

Freedom and technology

Concern for freedom has always been an American concern. It has taken different forms at different times. As you recall, I believe that ~~the~~ ^{our} concerns ~~are~~ ^{are} justly called those concerns ~~for~~ ^{for} freedom, but without any doubt yet that freedom was a very different kind everytime.

Religious freedom was the concern of the Pilgrims fathers. Actually the source of that was from state religion which enforced conformity of faith. The answer, the Founders, was just forward by Roger Williams. He his "Bloody Tenets of Persecution" formulated that ~~for~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~separation~~ ^{separation} of church and state which was to be the safeguard of objections and lay consciences. ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~basis~~ ^{basis} over a large part of the world.

The War of Independence was a war for national freedom, and the threat ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~came~~ ^{came} from unrepresentative foreign powers. "No taxation without representation" was the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~device~~ ^{device} of a nation claiming its liberty.

Declaration (enunciated
in the Preamble of the ~~Constitution~~) was the
~~answer~~ the answer, the
solution. (principles of the)

The Constitution expressed the Separation
of Powers. The concern was for
the preservation of the newly founded
Society from the State. ~~And~~ The
Constitution was the answer, the solution.
The Society ~~was~~ ^{is} free of the
powers of the legislature, the executive
of one another and the judiciary ~~are~~ ^{are} all independent,
and balanced against one another.

Yes! The danger, as it was
seen at the time was the imperial
State.

The Bill of Rights was about
concern for personal freedoms or civil
liberties as an a safeguard against

abuse
whether
executive
or
legislative.

of governmental ~~not~~ ~~of~~ governmental
power, ~~not~~ ~~of~~ legislative power.
The right to belong to a minority was
~~not~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Bill~~ ~~of~~
Rights. The threat came from all
organized, legal or illegal force, including

that of legally constituted majorities.

The Civil War continues the list. Its causes may have been many, but ~~the~~ ~~war~~ was, ~~concern~~ for freedom. The United States could not be grounded as ^{an} actually united state unless slavery was abolished in the South. The danger was from economic & social conditions, which appeared as conditions of ~~the~~ ^{SURVIVED.}

Even the writers & poets reflected that deep seated concern.

The greatest of American writings, and certainly what he would feel to be the most American, ever express concern for freedom. Walt Whitman's "Democratic Vistas" reveal the content of his vast and yearning for freedom life. A

No speeches we know equal surpass Abraham Lincoln's in this ~~same~~ regard. And if ever the spirit of freedom-informed ~~stories~~ ^{stories} written for the young, Mark Twain's created such a book ~~as~~ ^{as to last} ~~it~~ ^{it}

an outstanding one

I would have been brought up on them
The greater part of mankind

Of course, one could go on like that
for ever. But I ~~must not lose~~ ^{must not lose}
my point, - or rather one of them:

America

"Concern for freedom has always
been an American concern."

But the meaning & content
of the freedoms was very different
at different times. Withers the
~~that different directions through the~~
~~threat came the different~~
answer & solutions that
were sought, and eventually
given, according to where the threat
came - the Ecclesiastical hierarchy of the state
Royal prerogative
~~State powers~~ church
State pers. society
Constitutional limits
Civil liberties Personal & minority rights
Slavery as human status

- each time a chapter of American
history was written.

[Aside: ^{each} ~~that~~ of many layers
has contributed a facet to American
character. Yet, the common counterfactual
the "man of Missouri" was there at the time.

~~Now don't~~ This new concern for freedom
— always bumping civil liberties ~~and~~ with the
tendency for ~~compromising~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~
through ~~they~~ as well as ^{they're} different —
we would expect the new concern
to be different from the earlier ones.

And so it is: There is ^{here} not the
clear distinction between those whose
freedom is endangered and those
who endanger it; ~~or~~ what is
almost the same thing — the
underlying cause of the danger
remains ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~doubt~~, largely obscure.

The picture is actually this: there is no art in ~~you~~
to keep maintain safeguard
one's 'own freedom'. It is

as if freedom were going out
of fashion; as if a voluntary
relinquishing of freedom was
occurring. The split is NOT

as if 'freedom' against one's homeland
established ~~liberty~~ vs ~~rel. concerning~~
royal prerogative vs constitutionalism
state rights vs federal authority
freedom over my body vs ^{economic + social} ~~privilege~~ of the state
holder

Instead there is a split within the individual
 The citizen himself is half slave, half free;
 The concern is ~~concern~~ really for Decay of freedom;
 its ~~own~~ inner adversity.


This is the ONE difference between former &
 But recent threats to freedom: the
 absence of a clear cut ~~issue~~ ^{issue} between opposing ~~sides~~ ^{sides}.
 Therefore, do an historical reference, more easily
 overlooked; it regards the cause, source
 or origin of the threat.

