

more populist kind of protest but it has as yet influenced no action, except stopping the bomb-shelters and perhaps hastening the ban on nuclear testing.

By an unfortunate coincidence — except for the atom bombs themselves, I do not think it is an essential connection—these years of the Cold War have also seen a new flowering of scientific technology, and this has been systematically abused for aggrandizement and power as well as the more traditional purpose of profits. A large part of new invention and productivity has been sequestered for war. Domestically, the new technology has been used mainly not for need, the simplification of existence, or the improvement of the environment, but for the aggrandizement of producing corporations and to increase a middle-class standard of living of diminishing satisfaction. And the export of technology to backward regions has not been tailored to their needs but has rather tended to shatter their societies, make them poorer and more degraded than before, and involve them in the Cold War.

Armed with our know-how and equipment, our present direction is clear. We are bound for the American Century when hopefully we will fall heir to much of the former British, Dutch, and French empires, to which we can export our Great Society in the form of technological wonders that we produce in too much profusion for our own use. We can usually find political leaders in the various regions who think that this is tip-top, though occasional farmers of varicolored skins do not trust our good intentions.

I assume that the cold warriors of other Great Powers have had or will have roughly similar histories. And so the world is acting out the melancholy scenario of George Orwell's 1984, the end of democracy, the abuse of technology, and indefinite war among a few giant empires.

It should be obvious by now that the vital conflict today is not between one bloc and another bloc, nor between Left and Right, but

between a world-wide dehumanized system of things and human decency and perhaps survival. Yet only the young seem to recognize this — in remarkably identical language from Berkeley or Prague or Warsaw or Madrid. The people of my generation cannot see the woods for the trees. But the students will not come into their own for another twenty years, by which time there may not be any world left to come into.

I had the honor to be asked by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to give the Massey lectures on a political theme. I should have liked in these lectures, if only to avoid repeating myself, to get away from morose criticism of my own country. What we need is philosophy, not polemic. Modern times confront us with such unique conditions and really confusing problems that it is a waste to spend one's spirit in attacking obvious abuses caused by bad motives and stupid policy. But alas, I must speak as an American. My family, friends, and fellow citizens are trapped in the events, and as a citizen I am responsible for the events. So I have come again to growling and complaining, and cheering on the few who want to make a change. . . .

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