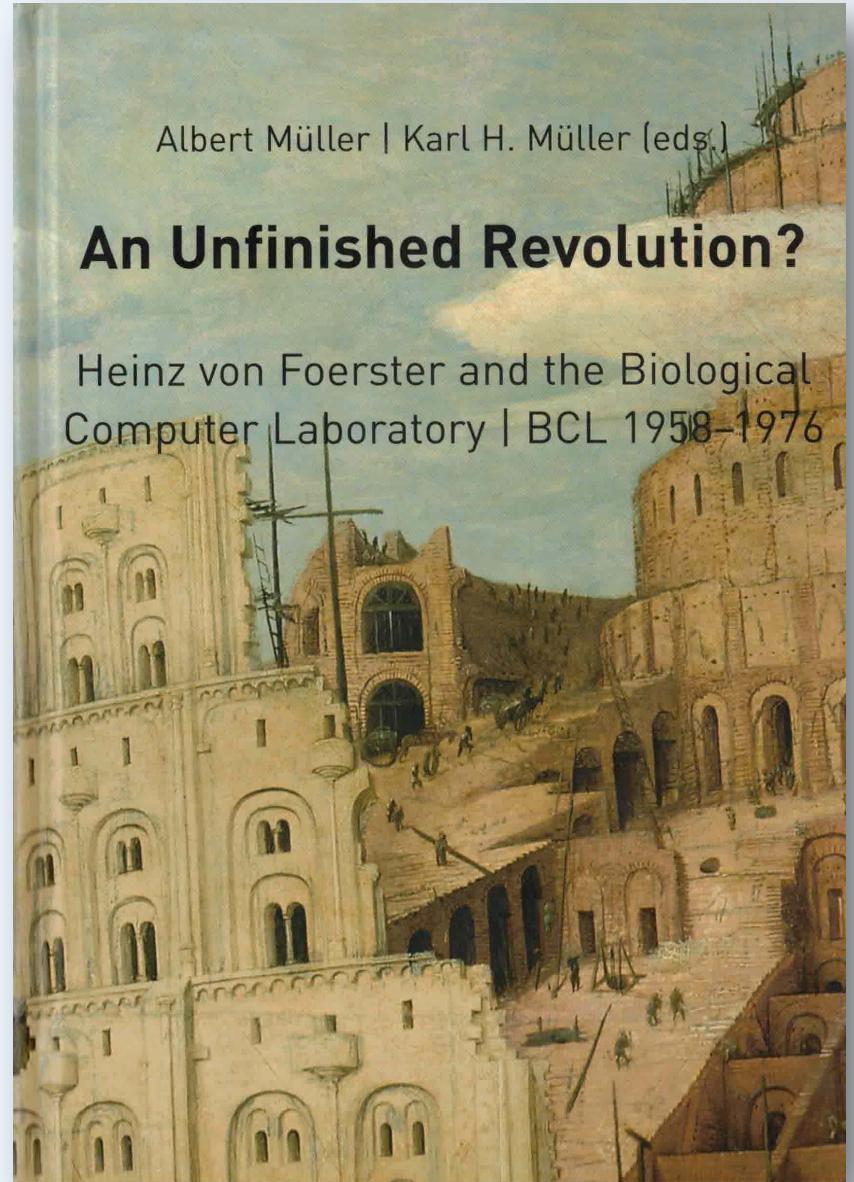
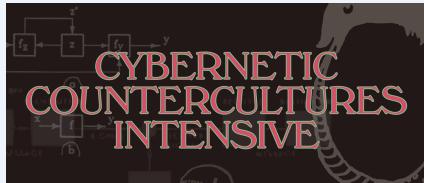


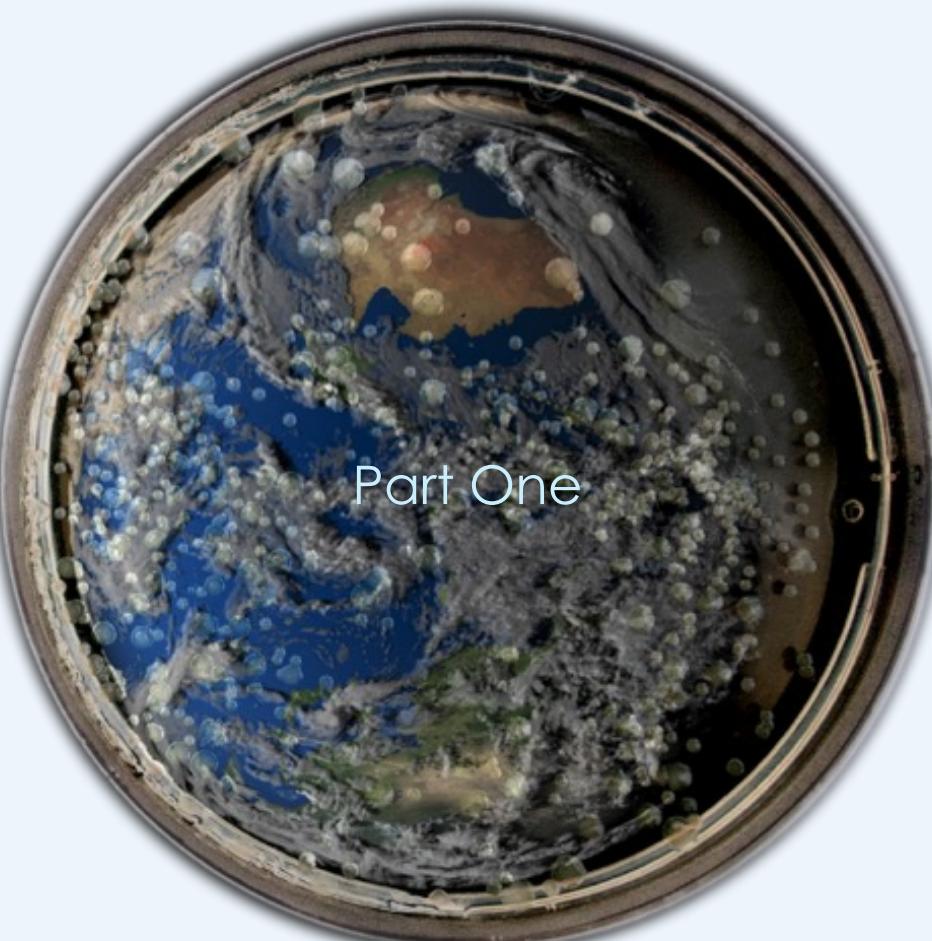
Week 5. Epistemological Constructivism: Heinz von Foerster

