is an implicit assumption that the reader is an anthropologist, or at least a graduate student who would presumably benefit most from such experiences, and has read all the formal, organized, substantive publications to which heretofore unpublished incidents and personal reactions relate.

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The Politics of Joy

The Greening of America. CHARLES A. REICH. Random House, New York, 1970. xii, 400 pp. $7.95.

Charles A. Reich has written a manifesto for the lumpenbourgeoisie, a call to bloodless revolution through the politics of joy. The author, who is a professor of law at Yale, is true to the adversary tradition. *The Greening of America* is essentially an *amicus curiae* brief filed in behalf of the affluent young against the "American corporate state," the "relentlessly single-minded" complex of key governmental, business, educational, and voluntary institutions which is dedicated to one value: "technology-organization-efficiency-growth-progress." Reich has advised his clients that the accused, despite his blush of health, is now quite mad, no longer able to function, and is indeed in the terminal stages of a malignant disease. The plaintiffs need do no more than spend their days with good companions, their voices raised in song and laughter, while they serenely await victory by default.

Reich is nothing if not eclectic. He has recruited corroborative witnesses from every sector of dissident radical, liberal, or humanist thought. He shares the orthodox Marxist view that free enterprise is a euphemism for monopoly, that formal equality is a mask for economic privilege, that the few exploit the many, and that even the prosperous worker is reduced to the level of a commodity. His theory of politics is virtually a paraphrase of C. Wright Mills: all the key institutions in society are dominated by a national power elite. Nor is Reich the first man to deplore the Indochina war or to detect serious flaws in our system of distributive justice, restrictions on civil rights, the manipulation of taste and opinion by the communications media, or decline in civilized amenities. His abhorrence of "plastics" as substance and symbol is widely shared in the faculty club. He does seem to have a particularly strong animus against Disneyland and Jumbo Jets and a near-obsessive repugnance toward homogenized peanut butter, but aside from these crotchets Reich's diagnoses of current pathologies are derivative.

The novel feature of Reich's analysis is a thoroughly revisionist theory of revolutionary strategy. The customary radical perspective on revolution has assumed that some "oppressed" groups are, by virtue of their particular aspirations and social characteristics, peculiarly fit to serve as instruments of our common salvation. The most sophisticated theories are not content to impute superior virtue or benevolence to a class of destiny; they appeal instead to an accidental convergence of their self-interest with the necessary conditions for the emancipation of all mankind. Thus, for example, it has been argued that in seeking relief from its misery the proletariat is irresistibly driven to create a socialist commonwealth of brotherhood and abundance; that in striving for equality blacks inevitably move the entire society to a higher level of moral sensibility; and that in insisting on more flexible definitions of sex roles women inescapably also benefit men.

Reich has cast the prophetic young as history's darlings despite the fact that they do not satisfy the conventional standards of eligibility defined by the Western radical tradition. Members of a revolutionary stratum should have a sense of collective identity, experience severe deprivation, perceive themselves as victims of an identifiable enemy, command the stamina to engage in protracted struggle, maintain confidence in their ultimate victory, and possess the will and the ability to organize the new order. Lacking any of these characteristics even the most sullen and embittered groups pose no genuine threat to the status quo. For these reasons Marxists, for example, have never sought to mobilize the "lumpenproletariat" as revolutionary allies. They have regarded the permanently unemployed, petty criminals, hoboes, and tramps as too degraded, depraved, and demoralized to convert discontent into effective protest.

Radical theorists have typically also belittled the lumpenbourgeoisie as a significant social force. Unfettered spirits, café intellectuals, dabblers in the arts, dealers in Utopia, sexual adventurers, and aging adolescents cast as Young Werther have been the despair of every serious leftist movement. Reich's heresy lies in his endowing the spiritual heirs of yesterday's bohemians and beatniks with messianic powers.

He comes to this faith out of the conviction that the profound crisis in the American corporate state is a surface manifestation of a deranged "consciousness," an archetypal world-view that is shared by capitalists as well as workers, blacks as well as whites, victims as well as their oppressors. The traditional left is thus misguided when it mistakes the nominal transfer of power for a revolutionary act. American society is the legatee of two stages of consciousness—one developed during the period of 19th-century industrial development, and the second during the New Deal era—which together comprise a *Weltanschauung* that is antagonistic to life.

