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The Acid Issue

The Acid Issue Anarchy 3

BILL DWYER

A Symposium in Dublin

The public rarely gets the opportunity to attend reasonable discussions on LSD so when a symposium on it was widely advertised in Dublin for May 1970 in the US Embassy I went along looking forward to new information, impartial discourse and an open discussion. I arrived early to observe the large hall filled up with academics, social workers, teachers, priests and drug squad detectives. An American official came on to tell us that the evening was to be dedicated to the subject of "dope". He also advised that some undesirable characters were arriving but they, in the Embassy, knew how to meet the situation. At this stage I noticed personnel who looked like marines line the balconies. Then, representatives of the head community—apparently the "undesirables"—were admitted and shepherded to standing room at the rear of the hall. The American gent again emphasised the evils of "dope" and introduced a Dr. O'Connor from Dublin University (U.C.D.) who spoke learnedly (he was trained in some discipline and held the rank of professor) for about an hour on nothing at all. It was an extremely polite audience (even the heads heard all in silence) even if an hour of the boring doctor

left a fidgety feeling in the hall.

The Americans must have anticipated this to a degree for immediately after Dr. O'Connor's talk they brought on two films, originally designed for Army and Air Force recruits. The most dramatic scene was of a very "straight" young gentleman who had a job in the control tower of an airport. He had taken, months previously, some LSD and as he was bringing an airplane in to land he suffers a "recurrence" of his previous trip. He is "relieved" of his duties before causing an accident. For some reason the films seemed to go down better than the learned doctor.

However, by this stage it became quite obvious that the "symposium" had degenerated into an old-fashioned prayer meeting where the modern devils were to be exorcised. Being offered an opportunity to speak at the end (I wore a suit) I informed the faithful present that after two hundred and fifty trips and extensive observation of others I had never observed any of the terrible casualties imagined by Dr. O'Connor, that the American films seemed in the best tradition of fairy tale deception, that for a learned assembly and the title of "symposium" there seemed to be no knowledge or information although unlimited

ervour and prejudice on the part of the organisers and sponsors.

Since they had had their prayer meeting I thought it as well to advise them that LSD was the greatest gift from nature to mankind in the twentieth century.


The heads applauded, the straights mildly (but completely baffled at the turn of events). After the meeting a young priest told me he would like to try acid and the local head of the drug squad—Sergeant Denis Mullins—came up, enthusiastic at some life being injected into the meeting (this could only happen in Ireland). The sergeant had taken a paternal interest since my deportation—at first he must have been apprehensive lest I flood Ireland with the magic. Spectres of fairy rats and leprechauns dancing in the meadows!

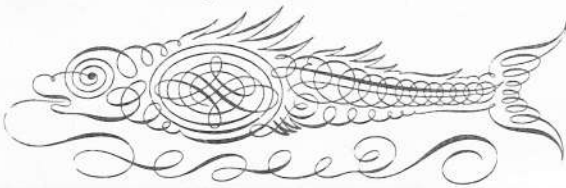
In November 1970, shortly after LSD had been outlawed in Ireland, Dr. Ivor Browne, professor of psychiatry at U.C.D. and chief adviser to the city's psychiatric services, told a public meeting that he had taken LSD on three occasions, with profound influence on his life. "For instance," he said, "I do not think I could ever be seriously interested in making money again." Next day the (political) chairman of the Dublin Mental Health Board called for his immediate dismissal!

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It is only rarely that one can commend a film as a work of art, (which I maintain should be the first function of film), as an example of pure cinematic craft, and as an imaginative creation that captures the interest and imagination from beginning to end. Gillo Pontecorvo's "Battle of Algiers" is such a rarity, and is a film that I can not praise too highly. It confirms a cinematic talent that is skilled, artistically confident, and which handles film with the ease of a natural craftsman. Although to my knowledge Pontecorvo has made only three feature films, (one of which has yet to be shown in this country), his name was first introduced to British audiences in 1961 with his undoubted masterpiece "Kapò". When first shown it received a very lukewarm reception from the critics, and consequently enjoyed only a very brief run in the West End. Subsequently the print was returned to Italy shortly afterwards, and has since been lost both to repertory cinemas and the National Film Archive, who, to their shame, did not consider it worth preserving. If I were pressed to choose just one film from over twenty years of film study, I would unhesitatingly nominate "Kapò" as the greatest film of all time.

It is a pity that none of the critics who have praised "Battle of Algiers" have mentioned Pontecorvo's previous film, because taken together, they represent a remarkable dedicated humanism that is almost extinct from the commercial cinema. The most difficult works of art to bring to birth with any success, are those which deal with the most grotesque realities of life. The appalling facts and figures of the atrocious crimes against humanity in the second world war can overwhelm the imagination, (it is almost as if the imagination refuses to absorb such terrifying statistics as a self-protective measure), and yet, if they can conceivably be presented through artistic metaphor then that purpose must be accomplished through art alone, and in such a way that a microcosm which the mind can grasp serves to crystallise the total enormity of the actual facts. In "Kapò", Pontecorvo set out to make a film that would bring home to audiences the real meaning of the horror and terror of life for concentration camp detainees under the Nazis. It has been tried before, and yet somehow these efforts failed because no matter how sincerely the makers tried, these attempts to fictionalise such harrowing events seemed an affront to those who were forced to endure them, and the reality was so grotesque that any artistic reconstruction seemed to denigrate the reality of the situation.

"Kapò" was in my opinion the sole exception, because instead of stunning the viewer with material that could be collected from newsreels, the whole was conceived in terms of pure fiction, and in tracing the experiences of one Jewish girl and by depicting the sorrow and desolation of one individual, the whole horrific panorama was concentrated into terms to which we could relate and identify, and this artistic metaphor enabled us finally and at last to absorb the whole. By seeing this isolated life we were able to comprehend the exact enormity of the unspeakable horror. It was a rare achievement, and only one that a master craftsman could produce.

Such highly ambitious undertakings are of course liable to misunderstanding and misinterpretation - they demand a degree of sympathy and commitment from the audience too. The British Film Institute's "Monthly Film Bulletin", (a journal noted for its rather hysterical "all or nothing" appraisals of films), described "Kapò" as a "corrupt and superficial tear-jerker", which, for anyone who has seen the film, reveals more about the psychology of the person who wrote that epithet than either the film or its maker. Since "Battle of Algiers" has won several international prizes and has received widespread critical acclaim, this particular film will doubtless receive a kinder reception from them, but if "Kapò" was a "corrupt and superficial tear-jerker", then by the same yardstick, "Battle of Algiers" is no more. Which of course is nonsense. Pontecorvo has relentlessly pursued his basic humanist drives to such an evolved degree of artistic worthiness that both films produce scenes and situations when one has to turn one's eyes from the screen because they are clouded with tears. The present-day super-cool cynicism is detached from brutality because it has never seen any - as Shaw said, those who try hard to have their hearts broken do so because they desperately wonder if they in fact have a heart to break.

Pontecorvo leaves us in no doubt that life has broken his heart. In the final scene of "Kapò" a young Russian soldier stands alone in the grounds of the camp from which all the inmates have fled with terrible loss of life, and all he is capable of doing is to howl an animal cry of bleak despair and agony. Such moments in life are mercifully rare, but there are times when words can not give voice to the intensity of such feelings, and the human soul cries out against the heavens in grief, shock and outrage. "The earth trembles". Such a cry is uttered near the beginning of "Battle of Algiers", and this cry would seem to be the cry of Pontecorvo's own soul - the soul that has seen horrors too unspeakable to describe; the imagination that is numbed into traumatic speechlessness by them; and the intellect that knows they will only be believed if they are played down and described calmly and slowly.