Bruno Clarke
brunoclarke@gmail.com



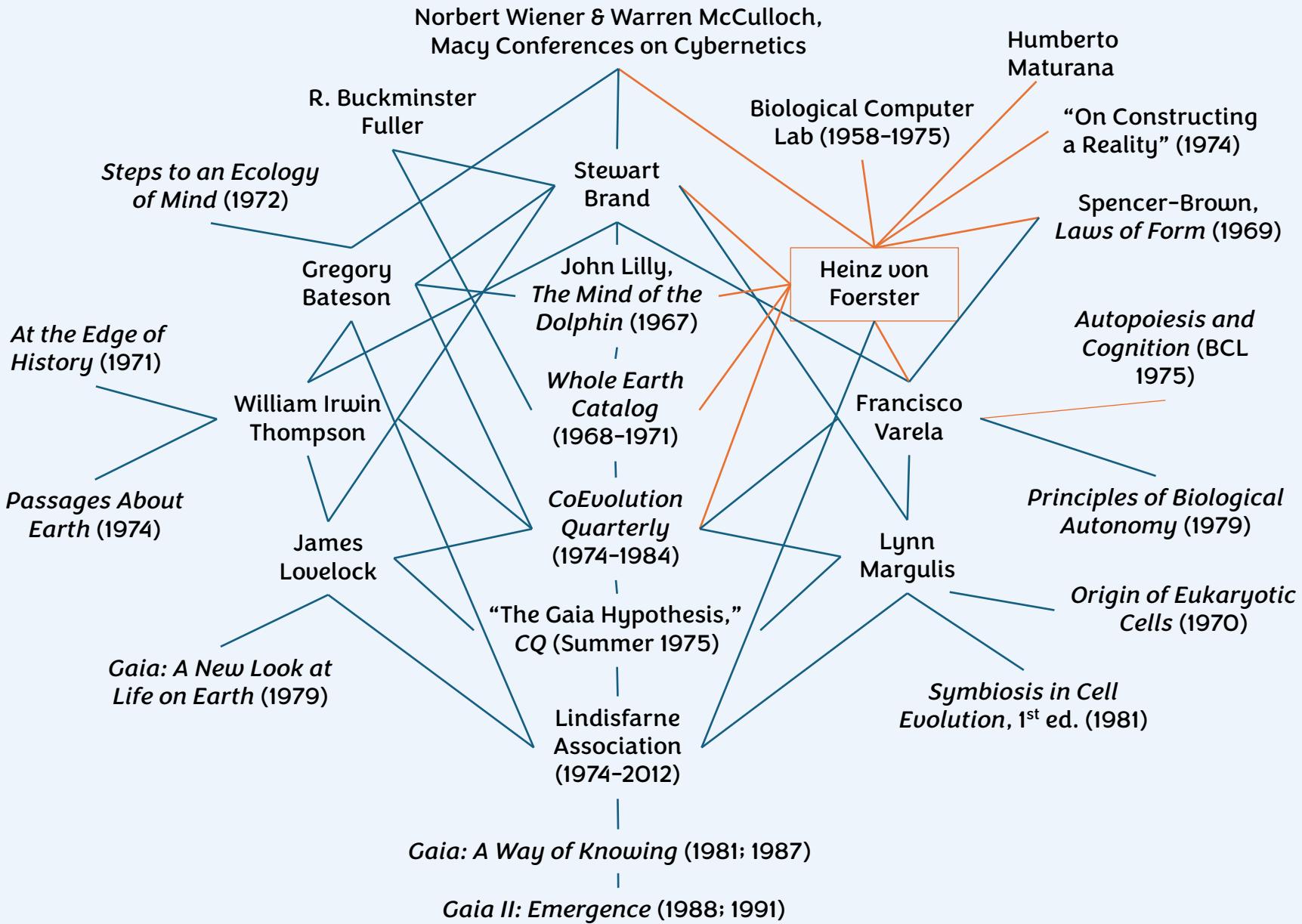


Week 5. Epistemological Constructivism: Heinz von Foerster



Bruno Clarke
brunoclarke@gmail.com

The
Cybernetic
Countercultures
Arrive at the
Biological
Computer
Lab



Cybernetic Countercultures Network

The era of the Cybernetic Countercultures gained critical mass as the '60's gave way to the '70s. During this period, the inventive émigré cyberneticist Heinz von Foerster collaborated with a host of colleagues and students at his Biological Computer Lab to define and codify cybernetics' second-order turn. Concurrently, he also fostered Francisco Varela's intellectual and professional career. Varela spoke to his relationship with von Foerster in the introduction to *Observing Systems* (1981), Varela's selected edition of his professional articles.

Introduction

THE AGES OF HEINZ VON FOERSTER

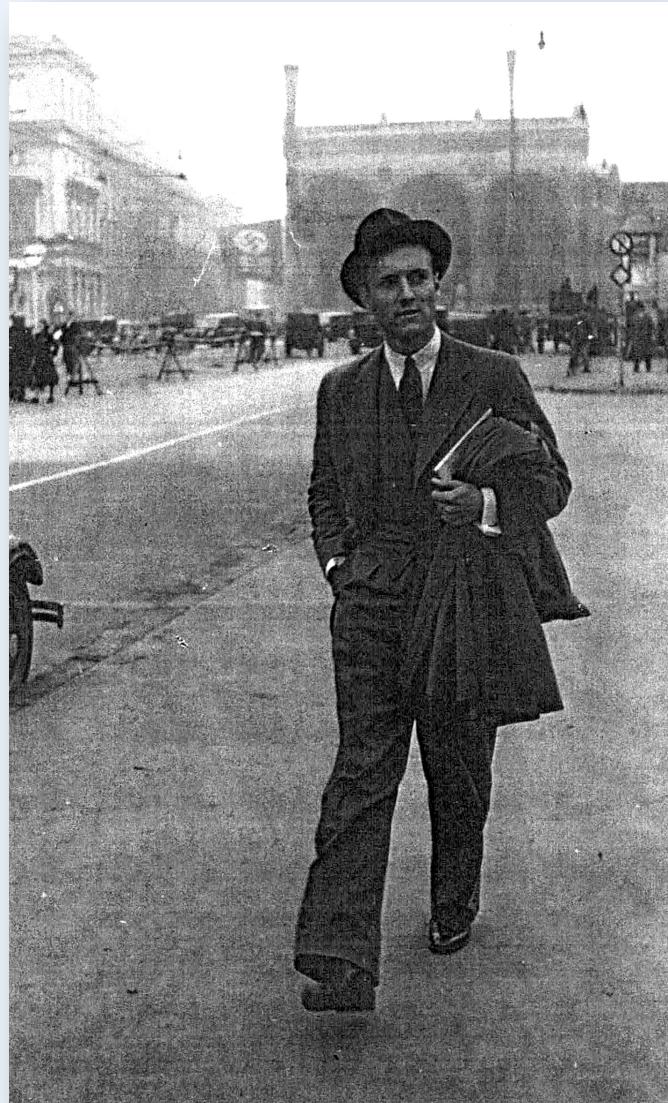
by Francisco J. Varela

Like almost everyone who came into contact with Heinz von Foerster, I owe him a great deal of both learning and support. I say a great deal of learning because Heinz excels at being able to inspire others to think about deep issues which he can point to and express in **substantious nutshells**. His whole work is marked by this quality, which has a way of staying in one's mind and becoming good food for thought. I also owe him a great deal of support, because one cannot write about Heinz's work without, at the same time, having present his generosity and gentleness, so rare in contemporary academia. As he himself once told me, "To understand something, is to stand under it, so that you may foster its development." And he acted every word of that.

Heinz von
Foerster,
*Observing
Systems*, intro.
Francisco J.
Varela
(Salinas, CA:
Intersystems
Publications,
1981), 2nd
edition, 1984.