If the history of America can be told
 in terms of the defense of freedom, it is
 because the events were largely
 American events: The founding
 settlement, war of Independence,
 Constitution making, Bill of
 Rights, Civil War.

But this time these States are
 not the only ones to be afflicted,
 although there is an enormous
 difference in degree. It behooves
 us to take an imprejudiced
 look at the rest of the world in this last generation.

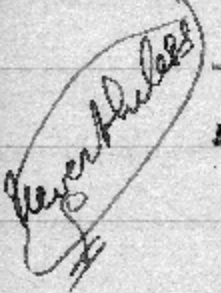
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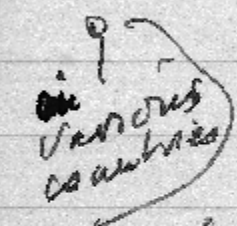
last generation




 Last quotation — and it is at this point that technology comes in — the second of our subjects. Part

below!

At first glance the result is surprising. What seems on the one hand as an unbleeding wound of the levels of liberty, is an engulfment in totalitarian Russia, and was so in Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, or Spain. If civil liberties suffered here they went by the board there. If a tendency towards uniformity is present here, a meaner roller passed over than there. German fascism, Russian totalitarianism may then appear as the ~~European~~ precursors of a general anti-libertarian move in human civilization, which was heralded by important philosophies.


 Reverendness


 in various countries

But what have these to do with, indeed so antithetical civilizations in common? It is at  In each case we find a large complex  this point society, in which technological progress

is dominant. May it be possible that technological advancement opens up avenues to totalitarian trends?

In Germany, one of the technically leading countries of the world early 20th Century, Hitler has heralded by a first million unemployed; in Russia by 7 with the five year plans, for the first time, a large country engaged on the creation of a national industry from scratch under central authoritarian direction; and under entirely different conditions with no element of fascism or Communism among the scene, a technologically civilized produces within much less than twenty years both an almost total paralysis of its economy in some tens of millions of unemployed and a complete cessation of the credit system, and a large pool of industrial potential in a release of atomic energy at a time when the new electronic devices have already synchronized the visual

and additional sensorium of the
~~rest~~ ~~man~~ through the general
introduction of electronic
media of man communication,

Princeton

The question is: Should it be put down merely as a matter of chance that the three great countries where technology became the leading feature in this last generation, the peculiar symptoms of the modern forms of ~~the~~ a rebellion of freedom and an increase of conformism made their appearance, or should it be perhaps worth while to raise the question of freedom and technology?

But why should the ^{appear} of freedom ~~the~~ at all in a technological civilization? ~~For this there is~~ ~~an answer is conceivable~~ ~~to this it is now~~ ~~clear because there is a connection between~~ ~~the~~ ^{this takes us to the} ~~three~~ ^{ideas} ~~of~~ power, fear and freedom, to which we now briefly turn.

~~Some of the obvious considerations~~
 (A) It is obvious that power ^{may} induce fear. Arbitrary power, such as ~~is~~ ^{over persons unrestricted by law} ~~is~~ ^{certainly does.} But ^{also the} ~~power of~~ ^{power} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~a~~ ^{of} ~~set~~ ^{of} ~~public~~ ^{of} ~~opinion,~~ ^{the} ~~which~~ ~~stifles~~ ~~and~~ ~~kills~~ ~~as~~ ~~surely~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~shooting~~ ~~squad.~~

(Anonymous)

(B) The connection between

But it power & fear ~~are~~^{is} not a one way street. That power may generate fear, but ~~the impact so~~

is) Source the is ~~different~~ reasonable.

The clear obvious fact that fear generates power.

Not in the trivial sense, ~~but of course~~ of course,

~~in response to fear,~~ ^{as the} greater the fear

induced the ^{greater} the power ^{becomes} more effective the power.

No. The fact is ~~that~~ one of the original sources of power

itself is fear — fear, not of ~~that~~ power, but entirely independently emerging fear.

Indeed ~~our~~ ~~to~~ ~~so~~ the experiment now

~~shifts~~ ~~proceed~~ from ~~power~~ the role

of power to the role of fear, in

the triangle.

Power that is a danger ~~to liberty~~, is a direct reflection of fear, ^{it is} nourished by fear, it is fear transposed into the other key.

For where ~~where~~ there is fear, the unconscious great mind generates power, that can protect ~~the~~ it from, ~~sub~~ ~~used~~ ~~from~~ and ~~hid~~ ~~the~~ ~~mind~~.