Consciousness I is recognizable in such familiar rubrics as "the Puritan ethic," "rugged individualism," and "social Darwinism." It is the internalized creed of "farmers, owners of small businesses, immigrants who retain their sense of a nationality, AMA-type doctors, many members of Congress, gangsters, Republicans, and 'just plain folks.' In the second half of the twentieth century the beliefs of Consciousness I are drastically at variance with reality."

Reich is not really very much exercised about Consciousness I. Like an agnostic more scornful of the Unitarian than of the fundamentalist, he reserves his full fury for the votaries of Consciousness II: "businessmen (new type), liberal intellectuals, the educated professionals and technicians, middle-class suburbanites, labor union leaders, Gene McCarthy supporters, blue-collar workers with newly purchased homes, old-line leftists, and members of the Communist Party USA. Classic examples of Consciousness II are the Kennedys and the editorial page of The New York *Times*. It is the consciousness of 'liberalism,' the consciousness largely appealed to by the Democratic Party, the consciousness of 'reform.'"

The Consciousness II man believes in science, rationality, technology, administration, planning, organization, the welfare state, and meritocracy. There is a schizophrenic void between his work and his private life. Except among family and selected friends he is constrained by the norms to conceal his emotions, deny his yearnings for openness, spontaneity, and play.

A man in the thrall of either Consciousness I or II has sacrificed much that is precious in human existence. Let Reich count the ways. Among other things he has lost the joy of adventure in travel, sex, nature, physical activity, morality, bravery, worship, magic and mystery, awe, wonder and reverence, fear, dread, awareness of death, spontaneity, romance, dance, play, ceremony and ritual, performing for others, creativity, imagination, mind-expanding drugs, wholeness, sensuality, transcendence, myth-making, bare feet, being vulnerable to people, affection, community, solidarity, brotherhood, and liberation.

If the ultimate villain, then, is the larger consciousness, the task of revolution cannot be achieved by direct assault on the institutions of the corporate state. If it is to succeed it can do nothing less than do combat with the most fundamental premises which sustain industrial society, but it can proceed with the absolute confidence that success is inevitable. To paraphrase a famous passage, all preceding levels of consciousness have unwittingly conspired to create their own gravediggers. The irony of industrial capitalism is that it has created an affluent generation of educated youth which can afford the luxury of the collective existential crisis that gives birth to Consciousness III.

The foundation of Consciousness III is "liberation." It begins with a sense of self and rejects meritocracy, invidious distinctions, and rigid social categories. It seeks authentic personal relations based on feeling and a community united by affection; its music is a joyous yawp, and it welcomes psychedelic drugs, which heighten sensitivity and create a new awareness of man and nature. The man possessed by Consciousness III is Eros and the life force; he values experience and distrusts science, analytic thought, and linear logic. He knows what he knows effortlessly through his intuitions and his viscera. His life obliterates the line between work and play. He drifts from job to job as the spirit moves him, and he does not place his life in bondage to a career.

When Consciousness III is diffused through the entire society the revolution is complete, for once having glimpsed the promised land who would ever again napalm civilian populations, tolerate poverty, pollute the air, or silence dissent? The revolution requires no violence, nor even direct action. It will be a revolution that will not corrupt the victors, for it will be conceived in love.

The reaction to this thesis will depend on whether it is treated as a vision or as serious analysis. The burden of Reich's message is that American society is beyond redemption, should die and then be resurrected. The Reichian catalog of our present vices is, to our shame, true enough, but we are also a nation in which masses of people live at levels beyond the dreams of their fathers, where dissent is not only tolerated but rewarded, in which political freedom has survived, where an astonishing number of men do reap the benefits of their labor, and where commencement-day pieties, strangely enough, do approximately describe the culture of the academy. At the very least, Reich is presumably prepared to concede that something must be right about child-rearing practices in the United States.