The Viennese polymath and the young Chilean genius would share expatriate status as academic refugees from political intimidation during authoritarian periods in their respective societies.

Von Foerster's mother's line was Jewish. Heinz's own early professional years in the 1930s were precarious as a "Mischling zweiten Grades" (second-degree mixed-race) from a prominent bourgeois family. After the Nazis annexed Vienna, he moved with his wife and children to employed obscurity in Munich, as seen here, hiding in plain sight.



Source: Heinz von Foerster Archive, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign



Von Foerster polaroids,
@ 1950s

Von Foerster sought academic work in the U.S. at the end of the 1940s. His calling card, a short monograph in German, *Memory: A Quantum-Mechanical Investigation*, impressed the eminent psychiatrist and pioneering cyberneticist Warren S. McCulloch.

McCulloch assisted Heinz in securing a position in the electron tube lab in the Department of Electrical Engineering at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Moreover, as the 1950s began, McCulloch brought von Foerster into the ongoing Macy Conferences group alongside Norbert Wiener, John von Neumann, Claude Shannon, Gregory Bateson, and Margaret Mead.

Famously, McCulloch appointed von Foerster as the editor of the subsequent Macy transactions to improve his English. These acts of support helped mold von Foerster's broad training toward formidable cybernetic contributions, especially to its eclectic organic profile.



Warren S. McCulloch, 1947,
University of Illinois, Medical
School, Chicago, Illinois

New York Times,
July 13, 1958

Electronic 'Brain' Teaches Itself

The Navy last week demonstrated the embryo of an electronic computer named the Perceptron which, when completed in about a year, is expected to be the first non-living mechanism able to "perceive, recognize and identify its surroundings without human training or control." Navy officers demonstrating a preliminary form of the device in Washington said they hesitated to call it a machine because it is so much like a "human being without life."

Dr. Frank Rosenblatt, research psychologist at the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, Inc., Buffalo, N. Y., designer of the Perceptron conducted the demonstration. The machine, he said, would be the first electronic device to think as the human brain. Like humans, Perceptron will make mistakes at first, "but it will grow wiser as it gains experience," he said.

The first Perceptron, to cost about \$100,000, will have about 1,000 electronic "association cells" receiving electrical impulses from an eyelike scanning device with 400 photocells. The human brain has ten billion responsive cells, including 100,000,000 connections with the eye.

Difference Recognized

The concept of the Perceptron was demonstrated on the Weather Bureau's \$2,000,000 IBM 704 computer. In one experiment, the 704 computer was shown 100 squares situated at random either on the left or the right side of a field. In 100 trials, it was able to "say" correctly ninety-seven times whether a square was situated on the right or left. Dr. Rosenblatt said that after having seen only thirty to forty squares the device had learned to

recognize the difference between right and left, almost the way a child learns.

When fully developed, the Perceptron will be designed to remember images and information it has perceived itself, whereas ordinary computers remember only what is fed into them on punch cards or magnetic tape.

Later Perceptrons, Dr. Rosenblatt said, will be able to recognize people and call out their names. Printed pages, longhand letters and even speech commands are within its reach. Only one more step of development, a difficult step, he said, is needed for the device to hear speech in one language and instantly translate it to speech or writing in another language.

Self-Reproduction

In principle, Dr. Rosenblatt said it would be possible to build Perceptrons that could reproduce themselves on an assembly line and which would be "conscious" of their existence.

Perceptron, it was pointed out, needs no "priming." It is not necessary to introduce it to surroundings and circumstances, record the data involved and then store them for future comparison as is the case with present "mechanical brains." It literally teaches itself to recognize objects the first time it encounters them. It uses a camera-eye lens to scan objects or survey situations, and an electrical impulse system, patterned point-by-point after the human brain does the interpreting.

The Navy said it would use the principle to build the first Perceptron "thinking machines" that will be able to read or write.

The early days of AI hype.

Meanwhile, the meeting at Dartmouth College considered to have spawned the field of Artificial Intelligence—attended by John McCarthy, Marvin Minsky, Claude Shannon, and several others—took place during the summer of 1956. Within two years, early AI research was making headlines like this one,

"Electronic 'Brain' Teaches Itself," blandly declaring the imminent arrival of AGI, artificial general intelligence, in an electronic artifact "named the Perceptron which, when completed in about a year, is expected to be the first non-living mechanism able to 'perceive, recognize and identify its surroundings without human training or control.'" Perceptrons would "reproduce themselves on an assembly line and . . . be 'conscious' of their existence."

—And with the launch of the Biological Computer Lab that same year, the cybernetic reversal of the Cartesian schema (organisms explain artifacts, and not the other way around) is well in place. An article in the campus newspaper for December 5, 1958, "Von Foerster's 'Chap' Does Brainy Job," reports on an interview with the BCL director foregrounding the "Biological" designation of his lab and of its research goal to use nerve cells as models for the technological production of autonomous agency. In the Atomic Age one must expect the glitch in the article, misprinting *neutrons* for *neurons*.

—from Albert Müller and Karl H. Müller, eds., *An Unfinished Revolution? Heinz von Foerster and the Biological Computer Laboratory*

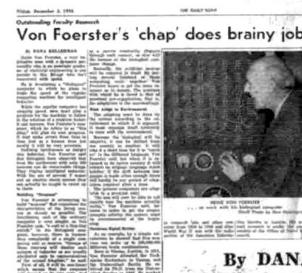


FIGURE 1-5

Heinz von Foerster at Work With His Biological Computer, Newspaper Clipping, 1958

By DANA KELLERMAN

Heinz Von Foerster, a very impressive man with a dynamic personality who is an associate professor of electrical engineering is one person in this jet-age who isn't concerned with speed.

He is developing a "biological" computer in which he plans to trade the speed of the regular computing machine for intelligent behavior.

While the regular computer has amazing speed, men must plan a program for the machine to follow in the solution of a problem before it can operate. Von Foerster's computer, which he refers to as "this chap," will plan its own program. It may make errors from time to time just as a human does but mostly it will be very accurate.

Defining intelligence as insight into behavior, Von Foerster said that biologists have observed that even the earthworm with only 300 neurons can do remarkable things. They display intelligent behavior. With the use of several T mazes and an electric shock system they can actually be taught to count up to three.

Building "Neurons"

Von Foerster is attempting to build "neurons" that reproduce the characteristics of the living neuron as closely as possible. The functioning unit of the ordinary computer is very simple, as Von Foerster says, "a sort of a flop-flop switch." In the biological computer, however, there is tremendous complexity of a single computing unit or neuron. "Groups of these neurons will display such patterns of behavior as are usually attributed only to representatives of the animal kingdom," he said.

First of all, it will be non-linear which means that the response will depend on its own state. Just as a person constantly changes through each contact, so also will the neuron of the biological computer change.

Secondly, the artificial neuron will be complex in itself. By putting several hundred of these computing units together Von Foerster hopes to get the same response as in nature. The problem with which he is faced is that of genetical pre-organization, that is, the adaptation to the surroundings.

Must Adapt to Environment

The adapting must be done by the system according to the environment to which it is exposed. It must organize itself interiorly to cope with the environment.