It is, the fear. Fear such fear is at the heart of the problem of freedom to-day. For a somewhat free use of ~~terms~~ due,

At this point an apology is due.

Fear is a psychological Term; it refers to a state of consciousness. We ~~are~~ would be taking a liberty by speaking of unconscious fear. ~~And so with we will avoid it. We~~ ^{therefore} will use fear metaphorically, — ~~as~~ of a state

important precedent.

as a personal experiential fear. There is an ~~a~~ great illustrative example. Fear of death is ~~scarcely~~ ^{rarely} present to the healthy mind; yet the urge to continue ~~our~~ ourselves after death in our work ~~writes~~, our children, in the memories of those we love, in the fruit of good works, in the timeless forms of art and knowledge is common to us all. On mortality is, then, a frame of creativity, and the fear of death is part of life, always with us.

as if we lived in a constant fear of death.

Similar effects and anonymous attributed to anonymous agent "public opinion" power is

(C) Power, as we hinted, is used here in the same metaphorical way. No difference is made between ~~conscious~~ ^{personal} ~~power~~ ^{power} ~~as well as~~ the compulsion ~~it~~ exerts ~~on~~ on the mind. The "commands" of public opinion ~~is~~ are no less internalized than the proclaimed values and norms ~~is~~ upheld by church & state.

The silent pressure of the neighborhood and
of the general public is power, relentless power,
from which there is no appeal. The force
of ~~it is possible to~~ ^{it is possible to} ~~the firing squad~~
Assuredly, ~~not~~ ^{it is possible to} ~~opinion~~. One can brave opinion
as one can brave the firing squad,
~~but~~ ^{one} cannot ignore opinion, as one
yet here is this difference: ^{may that squad, purely}
physical force has no direct access to the mind, ^{as}
opinion ^{has}. ^{TO} ^{opinion} ^{the} ^{mind} ^{is} ^{forced} ^{to} ^{react}, ^{whether} ^{he}
then brave it ^{or} ^{not}. ^{But} ^{why} ^{should} ^a ^{technology}
or not. Complex society induce fear? Technology is
nothing but the material instruments
with which man masters Nature;
it invents ^{man} ^{with} ^{the} ^{power} ^{to}
remove the cause of ^{his} ^{fear}, and to
provide ^{him} ^{with} ^{safety} ^{and} ^{security}. It is
the material embodiment of
freedom; it is a creator of life
and of the abundance of it.
In a hundred ways this is ^{true}
and it is ^{sheer} ^{unavoidable} to
wage on the secondary & transitory
drawbacks ^{of} ^{the} ^{passing} ^{of}
the night, when at last man
emerges out of the ^{ignorance} [&] ^{negligence} ^{to}
the ^{touch} ^{of} ^{daylight} &

a technological civilization! It
 - This is perfectly true. But in the mean-
 - time we are passing thru' the narrows of
~~of fear~~ and that for the effects of
 Technology on our complex society.
 Such a society is precarious. It is
 a society that is destructible. ~~It is~~ It is
~~It has a precarious existence's~~ precarious.
~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~kind~~ ~~of~~ ~~society~~. ~~And~~ ~~the~~
~~reason~~ ~~for~~ ~~this~~ ~~are~~ ~~technological~~

Lead
 because
 of the
 effects
 of

Let us explore. In this regard it is similar
 to ~~some~~ primitive communities ~~that~~
 that depend upon ~~agriculture~~: a few failures
 of crops can make ~~an~~ ~~end~~ ~~of~~ ~~them~~.

It has been often argued that primitive
 demography is an outgrowth of the ~~fear~~
 fear of savage ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~face~~ ~~of~~ ~~natural~~
 calamities. This may be so or not;
 however it is ^{quite possible} ~~reasonable~~ ~~to~~ ~~assume~~

that a ~~small~~ ~~by~~ ~~society~~ ~~the~~ ~~in~~ ~~which~~
 knowing ~~what~~ ~~existence~~ ~~is~~ ~~what~~ ~~entering~~
 upon a ~~new~~ ~~path~~ ~~when~~ ~~existence~~ ~~(fear)~~

Indeed, the
 danger may
 be entirely
 rational

may ~~rather~~ ~~be~~ ~~and~~ ~~more~~ ~~general~~
~~and~~ ~~so~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~effort~~ ~~to~~ ~~create~~ ~~poor~~.
 If so, technology may have
 more to do with the issues of free men
 than one imagines. (Menden)

It is largely a question of fact. A complex society differs essentially from a familial or tribal ~~society~~ condition of affairs in that the effects of our actions are not directly traceable. There is a sense, in which, absolute freedom is clearly not possible in a complex society. It underlines the fact — which I believe myself is true of all society — that we are not free to remove from it ~~at will~~ at will. However, this is a moot point. No reasonable person complains of the restriction on his freedom which derive from his being a member of the human society.