"Battle of Algiers" is a reconstruction of the events of the mid-fifties and the struggle of the Algerian people to rid themselves of French colonial rule. The only "facts" that Pontecorvo uses are the actual historic ones of the time, and from these he has written, (together with Franco Solinas, with whom he wrote the screenplay for "Kapò"), a fictional story that never happened, but which could have happened, and which therefore symbolically did happen. Although others who have written about the film have stated that it looks biased in favour of the FLN, (an opinion no doubt shared by the French authorities who banned the film from French cinemas until quite recently), I can see no such evidence for such opinions. The outrages of both sides are clearly shown, and Pontecorvo's genius lies in his ability to resist such temptations and to let the images speak for themselves. Such a restraint is laudable and bloody honest, and seems to me the only principle to which Pontecorvo's integrity is dedicated. It is the optimistic belief of every humanist that trusts human nature and believes it is bound to recoil from horror and cruelty if presented objectively.

In terms of pure cinema too Pontecorvo displays a remarkable mastery over his medium. The images are often blurred and grainy - full of sharp contrast like much newsreel footage, (although no actual newsreel shots were incorporated), and in one scene the negative has apparently been slightly damaged by water, which, in being left as it is, gives a remarkable touch of authenticity. His crowd scenes are as skillful as Eisenstein's, and his controlled use of music should serve as a blue print for film students. Never once does the music obliterate the message of the image, but when needed, it augments and heightens it. The harrowing scenes of torture are made even more horrific by the Bach-like theme that accompanies them, and we are instantly aware that the same culture that can create this music can also descend to the lowest depths of barbarism to protect itself. Just as we perhaps tolerate the vivisectionist's vile work because we might gain some selfish benefit from it, so the torturers rationalise the end justifying the means. This dilemma of the human condition permeates all of Pontecorvo's works, and he has so much integrity that he will never compromise himself and allow us to see only the one viewpoint we want to see and to accept.

When the FLN decides to plant time bombs in three European rendezvous as reprisal for a French engineered bomb outrage in the Kasbah, he is at pains to show that the people who plant them are ordinary decent people driven to such extremes by their revulsion at such terrorist tactics, but at the same time, he also shows that these places are frequented by everyday French people, (they are not the stereotyped colonials of propaganda fiction), and we see the idealists change roles and become terrorists themselves. As we watch a European child eating his ice-cream, we know that the seconds are ticking away on the fuse, and we can feel, (no matter what the rights and wrongs of the causes might be), the horrific responsibility that is attendant to such acts of destruction and murder. The outrages become the outrages and reprisals lead to more savage reprisals until both sides are caught in that mesh of violence and cruelty that debases and renders futile any ideals or lofty motives that might have originally motivated the protagonists. The French "Paras" are at pains to show that they regard the charge of "fascist" as unfair since many of their officers were members of the French underground and fought the Nazis during the war. When a little Algerian match-seller is almost lynched by incensed Europeans after a bomb exploded at a race course, it is a French gendarme who comes out to his rescue and who begs the mob to come to their senses and realise it is a child that they are venting their rage upon. Such detached sympathy for the human condition, rather than for the jingoistic slogans of any struggle, is so rare in the cinema as to be almost non-existent, and it is precisely this quality and honesty in Pontecorvo's films that I most admire and respect.

For anarchists all nationalistic struggles must have a hollow ring to them. History always shows that such conflicts are merely one elite trying to replace another, and now that the Algerians have gained their "freedom", one wonders when seeing this savage reconstruction if all the heartbreak, all the suffering and all the agony were really for anything. The cynicism of all leaders is only matched by that of anarchists who can see through their motives and empty rhetoric, and we know that it is always the common people who suffer to satisfy their personal lust for power and domination over others. Conditions in Algiers may now indeed be much improved and tolerable, but throughout "Battle of Algiers" Pontecorvo seems to ask the eternal humanist question - to what depths are we prepared to sink in order to achieve our ideals, (and can we indeed still claim to have any when it means murdering children and quite innocent people), and how closely are we prepared to become like those we oppose in order to gain our own ends? Anarchism's main appeal for me lies in its basic honesty in that it is the only "political" system that can not be imposed by a minority onto an unwilling majority, and in refusing all power over others it perhaps slows its own realisation but in doing so it stays true to its ideals. Pontecorvo may or may not be a conscious anarchist, but from the two films he has so far made I think we can at least safely claim him as a soul-brother. Both "Kapò" and "Battle of Algiers" are stunning and profound masterpieces, and Gillo Pontecorvo, now emerged as one of the few true humanists who is now working in the modern cinema, is a talent to really watch and follow. I urge you to see "Battle of Algiers" for yourself, since I cannot praise it enough. D.G.

LSA AND REVOLUTION

1 It has been said that LSD can be a tool for personal liberation or collective revolution. Such a contention is monstrous; as monstrous as the unfounded horror stories handed to and passed on by the press.

2 Because LSD is illegal, and people are persecuted for its use, does that make it revolutionary? The imprisonment of others is without doubt an attack on freedom, but this does not make their illegal act an aid to freedom, whether it be child murder or dropping acid. There is no intention of implying that there is any connection between the individual act of taking LSD and an anti-social act such as killing children.

3 The importance of the illegality of LSD as stressed by its disciples, is notable. One wonders whether the 'revolutionary' significance of this drug, or any illegal act, as suggested by some of its users would survive after it became legal. One recalls the passing of the Homosexual Law Reform Bill which deducted some of the attractive notoriety from homosexuality, and London's Gay community lost many of its members. Conversely, Prohibition in the U.S.A. made hard drinking more attractive, and anti-narcotic laws in France were followed by a sharp increase in the numbers of heroin addicts.

4 LSD users reject the authority that denies them acid, but do not appear to reject authoritarianism. Their supposedly communal life-style, created by their commitment to LSD, seems to be based on the attraction and camaraderie of group paranoia.

5 Not rejecting authoritarianism, enjoying the camaraderie of their illegalism, what would be the revolutionary significance if LSD were to be controlled by its parliamentary legalisation? Brave New World in our time?

6 Is revolution to be concerned with picking up behind everybody, all the time?

7 The stringent laws to be passed shortly are nothing but the new blackmailer's charter. Is the revolution to be concerned with picking up behind everybody, all the time?

8 Some of our comrades claim that acid has 'desirable effects'; that it helps them see things in their true perspective. Surely there is enough evidence now for us to say that whilst tripping one's senses are distorted and audio and visual interpretation of reality suffers.

9 Try to equate the struggle in Northern Ireland to the taking of LSD. Does one need to state what conclusions as to the merit of either as against the other will finally be reached?

10 LSD and revolution? We are not convinced.
LSD and evolution? A contradiction in terms



Chris Broad
Alison Cattell
David Godin
Graham Moss
Roger Willis

D-LYSERGIC ACID DIETHYLAMIDE AS A RECREATIONAL DRUG.

Some of the effects of acid are quite spectacular. One that excited press interest was the "au pair girl murder" of 1967. A French girl resident in London was found battered to death, but not sexually assaulted, although she was wearing only a pyjama top. Some months later a young American admitted to the killing and was found not guilty of murder but guilty of manslaughter, as he had not intended to hurt anyone. They had lovingly taken acid together. He was not bashing his girl friend to death, but frantically defending himself against the fiery serpents of Hell. He has taken acid many times before, but this was his first bad trip.

A brickie's mate, with no previous history of mental illness, took acid on a visit to Soho. He then travelled six miles to Highgate, climbed a church tower, took off his clothes, folded them neatly and jumped, perhaps in the belief that he could fly.