Because the biological will be adaptive, it can be shifted from one country to another. It will take it a short time for it to "catch on" to the different language, Von Foerster said, but when it is returned to its native country it will relearn its original language much quicker. If the shift between languages is made often enough there will hardly be any period of adaptation required after a time.

The present computers are adaptable to a program only.

"No one will ever be able to tell exactly how the machine actually works," Von Foerster said, because in order to get the proper synaptic activity the system must be overconnected at the beginning.

Neurons Equal Brains

As an example, by a simple calculation he showed that five neurons can make up to 100,000,000 different brain combinations.

Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1911, Von Foerster attended the Technische Hochschule in Vienna, and the Universitaet Berlin. He received his Ph.D. from the Universitaet Breslau in 1944. He worked in research labs and other concerns from 1936 to 1948 and after World War II was with the radio section of the American Information Service in Austria. His present research is under the sponsorship of the Office of Naval Research.

Heinz von Foerster . . . is developing a "biological" computer in which he plans to trade the speed of the regular computing machine for intelligent behavior. . . .

Von Foerster's computer . . . will plan its own program. It may make errors from time to time just as a human does but mostly it will be very accurate.

Defining intelligence as insight into behavior, . . . Von Foerster is attempting to build "neurons" that reproduce the characteristics of the living neuron as closely as possible. . . .

First of all, it will be nonlinear which means that the response will depend on its own state. Just as a person constantly changes through each contact, so will the neuron of the biological computer change. . . .

"No one will ever be able to tell exactly how the machine actually works," von Foerster said . . .

As an example, by a simple calculation he showed that five neurons can make up to 100,000,000 different brain combinations. . . .

By DANA KELLERMAN

Heinz Von Foerster, a very impressive man with a dynamic personality who is an associate professor of electrical engineering is one person in this set-age who isn't concerned with speed.

He is developing a "biological" computer in which he plans to trade the speed of the regular computing machine for intelligent behavior.

While the regular computer has amazing speed, men must plan a program for the machine to follow in the solution of a problem before it can operate. Von Foerster's computer, which he refers to as "this chap," will plan its own program. It may make errors from time to time just as a human does but mostly it will be very accurate.

Defining intelligence as insight into behavior, Von Foerster said that biologists have observed that even the earthworm with only 300 neurons can do remarkable things. They display intelligent behavior. With the use of several T mazes and an electric shock system they can actually be taught to count up to three.

Building "Neurons"

Von Foerster is attempting to build "neurons" that reproduce the characteristics of the living neuron as closely as possible. The functioning unit of the ordinary computer is very simple, as Von Foerster says, "a sort of a flop-flop switch." In the biological computer, however, there is tremendous complexity of a single computing unit or neuron. "Groups of these neurons will display such patterns of behavior as are usually attributed only to representatives of the animal kingdom," he said.

First of all, it will be non-linear which means that the response will depend on its own state. Just as a person constantly changes through each contact, so also will the neuron of the biological computer change.

Secondly, the artificial neuron will be complex in itself. By putting several hundred of these computing units together Von Foerster hopes to get the same response as in nature. The problem with which he is faced is that of genetical pre-organization, that is, the adaptation to the surroundings.

Must Adapt to Environment

The adapting must be done by the system according to the environment to which it is exposed. It must organize itself interiorly to cope with the environment.

Because the biological will be adaptive, it can be shifted from one country to another. It will take it a short time for it to "catch on" to the different language, Von Foerster said, but when it is returned to its native country it will relearn its original language much quicker. If the shift between languages is made often enough there will hardly be any period of adaptation required after a time.

The present computers are adaptable to a program only.

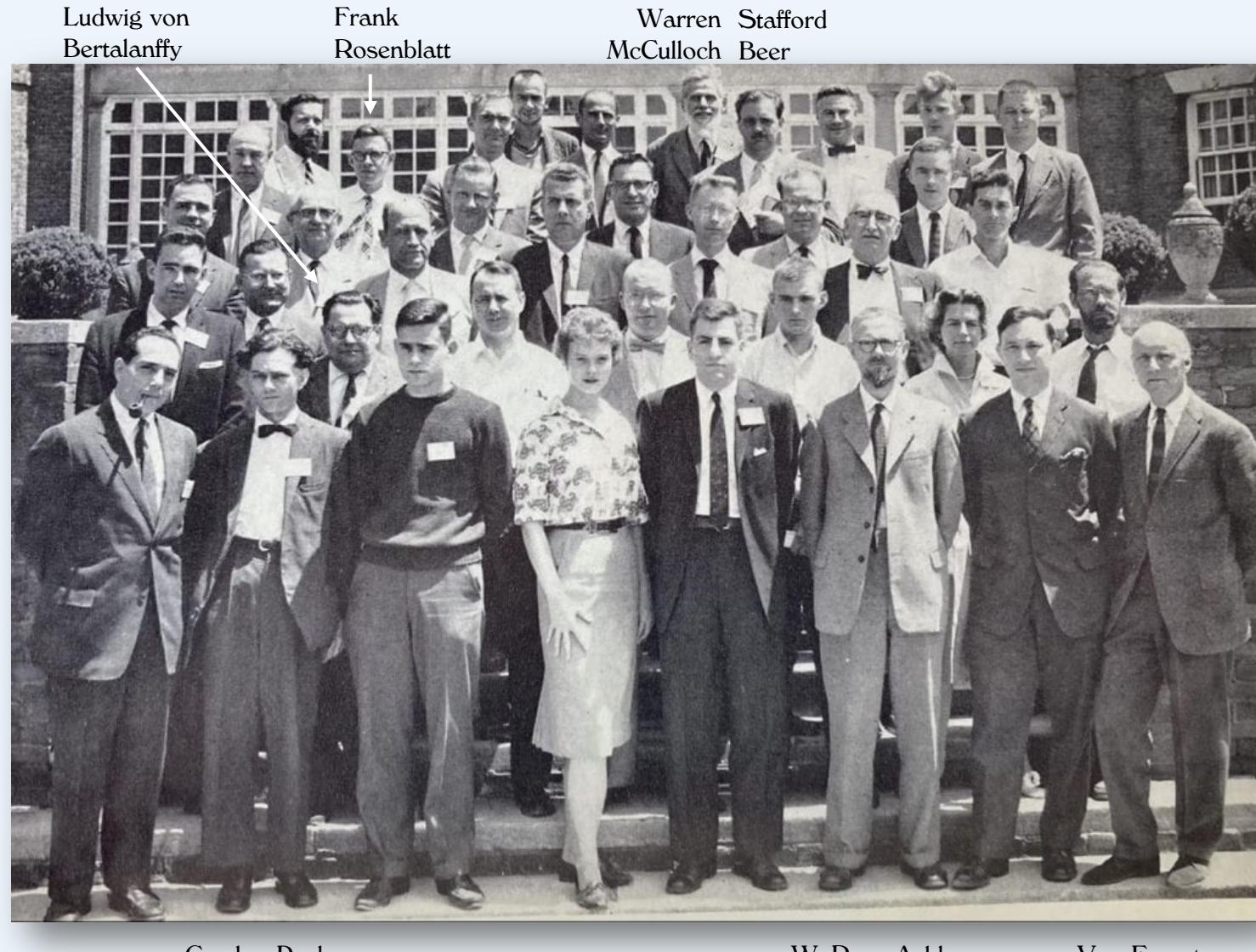
"No one will ever be able to tell exactly how the machine actually works," Von Foerster said, because in order to get the proper synaptic activity the system must be overconnected at the beginning.