But let the complexity be under-
pinned by the artificial ~~factor~~ of facts of technology and a very different, and situation arises. In more than one way technology makes the whole existence of society dependent upon the precarious success of a centrally directed creation of a vast ~~economic~~ industry were there was none.

or, in normal modern society, moves towards a state of affairs where the heating, lighting, transportation and food services are the function of some removed technical agency the

moreover the supplying of news, of directives, coordination and law enforcement

failure of which is tantamount to certain destruction or even worse a type of uncertainty which causes ~~panic~~ total helplessness with extreme anxiety.

Concern for freedom has always been an American concern. But the ~~fact~~ that freedom that was threatened was everytime of a different kind.

Religious freedom was the concern of the Pilgrim fathers. The threat emanated from a state religion that enforced conformity of faith. Eventually, the solution was put forward by Roger Williams. The separation of church and state set out in the "Bloody Tenets of Persecution" was to become the safeguard of religious and lay conscience over a large part of the globe.

The War of Independence was fought for national freedom; the threat was from royal prerogative and unrepresentative power. "No taxation without representation" was the banner of a nation claiming its freedom. The Preamble of the Declaration of Independence enunciated the answer.

The Constitution was about the freedom of society from the State. The danger was from the traditional State, with its claim of ascendancy over civil society. Separation of powers was the constitutional solution. Society was asserted to be free as long as the powers of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary were independent and balanced against one another.

The Bill of Rights was about personal freedom and the rights of minorities as a safeguard against abuse of governmental power, whether executive or legislative. The right to belong to a minority was enshrined in the Bill of Rights. The threat was from all organized, legal or extra-legal constraint, including that of legally constituted majorities.

The ~~American~~ Civil War belongs to the history of freedom. Its cause may have been manifold, but an outstanding reason why it happened, was concern for freedom. The United States could not stand as one united state unless slavery was abolished. The danger was, in this case, from specific economic and social conditions, which to the South appeared as conditions of survival.

Writers, orators, poets reflected ~~that~~ ^{the} selfsame concern. ~~The greatest American~~ ^{that} utterances, among ~~them~~ those the world has accepted as the most American, expressed concern for freedom. No rhetoric ^{of a leader} ~~ever~~ heard in a mass democracy surpassed Abraham Lincoln's ~~in this regard.~~

Walt Whitman ^{circumscribed} revealed the meaning and content of men's freedom in an industrial civilization in terms ~~never~~ ^{my} heard before. And if ever the spirit of freedom informed writings for the young, Mark Twain's stories were ~~such~~ ^{born} as to last forever. The greater part of mankind has been nurtured on them.

But I must not lose my point:

^{Though a} concern for freedom has always been an American concern, ^{yet} ~~but~~ the meaning and content of that freedom ~~in question~~ was very different at different times. ~~Very different solutions to different~~ ~~problems~~

(According to whence the peril came: - royal prerogative; ecclesiastical hierarchy of a state church; ^{feudal} ~~an inherited~~ state versus society; majorities versus personal and minority rights; slavery versus ~~the~~ human status ^{at each occasion} - a further chapter of American history was written. And each layer of ^{the} ~~this~~ multifarious events ~~has~~ contributed ^{an other} ~~a different~~ facet to ^{the} ~~American~~ national character. One of ^{those facets} ~~was~~ the upright individual ~~personality~~ ^{spoke} that ~~stands~~ life-size ^{out of} ~~the~~ orator, ^{and} ~~the~~ poet, the writer - the man behind the

another difference, more easily overlooked; it regards the cause, source or origin of the threat. If the history of America can be told in terms of the defence of freedom, it is because the events were largely American events: On the of a tornado.

II

This time these States are not the only ones to be afflicted, although there is an enormous difference in degree. It behooves us to take an unprejudiced look at the rest of the world in this last generation.

At first glance the result is surprising. True, what seems over here only as an ankle deep sinking into conformism is an engulfment in totalitarian Russia, and was so in Nazi Germany. If a tendency towards uniformity is present here, a steam roller passed over there. If freedom is suffering here, they went by the board there. Nevertheless, German fascism, Russian totalitarianism appear as the precursors of a general antilibertarian move in human civilization, which was heralded by important philosophies in various countries and of which America experienced only a whiff.

But what have these so different, indeed so antithetical civilizations in common? It is at this point that technology comes in - the second part of our subject. In each case we find a large complex society, in which technological progress is dominant. May it be possible that technology opens up avenues to totalitarian trends? If so, we would know whence the danger comes and we could counter act!