A London musician, also with no history of mental illness, took acid in his attic room, smashed the furniture, light fittings and gas cooker, and jumped through the dormer window.

One could give other instances. There have been many deaths from acid, the greatest number being in America where acid is more widely used.

Instant Psychosis is a more common effect. People go completely and permanently bonkers on their first trip. Mostly they are unstable personalities, such as borderline schizophrenics who get shoved over the edge. Sometimes they appear to have been quite sane.

Spectacular disasters are rare in comparison with the number of trips taken. But let no-one say their occurrence is negligible.

IMPORTANT DAMAGE

Less spectacular but more important is the finding reported in 1969 by M. M. Cohen and others ("Science" 155, page 1417), that quite small quantities of acid damage the chromosomes in the user's body cells. I know of no direct evidence that acid users are prone to cancer or have deformed babies, but these would be the likely effects of chromosome damage.

NON-ADDICTIVE, LIKE TOBACCO

Acid is not an addictive drug. Nor is nicotine. An addictive drug is one which causes physiological changes in the user, such that if he were deprived of the drug he would die.

Nicotine is a non-addictive drug. Everyday we meet cigarette smokers who are 'trying to give them up' but failing, or who make prodigious mental efforts to ignore the incontrovertible evidence that gaspers are lethal, or to convince themselves that the chances at winning at lung cancer roulette are negligible. But to call such people addicts is incorrect. They depend on gaspers not for their lives but only for their peace of mind.

For most purposes, the distinction between addiction and psychic dependence is irrelevant. Millions die young as a result of nicotine dependence. Most addicts (in the correct sense) were dependent on their drug before they were addicted to it. You can be dependent on any drug, including acid.

The special danger of acid is that it is anti-addictive. After a few days' continuous use its effects vanish, and cannot be re-established even by massive doses, without a few days' lay-off. Psychic dependence on a drug means using it to relieve anxiety. If you are dependent on acid, you are liable to find that it cannot bring relief when you need it.

People who kill themselves experimenting with mixtures of speed and sleepers, random handfuls from medicine cupboards, and so on, are often acid users. Some at least of them die in the frenzied search for what acid has failed to supply.

WORLDS IN THE HEAD

The protagonists of acid say that it "reveals" a world inside your head as marvellous as the world outside. But of course there is nothing inside your head except your brain, a wondrously complex organ which functions, by trillions of delicate chemical exchanges, to keep the organism in harmony with the rest of the real world.

Dreams occur when the brain operates during sleep, probably to clear itself of breakdown products and waste material accumulated during wakeful activity. When we wake, we remember these excretory operations as more or less cockeyed, disjointed sensations, resembling sensory perceptions and emotions, and quite beyond our control. These sensations are not necessarily pleasant.

When the delicate chemistry of the brain is upset, as in long deprivation of sleep, or delirium, or schizophrenia, or acid trips, uncontrollable dream perceptions happen at the same time as emotions appropriate to outside events, and the patient cannot easily tell which is which.

I understand that psychiatrists have taken acid as a means of acquiring a certain empathy with the sufferings of schizophrenics, much as a person having care of the blind might blindfold himself for a couple of days. I doubt if this practice continues, now the effect of acid on chromosomes is known.

MISCELLANEOUS PIFFLE

The protagonists of acid have other good arguments as well. Timothy Leary and his co-workers (when he was still a university man) treated a group of recidivist convicts with acid, and after their release helped them with jobs and accommodation. There was a control group who didn't get acid and didn't get the aftercare either. Surprise, surprise, the treatment group went back to the nick less frequently than the control group.

Acid was successful in the treatment of alcohol addiction, as long as it was administered by enthusiasts who took enormous interest in the patients. As a routine treatment it failed. This is often the case with new psychiatric ideas.

Acid gives you freedom which nobody can deny.

Light gives you freedom from darkness. Darkness gives you freedom from light. Sorrow gives you freedom from joy. Celibacy gives you freedom from sex. Blind obedience gives you freedom from responsibility. Everything gives you freedom, and if you don't specify from what, your words have freedom from meaning.

Anarchists want freedom from coercion, freedom from institutions which compel obedience, freedom from imposed limits on the scope of individuals, freedom from government. Acid gives you freedom from the ability to control your thoughts, freedom from common sense.

Anarchism and acid have nothing in common. I do not say that they are mutually exclusive, only that they are mutually irrelevant, like anarchism and ingrowing toenails.

SOME SUGGESTIONS

Whether you should try acid depends on what you want out of life.

Want an exhilarating new experience? Go down hill on a bicycle.

Want to think new thoughts? Read a book or two.

Want to escape reality for a bit? Daydream for a bit.

Want a new perspective on the external world? Buy a magnifying glass.

Want to feel empathy with schizophrenics? Stay awake for a week.

Want to feel loved? Make yourself loveable and you'll be loved.

Want to be a suicidal nut? Try acid. If that fails, try brake fluid.

Donald Room.

material. Vast confusion was produced in the therapeutic world in 1952 by the suggestion that LSD produced a psychosis experimentally which stimulated the (schizophrenic) psychotic state and the name "psychotomimetic" was born.¹ Technically, this was a breakthrough: it set researchers looking for a biochemical basis of the disorder which, although never found to be LSD, still continues with a number of similar drugs found to be spontaneously present in the bodies of schizophrenics. In spite of the lack of knowledge as to action or dangers, research with these subjects expanded enormously until its almost complete termination in the mid-1960s when the drug came under harsh legal controls.² Evaluation shows therapeutic results no better than previously used psychiatric drugs but with a greater expenditure of the therapists' time.

In other disorders, the putative disinhibiting effects of the drug spurred similar investigations, with similar unencouraging results when viewed overall. These can possibly, in part, be explained. There are many different methods of treatment of mental disorders, each with its solipsistic supporters, and some methods—and therapists—seem more successful in the use of LSD than others. Selection of subjects varies enormously, affecting the success rate in a way which makes comparative study impossible; many, it seems, applies to the selection of therapists; many, it seems, decided to use the drug like an antibiotic which would supposedly effect a cure through regular use rather than use it as an aid to communication in therapy. Savage, who has worked with LSD since 1951, stated: "Lack of acceptance (by the therapist) ... is attributed to lack of understanding of the drug's experience, and factors affecting the experience—misuse, inadequate preparation and support of the subject, too frequent use, improper handling of the patient."³

It does seem that therapists who have carefully tried to assess the effects of the drug are those who have the greatest faith in it and therefore, perhaps, the most success. Savage has consistently reported high success rates in the region of 80%, but cases like this are by no means uncommon in the field of psychology and are often traced back to no more than the enthusiasm or personality of the therapist.

Much of the work centres on alcoholism. The theory is often doubtful, occasionally horrifying (subjects are given three or four times the usual 250 microgram dose to produce a massive transcendental—confusional?—experience intended to change the old way of life and indicate a new one) but the practice is encouraging from the point of view of cure. The subjects frequently chosen for this type of study are ones who resist other methods of treatment, and success rates of 50% after five years are found. This compares very well with the 4-10% of most other methods of treatment, with the possible exception of Alcoholics Anonymous. But how much are these results due to the drug?

A few provocative studies relating to placebo reactions have been published. A placebo should be part of a controlled trial and is usually an inert substance, such as tap water, given to the subject by the same route as the drug in question and without his knowledge of its nature; the reaction is a very complex one, depending partly on suggestibility, personality and expectation of effects. One girl has been reported to have become paralysed in both legs after administration of a placebo. Abramson, in 1955, tested 33 subjects with a tap water placebo given as LSD. He obtained varying results, with some response on an LSD questionnaire as high as 15 items out of 47. Abramson reported:

"I have also seen rather violent reactions when tap water was administered. One subject became upset from a morning dose of water that I had been with him until eleven o'clock that night, and was upset for a week thereafter."⁴
In 1965, Reed and Witt tested two subjects, A and B, twice. First, A was given LSD and B a placebo. Both A and B reported visionary experiences.

