Alternatives received a remarkably candid letter from a French friend. We reprint the letter below to give our readers a clearer idea of what we have in mind.

Dear John,

I have become acquainted, through *Le Monde* and other newspapers (some of which are American), with the student revolt movement, the highest manifestations of which were certainly the events at Berkeley. . . . John, you must know and tell all your friends that the only hope of many French intellectuals lies in you. . . . We no longer believe in America; I mean that it is no longer possible for us to hear the words liberty and freedom from the mouth of an American without experiencing a feeling of pity and revulsion for him. I assure you that I don't exaggerate. Have you read the declaration of J. P. Sartre to that effect? Some of my best friends are Americans. What can I do?

Your movements must give rise to a new awareness and to political action. The taking of collective stands can only make a beginning in that direction. I know that more and more Americans realize that their govern-

ment is progressing on a dead-end road, but it is imperative to move from regret before the certainty of defeat, from the bitter pill of retreat before Communism, to the true knowledge of the hypocrisy, the falseness, the horror of the present actions and conduct of America.

How can I say all this without hurting you? How could I have had the courage to be French during the Algerian war, if I had not fought my own small battle for the victory of the Algerians, the establishment of independence and peace?

John, what is happening at this moment in Vietnam will happen tomorrow elsewhere, in Latin America, for example. You Americans must understand that!


The Vietcong were not communists at first. American actions and reactions have created the present solidarity of North and South Vietnam. I mean that the settlement of two years ago could have resulted in a neutral Vietnamese government. It is too late now; Vietnam will be communist. It is too bad.

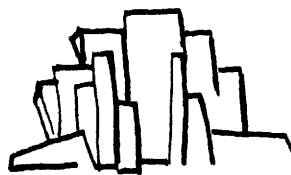
You see, I detest deGaulle for what he is, for what he

has done, for his domestic policies, but I adhere absolutely to his foreign policy of cooperation. (I know that with him it is a matter of prestige and increased influence with the underdeveloped world and the Eastern bloc. It matters little - only success counts - and in that he is pretty effective.) The French are able to work in the heart of Africa, and the Far East, and our work there will perhaps make up for all the sweat and blood that we caused during 130 years of colonialism. I have had discussions with Africans, with Algerians, and with non-communist Indo-Chinese. They are happy that France has found the right and logical road, and they are sorry to see the U.S.A. alienate itself more and more from the underdeveloped world. . . .

Ciao, old friend,
Jean

We hope in the future to bring our readers interesting material from the foreign press to shed light, not simply on our "image" abroad, but on the actual situation of America in the world community.

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Is Science Getting Out of Hand?

BARRY COMMONER

Professor of Plant Physiology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

WE are living through a period of momentous change. The power of science is increasing with unprecedented speed, bringing with it great opportunities and critical problems. But the process has just begun, and before it sweeps us further into the new age, it is prudent to take stock, to consider where we are going and what may happen en route.

This question must trouble everyone who struggles to contain the ferment of modern science within the neat confines of the classroom. The amount of material that students need to learn is growing with alarming speed. With barely room enough in the curriculum for a little physics, chemistry, and biology, what can be done to accommodate the exciting new hyphenated sciences that speak of lasers and masers, DNA and RNA, radiation belts and space capsules? Or consider the plight of the chemistry teacher. After laboring to get across the basic idea that the bond between atoms is due to an unfilled electron shell, he is confronted with the announcement of a compound of a rare

gas—xenon—the electron shells of which are lamentably filled with electrons. And then there is the problem of bringing modern science into the school laboratory. How shall we devise an experiment to demonstrate to the first grade the basic properties of the neutrino—using milk bottles, lollipop sticks, and the appropriate article from the *Scientific American*? What about the social and moral consequences of modern science? Will parents be upset if the fifth-grade students discuss not merely the production of test-tube babies, but the laboratory creation of life itself?

Yet, why complain? Aren't all these difficulties simply growing pains—the natural results of the recent recognition that science is important to education and to the nation? Should we not welcome the wave of excitement that now stirs the dry dust of the traditional science curriculum? Why dilute

the gladness that Sputnik has brought in its bountiful wake: generous support of scientific research, grants for school laboratory equipment, summer fellowships and institutes, better salaries, a little of the long-missed appreciation of the meaning of science and of the value of those who teach it?

It is my purpose to suggest that we ought to pause, for a moment, in this headlong rush and give some thought to its effect on science, on science teaching and education, and on their service to the nation. So much has changed so fast in the brief time since the Russians launched both their own Sputnik and the rejuvenation of American science, that even a minor strain may be an important symptom of a basic fault in the scientific enterprise. Given the present rate of expansion and the enormous powers that lie at the hand of modern science, a small

flaw—if unperceived—might soon produce a catastrophic failure. There is some merit in applying the traditional skepticism of science to the recent growth of science itself.

A few weeks ago there appeared in *Science* a remarkable paper "Are We Retrogressing in Science?" by a distinguished geologist, Dr. M. King Hubbert.¹ Dr. Hubbert makes several assertions regarding serious faults in the present state of science in this country. I should like to add to his observations some of my own, and prepare a brief catalog of a few of the major difficulties that now beset the development and use of science. This will show, I believe, that we are not merely suffering the natural pains of rapid growth but that certain weaknesses at the very heart of the scientific enterprise may threaten the future of science and its usefulness to the nation and to the world.

Here, briefly, are some of our more obvious troubles:

The Scientific Information Crisis

Dr. Hubbert points to the phenomenal increase in the size and complexity of the scientific literature. There now appear to be some 100,000 scientific journals in the world, and the number is doubling about every 15 years.

Science is intended to discover and comprehend new information about nature. This means, of course, that in choosing a problem and in interpreting what he learns about it, the scientist must consider what is already known. The literature of science is the repository of this knowledge.

To function successfully, such a repository must be capable of storing the new information and of delivering it to the inquiring scientist. The first of these functions is probably being met with moderate success. But the recovery of information from the literature is rapidly approaching a stage of crisis.

Twenty-five years ago the practicing scientist could keep up with the literature by spending part of every week in the library reading room glancing at a few dozen journals, noting the existence of perhaps twice that number of articles and reading a few thoroughly. By 15 years ago, the number of relevant articles had become so large that scientists began to rely increasingly on abstracts. And nowadays even the ab-

stracts have become too numerous to read. One of the most revealing developments in the literature of science has been the publication of a new type of periodical which simply lists new articles appearing in several hundred scientific journals by title—about 2,000 of them weekly.

This enormous proliferation of scientific papers is usually accepted as a proper consequence of the growth of scientific research. The solution often proposed is that we attempt to tame the monster by creating a new one—computer-operated "information retrieval." This would, of course, accomplish the final ascendancy of the title of the scientific paper over its content, for the only practical way to in-

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dex papers in a computer memory is by the information contained in the title.

But a title, or even an abstract, cannot reveal the essential subtlety of a scientific observation: the limits imposed by techniques, the uncertainties and possible errors of interpretation, its relation to other facts and to ideas. Unless we can find a more fundamental solution to this problem, the basic precept that new scientific knowledge should incorporate and extend the old will collapse.