In Germany, one of the technologically leading countries of the early 20th century, Hitler was heralded by eight million

unemployed; in Russia with the five year plans, a large country engaged in the attempt to create a national industry from scratch, under central authoritarian direction; and under entirely different conditions, with no element of fascism or communism entering the scene, a technological civilization produces within much less than twenty years in these states an almost total paralysis of its economy in some tens of millions of unemployed as well as in a complete cessation of its credit system, a high point of industrial potential in a release of atomic energy at a time when the new devices have already synchronized the visual and auditional sensorium of dozens of millions through the general introduction of electronic media of mass communication, the silent film, then the talky, eventually television.

The question is: Is it merely a matter of chance that the three largest countries where technology became the leading feature in this last generation, the peculiar symptoms of the modern forms of a freedom of individual personality and an increase of conformism made their appearance, ~~is~~ is this the awesome question of freedom and technology?

III

But why should we expect loss of freedom to occur at all in a technological civilization? This takes us to the consideration of the connection between the three terms power, fear and freedom.

(a) It is obvious that power may induce fear. Arbitrary power, such as the power of persons over persons unrestricted by law, must do so. So does also the anonymous power of a set public opinion, which stifles and kills as surely as the shooting squad.

(b) But the connection between power and fear is not a one

way street. That power generates fear is reasonable. But the reverse is also true, and, indeed, truer. Not in the trivial sense that the greater the fear induced by power the more effective, of course, the power becomes. That is only another way of saying that power is sustained and supported by the fear of its victims. But that does not show fear creating power. Yet one of the primary sources of power itself is fear - fear, not of army power, but spontaneous independently emerging fear of annihilation.

Such power is a reflection of fear; it is nourished by fear; it is fear transposed into another key, for where there is this kind of fear, the mind generates power, to protect it from, and rid it of, the fear. Such fear is at the heart of the problem of freedom today. In two ways: The tendency of a technological civilization to create unlimited power, whether of governments or of opinion; its capacity to induce a will to conformity through new means of communication.

At this point an apology is due for a somewhat free use of terms. Fear is a psychological term; it refers to a state of consciousness. We would be taking a liberty by speaking of unconscious fear. We use fear metaphorically - a state as if a person experienced fear. Fear of death is rarely present to the healthy mind. Yet the urge to continue ourselves after death in our work, our children, in the memories of those we love, in the fruits of good works, in the aimless forms of art and knowledge is common to us all, it is part of life:- as if we lived in constant fear of death. Our is then, a frame of creativity, and the fear of death as a part of life itself, is always with us.

(c) Power, too, is used here in the same metaphorical way.

No difference is made between consciously exacted personal power - of person over person - and anonymous power:- effects ascribed to the anonymous agent "opinion." Power is simply the compelling element in the mind, as well as the compulsion it exerts on the mind. The "commands" of public opinion are no less internalized than the proclaimed values and norms upheld by church and state. The silent pressure of the neighborhood and of the general public is power, relentless power, from which there is no appeal. Assuredly, it is possible for the heroic individual to brave opinion as one can brave the firing squad; yet there is a difference: one cannot ignore opinion, as one may the firing squad. Physical force has no direct access to the mind; opinion has. To opinion the mind is forced to react, whether it then braves it or not. One can ~~shut~~ shut off one's self from physical contact and have no dealing with it; against mental contact only one's self-organized mental energy offers production: the will to freedom.

But why should a technologically complex society induce fear? Technology is nothing but the material instruments through which man masters Nature; it invests man with power to remove the causes of his fears, and to provide him with safety and security. It is the material embodiment of freedom; it is a creator of life and of the abundance of it. In a hundred ways this is manifest. It is sheer perversity to harp on the secondary and transitory drawbacks of the passing of the night, when at last man emerges out of the ignorance and helplessness to the daylight of a technological civilization.

This is perfectly true. But in the mean time - in the transition - we are passing through the narrows of fear because of the some actual dangerous effects of technology on our complex

Williamson Lectures
Freedom and Liberty

I

Concern for freedom has always been an American concern. But the ~~fact that~~ freedom that was threatened was ~~every~~^{and}time of a different kind.

Religious freedom was the concern of the Pilgrim fathers. The threat emanated from a state religion that enforced conformity of faith. Eventually, the solution was put forward by Roger Williams. The separation of church and state ^{as} set out in ~~the~~ his "Bloody Tenets of Persecution" was to become the safeguard of religious and lay conscience over a large part of the globe.