Neurons Equal Brains

As an example, by a simple calculation he showed that five neurons can make up to 100,000,000 different brain combinations.

Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1911, Von Foerster attended the Technische Hochschule in Vienna, and the Universitaet Berlin. He received his Ph.D. from the Universitaet Breslau in 1944. He worked in research labs and other concerns from 1936 to 1948 and after World War II was with the radio section of the American Information Service in Austria. His sent research is under the sponsorship of the Office of Naval Research.

A decade before the emergence of the Cybernetic Countercultures, von Foerster convenes the Symposium on Principles of Self-Organization at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign on June 8-9, 1960. The theme of the symposium expands the remit of cybernetics insofar as *self-organization* is a natural (physical and biological) system phenomenon bidding for artifactual replication.



—Von Foerster's intellectual humor. He frames his paper for the Symposium on Principles of Self-Organization with a self-deprecating paradox by declaring “the following thesis: **'There are no such things as self-organizing systems!'** Playing across the cybernetic distinction between thermodynamic and informatic entropy, he submits the notion of a self-organizing system to the rigor of both thermodynamic and formal considerations.

For a close reading, see Bruce Clarke, “Heinz von Foerster’s Demons,” in *Emergence and Embodiment: New Essays in Second-Order Systems Theory*, ed. Clarke and Hansen (Duke UP, 2009).

1 On Self-Organizing Systems and Their Environments*

H. VON FOERSTER

Department of Electrical Engineering, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

I AM somewhat hesitant to make the introductory remarks of my presentation, because I am afraid I may hurt the feelings of those who so generously sponsored this conference on self-organizing systems. On the other hand, I believe, I may have a suggestion on how to answer Dr. Weyl's question which he asked in his pertinent and thought-provoking introduction: “What makes a self-organizing system?” Thus, I hope you will forgive me if I open my paper by presenting the following thesis: “There are no such things as self-organizing systems!”

In the face of the title of this conference I have to give a rather strong proof of this thesis, a task which may not be at all too difficult, if there is not a secret purpose behind this meeting to promote a conspiracy to dispose of the Second Law of Thermodynamics. I shall now prove the non-existence of self-organizing systems by *reductio ad absurdum* of the assumption that there is such a thing as a self-organizing system.

Assume a finite universe, U_0 , as small or as large as you wish (see Fig. 1a), which is enclosed in an adiabatic shell which separates this finite universe from any “meta-universe” in which it may be immersed. Assume, furthermore, that in this universe, U_0 , there is a closed surface which divides this universe into two mutually exclusive parts: the one part is completely occupied with a self-organizing system S_0 , while the other part we may call the environment E_0 of this self-organizing system: $S_0 \& E_0 = U_0$.

I may add that it is irrelevant whether we have our self-organizing system inside or outside the closed surface. However, in Fig. 1 the system is assumed to occupy the interior of the dividing surface.

Undoubtedly, if this self-organizing system is permitted to do its job of organizing itself for a little while, its entropy must have decreased during this time:

* This article is an adaptation of an address given at The Interdisciplinary Symposium on Self-Organizing Systems, on May 5, 1959, in Chicago, Illinois; originally published in *Self-Organizing Systems*. M.C. Yovits and S. Cameron (eds.), Pergamon Press, London, pp. 31–50 (1960).

2 H. von Foerster

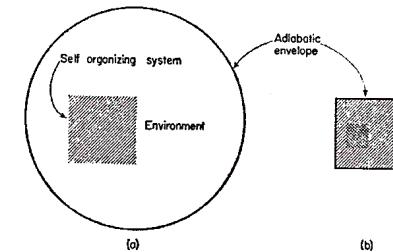


FIGURE 1.

$$\frac{\delta S_s}{\delta t} < 0,$$

otherwise we would not call it a self-organizing system, but just a mechanical $\delta S/\delta t = 0$, or a thermodynamical $\delta S/\delta t > 0$ system. In order to accomplish this, the entropy in the remaining part of our finite universe, i.e. the entropy in the environment must have increased

$$\frac{\delta S_E}{\delta t} > 0,$$

otherwise the Second Law of Thermodynamics is violated. If now some of the processes which contributed to the decrease of entropy of the system are irreversible we will find the entropy of the universe U_0 at a higher level than before our system started to organize itself, hence the state of the universe will be more disorganized than before $\delta S_U/\delta t > 0$, in other words, the activity of the system was a disorganizing one, and we may justly call such a system a “disorganizing system.”

However, it may be argued that it is unfair to the system to make it responsible for changes in the whole universe and that this apparent inconsistency came about by not only paying attention to the system proper but also including into the consideration the environment of the system. By drawing too large an adiabatic envelope one may include processes not at all relevant to this argument. All right then, let us have the adiabatic envelope coincide with the closed surface which previously separated the system from its environment (Fig. 1b). This step will not only invalidate the above argument, but will also enable me to show that if one assumes that this envelope contains the self-organizing system proper, this system turns out to be not only just a disorganizing system but even a self-disorganizing system.

Von Foerster's rhetorical paradox underlines the following point: “the term ‘self-organizing system’ . . . becomes meaningless, unless the system is in close contact with an environment, *which possesses available energy and order*, and with which our system is in a state of perpetual interaction, such that it somehow manages to ‘live’ on the expenses of this environment.”

Takeaways from “On Self-Organizing Systems and their Environments”:

- The importance of distinguishing between thermodynamic and informatic notions of entropy. (See next slide.)
- Distinctions are implicitly inclusive of what they exclude: the system/environment relation is also one of mutual implication.
- No system description is adequate without some account of *its* environment.

Sidebar.

Thermodynamic vs. Informatic Entropy

—cf. Bateson,
“Cybernetic Explanation”:

“Evidently, the nature of ‘meaning,’ pattern, redundancy, information and the like, depends on where we sit. . . .”

—from Bruce Clarke,
“Information,” in
*Critical Terms for
Media Studies*. Eds.
W. J. T. Mitchell and
Mark B. N. Hansen.
University of Chicago
Press, 2010.