The Decline of Theory

Here I should like to cite an example from a field with which I am particularly acquainted—biology. Perhaps the oldest—and most profound—theoretical problem in biology is what might be called the nature of the living state. By this I mean the effort to explain the curious paradox that a living organism, despite its unique capabilities for growth, self-duplication, and inheritance, is nevertheless a mixture of substances which are separately no more possessed of life than the more prosaic molecules that never occur in living cells. This question has been at the root of a long train of experiments, debates, and speculations that begins

in classical times and continues unbroken through the development of modern biology and its attendant sciences.

The basic issues are simply stated. If the component parts of a cell are not alive, whence come the life-properties exhibited by the whole? Apart from the untenable notion of a mystic nonmaterial "vital force," the debate has elicited two main positions: (a) There is, in fact, some special cellular component which possesses the fundamental attribute of *self*-duplication and which is, therefore, a "living molecule." (b) The properties of life are inherently connected with its complexity and arise from interactions among the constituents which are not exhibited unless the separate parts are brought together in the complex whole; thus, only the entire living cell is capable of *self*-duplication.

Both sides of the argument have had many notable proponents. In the nineteenth century, Verworn believed that the properties of life were embodied in a special type of molecule—as yet undiscovered, but nevertheless discoverable—the biogen; but Claude Bernard favored the emergence of life properties from the interactions of molecular components. More recently some of our most able physical scientists have argued both sides of the question. Schrodinger saw the properties of the cell contained in the aperiodic crystal structure of the chromosome. On the other hand, Niels Bohr has contended that the principle of complementarity—which in his view applies to all material systems—would deny even the *possibility* of discovering the attributes of life in any substance which can be studied only when it has been removed from a dismembered—and therefore dead—cell.

Now, the debate appears to be over. There is, we are told, a constituent which is indeed "a living molecule"—DNA—which has within itself the basic property of life, self-duplication, and which guides the behavior of all the other components of the cell.

Has this apparent victory actually resolved the old question; is it really the end of the great theoretical debate? I do not believe so. The apparent victory of DNA is not the result of a successful resolution of the long-debated alternatives. Instead the decision has been reached by a less arduous expedi-

¹ *Science*, 139: pp. 884-890. March 8, 1963.

ent—the basic theoretical question is largely ignored.

For example, if DNA is indeed a code which embodies all the features of the organism, then the adult must be fully specified by the DNA in the fertilized egg. But this idea conflicts profoundly with the evidence of embryology, which shows that development includes emergent phenomena, new features appearing from a previous, less specific stage. In the excitement over the "living molecule," this contradiction has hardly been mentioned. Nor has the basic theoretical question really been answered by the new biochemical experiments, which do not, in fact, support the idea that DNA is a self-duplicating molecule. Recent evidence on enzymatic synthesis of DNA shows that far from being self-duplicating in this system, part of the DNA specificity is derived from the necessary enzyme.

What is at issue here is not the validity of the magnificent experimental results which describe the structure and properties of DNA, but the sweeping generalizations which they have engendered. These generalizations are unsound, I believe, not because they are founded on faulty data, but because they do not take into account *all* of the relevant data.

One of Dr. Hubbert's most serious criticisms of modern science is that it is afflicted with authoritarianism. Because of the fragmentation of knowledge and the absence of sound theory, he states, ". . . the only way of knowing anything outside of one's own specialty is to accept the word of an authority or specialist in the field." Dr. Hubbert supports this charge with examples from the physical sciences. I am afraid that authoritarianism may be equally evident in the biological sciences and in the DNA situation in particular.

Certainly there is good experimental evidence to support the notion that DNA does *influence* the hereditary characteristics of living cells in which it occurs. But the question which relates to the basic theoretical issue is whether DNA represents a self-contained code that by itself determines whether the organism is a turtle or a tiger.

Such a conclusion is not based on experimental fact, but on *dogma*. If you are shocked by my use of this

word, let me hasten to add that it is not my own. The term "central dogma" is often used in current literature to describe the principles which are supposed to explain the governing role of DNA in inheritance. It was introduced into the scientific literature—probably for the first time since the Middle Ages—by *proponents* of the DNA code theory. You will find in the index to a report of a recent symposium² on molecular genetics the entry "Dogma, The" followed by 11 page references. On page 107 one of the participants makes the following remarkable statement: "The reason we call this 'dogma' is that it depends on personal bias, not logic." Shades of Galileo!

And consider the implications for education. Every freshman entering the main door of the biology building at Washington University is confronted by an exhibit case which contains, among an assortment of skeletons, a model of the famous DNA double helix, marvelously contrived of bits of colored paper. Every day as I pass this exhibit, I am struck by the same disquieting thought: Would any student detect a mistake among these exhibits? I have thus far restrained myself from conducting the required experiment, but I think that I can predict the result. If the skulls of the rabbit and the cat were interchanged, sooner or later some bright-eyed student would notice the discrepancy from what he had observed in the laboratory. But even if the DNA model were falsified sufficiently to convert the code into gibberish, it would go unnoticed. The *data* for the structure of DNA, unlike the *data* for the structure of the cat, are not experienced directly by a freshman. The paper model represents a *conclusion*, and even the best student in the class cannot criticize a conclusion if—due to the natural limits of his level of advancement in science—he can have no actual knowledge of the experiments on which it is based. The student need not accept the skeleton of the cat on anyone's authority but his own. But with respect to the DNA code, he must, at his stage of knowledge, accept the word of the "authorities." And what is true of the freshman may sometimes be true of his teacher!

I do not wish to press my own view that DNA is not "the secret of life."

² *Genetics—Transactions of the First Conference*. Macy Foundation, New York, 1960.

What troubles me here is the tendency to avoid a critical examination of the relation between experimental fact and the resultant generalizations and to evade a serious confrontation between the new chemical observations and the equally real complexity and subtlety of the living cell. I am troubled, too, by the tendency to favor simplicity over truth, to forego the intellectual rigors of the scientific process for illusory short cuts which our predecessors in science would have regarded with astonishment or amusement.

I agree with Dr. Hubbert who states, ". . . the acceptance of any conclusion, valid or otherwise, by an individual who is not familiar with the observational data on which it is based and the logic by which it is derived is a negation of science and a return to authoritarianism." And I must agree, if sadly, with his conclusion that "such a reversion, and the careless retreat from fundamentals that are its corollary, make up the pattern that one sees increasingly manifested today."

Failures in the Application of Science

The final test of scientific knowledge is its ability to predict the results of intervention by humans into natural processes. That modern science has suffered spectacular failures in predicting the outcome of new technological developments is only too apparent today. Fifteen or twenty years ago, when synthetic detergents were developed, no one seemed to be aware that inevitably—as is now happening—they would become the target of legislative prohibition. The new detergents were superior washing agents, easy on the skin, economical, and readily marketed—but they were not degraded in the sewage system. Thus, long after the detergents had become a common household item and had largely replaced soap, they were discovered to be an intolerable nuisance in the water supply. There is no way to gloss over this episode. It represents a failure on the part of modern chemical engineering—here and throughout the world—to predict successfully a vital consequence of a massive intervention into nature.

There are other examples. The really troublesome aspect of the insecticide problem is not the relative benefits and risks of massive dissemination of these new chemicals. More important is the

fact—which is not denied by even those who support present practices—that many of the harmful ecological effects of the new insecticides were discovered only *after* they were already in use.

