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spending per pupil in their school districts. A few, notably New Jersey, have limited exclusionary zoning power. But state legislatures, in general, are not likely to be aggressive in enacting such changes. The reason: As a result of the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decisions during the 1960s, requiring that seats be apportioned according to population, suburban representatives are now in the majority in many of these legislatures.

Rush to Judgment

"The Abuse of Science in Public Policy"
by William R. Havender, in *Journal of Contemporary Studies* (Summer 1981),
Transaction Periodicals Consortium,
Dept. 541, Rutgers-The State University,
New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

The Food and Drug Administration's attempts to ban nitrites and saccharin, its successful campaigns against cyclamates and herbicide 2,4,5-T, and the 1980 evacuation (on orders from President Jimmy Carter) of 710 families living near a chemical dump in the Love Canal section of Niagara Falls, N.Y.—all have one thing in common. In each case, writes Havender, a biochemist at the University of California,



In all, 82 chemicals were found seeping from the ground near the Love Canal in Niagara Falls, N.Y. Reports of chronic illness, birth defects, and misshapen chromosomes prompted Washington to declare it a federal emergency area, evacuating families in 1978 and 1980. Yet, from the beginning, scientists questioned their colleagues' data.

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Berkeley, the federal government intervened on the basis of "tentative and uncorroborated" scientific findings that failed to stand up to subsequent scrutiny.

A "guilty until proven innocent" mode of regulation, Havender contends, is the product of a naive faith in science that reached its peak among U.S. academics during the 1960s, filtering "upwards" to bureaucrats, politicians, and the press. The result: some misguided prophylactic legislation, often backed up by overly fastidious regulation, in such areas as job safety, toxic waste, air and water pollution.

Thus, the Delaney Amendment (1958) banned *any* food additive found to cause cancer in *any* animal in a single study, despite scientists' own ingrained wariness and their emphasis on duplicatable results. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration, overwhelmed by its responsibility for evaluating thousands of new chemicals, has drawn up "generic" guidelines that provide answers in advance to thorny questions (for example, should benign as well as malignant tumors be counted in determining carcinogens?) over which scientists heatedly disagree.

The costs of the present system, Havender argues, include the money spent by Washington in making, litigating, and enforcing its decisions; reduced productivity in industry; unemployment. Moreover, excessive regulation has hurt both science and the taxpayer: The heavy expense of developing a new drug (or pesticide) can now be recouped only if the new chemical solves a widespread problem markedly better than anything else does. Small advances and treatments for rare diseases do not pay for themselves and are apt to come less frequently.

It is time to shift the burden of proof, Havender concludes, away from claims built on "gossamer and opportunism" and "back toward proving harm."

The 'Movement' Reconsidered

"The 'Movement' and Its Legacy" by Peter Clecak, in *Social Research* (Autumn 1981), 66 West 12th St., New York, N.Y. 10011.

The so-called "Movement" of the 1960s, a heterogeneous mixture of Left politics and youth "counterculture," failed to live up to the high hopes of its various spokesmen and academic sympathizers. Social inequities were not eliminated, and the core of American values—individualism, competition, the work ethic—survived, shaken but intact. Yet, according to Clecak, a social scientist at the University of California, the legacy of the Movement is "powerful, complex, largely salutary—and probably enduring."

The Old Left began dying in the '40s, a victim of right-wing harassment and ideological exhaustion. Yet even during the prosperity and tranquility of the Eisenhower-Kennedy years, a breed of young college-educated radicals was in the making, inspired as much by beat-