Anachoresis or Bust by D.A.P. Blackburn

THERE SEEM TO BE two distinct areas of LSD use: where it is given to a supposedly abnormal personality in a psychotherapeutic setting, and where the normal personality chooses (for any of a number of reasons) to drug himself. Between these two is the no-man's land of pure research where the drug is administered to animals, human or otherwise, purely to assess effects. It is suggested that, to a large degree, the much publicised effects of this drug are illusory and that this contributes greatly to the controversy, woolly thinking and unreasoning thinking that now exists.

THE ABNORMAL PERSONALITY

For reasons which are either statistical or social, or both, a surprisingly large proportion of the English population is classified as mentally disordered and assigned for treatment based on the local mental hospital. The tradition in this country is for all responsibility to be surrendered to the therapist who probably then selects some chemical to speed recovery. The first anecdote of LSD effects, Hofmann's report of confusion and possible hallucination, took four years to make an impact on the psychotherapeutic world. Early work with schizophrenics suggested that the drug disturbed repressive mechanisms, thereby increasing accessibility, amiability and the release of delusional

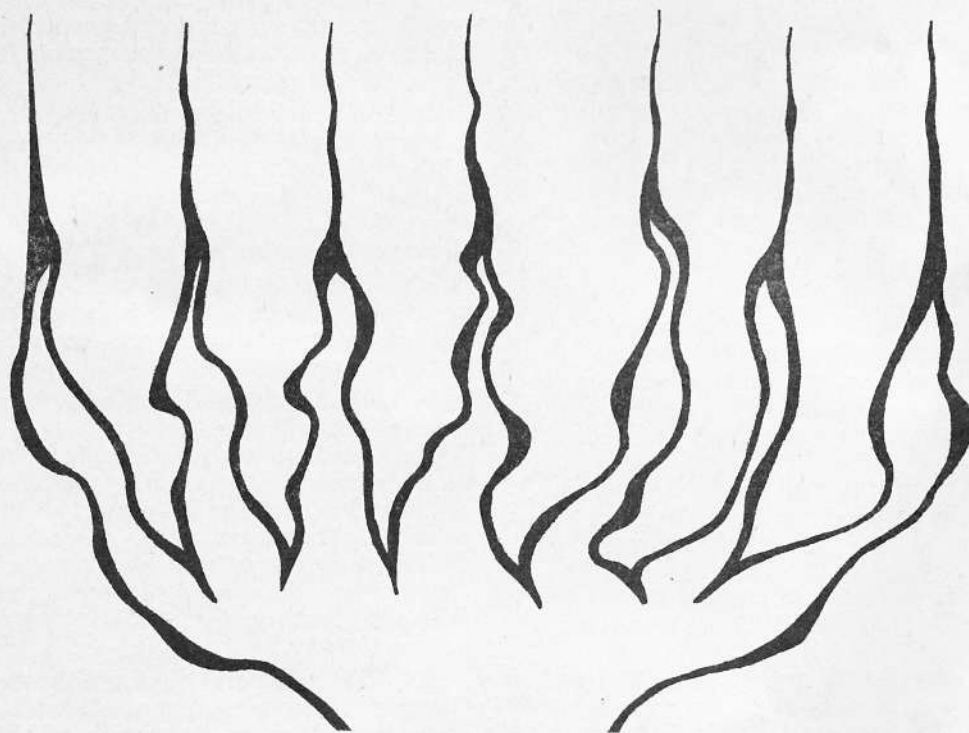


"Those who have built an intolerable society have little justification for censoring those who wish to escape it, by the only means open to them."
Tom Davenport, House of Commons, July 28, 1967.

Continued on page 29

FEED THE HEAD

LSD — the Magic Acid



READERS MAY ASK of what relevance to freedom is d-lysergic acid diethylamide (usually abbreviated to LSD). The four main reasons which appear valid to me are:

1. People who honestly believe in it are being persecuted and imprisoned for using and advocating it.

2. The individual should be free to use whatever substance he elects. Dr. Albert Hofmann, the Swiss chemist who first synthesised it from a rye fungus known as ergot in 1938 and became the first person to go on a "trip" in 1943 when he accidentally absorbed some of it, makes the point: *"There are no forces in the universe that are bad in themselves. It is always up to man whether he will make good or bad use of them."*

3. The nature of LSD itself as a truth drug and a personality awakener in a civilisation where absence of sensitivity and concern for others is a marked characteristic.

4. In the society we are living—the legal and sanctioned drugs for relaxation and pleasure are alcohol and nicotine. But within it there has emerged a sub-culture which disputes the values of the establishment and uses the hallucinogenic drugs, principally cannabis (which includes both marijuana and hashish) and LSD. This sub-culture should be of interest to all who love liberty because the two primary fundamentals of a free society—

A. REJECTION OF AUTHORITY

B. ESPOUSAL OF A SOCIETY ORGANISED WITHOUT AUTHORITY

correspond to two of the central themes of the hippy culture, viz. rejection of the materialistic rat race and the world of "straights" (i.e. conformists) and, secondly, the desire for a society of mutual aid with strong communal tendencies.

This article is divided under the following headings:

1. **THE OPPONENTS AND CASE AGAINST LSD**
2. **THE EFFECTS**
3. **A NEW SOCIETY**
4. **SELF-DISCOVERY, TRUTH, MYSTICISM**
5. **TRIPPING GUIDE**

and two separated studies:

THE CELLAR EXPERIMENT
A SYMPOSIUM IN DUBLIN.

1. THE OPPONENTS AND CASE AGAINST LSD

Why Drugs?

One quite common argument against the use of drugs is that enjoyment of life is eminently satisfactory without them. One may dismiss a large percentage of these people as hypocrites because quite often—as I have experienced in my public discussions on the matter—the objector is totting a cigarette while speaking or resorts to the public house at night. Because his drugs are legal he does not consider them drugs at all and would vehemently deny that he is a drug taker. No doubt the millions in India who smoke ganja (a form of marijuana) regard the alcohol consumer in the same light. The reasons are identical and are to be found in the social conditioning of the respective parties and the fact that their particular drugs have won social acceptance.

A far more forthright and honest case is put by those who actually abstain from drugs altogether. These are to be found in the ranks of the Salvation Army and various puritanical sects. Their numbers are relatively tiny and if they care to abstain more power to their elbows—as long as they don't try to enforce their views on others.

The general case for the use of drugs is based on cultural enrichment, i.e. they make life more enjoyable and at least on special occasions—from the marriage feast at Cana to a christening today—heighten the feeling of good spirits and community.

The practical issue, then, is what drugs one should use and were it not for government this would be a matter of personal choice. Aldous Huxley, in *The Doors of Perception*, contrasts the raucous behaviour, the vomiting, the violence and often sorry hangover of the alcohol party with the quiet meditation, the peaceful social intercourse, the civilised appreciation of music, colours and beauty, the absence of any malignant after-effects of the psychedelic scene. I think any of us who have had the opportunity of observing both cultures would heartily endorse this viewpoint.

The Law and the Police

All the hallucinogenic drugs are outlawed. Heads are dragged from their homes, beaten up by the police, subjected to all sorts of humiliations and are liable to suffer barbaric prison sentences. Furthermore the police are empowered to search anyone on the streets, enter their homes without warrants and virtually tear the place to smithereens. Traditional rights, such as they are, are suspended in a ruthless campaign that amounts to a state of emergency. Why?