Or consider the effects of radioactive isotopes from the fallout disseminated by nuclear explosions. None of the governments that have been exploding these weapons can possibly claim to have been adequately informed about the biological consequences at the time when it decided to proceed with this action. What may turn out to be the most harmful result, the tendency of Sr⁹⁰ to accumulate in the chromosomes and thereby induce genetic defects, was reported for the first time in January 1963.³

We are making massive use of powers which we do not fully understand. The reasons are varied and some of them relate to nonscientific matters such as the pressure for economic or political advantage. Nevertheless, we cannot evade the fact that a primary purpose of science—the guidance of man's interactions with the forces of nature—has, in these grave instances, failed.

Nonscientific Determination of the Course of Scientific Research

The freedom to choose his own problem is often the scientist's most precious possession. Of course, there is much good science that derives from the solution of a given problem, and there are many excellent investigators who advance science through such work. Nevertheless, the vitality of the total scientific enterprise is strongly dependent on the free inquiry into nature that we call basic science. At the cutting edge of science, on the frontiers of knowledge, nature confronts the scientist with a tangled obscurity, which only the most intense and dedicated effort can hope, occasionally, to penetrate. This kind of effort comes of devotion born of free choice. It can be guided only by science itself, which in the clarity of its knowledge reveals as well the regions of ignorance. There is, then, good reason to want, in basic science, a pattern of development which comes from within and to resist the determination of its course by external demands.

Until recently this principle has—with relatively minor exceptions—been fully honored by the system of support

of scientific research in this country. Perhaps the oldest active government agency for the support of science, the Office of Naval Research, has been notable for its adherence to this principle. This principle is the basic guide to the policies of the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, and others. Project-oriented research support has, until recently, been confined to specific areas and has not dominated the overall course of science.

However, this situation is being rapidly changed. In 1962 about one-third of the total federal obligation for basic research—and federal funds are now the major source of support for basic science—came from a single agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In a total federal budget of about \$900 million for basic research, NASA was obligated to provide \$350 million, while the National Science Foundation provided under \$90 million. Unlike NSF, NASA is a mission-oriented agency, for the enabling legislation requires that it devote its full effort to the conquest of space. Moreover, for the next decade, the mission of NASA is even further narrowed, being centered on a single predominant project—Apollo—which is intended to take a man to the moon and back by 1970.

That this single mission is already determining the course of scientific investigation of space is quite evident from the extensive summary of space research recently published by the National Academy of Sciences.⁴ The findings of this study state: "If the Apollo time schedule is to be met, data acquisition necessary to support engineering decisions for this mission must take precedence over the acquisition of other data of possibly greater basic scientific interest."

Unlike other mission-oriented agencies, NASA has needs which demand an appreciable fraction of our total scientific resources and which cut broadly across the entire range of scientific fields. To accomplish its mission, it must support investigations in all fields of science, including social problems regarding the impact of the space program on the nation. It has become the major source of graduate fellowships

⁴ *A Review of Space Research*. National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, Pub. No. 1079, Washington, D.C. 1962.

in science. Clearly, as it is presently projected, the NASA program will encompass a substantial portion of the nation's scientific effort. Since NASA-supported work is necessarily oriented toward the general area of space investigation and is for a decade dominated by a single mission, placing a man on the moon, the program is bound to have a considerable directive effect on the overall course of scientific investigation in the United States.

What is at issue here is that the space program, and, therefore, its determinative effects on the course of science, has not been created by the demands of *science*. Of course, investigations in space involve many exciting and important basic scientific questions. But this can be said of many other fields of science. The problem is to maintain a system of support which reflects the relative significance of each field within the total structure of science. The National Science Foundation was established for this purpose and in its organization is carefully designed to ensure a close coupling between the pattern of support and the structure of science itself. NASA has now developed a program of support in basic science which equals the NSF in size, but which no longer follows the principle, so laboriously established during the legislative debate on the National Science Foundation bill, that a national program of support for science should be science-oriented rather than mission-oriented. This major change in the nation's scientific enterprise has taken place, so far as I know, without any comprehensive discussion, within the "scientific community or elsewhere, of its necessity or its consequences.

With respect to the single mission which now dominates the space program—Apollo—the origin of the decision is fairly clear. That the decision to land a man on the moon by 1970 was *not* dictated by scientific need is clearly stated in the review already mentioned. "The Apollo program was acknowledged as an integral part of the NASA effort, based on the President's decision that this undertaking be established as a national goal." The report also states, with respect to the Apollo project: "International competition and resulting political commitments have forced upon this complex mission a somewhat unrealistic timetable. Mission failure would cost lives, interna-

³ Lüning et al. *Nature*, 197: 304. January 19, 1963.

ational prestige, and tremendous dollar investments."

These observations lead me to suggest that the space program as presently constituted will tend significantly to determine the course of basic research through considerations which originate outside the pursuit of science.

Some Reasons for the Difficulties

There is, then, some evidence to support the view that science may be getting out of hand: the crisis in scientific literature, serious failures in the proper application of science, a tendency toward authoritarianism and a neglect of theory, the direction of the course of science by restrictive external demands.

There are good reasons why these difficulties should be of direct concern not only to practicing scientists but to science teachers as well. One is that science teaching has a natural dependence on the fate of science itself. But, more than that, I should like to suggest that the understanding of these difficulties, and a search for effective solutions, must be based on principles which are common both to science and to education.

Some of the difficulties that I have mentioned result from the failure to understand that science is a *system* in which new observations and new ideas closely interact. Dr. Hubbert has, I believe, correctly diagnosed the reason for the information crisis. He points out that many modern scientists respond to the difficulty of keeping up with the vast literature relevant to any given science by restricting the scope of their interests. But having thus deliberately limited his field of competence, the scientist quite naturally tends to lose an interest and capability in relating his own segment of knowledge to its allied fields. And this is the real source of the trouble, for, as Dr. Hubbert points out, the progress of science comes from those overviews which sum up in a few relationships a whole realm of previously uncoordinated observations. It is such theory which reduces separate observations to orderly positions as special cases of general principles and frees science from the tyranny of numbers.

I do not believe that the present glut in the literature of science can be cured by mechanical or even electronic means. It is a failure of the entire *system* of

science; it results from a tendency to ignore interrelationships, to evade the confrontation of one set of data with another.

Atrophy of the integrative process in science also leads to neglect of scientific theory. I believe that much of the present confusion about the significance of the new observations on molecular aspects of inheritance is due to excessive isolation of scientific fields and the resultant dependence on authority. If biologists are not prepared



to review the actual data and logical foundations of the DNA code, they cannot properly relate this idea to the cell theory or to the principles of development. In the absence of such a confrontation, the biologist must either ignore the new work or accept its conclusions uncritically. In either case the conclusions derived from molecular observations remain immune to the corrective effects of biology, and their proper assimilation into the stream of science is delayed.

The same tendency toward fragmentation of knowledge is also the cause of failures in applied science. The biological defect in present detergents might have been foreseen if their development had involved not only chemists and engineers, but also biologists and biochemists. Present synthetic deter-

gents resist bacterial attack in sewage disposal plants because the molecules are branched. And the general tendency of biological enzymes to halt at a molecular branch has been well known since the early biochemical work on starch degradation. This has been described in detail in textbooks for 30 years. Similarly, that Sr⁹⁰ might become concentrated in the chromosome and so constitute a possible danger to genetic stability should have been evident to anyone familiar with cytological work on the role of calcium in the chromosome, which was first published 10 years ago.