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The Bill of Rights was about personal freedom and the rights of minorities as a safeguard against abuse of governmental power, whether executive or legislative. The right to belong to a minority was enshrined in the Bill of Rights. The threat was from all ~~organized~~ legal or extra-legal constraint, including ^{exerted by} that ~~of~~ legally constituted majorities.

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But I must not lose my point:

Concern for freedom has always been an American concern. But the meaning and content of the freedoms in question was very different at different times. Very different solutions to different ills!

According to whence the peril came - royal prerogative, ecclesiastical hierarchy of a state church, an inherited state versus society, majorities versus personal and minority rights, slavery versus full human status - a further chapter of American history was written. And each layer of this multifarious event has contributed a different facet to American national character. One of them is the upright individual personality that speaks life-size through the orator, the poet, the writer - the man behind the

Gettysburg speech; the vast life in Whitman; the non conformity into which Huckleberry Finn's shape was cast, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ It is concern for this free individual personality which brings me head-on to the first part of my subject: A growing tendency toward conformity in these recent years. A complex psychological process is involved - fear of deviancies which may be most strikingly shown by the high value set on "averagism" - a veritable competition is on in resembling people of a category, only more so - to resemble most members of a group more than they anyway resemble one another. Much of this sounds merely funny, yet the infiltration of this spirit into the academy, scientific research and even theoretical attitudes undermines national standards of achievements and may even endanger defense and security. This new concern for freedom is altogether different from the earlier ones: (a) It is not an issue fought for and against.

There is here no clear distinction between those whose freedom is endangered and those who endanger it; or, which is almost the same thing (b) the underlying cause of the process remains largely obscure. There is no outside enemy. Freedom to be free is undermined from within.

There is unwillingness to keep, maintain, safeguard one's own freedom. It is as if freedom were going out of freedom; as if a voluntary relinquishing of freedom was occurring; The freedom of being one's self.

The "Split" is made - There is a split within the individual; the citizen himself is half slave, half free. This is ONE difference between former and recent threats to freedom: The absence of a clear cut issue between opposing sides. There is also

another difference, more easily overlooked; it regards the cause, source or origin of the threat. If the history of America can be told in terms of the defence of freedom, it is because the events were largely American events: On the of a tornado.

II

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The question is: Is it merely a matter of chance that the three largest countries where technology became the leading feature in this last generation, the peculiar symptoms of the modern forms of a freedom of individual personality and an increase of conformism made their appearance, or is this the awesome question of freedom and technology?

III

But, why should we expect loss of freedom to occur at all in a technological civilization? This takes us to the consideration of the connection between the three terms power, fear and freedom.

(a) It is obvious that power may induce fear. Arbitrary power, such as the power of persons over persons unrestricted by law, must do so. So does also the anonymous power of a set public opinion, which stifles and kills as surely as the shooting squad.

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way street. That power generates fear is reasonable. But the reverse is also true, and, indeed, truer. Not in the trivial sense that the greater the fear induced by power the more effective, of course, the power becomes. That is only another way of saying that power is sustained and supported by the fear of its victims. But that does not show fear creating power. Yet one of the primary sources of power itself is fear - fear, not of army power, but spontaneous independently emerging fear of annihilation.

Such power is a reflection of fear; it is nourished by fear; it is fear transposed into another key, for where there is this kind of fear, the mind generates power, to protect it from, and rid it of, the fear. Such fear is at the heart of the problem of freedom today. In two ways: The tendency of a technological civilization to create unlimited power, whether of governments or of opinion; its capacity to induce a will to conformity through new means of communication.

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No difference is made between consciously exacted personal power - of person over person - and anonymous power:- effects ascribed to the anonymous agent "opinion." Power is simply the compelling element in the mind, as well as the compulsion it exerts on the mind. The "commands" of public opinion are no less internalized than the proclaimed values and norms upheld by church and state. The silent pressure of the neighborhood and of the general public is power, relentless power, from which there is no appeal. Assuredly, it is possible for the heroic individual to brave opinion as one can brave the firing squad; yet there is a difference: one cannot ignore opinion, as one may the firing squad. Physical force has no direct access to the mind; opinion has. To opinion the mind is forced to react, whether it then braves it or not. One can ~~xxxx~~ shut off one's self from physical contact and have no dealing with it; against mental contact only one's self-organized mental energy offers production: the will to freedom.

But why should a technologically complex society induce fear? Technology is nothing but the material instruments through which man masters Nature; it invests man with power to remove the causes of his fears, and to provide him with safety and security. It is the material embodiment of freedom; it is a creator of life and of the abundance of it. In a hundred ways this is manifest. It is sheer perversity to harp on the secondary and transitory drawbacks of the passing of the night, when at last man emerges out of the ignorance and helplessness to the daylight of a technological civilization.