The most obvious reason for official attitudes is part of the ignorance shared by the general public. Place this bias in the minds of ruthless law enforcers and something close to a civil persecution ensues. One of the principal producers of the present situation is Harry J. Anslinger, for many years chief of the United States Federal Bureau of Narcotics. In 1961 he co-authored a book entitled *The Murderers* in which he wrote:

"By 1937 . . . I told the story of this evil weed of the fields and river beds and roadsides . . . our agents gave hundreds of lectures to parents, educators, social and civic leaders. In network broadcasts I reported on the growing list of crimes, including murder and rape. I described the nature of marijuana. I believe we did a thorough job, for the public was alerted, and the laws to protect them were passed, both nationally and at the state level."

In 1938 he issued an official report on behalf of the "Government of the USA" in which he stated:

"The Narcotics Section recognizes the great danger of marijuana due to its definite impairment of the mentality and the fact that its continuous use leads direct to the insane asylum."

While public ignorance is readily understandable the position of the authorities is by no means so easily justified when one considers the published opinions to the contrary.

In 1894 the British East India Hemp Commission included the following:

"In regards to the physical effects, the Commission have come to the conclusion that the moderate use of hemp drugs is practically attended by no evil results at all. . . . In respect to the alleged mental effects of the drugs, the Commission have come to the conclusion that the moderate use of hemp drugs produces no injurious effects on the mind . . . produces no moral injury whatever."

In 1925 a report of the Panama Canal Zone Governor's Committee appeared in *The Military Surgeon*, Journal of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States, published in November 1933. From page 274:

"After an investigation extending from April 1 to December 1925, the Committee reached the following conclusions: There is no evidence that marijuana as grown here is a 'habit-forming' drug in the sense in which the term is applied to alcohol, opium, cocaine, etc., or that it has any appreciably deleterious influence on the individual using it."

Finally, from the English Journal of Medicine, *The Lancet*, an editorial published on November 9, 1963:

" . . . the question was raised whether the marijuana problem might be abolished by removing the substance from the list of dangerous drugs . . . giving it the same social status as alcohol. . . . This suggestion is worth considering. Besides the undoubted attraction of reducing, for once, the number of crimes that a member of our society can commit, and of allowing the wider spread of something that can give pleasure . . . additional gains might be the reduction of interracial tension, as well as that between generations; for 'pot' spread from South America to Britain via the United States and the West Indies. Here it has been taken up by

the younger members of society in which alcohol is the inheritance of the more elderly."

Unfortunately for freedom of choice the Anslinger line has endured up to the present day.

The Medical Evidence

Let us now consider the main medical objections:—

- (i) **It induces psychosis.**
- (ii) **It may produce chromosome damage.**
- (iii) **People have committed suicide under its influence.**
- (iv) **Children can suffer brain damage from its use.**
- (v) **Case histories from the wards of mental hospitals.**

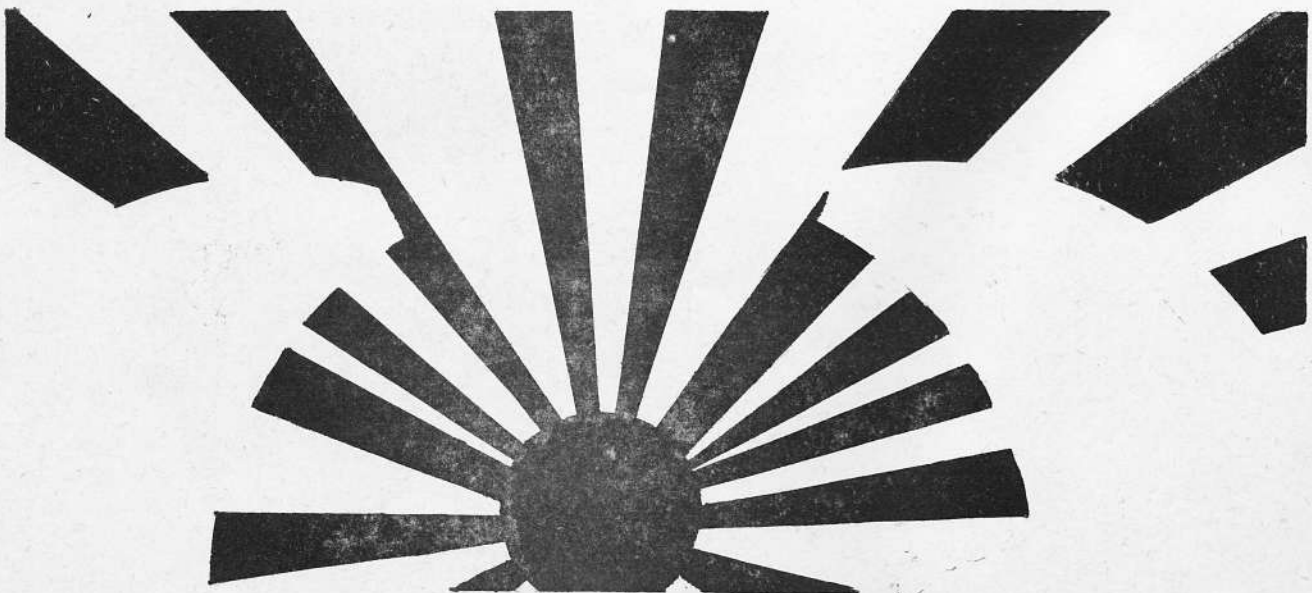
(i) **It induces psychosis.** Psychosis has been defined as a mental condition where the "dissolution of the reasoning self occurs in a chaotic manner". The vital distinction between a true psychosis and an LSD-induced "psychosis" is that the former is a psychiatric condition enduring over a considerable length of time (sometimes for life) while the latter is an experience of very temporary duration (approximately ten hours). Even Dr. Cohen points to the other side of the coin: "When the state is not accompanied by panic or anxiety, it is perceived as mystical, and creative solutions of (or at least an armistice with) life problems could result."

(ii) **The argument from heredity.** It has been argued that offspring of parents who have taken LSD may be deformed. In fact there has been no evidence to support this theory and a fair amount against. When I was in Sydney a professor from the University of New South Wales pointed out, in a radio panel discussion, that after the "chromosome scare" hit the United States many women who had used LSD asked their doctors for abortions. These were refused on the grounds that the cause given was insufficient. Several of the women did in fact procure abortions anyway. But a great majority did not. Of that number there was not a single instance of malformation.

(iii) **Suicides.** While much of the stuff that appears in the sensationalist press is sheer garbage there does appear to be sufficient evidence to show that some people have committed suicide under the influence of LSD. However, this is extremely rare and by no means the common occurrence suggested in uninformed circles. Furthermore it is entirely avoidable by observing some of the basic precautions suggested hereunder in **Section 6, Tripping Guide.**

(iv) **Brain Damage.** Apart from the Government Analyst who merely proved (or did he?) that the substance found in my possession was LSD, the only "expert" witness called by the police in the Sydney case against myself when in 1969 I was imprisoned for 18 months and deported was Dr. Bruce Cobbin of the Pharmacology Department, Sydney University. This worthy, ex-push libertarian renegade, recounted the tale of the six-year-old girl who went to her uncle's refrigerator and swallowed an acid-impregnated sugar cube stored therein. This was the only pertinent point he made (and he was known as the foremost if not only "authority" on LSD in Australia) and the court listened in awe to what was essentially a lesson in carefulness—don't let the kiddies get at mother's sleeping pills for example. The good doctor painted a lurid picture of the traumatic entrance of the little girl to hospital and the ruination of her life. But he had done his homework badly—even if he was successful in catering to the prejudices of the court. Dr. Timothy Leary in *The Politics of Ecstasy* points out that the little girl was indeed hospitalised for a few months (mother's sleeping pills would have killed her) but made a complete recovery and is now fully normal.