Nature, unlike modern science, is not fragmented. A nuclear explosion is not only a matter of physics and engineering, but a gigantic experiment in ecology as well. If we permit our understanding of nature—science—to split into isolated specialties, we risk the fate of the sorcerer's apprentice—who was so specialized that he knew only one of the two incantations necessary for a successful experiment with magic.

Science and Education

We can hope to avoid these troubles only if we understand that science is a system in which new observations must reflect old ones, in which data must be built into theory, in which the narrow authority of the specialist must bow before the complexity of nature. And such an understanding can only be achieved through education—not only of students who are to become our practicing scientists, but also of the citizen, who, if he is to help guide its powerful uses, must understand the true nature of science.

Our apparent willingness to permit science to become dominated by external demands for particular results reflects another serious misapprehension about the nature of science and its relation to education. Both are, of course, important implements of social progress. But unlike a mechanical tool, which must itself resist change as it works, science and education are certain to be shaped by the uses to which they are put. If scientific work is ruled by a narrow purpose, the broad internal interactions which, as I have tried to show, are so essential to the growth of science, are bound to suffer.

Nor can we safely permit the whole of science to become isolated from the

rest of learning, for there are important interactions between all fields of knowledge on which each of the separate disciplines depends for its own strength.

I believe that science and education are becoming constricted by certain present policies of support. Science is a subsidiary part of education, and one would suppose that any effort to strengthen science should be predicated on adequate support for the entire educational base. But we seem to have turned this relationship upside down. While exhibiting a considerable reluctance to provide the total support needed to sustain our schools and universities, the nation is eager to expand that part of the educational system which deals with science. Even federal support of education becomes acceptable if it is earmarked for science. Most of our universities have become so dependent on these outside funds that if such funds were withdrawn their total competence as educational institutions would sharply decline. I believe that we have balanced the fate of our system of higher education on too narrow a fulcrum—science.

The same sort of process appears to be going on *within* science. Space research is, after all, only a part of science. Yet, if present plans persist, we may soon be supporting a major part of basic research in the United States through activities undertaken in the name of space. If this happens, the broad structure of our scientific establishment will be sustained through a constricted purpose, investigation of space. Moreover, at least for the next decade, the space program itself seems

to be balanced, and—in view of the palpable risk of failure—somewhat precariously, on a single project to land a man on the moon.

We are engaged in a spectacular balancing act: Education is supported by science, science by space, and space by the man on the moon.

Will it work? What is the harm, if Congress is willing, in supporting space research because of the political importance of getting onto the moon, of supporting science in the name of space, and of sustaining higher education through the expedient of grants for science?

One danger is obvious. If an appreciable part of the total structure of science is justified by the effort to invade the moon, the whole scientific enterprise may be seriously dislocated if this particular project should be abandoned. And since the adoption of the project was, after all, predicated on its apparent political significance, we cannot be certain that it will survive the natural fluctuations of the tides of politics.

But I have already indicated a more serious fault in this situation. If the free choice of problem which is so essential to the pursuit of basic science is curtailed by draining support and personnel into *any* narrow channel, the march of science will surely falter. And it is a truism that in the not-so-long run all the consequences of science, including its most practical fruits, depend on the healthy development of basic research.

Can society be properly served by a system of higher education which is in-

creasingly sustained through the artificial expedient of support for science? I believe not. Education has an essential unity, and failure to support adequately the study of history and literature—which clarify society's goals and illuminate the human condition—thereby injures the whole.

Of course, the penalty will not be paid at once; research in the problems that happen to interest society at the moment *will* go forward for a time. But gradually the scientist's vision will narrow to the limits of his immediate problem; and when that vanishes (because it is solved), he will discover that seeing nothing, he is blind. Real scholarship is all of a piece. Physics will only flourish within the sound of poetry.

I believe that the policy of supporting education through science, and science through space, is dangerously unsound. We should recognize this policy for what it is—a short-sighted, pinch-penny effort to buy a few selected fruits of the tree of knowledge, without accepting the honest responsibility of nourishing the whole living, growing organism. The nation is ready to pay for knowledge of science, engineering, and medicine, but it must recognize that this knowledge cannot be truly achieved in the absence of equally strong support for the humanities and the arts—for all the forms that truth can take.

I believe that every scientist, every scholar, and every teacher must proclaim and work for the unity of knowledge. This is our duty to the nation and to the welfare of man. # #

ONE AMONG MANY

One among many
Today I go out of my mind
I am my country
But also a Viet-Cong fighting the american aggressor
I am my country suffering shame, suffering ill
For in Viet-Nam it will build no memorials
I am a world looking on in powerless rage
Impotent as the Almighty writes and erases
I am my heart lumped in my throat
For I see freedom mowed down
I see soldiers and children and women and old men mowed down
I see the bloodbath, shower down from the big birds
Down on the scorched lands
Tortilla flat
On the ground
Single eyes roll around
Stare at me nakedly, eye me vacantly.
I hear the death song of the heroes
Their bullet riddled bodies asking why
I am jealous of their agony
The sweet agony of soldiers with a purpose
I cherish their cry:
"Long live the revolution
Our silence has been heard too long
Let our voices now silence the world
Shouting in justice, shouting out injustice
Long live the revolution"
Mine is the anguish of meaning in the good land
The question of sense in the bleak land
With the dried ideals in the shrunken heads
The heads of Hiroshima, Nuremberg and Geneva
The shrunken heads of Saigon
The places of beautiful words and dreadful policies
Words of the echo of the choice
Policies in which our decadence matches our affluence
Policies that shame
Policies that cry for justice
In Viet-Nam
Culminated cry of our paradoxes
Oh, I am the youth, I am the torment of this nation
This young nation that tries-wants to grow old
Remain young, my country, to your historic mission
Charge us with the emancipation of this bigoted world
Recognize justice where it shouts for recognition
In Viet-Nam and in Viet-Nam
which are but one country
We will fight for freedom when we see it, how we see it
We refuse to grow obese in obedience
Yes, we hold the dignity of ourselves as holier than the needs of the shrunken heads
This is our lament, this is our burnt offering and sacrifice
Sadness and tears and somewhat longing
To you, in spite of you, because we believe in you
This too is our decision and reaffirmation
Come what come
We will stand defiant, and weather any storm unleashing.

JAN DIEPERSLOOT

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE "GREAT SOCIETY"

By Herbert Marcuse

Part I: Rhetoric and Reality

Prior to exploring the presumed function of the "individual" in the "great society," a brief definition (or rather redefinition) of these terms is required. For I propose to proceed by placing the official and semi-official ideas and speeches about the great society in the context of their prospective realization, and in the context of the prevailing conditions (political, economic, intellectual) which determine the possibility of their realization. Unless this factor is brought to bear on the idea, it remains mere speech, publicity or propaganda - at best a statement of intentions. It is the responsibility of the scholar to take them seriously, that is to say, to go beyond the words or rather to stay this side of the words, in the given universe of powers, capabilities, tendencies which defines their content.

I start with the notion of the Great Society as presented by President Johnson. I think its essentials can be summed up as follows: it is a society

- of "unbridled growth", resting on "abundance and liberty for all", demanding an "end to poverty and racial injustice";
- where progress is the "servant of our needs";
- in which leisure is a "welcome chance to build and reflect", serving "not only the needs of the body and demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community".