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A complex society differs eventually from a familial or tribal condition of affairs in that the social effects of our actions are not directly traceable. Absolute individual freedom is not possible in society. (Even less out of it of course). We are not free to remove from society at will. And no reasonable person complains of the restriction on his freedom which derives from his being a member of the human society.

But let the social complexity be underpinned by the artificial facts of technology and a very different situation arises. In more than one way technology makes the very existence of society precarious. Life may be dependent upon the success of a centralized source of power for success of an industry where there was none. In normal modern society life is moving toward a state of affairs where the heating, lighting, transportation, communication and food services, moreover the supplying of news, of directives, coordination and law enforcement, are the function of some distant

technical agency the failure of which is tantamount to certain destruction, or, even worse, a type of uncertainty which combines total helplessness with extreme anxiety.

"Freedom & Technology"

I

Concern for freedom has always been an American concern. But the ~~Yet that~~ freedom that was threatened was ^{each} ~~every~~time of a different kind.

Religious freedom was the concern of the Pilgrim fathers. The threat emanated from a state religion that enforced conformity of faith. Eventually, the solution was put forward by Roger Williams. The separation of church and state set out in the ^{as} ~~the~~ "Bloody Tenets of Persecution" was to become the safeguard of religious and lay conscience over a large part of the globe.

The War of Independence was fought for national freedom; the threat was from royal prerogative and unrepresentative power. "No taxation without representation" was the banner of a nation claiming its freedom. The Preamble of the Declaration of Independence enunciated the answer.

The Constitution was about the freedom of society from the State. The danger was from the traditional State, with its claim of ascendancy over civil society. Separation of powers was the constitutional solution. Society was asserted to be free as long as the powers of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary were ~~independent~~ and balanced against one another.

The Bill of Rights was about personal freedom and the rights of minorities as a safeguard against abuse of governmental power, whether executive or legislative. The right to belong to a minority was enshrined in the Bill of Rights. The threat was from all organized, legal or extra-legal constraint, including ^{exerted by} that ~~of~~ legally constituted majorities.

The ~~American~~ Civil War belongs to the history of freedom. Its causes may have been manifold, but an outstanding reason why it happened, was concern for freedom. The United States could not stand as one united state unless slavery was abolished. The danger was, in this case, from specific economic and social conditions, which to the South appeared as conditions of survival.

Writers, orators, poets reflected ^{the} that selfsame concern. ~~The greatest American utterances, among them those~~ the world has accepted as the most American, expressed concern for freedom. No rhetoric ^{of a leader} ~~ever~~ heard in a mass democracy surpassed Abraham Lincoln's in this regard.

Walt Whitman ^(circumscrubed) ~~revealed~~ the meaning and content of men's freedom in an industrial civilization in terms ^{like} never heard before. And if ever the spirit of freedom informed writings for the young, Mark Twain's stories were such ^{born} as to last forever. The greater part of mankind has been nurtured on them.

But I must not lose my point:

^{Though} concern for freedom has always been an American concern. ^{yet} ~~But~~ the meaning and content of ^{at} the freedom in question was very different at different times. ~~Very different solutions to different ills!!~~

(According to whence the peril came - royal prerogative, ecclesiastical hierarchy of a state church; an ^{feudal} ~~inherited~~ state versus society; majorities versus personal and minority rights; slavery versus ^{at each occasion} ~~fall~~ human status - a further chapter of American history was written. And each layer of ^{the} ~~this~~ multifarious events has contributed ^{an other} a ~~different~~ facet to ^{the} American national character. One of ^{these facets was} ~~them~~ is the upright individual ^{sydia} ~~personality~~ that speaks life-size ^{out of} ~~through~~ the orator, ^{and} the poet, the writer - the man behind the

Gettysburg speech; the vast life in Whitman; the non conformity into which Huckleberry Finn's shape was cast, ~~bringxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxx~~ It is ^{the survival} concern for this free individual personality ~~which~~ ^{vs} ~~be~~ head-on ~~to~~ the first part of my subject: - the growing tendency toward conformity in these recent years: a complex psychological process is involved - fear of deviancies, which may be most strikingly shown by the high value set on "averagism" - a veritable competition is on in resembling people of a category, only more so - to resemble most members of a group more than they anyway resemble one another. Much of this ~~sounds merely funny, yet~~ The infiltration of this spirit into the academy, ^{into} scientific research and even theoretical attitudes undermines national standards of achievements and may even endanger defense and security. ^{yet} This new concern for freedom is ^{again} altogether different from the earlier ones: (a) It is not an issue fought for and against.