(v) **Case Histories.** This type of evidence consists of referring to actual people in hospital wards. A fairly representative example is an essay against the use of



LSD in *The Medical Journal of Australia* (27.1.1968) wherein five patients are instanced. All came from unsettled backgrounds and were suffering from psychosis. Of what value is this evidence in arriving at a reasonable appraisal of the subject? Obviously, the better documented a case is, the more convincing. But selective documentation—stating only examples which suit an argument—is fraudulent, particularly when used as a pretence to academic discipline. Care is necessary in the use of LSD—all the informed advocates of it acknowledge this. But if we are confronted with an argument based on selective case histories the answer is the myriads of good trips which far outweigh the casualties—and to a much greater degree than is the case with either nicotine or alcohol.

Sir Macfarlane Burnet, the Nobel Prize winner, in a public lecture in Australia in 1969 pointed out that while he did not favour the legalisation of either marijuana or LSD he considered it his duty to point out that, while thousands have died or suffered serious health deterioration from smoking nicotine and drinking alcohol, nobody was ever proven to have so suffered from marijuana and nobody had ever died from taking LSD although (at that time) there had been ten cases of death through misadventure arising out of its use.

2. THE EFFECTS

"... it is easier to sail many thousand miles through cold and storm and cannibals, in a government ship, with five hundred men and boys to assist one, than it is to explore the private sea, the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean of one's being alone."

—HENRY DAVID THOREAU, *Walden*.

LSD is an exploration—a trip into one's mind, the psyche. One can only humbly attempt to describe the experience, partly because the variety of possible individual experiences is limited only by the number of people in the world, partly because one's own personal experience often seems beyond words—one acquires a poetic insight into beauty but words seem inadequate as a medium of description. One official (?) description of the occurrence—"The drug acts to trigger a chain of metabolic processes which then proceed to exert an effect for many hours afterward," says Dr. Sidney Cohen—is no more coherent than the hippy term **"turned on"**. Indeed, as the latter has developed to include a new life style, a vision of the beauty of life that so many are blind to today, it is a far more subtle and accurate description.

Physical Effects

Within one hour of consumption the drug should commence to take effect. Usually, for first-timers it will take the full hour but, for experienced trippers, as little as ten minutes. Unlike most other drugs, the hallucinogenic ones, as well as being completely non-addictive, require smaller doses for the experienced to achieve effects equal in intensity with his or her early experiences.

At first there may be a feeling of tension or suspense, a stiffening at the rear of the neck or throat. This, or some such effect, will indicate the commencement. Thereafter it is your mind that will be largely the subject of the experience. Physically there will be a

heightening of sensation but in no way will you lose the ability to move freely or any of your physical faculties. Indeed, you may wish to go for a long walk—some of the best trips have been in open parklands and beaches.

Quite often physical pain and pleasure are sublimated by the experience. On the other hand such may be incredibly heightened.

So while, for example, LSD is not a sex drug it is certainly true that a couple in love with one another who fucked while tripping would experience a traumatically intensified experience.

I say "in love with one another" because this is the ideal relationship for fucking and because unless there be at least some measure of love present the experience could turn out quite hellish—LSD is an exercise in sensitivity whether you like it to be so or not.

Mental Effects

Literally a psychedelic drug is one which expands the mind. What does this mean? With LSD there is an increase of awareness that opens up new dimensions to the mind. I have referred to the poetic insight acquired and this particularly applies to music, colours, art, scenery, the company you are with. At least for the duration of the experience there is an enormous heightening in effect of all these—an aesthetic event that must endure in that all beautiful experiences make an indelible mark on the soul.

Good and Bad Trips

LSD is no escape from reality. There are drugs—ranging from alcohol to heroin—which assist a flight from the boredom or pain of living. As an intensifier of experience LSD brings one into more direct confrontation with the world about you, or the events in



it that affect you. Hence there is no guarantee of a blissful interlude.

Later, under **Section 6, Tripping Guide**, I will speak of the preparation and precautions advisable for a session. At this stage it should be understood that since it intensifies reactions to both the world within and without you, one's condition of mind and the environment in which one is in are determining factors in whether the trip is good or bad.

In placing great emphasis on some thought or feeling the effect of LSD is often a fragmentation of actuality. If one's whole mind is absorbed in a musical moment, for example, one's observation of events external to the central one of the moment goes into abeyance—temporarily. Because, in session, one is also highly suggestible one may experience an amazing variety of change. All of this may be a wondrous fairyland or, given an unhappy surrounding or intrusion, a hell on earth.

3. THE CELLAR EXPERIMENT

"Maladjusted students, emotionally labile teenagers and young adults with borderline social and psychic adjustments seem to be especially attracted, and a whole new subculture has recently arisen in Western society comprising those who reject the prevailing social mores and aspire to the sense of freedom and irresponsibility of the 'hippy cult'."

"Weary of war and hate, averse to competition and conflict, contemptuous of discipline and authority, these youngsters have turned their backs on traditional morality and culture, and have sought to found a new type of semi-communal existence, based on their concept of love and the pursuit of pleasure, in which hate, competition, authority and discipline have no place."

—The Royal Australasian College of Physicians in an article (*The Medical Journal of Australia*, 27.1.1968) condemning the use of hallucinogenic drugs outside the field of medicine.

About the start of 1967 the anarchist centre in Sydney, Australia, called the Cellar, became substantially vacant as a result of a decline in regular activities. Friends of mine who were heads began to frequent the place until it became a nightly resort for large numbers of young people who have with some accuracy and some inevitable distortion been described above. Shortly before that the union of which I was a member—the Printers—had gone on strike and since it had seemed likely to be of indefinite length I had taken up permanent residence in the Cellar. My acquaintanceship with the Scene had been brief but already it seemed that these people were the ones most likely to find the anarchist message true to their aspirations. This is readily understandable if the social analysis by the doctors above is only half accurate.

Richard Neville, editor of *OZ* magazine, recently wrote an article in which he expressed considerable disillusionment with the heads—they steal from you, they infect their girls with venereal disease, they sell you bad gear, etc. Well, I think most of us on the scene in Sydney were fully aware of these dangers in the first case so disillusionment never overtook us. To this day I meet people even here in London who recall the Cellar days with tremendous nostalgia.

The Cellar became a revolutionary centre of the new hippy culture. Private pushers went out of business and it was agreed that all proceeds—which averaged about £500 per week—would be spent communally and in the advancement of our principles.

To promote the cultural and hedonistic aspects we hired double decker buses and drove off into the country complete with psychedelic musicians where city kids often had their first real taste of the raw beauties of nature. Newspaper reporters came to spy and had headlines in the Sunday papers depicting the event as an orgy of drug addicts. However, even the photographs (taken with telescopic lenses) they printed gave the lie to their story since they merely showed people sitting down quietly enjoying life. Ever since those days I have had a special detestation of the literary curs who prostitute their talents to arch-criminals like Sir Frank Packer, owner of the (Sydney) *Daily Telegraph*. The latter gentleman is largely unknown outside Australia but his gutter mentality can be deduced from the following (portion of an editorial in his paper, 27.7.67):

"If, every time Negro revolutionaries decided to burn and kill, those maintaining the law killed 500 Negroes, the Negroes might decide to stop burning and killing."