This picture is preceded by the statement that our society can be a place where "we will raise our families, free from the dark shadow of war and suspicion among nations". And it is followed by an enumeration of the areas where the construction of the Great Society can begin, namely:

- (1) The rebuilding of our cities, and of the transportation between them, in accord with the needs of the constantly growing population,
- (2) The reconstruction of the polluted and destroyed countryside, in order to regain "contact with nature" and to protect "America the beautiful",
- (3) The improvement and enlargement of education and educational facilities.

And when all this is done, we will not have reached the end of the struggle, for "most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor".

Let me pause here and register my first dissent. I begin intentionally with the most speculative, most "utopian" aspect because it is here where the basic direction of the program and its innermost limitations are best visible. First a slight matter of style: the meaning of our lives should "match" the "products of our labor" - shouldn't it be the other way around? In a free society, the meaning of life is determined by the free individuals, who determine the products of their labor accordingly. By itself, the phrasing may not preclude this interpretation, but in the context of the whole section it assumes special significance.

Why should the Great and Free Society not be a resting place, a safe harbor? Why should it be a challenge constantly renewed? The dynamic of endlessly propelled productivity is not that of a peaceful,

humane society in which the individuals have come into their own and develop their own humanity; the challenge they meet may be precisely that of protecting and preserving a "safe harbor," a "resting place" where life is no longer spent in the struggle for existence. And such a society may well reject the notion and practice of "unbridled growth"; it may well restrict its technical capabilities where they threaten to increase the dependence of man on his instruments and products.

Even today, long before the start on the road to a free society, the war on poverty might be waged far more effectively by a redirection rather than increase of production, by the elimination of productivity from the areas of socially necessary waste, planned obsolescence, armament, publicity, manipulation. A society which couples abundance and liberty in the dynamic of unbridled growth and perpetual challenge is the ideal of a system based on the perpetuation of scarcity. It requires more and more artificially created scarcity, namely, the need for ever more and ever new goods of abundance. In such a system, the individuals must spend their life in the competitive struggle for existence in order to satisfy the need for the increasing products of labor, and the products of labor must be increased because they must be sold at a profit, and the rate of profit depends on the growing productivity of labor.

In a less ideological language, this was called the law of the enlarged accumulation of capital. Under this aspect, the Great Society appears as the streamlined and improved continuation of the existing not so great society - after the latter has succeeded in cleansing itself from its sore spots and blemishes. Its ability to do so is assumed. But the scholar cannot grant the assumption without examination: we leave the speculation on the Great Society and return to the program for its construction, or rather for its preparation within the existing society.

Foremost is the war on poverty. The critical literature on it already is so large that I can be brief in my references. This war is supposed to be waged by the "affluent society" against poverty in the "affluent society"; thus it may turn out to be a war of this society against itself. The real conquest of poverty would mean either full employment as the normal, long range condition of the system, or, unemployment and a dole sufficiently large to live the good life - also as the normal, long range condition of the system. Both achievements are within the technical capabilities of advanced industrial civilization.

The concept "advanced industrial society" has to be broken down into its actual main forms: capitalist and socialist. Here, we are concerned with the former only. In it, the real conquest of poverty is counteracted, and "contained" by the prevailing social institutions. Full employment, as constant condition, implies a constantly high (and, with rising productivity, a constantly rising) level of real wages, not cancelled by rising prices. This would be equivalent to a decline in the rate of profit below the limit tolerable to private enterprise. It is perhaps conceivable that something like full employment can be attained by an expanding war or defense economy, plus an expanding production of waste, status symbols, planned obsolescence, and parasitarian services.

But even disregarding the clear and present danger of an international explosion, such a system would produce and reproduce human beings who could by no

stretch of the imagination be expected to build a free humane society. For the construction of a Great Society depends on a "human factor" which hardly appears in the program, namely, the existence of individuals who, in their attitudes, goals, and needs, are qualitatively different from those who are educated, trained, and rewarded today: the aggression mobilized and repressed in the maintenance of a society geared to permanent defense militates against progress toward higher forms of freedom and rationality. To be sure, non-destructive full employment remains a real possibility: it requires nothing more, and nothing less than the actual reconstruction outlined in the President's program, that is, the rebuilding of the cities, of the countryside, and of education. But this very program requires elimination of the particular interests which stand in the way of its fulfillment. Today, they include capital and labor, city and countryside politics, Republicans and Democrats, and they are the powerful interests on which this Administration largely relies.

The truism must be repeated: not only the magnitude but the economic basis of the program is incompatible with these interests. The transformation of the cities into a human universe involves far more than slum clearings. It involves the literal dissolution of the cities and rebuilding according to rigidly enforced architectural plans. If undertaken for the population as a whole rather than for those who can pay, the reconstruction would be plainly unprofitable, and its public financing would mean the abrogation of some of the most powerful lobbies in the country. It would, for example, imply the establishment of a wide and efficient network of public transportation, replacing the private automobile as the main vehicle of business and leisure - the end of the motor industry as now organized. The "beautification" of the countryside would imply the rigidly enforced elimination of all billboards, neon signs, the reduction of the innumerable service stations, roadside stands, noise makers, etc., which have rendered impossible the desired "contact with nature." Generally, and perhaps most important, reconstruction would require the elimination of all planned obsolescence, which has become an essential prop for the system inasmuch as it insures the necessary turnover and the competitive rat race.

In all these aspects, the realization of the program seems irreconcilable with the spirit of capitalist enterprise, and this contradiction becomes perhaps most strikingly apparent in the program's insistence on beauty. Here, the words assume a false ring, the language becomes that of commercial poetry, and it comes almost as a relief when Mrs. Johnson, dropping the ideological language, goes out to proclaim beauty as an economic asset: according to the Los Angeles Times (September 8, 1965): "Preserving the attractiveness of a city is a primary economic asset, a way to get payrolls. The city that is beautiful brings a high return on the dollar."

I now come to the "human factor" and I shall take up education, the third area of reconstruction. Who are the human beings, the individuals who are supposed to build the Great Society?

They live in a society where they are (for good or bad) subjected to an apparatus which, comprising production, distribution, and consumption, material and intellectual, work and leisure, politics and fun, determines their daily existence, their needs and aspirations. And this life, private, social, rational, is

enclosed in a very specific historical universe. The individuals who make up the bulk of the population in the "affluent societies" live in a universe of permanent defense and aggression. It manifests itself in the war against the Vietcong and in the struggle against the Negroes, in the huge network of industries and services which work for the military establishments and its accessories. It also manifests itself in the violence released and made productive by science and technology, in the entertainment of terror and fun inflicted on captive audiences.

Against the age-old argument that violence and aggression have always been a normal factor in all societies, I must insist on qualitative differences. It is not only the magnitude of the destructive potential and the scope of its realization which distinguishes a chariot race from an automobile race, a cannon from a missile, hydraulic from nuclear energy. Similarly, it is not only the speed and range which distinguishes the means of mass communication from their predecessors. The new quality is introduced by the progressive transfer of power from the human individual to the technical or bureaucratic apparatus, from living to dead labor, from personal to remote control, from a machine or group of machines to a whole mechanized system. I should like to reiterate that I do not yet evaluate this development: it may be progressive or regressive, humanizing or dehumanizing. But what actually occurs in this transfer of power is also a transfer of guilt feeling responsibility. It releases the individual from being an autonomous person in work and in leisure, in his needs and satisfactions, in his thought and emotions.