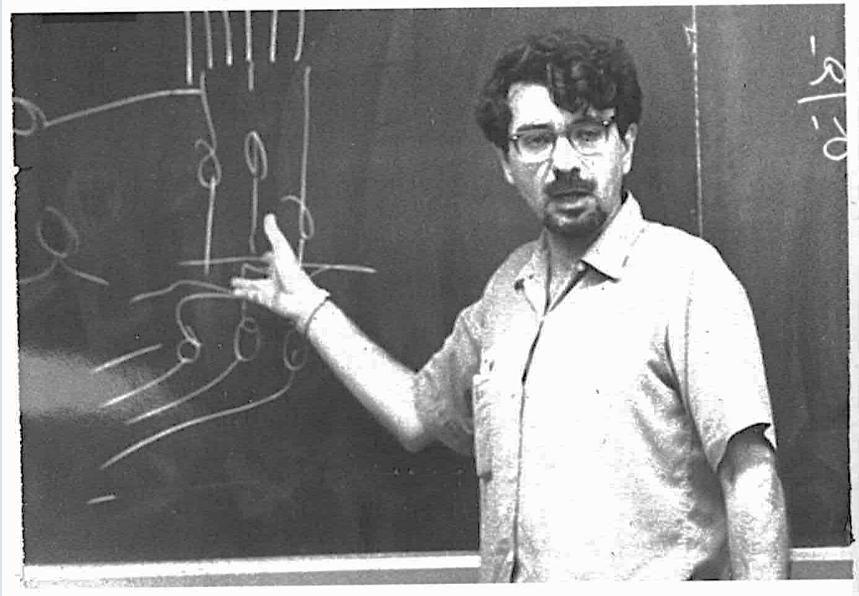
Information theory translates the ratios of improbable order to probable disorder in physical systems into a distinction between signal and noise, or “useful” and “waste” information, in communication systems. In the development of this transposition, information, or “message-entropy,” becomes a variably complex measure of message-probabilities, a measure *dependent upon the position of the observer of the communication system*. The observer can, for instance, assess the value of a message at its source by increase of order, or at its destination by decrease of disorder.

To summarize: In physical systems doing work by converting energy from one form to another, the *thermodynamic* entropy of the system is the amount of energy unavailable for further work, or “wasted,” usually in the form of heat. In communication systems, the *informatic* entropy of the message is a measure of message-probabilities relative to one of several vantage points:

- at the *source*, where one observes the ratio of *actual* selections to *possible* selections;
- in the *channel*, considering the ratio of *signal* (“useful information”) to *noise* (“waste information”); or
- at the *destination*, based on the ratio of *surprise* (improbability) to *expectation* (probability).

Let's come back one more time to Maturana. As we saw in approaching autopoiesis, his ties to the Cybernetic Countercultures network were not through Stewart Brand's offices but by way of the BCL. In an interview conducted in 1998, Maturana underscored the biology of cognition as the central concern of his own research carried forward at the BCL. He was asked what he may have contributed to von Foerster's thinking:

FIGURE 1-8 Humberto Maturana, Lecturing at the BCL 1969



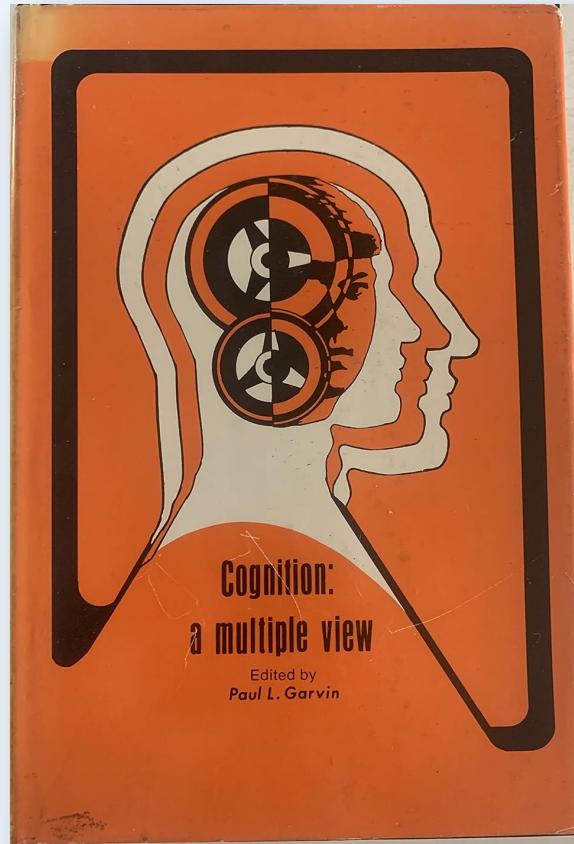
"What I think that Heinz may say is, that I came in a moment to the BCL in which my way of facing the questions about cognition in the domain of biology made a difference: introducing the observer as an active participant in the generation of understanding and in the process of explaining the observer. That was my concern: explaining the observer, not merely claiming, the observer is there, but explaining it . . ."

—Maturana goes on to recollect what he took to be a watershed moment in his interactions with the BCL, crossing a conceptual threshold from an earlier control-theoretical informational cybernetics to the cognitive reformation von Foerster called second-order cybernetics, spearheaded here by a recursive theory of biological form:

“When I came back in 1968 for a longer time . . . I put my emphasis on circularity, on the observer participating, on the distinction by an observer. . . . [Von Foerster] was still speaking in those days about information and information in the environment. I remember that during one of my first lectures in Illinois I said: ‘**Information does not exist, it is a useless notion in biology... because biological systems do not operate in these terms**, it is a useful notion for design for understanding systems that are very well specified, you may describe relations in these terms but living systems do not operate in those terms.’”

At that moment in the late 1960s, Maturana's biology of cognition helped to drive the formation of an organic cybernetics discontented with models borrowed from information theory that treated cognition representationally, as if it conformed to flow charts of telephonic apparatuses. Neocybernetics at the BCL reformulated the operation of cognition, in line with the biological organism itself, as a continuous construction, and as such, as a kind of open-ended organic computation.

Von Foerster's own cognitive turn toward epistemological constructivism reached full statement and maximum compression in the final remarks of his paper "Thoughts and Notes on Cognition," first published immediately following Maturana's "Neurophysiology of Cognition" (1970) in the volume *Cognition: A Multiple View* (1970).



Information Theory Upside Down, von Foerster-style.

In “Thoughts and Notes on Cognition,” von Foerster directly rejected his prior, representationalist formulation—the one Maturana recalled in his interview regarding “information in the environment”—and revoked the ontological credentials of the information concept. Now information is no longer the freestanding transmitted input to a receiving apparatus – such as the sensory receptors of a nervous system or whatever – but an output or behavior internally generated by the neurological looping of cognitive processes.

Von Foerster’s concluding statements in this paper may be examples of what Varela later termed his gift for expressing deep ideas in “substantious nutshells”:

Cognitive processes create descriptions of, that is, information about, the environment.

The environment contains no information. The environment is as it is.

BC] That is to say, information is *not* the cause for which cognition is the effect, but quite the reverse: cognitive function is the biological-systemic condition for the possibility of describing the environment in the mode of information.