On the revolutionary side gradualism was the only course. On one May Day march where our contingent was the largest single one some newspaper reporter asked one of the boys what he understood by anarchism; the reply: "Freedom to smoke pot". In a way not a bad answer but there was a long way to go. Even on that occasion, when five- to six-foot-high portraits of Joan Baez, Malatesta, Bob Dylan, Kropotkin, the Jefferson Airplane, Berkman and Goldman, Donovan, Durruti and Tolstoy were all carried through the streets, I thought our legion of ragged hippies running up and down passing "joints" around, enjoying themselves hugely, contrasted favourably with the grim-faced, pinstripe-suited Communists. And the older anarchists bore their banner of WORKER CONTROL with humour and understanding.

Lectures and meetings, film evenings of a documentary nature, helped to bring a measure of understanding to a culture which is often not merely misunderstood but incoherent itself.

Meanwhile the enemy were infiltrating the scene. Police dressed as hippies, with wigs and false beards came amongst us. For several months they gathered evidence and then in October 1968

swooped. They had their victory but have the heads diminished? Since being deported from Australia I have learned that while a centre like the Cellar may be desirable it is also vulnerable and the more diffused the culture the better able to survive. The scene in Sydney has not diminished.

One important lesson from our experiences is how to deal with the police. For several months prior to the bust we expected it. All concerned were extensively counselled that under no circumstance should they make a statement admitting guilt to the police and, in the event of a court appearance, a plea of not guilty was to be the rule. On the night of the big bust over twenty people were taken to the police headquarters. Two girls, who happened to be tripping at the time, were beaten and still refused to admit anything.

Next day they were out on the streets free.

One youth was promised probation if he pleaded guilty. Alone he did so and received nine months although, as it transpired, the police had no evidence at all—they had hearsay from a reporter which bluffed the kid. Nobody else admitted to a thing and with the exception of myself, on whom they had a mass of evidence, all went free. By pleading not guilty I gave them a run for three days in the lower court and two in the upper court (plus the opportunity of confronting the authorities with a measure of truth). Our scene emerged from the contest with a clear conscience and proud that we had taken a worthwhile step towards a free society.

4. A NEW SOCIETY

"Our contemporary Western society, in spite of its material, intellectual and political progress, is increasingly less conducive to mental health, and tends to undermine the inner security, happiness, reason and the capacity for love in the individual; it tends to turn him into an automaton who pays for his human failure with increasing mental sickness, and with despair hidden under a frantic drive for work and so-called pleasure."

—Erich Fromm.

One of the practical lessons I learned from the Cellar, which was an embryonic anarcho-hippy sub-culture, was that people who would not work for employers, except under the greatest duress, would willingly work together as a co-operative.

Furthermore there was a cohesive spirit of mutual aid, trust and affection which provided sound foundations for the community.

Since then, the Island commune in Dublin, apart from being a practical experiment in communal living in its own right, provided (as a haven for visiting heads) an opportunity of meeting girls and boys who had actually lived on hippy farming communities in the United States.

It is far too soon to assert at this stage whether the

new sub-culture will have profound or permanent effects. I know that it has both for some individuals at least. Its literary leaders have made a mighty impact. Allen Ginsberg, looking on the people of the world with their **"faces of woe and weakness, exquisitely dear"** may have had as much effect (with his fellow poets) when they spoke to 7,000 people thronged in the Albert Hall on June 11, 1965 as the rock festivals which attract hundreds of thousands. People expressed their faith at Woodstock in the new world and while, with the passage of time, there may be a trend to cynicism, the quest for beauty, peace and love will undoubtedly remain with many hundreds of thousands.

At least some sociologists see significance in the movement. Dr. Donald Schon, who delivered the Reith lectures on the BBC in November/December 1970, pointed out that the conventional method of social organisation and change, which applied to industry, capitalism, communism and imperialism alike, was a central authority acting on a periphery (you and I, for example) which is expected to yield obedience and positive response. Of the new movement Dr. Schon says:

"The message of the civil rights movement, the message of the Vietnam movement, the message of the youth movement has been constantly shifting. The theories arise spontaneously, they modify themselves over time, and the best you can say about them is that they have a kind of family resemblance to one another."

"You cannot describe the system as a centre-periphery system. . . . It is a kind of amoeba, with very light, clear boundaries, with no clear structure, but with a very powerful, informal, inter-personal network that pulls the whole thing together."

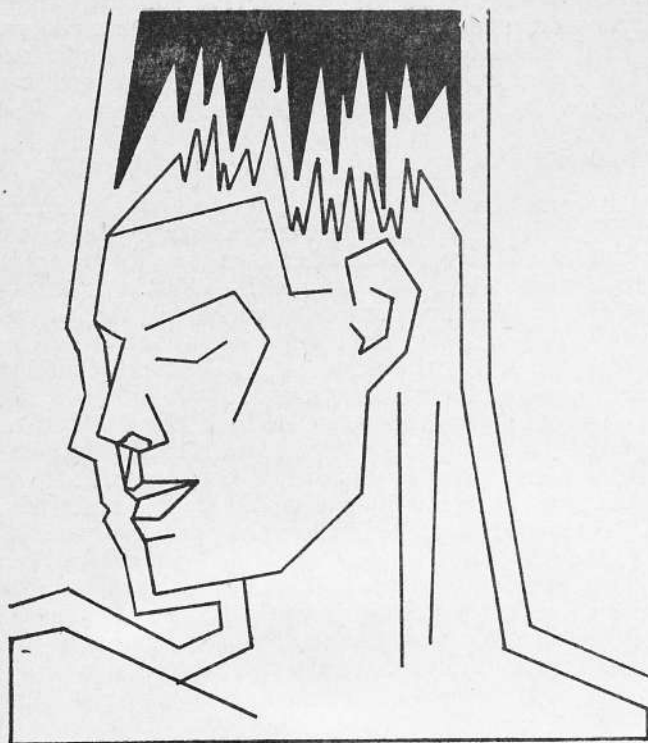
If Schon is correct in his analysis then not only is there strong evidence to indicate the growth of a new society but the latter must be of interest to all who want a free society as the sort of loose federalism pointed to is a basic requirement to such a society.

5. SELF-DISCOVERY, TRUTH, MYSTICISM

Self-discovery

In 1969 the British Army decided to test LSD on selected personnel in one of its units. What occurred was televised and screened extensively (I saw it in an Australian prison). The men were equipped for battle manoeuvres and sent on a "search and destroy" mission. After the drug took effect most of the soldiers abandoned their duties. Some sat down to have a smoke, chatting to one another. Others climbed trees to commune with nature or feed the birds. Another was taken from the scene in a distressed condition. The conventional military man and politician would see in this gross neglect of duty and obedience a ready indictment of LSD, the hippy might be heard to murmur: **"MAKE LOVE NOT WAR"**.

One point about the last scene is the fact of the soldiers "dropping out". This is a phenomenon characteristic of the head scene. Basically it is a statement: "I want no part of your world." And logically it implies: "We will build a world of our own."



This social conclusion often stems from a re-appraisal of oneself. We are normally born conditioned to authority; there is inculcated obedience to one's parents, the police, the government, God. The result of this mass and massive propaganda is a society of slaves. Social pessimists will argue that little can be done about this state of affairs—fortunate the odd individual who can eke out some independence and freedom in his own right. For those interested and hopeful of a free society for all the crucial question arises—how can the vicious circle be broken, how can the free man arise from enslaved parents and teachers?

The answer is self-discovery, an awareness of one's own dignity, sovereignty and sacredness. And it is in this work that the greatest claim for LSD is made. I do not deny that the individual may attain this awareness without it but equally I maintain that LSD is of enormous assistance in liberating the mind, in learning respect for yourself (and, therefore, of others).