At the same time, however, the release is not liberation from alienated labor: the individuals must go on spending physical and mental energy in the struggle for existence, status, advantage. They must suffer, service, and enjoy the apparatus which imposes on them this necessity. The new slavery in the work world is not compensated by a new autonomy over the work world. Alienation is intensified as it becomes transparently irrational; it becomes unproductive as it sustains repressive productivity. And where the established society delivers the goods that raise the standard of living, alienation reaches the point at which even the consciousness of alienation is largely repressed: individuals identify themselves with their being-for-others, their image.

Under such circumstances, society calls for an Enemy against whom the aggressive energy can be released which cannot be channeled into the normal, daily struggle for existence. The individuals who are called upon to develop the Great Society live in a society which wages war or is prepared to wage war all over the world. Any discussion which does not place the program of the Great Society into the international framework must remain ideological, propaganda. The Enemy is not one factor among others, not a contingency which the evaluation of the chances of the Great Society can ignore or to which it can refer to in passing. The Enemy is a determining factor at home and abroad, in business and education, in science and relaxation.

We are here concerned only with the Enemy in relation to the program of the Great Society, more specifically, with the way in which the Enemy (or rather the presentation of the Enemy and the struggle against him) affects the individuals, the people who are

supposed to change the "affluent society" into a Great Society. Thus the question is not to what degree the armament industry and its "multipliers" have become an indispensable part of the "affluent society," nor whether the present dominance and policy of the military establishment are in the "national interest." Rather the question I want to raise is: does the existence of the Enemy prejudice - and prejudice negatively - the capability and capacity to build the Great Society? Before I enter into the brief discussion of the question, I must define "the Enemy." And I shall do so by submitting a precarious hypothesis.

Is the Enemy still Communism *per se*? I think not. First, Communism today exists in many forms, some of which are in conflict with the others. And this country does not combat all of them, and not only for tactical reasons. Secondly, capitalist business and trade with communist countries is constantly increasing, and precisely with those countries where Communism seems to be most stable. Moreover, Communism is most firmly and solidly constituted in the Soviet Union, but for quite some time, the USA and USSR have not really treated each other as Enemies (capitalized!). In fact, one even hears talk of cooperation and collusion, while the Enemy against whom the system is mobilized is presented as precluding cooperation and collusion. Lastly, it is difficult to consider Communism threatening in this country - even on the campuses and among the Negroes. Looking at the facts, geographical and otherwise, I would say that war is actually waged against semi-colonial and formerly colonial peoples, backward peoples, have-nots, whether Communist or not.

This is not the old colonialism and imperialism (although in some aspects, the contrast has been overdrawn: there is little essential difference between a direct government by the metropolitan power, and a native government which functions only by grace of a metropolitan power). The objective rationale for the global struggle is not the need for immediate capital export, resources, surplus exploitation. It is rather the danger of a subversion of the established hierarchy of Master and Servant, Top and Bottom, a hierarchy which has created and sustained the have-nations, Capitalist and Communist. This is a very primitive threat of subversion - a slave revolt rather than a revolution, and precisely for this reason more dangerous to societies which are capable of containing or defeating revolutions. For the slaves are everywhere and countless, and they indeed have nothing to lose but their chains.

To be sure, the established societies have faced the subversion of their hierarchy before: from within, by one of their own classes. This time, the threat comes from without - and precisely for this reason it threatens the system as a whole. The threat appears as a total one and those who represent it have not even a potential vested interest in the established societies. They may have no blueprint for positive reconstruction, or they may have one which would not work, but they simply do not want to be slaves any longer, and they are driven by the vital need to change intolerable conditions - and to do it differently from the old powers. This primitive rebellion, this revolt indeed implies a social program, namely, the awareness that their society cannot be constructed along the line of the have-nations which perpetuate servitude and domination. Their struggle for liberation is *objectively* anti-

capitalist even if they reject socialism and want the benefits of capitalism, and their struggle is *objectively* anti-Communist even if they are Communists, for it aims beyond the established Communist systems. I used the term "objectively" in order to emphasize that I do not imply that the factors or tendencies just outlined are those intentionally pursued by the policy makers. I rather suggest that they are operative "behind the back" of the policy makers, even asserted against their will - as historical tendencies which can be extrapolated from the prevailing social and political conditions.

In this country there is a far more obvious surface rationale for permanent mobilization and defense, that which is expressed in the Domino Theory and the notion of the Communist drive for world revolution. The notion as presented by the makers of policy and information does not correspond to the facts. However, there is a kernel of truth in the Domino Theory. Any spectacular victory of the rebellious have-nots in any one place would activate their consciousness and their rebellion in other places - at home as well. Moreover, for capitalism, such a victory would mean a further dangerous narrowing of the world market - a rather remote danger, which would materialize only if and when the backward countries have reached real independence, but a danger serious enough, for example, with respect to Latin America. For the Soviet Union, the economic danger does not prevail, but the threat to the established regime seems real enough. One can safely say that the attitude of the Soviet leaders toward revolution and rebellion is at best ambivalent if not hostile - as is clear from the conflict with China.

It is the most advanced industrial society which feels most directly threatened by the rebellion, because it is here that the social necessity of repression and alienation, of servitude and heteronomy is most transparently unnecessary, and unproductive in terms of human progress. Therefore the cruelty and violence mobilized in the struggle against the threat, therefore the monotonous regularity with which the people are made familiar with, and accustomed to inhuman attitudes and behavior - to wholesale killing as patriotic act. What the free press achieves in this respect will perhaps once be remembered as one of the most shameful acts of civilization. Hardly a day passes when the headlines do not celebrate a victory by announcing "136 Vietcong Killed," "Marines Kill at least 156 Vietcong," "More than 240 Reds Slain." I have lived through two World Wars, but I cannot recall any such brazen advertisement of slaughter. Nor can I remember - even in the Nazi press - a headline such as that which announces: "U.S. Pleased Over Lack of Protests on Tear Gas" (L.A. Times, September 9, 1965). This sort of reporting, consumed daily by millions, appeals to killers and the need for killers. And a New York judge has epitomized the situation when, in paroling two youths "who were arraigned on a charge of murdering an East Side derelict and then re-arrested on a charge of killing one of their companions," he remarked, according to the N.Y. Times (Sept. 8, 1965): "They should go to Vietnam, where we need soldiers to kill Vietcong."

I have suggested that the international situation of the affluent society is in a very specific sense an expression of its internal contradiction: on the one hand,

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Throughout the underdeveloped world, land reform is a vital political issue, perhaps the key issue for many nations whose population is largely made up of landless peasantry. In the course of an analysis of land reform in Ethiopia, the following article sheds light on many of the obstacles to economic justice for the world's poorest and most oppressed people.

LAND REFORM: PLUS ÇA CHANGE . . . ?

By Hagos Gabre Yesus and William Leiss

Endless and backbreaking struggle with nature's soil comprises the major portion of the biography of the world's peasantry. This struggle is unequal in its very fundamentals, for the elementary difficulties involved in forcing the land to yield a consistently adequate crop are too often compounded by the added furies of the environment: floods, droughts, insects, blights, and so forth. Little wonder that the specter of hunger has ever stalked the fields where peasants toiled from morning until night in solemn imitation of their fathers and grandfathers. Little wonder that in two thousand years of Chinese history there were eighteen hundred recorded famines.