We do not require the Wagnerian overtones of "Consciousness" to recognize that some Puritan values are specifically associated with many of these achievements. Max Weber was not the first to note that deferred gratification, stable life styles, and rationality are useful, perhaps indispensable, concomitants of the acquisition of wealth. Reich has merely reaffirmed the connection and questioned the values, but neither he nor his fellow critics in the "counter-culture movement" have told us what other personal commitments might sustain an industrial society. It is simply irresponsible to devote quite so much space as Reich does to the esthetics of aircraft without inquiring whether they can be built at all unless management and workers are at least to some degree faithful to the tenets of the Protestant ethic. For a man so fond of the existential mode it is odd that Reich has not confronted the ancient dilemma of how to reconcile desirable but incompatible aspirations, in this instance total personal liberation and economic abundance. Bell-bottomed saviors can sustain their ascetic style—nothing very elaborate—two-lane highways, a second-hand car, transistor radio, suede coat—and drop out in the name of revolution not only because an industrial society can spare their labor but because it has contrived to make available a wide range of public resources for common use. If we grant only that machines, numbers, size, and complexity will not vanish and that we shall not return to an agrarian past, then there can be no pure form of Consciousness III either now or in any post-revolutionary Valhalla. Useful social criticism consists of indicating where in the modern industrial state there exist degrees of freedom for the conscious direction of man's fate.

Some Reichian sorrows arise out of the human condition: men are haunted by the Kantian questions "What can I know? What dare I hope? What must I do?" and die before they can learn the answers. Other problems are intrinsic to any industrial society; one suspects that, comes the revolution, Atlantic City will still be too crowded on summer Sundays. Still other problems are generated by specific forms of social, economic, and political organization and require institutional solutions and structural changes. The culture of Consciousness III to the extent that it is used for escape is a classic response to existential anguish, but it is difficult to see its relevance for organizing complex societies or their specifically American version.

The issues that confront us now will not yield to poetry. Every phase of decision-making requires rational planning as well as philosophy. What social goals do we most cherish? What other goals are we willing to sacrifice in order to achieve them? What price are we prepared to pay in scarce resources —money, time, and energy—to achieve our aims? What sectors of the society shall bear the necessary costs of attaining our purposes? What shall be the sequence of successive approximations toward ideal goals? What strategy shall we adopt in stimulating consent to our proposals?

In deciding what we wish to do and how we wish to live we can learn much from the Consciousness III mentality. Most observers of the campus agree that youthful adherents of the counter-culture have much to teach their elders. They best exhibit the qualities of openness, gentleness, and that vaunted idealism about which they repeatedly remind us. At the same time we should not canonize them. The anti-intellectualism which Consciousness III so proudly proclaims has in the past had profoundly reactionary consequences. There is no way of demonstrating the superiority of leftist over rightist intuitions without recourse to reason, logic, and empirical analysis. It is for this reason that the right, which has always understood this point, has traditionally been the enemy

of science: It was after all Alfredo Rocco, said to be Mussolini's favorite philosopher, who defined fascism as "feeling translated into action." American society will be rejuvenated by people who deal with its complexities by summoning every rational as well as moral resource. Every man is entitled to seek his refuge and to find comfort where he may, but he must not confuse retreat with revolution.

In the short run the system may actually be strengthened if the defection of enough upper-middle-class young people creates more room at the top for the sons and daughters of workers and the poor. The American corporate state will not collapse if those who are most offended by its evils desert it for dead. In the long run the nation may be obliged to support a sizable parasitic class which grows larger as it perceives that the self-righteous symbols of revolution are compatible with the behavior of impotent men. If enough pilgrims journey to Walden they will pollute the pond; but no matter, it is not these waters that can green America.

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Hormone Metabolism

Conjugates of Steroid Hormones. HARRY E. HADD and ROBERT T. BLICKENSTAFF. Academic Press, New York, 1969. xviii, 366 pp., illus. $18.50.