There is here no clear ^{split} distinction between those whose freedom is endangered and those who endanger it; or, which is almost the same thing (b) the underlying cause of the process remains largely obscure. There is no outside enemy. ^{The} freedom to be free is undermined from within.

There is ^{a sort of} unwillingness to keep, ^{to} maintain, ^{to} safeguard one's own freedom. It is as if ^{we lost our} freedom were going out of ^{to be} freedom; as if a voluntary relinquishing of freedom was occurring; The freedom of being one's self.

^{Rabbin,} The "split" is ^{made} There is a split within the individual; ^{itself} the citizen ^{feels} ~~himself~~ is half slave, half free. This is ONE difference between former and recent threats to freedom: The absence of a clear cut issue between opposing sides. There is also

another difference, more easily overlooked; it regards the cause, source or origin of the threat. If the history of America can be told in terms of the defence of freedom, it is because the events were largely American events: On the of a tornado.

II

This time these States are not the only ones to be afflicted, although there is an enormous difference in degree. It behooves us to take an unprejudiced look at the rest of the world in this last generation.

At first glance the result is surprising. True, what seems over here only as an ankle deep sinking into conformism is an engulfment in totalitarian Russia, and was so in Nazi Germany. If a tendency towards uniformity is present here, a steam roller passed over there. If freedom is suffering here, they went by the board there. Nevertheless, German fascism, Russian totalitarianism appear as the precursors of a general antilibertarian move in human civilization, which was heralded by important philosophies in various countries and of which America experienced only a whiff.

But what have these so different, indeed so antithetical civilizations in common? It is at this point that technology comes in - the second part of our subject. In each case we find a large complex society, in which technological progress is dominant. May it be possible that technological advancement opens up avenues to totalitarian trends? If so, we would know whence the danger comes and we could counter act!

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unemployed; in Russia with the five year plans, a large country engaged in the attempt to create a national industry from scratch, under central authoritarian direction; and under entirely different conditions, with no element of fascism or communism entering the scene, a technological civilization produces within much less than twenty years in these states an almost total paralysis of its economy in some tens of millions of unemployed as well as in a complete cessation of its credit system, a high point of industrial potential in a release of atomic energy at a time when the new devices have already synchronized the visual and auditional sensorium of dozens of millions through the general introduction of electronic media of mass communication, the silent film, then the talky, eventually television.

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Lecture at the U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis on Nov. 27, 1955 on
 the University Lecture "Freedom + Technology"
 (Lubrodsky book)

FREEDOM AND TECHNOLOGY

In this series of addresses in which I have the honor to participate, the question has been raised about the price paid for technological advance. Indeed, our ~~mistakeable~~ ^{unshakable} belief in the positive balance of the changes wrought by scientific progress should eliminate the consciousness of the debit side of the account. We should never forget that the progress of civilization has been bought at a high cost in human values and that no understanding of our own civilization is complete that would ignore those losses. To see them, as in this series, a partial alienation of man from himself shows an all the more fruitful grasp of the problem as it implies the need of overcoming that alienation through a positive attitude.

The question at issue ~~here and now~~ is whether the disturbing symptoms of the paralyzing conformism that are pressing in upon us should not be blamed on the fall out of an all too rapidly advancing technological civilization? And, if so, what constructive approach offers to such a danger to freedom?

Freedom, at first, may not appear the right word to use. Yet that is the traditional name for the central American concern. But almost any peril that has threatened at one time or another the essential fabric of American political and social existence has been withstood in the name of freedom. And as we proceed in this talk we may have to recognize in this case

a closer link than is apparent on the surface between the present enormous advances toward a technological civilization and the threat to freedom that all over the world is latent in the deep.

It is wholly appropriate then that the omnipresent tendency towards uniformity and conformity, or briefly, averagism that presently overshadows American life be pointed up as a danger to freedom. For averagism -- the desire of resembling ones neighbour in all parts and the dread of differing from him in any -- undermines not merely personality but also the commonalty. Once anxiety of deviating from the other man grips the inner man, his will to safeguard the range in which differences have their play, must atrophy. The spirit of emulation is reduced to a mere urge of imitation, insistence on achieving things in one's own way, loses point and meaning. And, reluctance in the individual to differ from an other individual, of necessity, involves, as was said, reluctance to differ from the group that happens to claim his allegiance. When and where such a fear of differing from the existing canon of behavior becomes dominant, the freedom, which lives not in the personality but in the community itself, is in danger of disintegration. Bereft of its content, the ideal of freedom fades to a shadow haunting what once was solid everyday life but is almost imperceptibly turning into the dim present of a people that are silently losing the love of freedom.

To denounce such cultural conformism as subversive of freedom is, in my view, an effective weapon against the ravages of averagist ideals in the life of a people.

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