Some key points

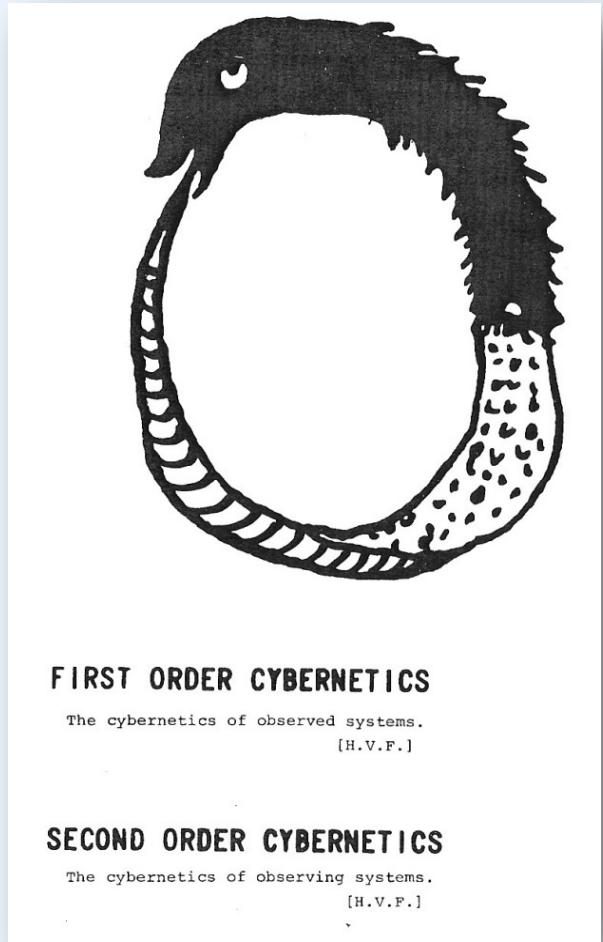
- Neocybernetics' epistemological constructivism is based on the recognition of cognition's biological contingencies.
- In these early stirrings of neocybernetic formulations, information no longer exists *as such*, but is always the outcome of a prior cognitive process—an organic computation.
- Thus, “information” becomes the system-internal outcome of a cognitive loop, which process may then go on in a stable fashion to *attribute* its construction to a source in its environment.
- Sensory and semiotic correlations may then strengthen the stability of that cognitive formulation.

—from Self-Organization to Second-Order Cybernetics:

Summing up some more: Written a decade before the self-referential or neocybernetic turn in his own work, "On Self-Organizing Systems and Their Environments" still resides in the milieu of first-order cybernetics. It is still large with the heuristic extension of Shannon's information theory as a relay between energy and information; physics and biology; thermodynamical, living, and computational systems.

For all that, this article prefigures von Foerster's later papers' epistemological turn toward matters of cognitive recursion, in synch with the simultaneous emergence of the concept of biological autopoiesis in the early '70s. As we saw the other week, von Foerster was literally the institutional midwife for that scientific and discursive event.

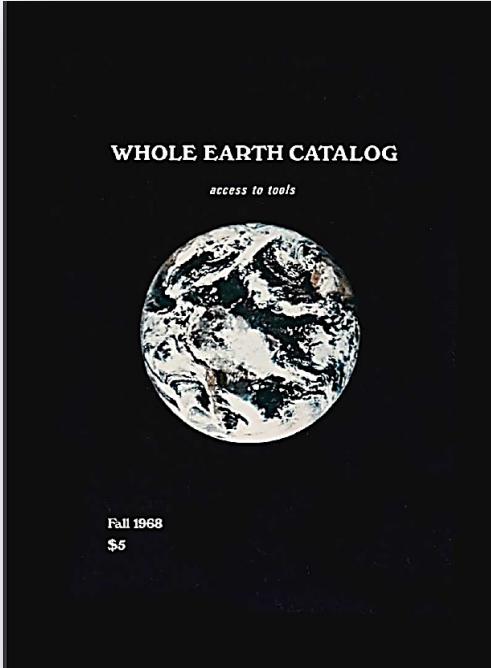
Von Foerster's later writings on "the cybernetics of cybernetics" take on the project of cybernetic discourse's taking itself as its own object, giving an account of itself. This is the "second-order turn" at the end of the '60s: Matters of circular form and operation can now cross between philosophical and literary treatment (think *postmodernism*) and scientific discussion. Mental capacities for *reflexivity* (*selfconsciousness*) are no longer a mark of human exceptionalism but a particular case of systemic *recursion*.



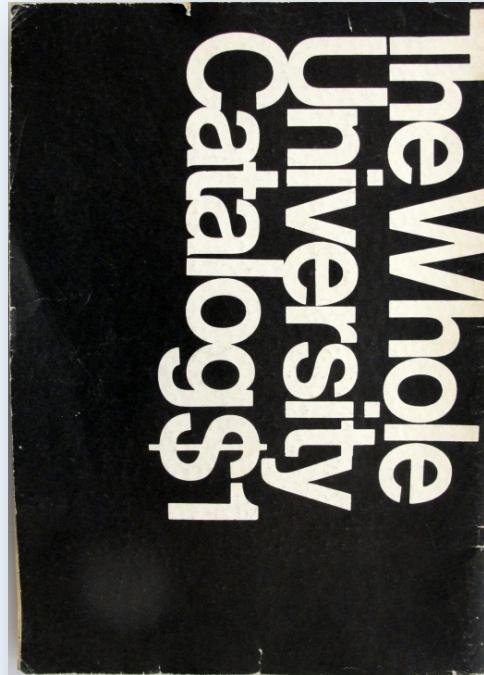
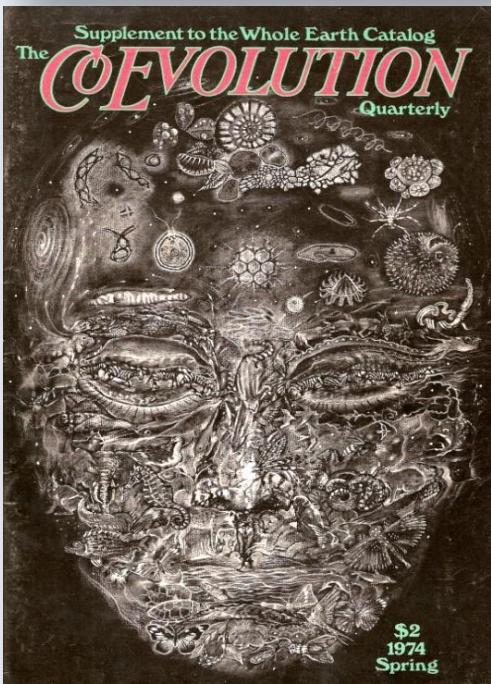
In the early 1970s, at the BCL and on the West Coast, the radical gesture of this inversion of cognitive attitude, a stark departure from the truisms of objectivism, was a non-stop ticket departing the scientific mainstream for the Cybernetic Countercultures.

With the launch of
the *Whole Earth
Catalog* and its
uptake at the
Biological
Computer Lab, the
Cybernetic
Countercultures
have now arrived.