It was not so long ago that steroid biochemists and endocrinologists regarded steroid conjugates with great hostility. The reason for this is that efforts to isolate pure steroids were often frustrated by the difficulty of releasing the free steroid from its conjugated forms, which were usually a mixture of glucuronides and sulfates. The "enemy" conjugates were attacked with hot boiling acid to release the steroid, and when this approach was abandoned because much of the steroid was destroyed in the process, they were subjected to incubation with crude hydrolase preparations for days. A further deterrent to working with conjugates was the fact that owing to their greater polarity their purification was far more difficult than was the isolation of the nonpolar steroids. Also, conjugates were universally regarded as detoxication products lacking in biological significance and so became unworthy of serious attention.

Today the situation is completely reversed. Steroid conjugates are accorded lavish affection; there is no compulsion to hydrolyze them, techniques for their isolation and identification have been greatly improved, and their significance is clearly in the realm of metabolic conjugation and not detoxication. This remarkable transition was not made overnight but by dint of the accumulated hard work of a number of pioneers who now, no doubt, are blinking in amazement at the current popularity of steroid conjugates. In this connection, the eyes of S. L. Cohen, E.-E. Baulieu, S. Lieberman, E. Diczfalusy, A. E. Kellie, J. Schneider, and M. F. Jayle bear watching.

The steroid conjugates represent a challenge to the endocrinologist because, first, they can be the primary hormone product of an endocrine gland, for example dehydroisoandrosterone sulfate from the adrenal; second, they can be substrates for specific hydrolases which endow them with a role in the enterohepatic and in the feto-placental circulations; and third, they can be substrates for specific enzymes which transform the steroid moiety into metabolic products which, in turn, are the precursors of important steroid hormones.

Of late, an effort has been initiated to organize this wealth of knowledge. S. Bernstein and S. Solomon have edited a volume on *Chemical and Biological Aspects of Steroid Conjugation* which follows Bernstein, Dusza, and Joseph's compilation *Physical Properties of Steroid Conjugates.* Also, the treatise *Metabolic Conjugation and Metabolic Hydrolysis* edited by Fishman includes discussions of steroid conjugation.

The publication now of Hadd and Blickenstaff's *Conjugates of Steroid Hormones* provides a concise introduction to this field as seen by a single author-pair. The authors have succeeded in writing an interesting book for the investigator who is about to start working with conjugates of steroid hormones and who needs to know where and how to begin. One learns about isolating steroid conjugates from natural sources, separating sulfates from glucuronides, and the advantages and disadvantages of various techniques in the literature. Sulfates of steroid hormones are discussed in a chapter devoted to their enzymic and chemical synthesis, as are the glucuronides in a separate chapter. The treatment of the Koenigs-Knorr synthesis of glucuronides is especially good. Steroid hormone glucosides and phosphates are reviewed before the metabolism of steroid conjugates is discussed. In the appendix, a system of nomenclature is proposed for steroid glucosides which deals specifically with the naming of steroid compounds with more than one glycosidic link.

The authors have compiled useful and complete (to 1968) tables of the various steroid conjugates, numbering over 370, as a mini-laboratory Handbook of Steroid Conjugates. Inasmuch as these tables and others constitute more than half of the book, its ultimate value will be a function of the frequency with which it is consulted for specific information. On this basis alone one can expect it to occupy a position on the shelves of investigators interested in steroids and their conjugates.

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Neural Patterns

The Innervation of the Vertebrate Heart. EDWIN F. HIRSCH, Ed. Thomas, Springfield, Ill., 1970. xiv, 210 pp., illus. $16.50.

There are few anatomists who would deny the morphologic complexity of the intrinsic cardiac innervation and the incomplete state of our information about the subject. There are fewer, however, who would attempt to add to our knowledge by applying the difficult, tedious silver staining and degeneration techniques to the problem. This monograph reports on such efforts and is thus worthy of recognition.

For the past decade, Hirsch and his colleagues have studied the innervation of the heart in a variety of animal forms from fish to man. The approach has been simple and classical. Serial sections of whole hearts or, in the case of larger forms, selected regions of hearts, have been stained with one or more silver reduction methods. The pattern of innervation has thus been laboriously traced from section to section and region to region. In some forms, these same procedures have been done following bilateral vagectomy, bilateral thoracic sympathectomy, and total denervation, some degree of verification of the normal anatomical findings being thus provided. In this specific objective, the work has achieved some success. It has affirmed the common