And yet, if the natural environment had constituted the only obstacle to an adequate standard of living for those who work the land, one suspects that the historical record would yield far fewer tragedies, both individual and collective, than are in fact found therein. One could deplore the slowness of scientific advances, the peasantry's reliance on astrology rather than meteorology . . . but one could hardly call these conditions unjust. The contest between man and nature tells only half the story; of much greater significance is the contest between man and man which has bloodied history's pages from the very beginning. The fact that the peasant works not for *himself*, but for an *other*; the fact that this other appropriates (essentially by force) everything above what is required for bare subsistence; and the fact that the wealth so appropriated is used not to lay the foundations for a more productive economy but rather to provide a luxurious standard of living for a tiny minority . . . in these factors lies the injustice of the peasant's condition. Not the meanness of nature, but cruel oppression by his fellow man, accounts for the peasant's plight.

This view is fully corroborated by history. From the time when the peasant in Western Europe emerged from a condition of utter dependency . . . at the end of the Middle Ages . . . his protests have been directed primarily against the structure of the social order, not against his natural environment. This is true of the first great peasant uprisings, those following the Black Death in the fourteenth century; of the struggle against enclosures in England and of the Peasants' War in Germany, both in the sixteenth century; of the French peasant in 1789, who burned the manorial records which preserved his feudal obligations; of the Russian peasant in 1917, who burned not only the manorial records, but the manors as well. The many successful land reform programs of the twentieth century have all begun with an understanding of this tradition.

It might be objected that we are belabouring the obvious in insisting upon the point that the issue of land reform is fundamentally political in nature. But are we not over-run these days by legions of half-educated and

perhaps well-meaning "reformers" who insist that they can improve the peasant's lot by means of technical and legal measures? The scientific advice of agricultural experts and the promulgation of modern codes of law, we are assured, will produce great changes in the peasants' centuries-old way of life. One suspects that the peasants themselves might respond to this by citing the famous French proverb, "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."

The basic features of injustice in land ownership are present throughout large portions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the peculiarities of local traditions should not be allowed to conceal the underlying similarities. We have chosen Ethiopia as a typical case; we believe, however, that the essential problems revealed in the Ethiopian situation are representative of vast areas of the world.

"Land reform" in Ethiopia in recent years has been based upon the 1960 Civil Code, the most recent codification of the nation's laws. Late in 1963 two government experts, who identify themselves as "Rural Institutions Officers," submitted a paper entitled "Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia." This paper contains an analysis of landlord-tenant relations with suggestions for improving the same. We would like to comment at some length on "Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia" in order to expose the absurdities inherent in programs which, like the "Alliance for Progress" in Latin America, are supposed to be implemented by the governments currently in power.

The authors of this paper point out that no degree of improvement in landlord-tenant relationships will "provide the same incentives to increased production and care of the land as will a system of ownership of the land by the people who farm it." (They fail to mention that even under present conditions the land receives far more care and attention than do the people who farm it.) Their opinion in this matter is supported by the highest authority, namely, a speech by His Imperial Majesty, delivered November 2, 1961. The rather startling sentiments contained in this speech deserve to be quoted here:

The fundamental obstacle to the realization of the full measure of Ethiopia's agricultural potential has been, simply stated, lack of security in the land. The fruits of the farmer's labor must be enjoyed by him whose toil has produced the crop. The essence of land reform is, while fully respecting the principle of private ownership, that landless people must have the opportunity to possess their own land . . . It is Our aim that every Ethiopian own his own land.

It is not inappropriate, we think, to mention here that this speech followed by one year the attempted coup d'état of December, 1960, and that it might have been intended to lull the people back into their primeval sleep, from which they had been momentarily awakened by the abortive coup. But whatever the motivations which prompted it, the imperial speech raises some decisive questions.

"It is our aim that every Ethiopian own his own land." Where is this land to be found? Does the government (or His Majesty, which is the same thing) intend to volunteer its citizens for the American space flights, in order to colonize the moon with its serfs? Has the government discovered a means of manufacturing plots of land in factories? Or does it plan more mundane undertakings, such as war against its neighbors for

Lebensraum, on the model of Germany? Barring these "solutions" to his dilemma (which we hereby offer to the authorities for their consideration), how is His Majesty's announced goal of land reform to be achieved? The elimination of the possibilities suggested above leaves but one alternative - the land must be taken from those who now own it. This program would seem to face insuperable obstacles, since His Majesty's plan for expropriating the landlords also intends to fully respect the "principle" of private ownership. We would suggest that the *fact* of private ownership will be a much harder nut to crack than will the *principle* of private ownership.

The present land reform program is caught in a hopeless contradiction: that same government which bases its power upon the wealth of landlords undertakes its hypocritical obeisance to world public opinion by pretending to aim at abolishing landlords. The veil is too thin to shield this fraud from even the weakest eye. Two, ten, or a hundred "Five-Year Development Plans" will leave the peasantry in their age-old conditions of misery and subservience as long as these "plans" are formulated and administered by those who benefit from the peasant's labour. The incidence of suicide among individuals is rare enough; but history has not yet seen a single example of a social class legislating itself out of existence.

There are many who, freed from worry about the present by fortunate circumstances, prefer to compensate for this deficiency by trembling all their lives in fear of what the future will bring. They will object that we are proposing drastic, even radical changes; that such changes are full of danger; and that, having accomplished these changes, we might find that life is much worse than it was before. No, they say, it is far better to progress by slow and gradual means, advancing one step at a time, devouring with joy each choice morsel of reform which falls from the heaven of politics at the nod of a benevolent government.

Our reply to this criticism is that we already have had one such morsel - the Civil Code - and that we should base our expectations for this and similar undertakings on the basis of our experience with the Code. What exactly has been accomplished in the matter of landlord-tenant relationships, for example, since the Code was promulgated in 1960?

The Rural Institutions Officers are quite frank in facing this question. Their answer is: Nothing! Almost five years later the Civil Code can still be described as (in their words) "sterile legislation." Our question is: How long must we wait for it to give birth? They note further, "It is highly unlikely that either landlords or tenants are as yet generally aware of their rights and obligations under the Code." We think that the landlords are most certainly aware of their rights, under, above, and around the Code and that their obligations (if one can call them by that name) encompass only those elementary precautions necessary for ensuring that their serfs are alive to produce next year's crop. Conversely, the peasant certainly does not need a Civil Code to be informed of his obligations: the economic whips of his master remind him daily of them. And informing the peasant of his rights is like telling him he is free to go to heaven if he so chooses - in neither case is he apprised of the means by which those blessings might be realized.

The paper points out, quite correctly, that "the Code tends to regard an agricultural tenancy as a contract between parties similar to any other kind of contract."