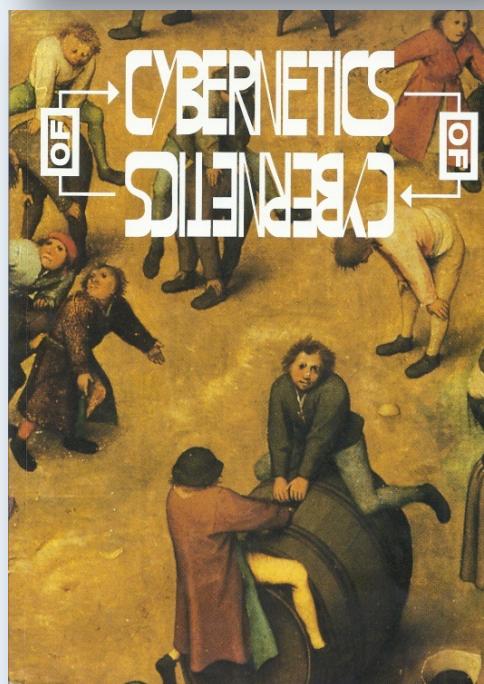
1968



1974



BCL 1969

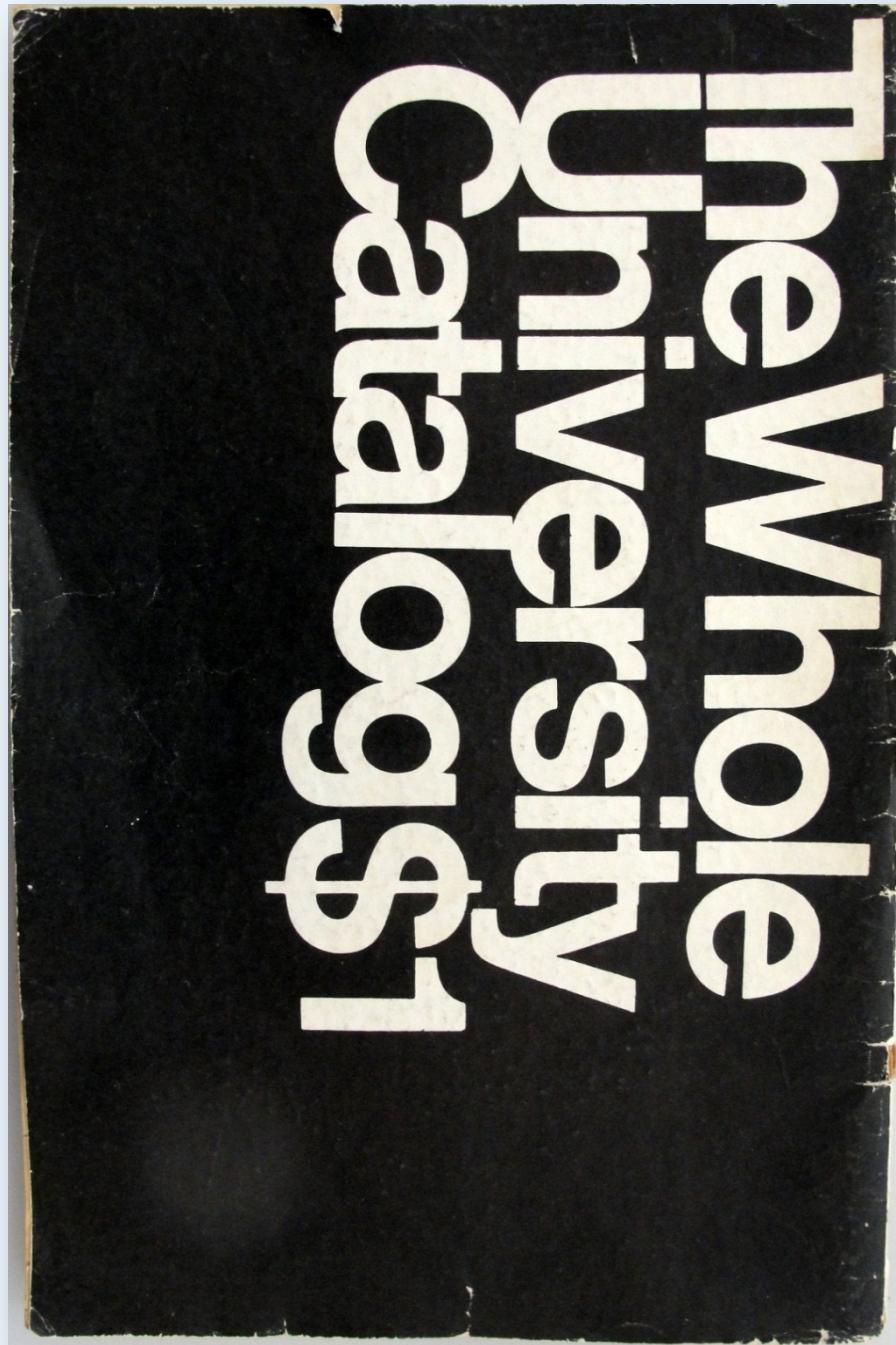


BCL 1974

The *Whole University Catalog* was a class project in the third semester of von Foerster's course in "Heuristics" at the University of Illinois, co-taught by von Foerster and Herbert Brün in Fall-Spring 1968-69 and led by von Foerster alone in Fall 1969.

Parents' displeasure at the *Whole University Catalog*'s edgy student-driven political content got von Foerster in some hot water with the university administration and the Illinois state legislature, which hauled him in to testify in his defense.

Like its West Coast model, the *WUC* also had multiple reviews of cybernetic texts, a section of its own dedicated to understanding whole systems.



MORATORIUM ON



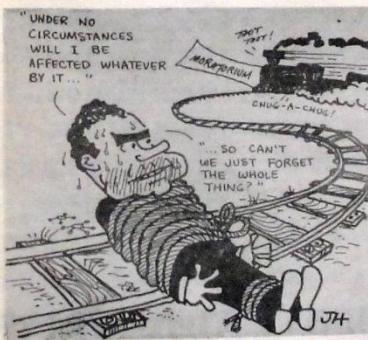
On October 6, 1969, the Faculty Senate, in an unprecedented and begrudging move, came out in support of the October Moratorium against the war in Vietnam. Students and faculty were given the option of participating in a Moratorium Day program during a designated half hour period. That was not quite enough for most students at the University of Illinois, for on October 15, thousands remained out of their classes to demonstrate their opposition to the policies of the present administration. Like millions of others around the country, they sent telegrams, participated in teach-ins, read the names of the war dead, listened to speakers, creamed the com, canvassed the community, and marched..... marched in the nine thousands, in the name of themselves, in the name of the 44,000 Americans and many more Vietnamese who could not speak out on this day of protest.

6



October 15th was also a day of unity, as well as a day which polarized the political climate in this country. The participants in the Moratorium represented a unity that was new to this country, and its "generation gap". Housewives and children, students and oldsters, and even businessmen and professionals ceased business as usual, and took to the streets to visually register their protest against American involvement in Vietnam. In its way the administration promoted more polarization, in an already divided America, by declaring that policy would not be dictated from the streets, and engaging in other inanities by calling the demonstrators impudent snobs. Instead of trying to "bring us together," the President clearly tried to isolate the anti-War Movement from the rest of the country through his great declarations to the "silent majority." In spite of Washington's unyielding stance, work began for the month of November, the National Mobilization, and the months thereafter; for the sentiment is for peace.....and PEACE NOW.

ALL BUT PEACE



Claiming that demonstrations would have no effect on his policies, the President called for a Moratorium on criticism, and got a moratorium.....but of a different sort.



The centerfold
of the *Whole
University
Catalog*,
suitable for
hanging on
dorm walls.
Cut on the
dotted line.



United Press International

**URGES LEGALIZING MARIJUANA: Dr. Margaret Mead
testifying before Senate panel on drug prices yesterday.**

33





Meanwhile, in another place, heuristics of a different order . . .

Dr. Bruno slicked back in his black leather jacket on stage with Sha-na-na at the Woodstock Festival, early Monday morning, August 18, 1969