This is not only absurd, but fraudulent as well. The very notion of a contract presupposes a certain equality between the contracting parties - namely, that both must be "free" persons in the sense that they are able to accept or reject the contract without suffering unduly harsh consequences thereby. This means in the first instance that both parties must be "free" to reject the contract (if they do not approve of the terms of the contract) without jeopardizing life and limb - more precisely, without facing immediate starvation. Yet certainly this stipulation does not apply to tenancy in Ethiopia (or elsewhere, for that matter), which is the relationship between slave and master, serf and landlord. Tenancy is a "contract" only in a very limited sense, and this point remains true even if the conditions of the contract were to be regulated by the government. By rejecting the contract "offered" to him the peasant is free only to starve - i.e., to commit suicide. As far as we know no one has yet proposed that suicide be included in the roll-call of human freedoms.

The paper then remarks that "a number of important provisions of the Code are limited in their effect by being made subject to any custom to the contrary." These provisions are especially pernicious, for the codification of customs destroys whatever minimal value the Civil Code might have possessed. Law is in its fundamentals opposed to custom: law is general, custom is particular; law is rational, custom is traditional. Thus any modern code of law which negates its own provisions by excepting the dictates of local custom from its purview is *prima facie* absurd. Furthermore, it is enlightening to note precisely what custom is codified: the harshest local customs, those most advantageous to the landlord and most detrimental to the peasant. Here the Code strips itself of all humane pretenses and reveals the class interests which it was designed to protect. What shame to read in a "modern" legal code that rent may not exceed 75% of the crop (article 2991)! How generous are the legal savants to impose a ceiling on the rapacity of the landlords! Otherwise - who knows? Perhaps the rent might be 100%, or even 125%, of the crop. The peasant and his family, wallowing in the luxuries supplied by their 25% of the crop, should pause in their festivities to thank the codifiers for their munificence!

This is the system that is supposed to be "reformed," as if the condition of a man with a gangrenous leg could be improved by cutting off one of his toes. The Rural Institutions Officers insist that the two most necessary reforms to be achieved are as follows: (1) change from unwritten to written and registered tenancies; (2) change from share tenancies (rent a fixed percentage of crop) to fixed rental tenancies (fixed sum of money or produce).

We should notice immediately that changes which were accomplished by the European peasantry many centuries ago are here being proposed as "progressive" measures for twentieth-century Ethiopia! Of course any society above the level of barbarism relies on written documents to preserve agreements among its citizens. And the peasants in Europe began to commute their feudal obligations into fixed money payments at the end of the Middle Ages. Ethiopia's attachment to the discredited institutions of a distant past is in curious contrast to its government's pretences at playing a leading role in the affairs of modern Africa.

But is it even true that these proposed changes would

improve, however slightly, the lot of the peasantry? Presumably the central government would implement these proposals through article 2976 of the Code, which empowers the Minister of Agriculture to draw up a uniform model contract for all tenancies (which the Minister has not yet done: undoubtedly the pressure of other problems has distracted him). This would lend the added force of the modern centralized government and its functionaries to the traditional power of the local landlord, thus increasing the instruments of compulsion. Would this not harden the system, make it more permanent, rather than providing a basis for changing it?

How can the authors of "Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia" claim that written agreements would "provide for an increased measure of security for tenants"? How is the peasant to enforce the agreement? When the entire government represents the interests and outlooks of the landlords, of what use to the peasant is a model contract enforced by that same government? Is it not merely a model form of oppression?

We think that the Ethiopian peasants should expect more from those who pretend to be interested in their plight than a recommendation to supply the peasant with written confirmations of his oppression. The same is true of the proposal for changing share tenancies to fixed rental tenancies. The Court-flatterers whose report we have been quoting outdo themselves here. They write: "Share tenancy is a system of tenancy found in many parts of the world. By its nature it requires a close and harmonious relationship between landlord and tenant, and where such a relationship exists the system works tolerably well." Such is the wisdom of "experts"! A system wherein the peasant contributes three-quarters of his labour to his landlord works "tolerably well"! Could we not say the same of the slave system in the ancient world? Of the system of child labour in Western Europe during the Industrial Revolution? Of the forced labours of millions of Africans in the mines of South Africa and Angola as well as in the imperial gold domains of Adola today? Are not all of these examples of systems which work (or worked) tolerably well? The only question is, for whom? The system did not work so well for the slaves, or the children, or the mineworkers; nor does it work so well for the Ethiopian peasant. But all of them worked and still work quite well for that small minority who control the necessities of life. Between these groups - slave and master, owner and worker, landlord and peasant - there is nothing in common except the inhuman relationship which degrades both.

Where is the value in this proliferation of studies, reports, recommendations, memoranda, and so forth? The report we have been discussing announces that the "distribution of people to the land is uneven." Surely the distribution of land to the people is far more uneven! Why do they not say so, clearly and distinctly? The reason that these reports and memoranda are so disappointing is to be found in the very nature of the problems with which they are concerned. When one desires to cut down a tree, one does not usually request the tree to supply the axe. The brutal facts concerning land ownership and the peasants' life in Ethiopia confront the cerebrations of the experts with the massive strength of long-established institutions. Consider these examples:

(1) The Civil Code supposedly regulates the conditions for terminating tenancies. It provides that

the landlord may terminate the agreement (i.e., deprive the peasant and his family of their livelihood) if he cannot exact 75% of the crop or if ownership of the land changes (from one landlord to another); the peasant is allowed to terminate it if he is too ill to work, if he gives four years' notice, or if he dies. The peasant is thus assured that the landlord will not pursue his soul into the Beyond!

(2) The government has declared its goal to be ownership of the land by those who farm it. Yet this aim clashes rather severely with the reality, as noted by the Rural Institutions Officer: "Ethiopia's present tenancy legislation contains no specific provisions to facilitate the acquisition of ownership by tenants of the land they now cultivate." Perhaps the government will recommend that the peasants sell their children into slavery in order to raise the funds necessary for purchasing land. Certainly the present authorities, who have behind them the unequalled merits of half-a-century's experience in procrastinations and misgovernment, are not likely to set up today the credit facilities recommended by the experts for this purpose.

(3) Services other than rent are still required by many landlords in present-day Ethiopia: free labour on the farm and for herding cattle, free transport for the landlord's crops, free firewood and free domestic services for the landlord. The Civil Code has not outlawed these feudalistic practices. How long will it be before our "progressive"

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legislators understand that we are in the twentieth century, not the thirteenth?

The report on "Tenancy Reform in Ethiopia" points out (and we agree) that the problems of land reform and landlord-tenant relationships can only be solved in conjunction with progress in other areas, including literacy and the activity of the market. All of these problems are entirely within the sphere of government. But the government cannot act in the public interest if it does not represent the public: a landlord-government can only produce, after fifty years of unhampered squandering, such things as the judicial abomination of 1960 (known as the Civil Code). The nature of the government affects the activity of its functionaries, too. The hoarding of millions of dollars by government officials - from top to bottom - in foreign banks is partially responsible for the economic stagnation of Ethiopia.

Land reform must be preceded by reform of the government. Putting the cart before the horse is as illogical in politics as it is in transportation.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

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its social and political need to preserve the established power structure within the nation and abroad, and on the other, the historical obsolescence of this need as dramatized in the rebellion of the backward people. In this conflict, society mobilizes the individuals' aggressive energy to such an extent that they seem hardly capable of becoming the builders of a *peaceful* and free society. It seems that such an undertaking, which would aim at a qualitatively different society, would mean a break, a rupture with the established one, and thus would require the emergence of "new" individuals, with qualitatively different needs and aspirations.

(Part II will appear in the next issue of Alternatives.)