It is the mental attitude of voluntary servitude which is the greatest support of authority. And it is exactly this psychological slavery, this surrender of the personality to others, that LSD attacks. Is it any wonder that authorities everywhere have recognised in it, quite apart from their traditional hostility based (as we have seen) on ignorance and intolerance, a potential deadly enemy to their power and position.

Truth

LSD is certainly the most powerful truth substance known to man. Prior to it being banned many psychiatrists used it in their work (with alcoholics, sexual abnormalities, etc.) and lauded its effects. But even doctors can be cowards. When I was in Sydney there were leading psychiatrists who gave lectures advocating

it. One specialist said he even encouraged his nurses to use it in order that they might get a better understanding of its effects on patients and thus assist positively in their recovery. Another, the head of a large mental hospital, "turned" his own son "on" and sent a young man, of very poor family background, who suffered from a disturbed personality to the Cellar to get it as the law had by then withdrawn it from his control. But not even subpoenas (served on psychiatrists including Doctors Rees and Kyneur) could get these gentlemen into court when I was charged and this cowardly reaction and denial of free enquiry deprived me (and the cause I advocated) of the sort of informed evidence that would have—because of the massive publicity surrounding the trial—been of great value in balancing the hysteria and falsehoods on the other side.

As LSD is a spur to confrontation with truth and honesty it is hardly to be wondered that heads who see it as a natural sacrament develop a candour and straightforwardness in their attitudes to the world and, more particularly, amongst themselves. People who get even an occasional glimpse into the ideal of truth and beauty tend to seek out one another's company and, to that extent, it may be observed that heads are clannish. Given the frequent hostility of the outside world, particularly the authorities, we have all the hallmarks of a fully fledged sub-culture. Even if the laws against use of the hallucinogenic drugs were withdrawn I doubt if there would be a decline in the present strength.

Mysticism

One of the basic questions which man has asked throughout the ages has been—what is the meaning of life? He has tried to find solutions in religion and religious mysticism and has found that religion has turned around and bitten him. The mystics, or their followers, have joined the establishment and utter alienation has followed. But the question remains. And it is one that the new movement has taken up with some hopeful signs for humanity.

Essentially the hippy mysticism is an identification of God with Man and Nature—a form of pantheism.

I referred earlier to the fragmentation of experience and observation which can occur under the influence of LSD. There is another side to the coin. I refer to the ecstasy of harmony when one finds all one's senses and aspirations in unison with the universe. Christian mysticism comprises a communion with what is conceived to be God, hippy mysticism is a union with the world around one, its people, its natural wonders. Perhaps there is a common bond somewhere but God, in the hands of the Christians, has become a frightful monster (cf. Bob Dylan's "*With God on your side*"). There is no danger of alienation in hippy mysticism, it is "within you, without you" but with no separation of the two concepts.

6. TRIPPING GUIDE

Who should turn on?

There is only one person who can decide on whether you should take LSD and that is you yourself. I think the optimists amongst us would like to see everyone

turn on. I suppose we believe in the (Platonic) Idea of Truth. Basically there is only one rule for trippers—Be true to yourself. That is why people like Leary have said that no one takes it for “kicks”. Plenty of people do, of course, but often pay a penalty for their bravado. A penalty of confusion and mental anguish. That is not to say that LSD is not a happy and hedonistic experience—certainly but respect is a prior consideration, essentially respect for yourself and the people in whose company you are.

Environment

Once in the Domain in Sydney, where I gave public talks on the subject, an old Italian gentleman told me he would like to try it. He was a man who exuded a natural happiness—content was writ large on his face. A week later he told me he had gone off into a park and had a most wonderful experience. Normally, I would say that to trip on your own is for the experienced but there are no absolute rules, as the example of my groovy old friend shows. If you are having it for the first time be in the company of good and trusted friends—half a dozen would be about right. I have seen a hundred people trip together where music, ranging from the Mothers of Invention and the Byrds to Beethoven and Bach, was the binding factor. Such a number, however, can easily lead to personal hang-ups and anyone displaying a lack of sensitivity may cause intense suffering to others.

Parks, beaches, the open country are all fine for tripping but, at least until you gain confidence, beginners should settle for a comfortable room. There is no need for ornate decoration but a modest degree of colour, pleasant music, an open-hearth fire will assist the experience.

A Trip at Era

Era is a remote, beautiful beach in the National Park, south of Sydney. Four friends and myself decided to have a session there. When we were settled we distributed our acid but did not decide when we would take it. As it happened we took it separately. I went off for a stroll down some cliffs until I came to the sea. Walking over the rocks with the tide going out hundreds of crabs and other creatures were scurrying for shelter. I was possessed with a feeling of magical intoxication, at one with my surroundings. When I came to the sandy beach I met one of the other boys who was very withdrawn. A slight feeling of unease seized me. We went back to the cabin where the other three were huddled around a fire, obviously uncomfortable. My sense of disquiet increased and I left to climb a neighbouring hill, by the time I reached it I was in a state of terror and ran back to the cabin. We sat together giving one another some comfort and gradually rallied our spirits.

The point I want to make here is that if you decide to trip with others **you stay together**. This was an example of personal psychosis on one of the fellows' part turning to group psychosis on the part of all (not an uncommon occurrence). The corollary to this point is a principle of solidarity. If the going gets rugged—as it does even with the initiated on occasion—sticking together is a tremendous source of comfort

and recovery. Simple gestures like holding hands restores confidence in oneself and one's companions. I have been on trips where a few bad moments looked like a catastrophe. A little mutual rallying and five minutes later we were all in high spirits again.

Duration

A session lasts about eight hours in varying degrees of intensity. But that is not the full story. For a few days beforehand one should make sure of being in good mental and physical health—at least as far as sleep and food can produce same. While there is no physical hangover after a trip, for a couple of days there will be an afterglow—or even a depression if it has been an unsatisfactory trip.

There are games to be avoided and one of the most perilous is the desire to “come down”. In odd cases people have gone to hospital to get tranquillisers or “sleepers” but generally one should see a trip through. The desire for the experience to end prematurely results if one gets into a state of anxiety. With only a little effort, normally, you can channel your thoughts into happier paths but at worst you may reassure yourself in the fact that with the passage of a few hours you will be back again on terra firma.

Intensity

Some people, partly as a result of the gaudy sensationalism of the popular press, think that one becomes a raving, helpless idiot under the influence of LSD. In fact, one is usually in complete control of one's senses although they may be operating in apparently unusual ways. Thus, while I am sure that a tripper would be far abler to drive a car than a drunk I would not recommend it. LSD is an intense experience, even if one will sometimes be only just aware that one is experiencing something unusual. It should be regarded as a total event in the sense that one involves oneself fully in the session for the duration to the exclusion of other particular activities.

How Often?

It should be evident by now that the LSD experience is a special one, quite different from indulgence in other drugs except those immediately related such as mescaline and peyote. Connoisseurs advise not to take it more than once every three months and I am inclined to agree although individual cases will vary. The important conclusion is that too frequent use will lead to a state of confusion and a loss of the real value which wise users accrue. Anyway acid has a habit of teaching its users the necessary lessons.

CONCLUSION

LSD is illegal and likely to remain so. Enough people have become convinced of its value to humanity that it can be reasonably asserted that its use shall certainly continue and probably spread. It is a powerful spur to truth and sensitivity, an awakener of the inner man, a bond between friends and a symbol to them of a better day. **WE SHALL OVERCOME!**

BILL DWYER.

A New Consciousness & its Polemics

A DILEMMA WHICH IS OFTEN WRITTEN about and discussed, and presents itself to every type of social revolutionary, is: Whether, to improve the quality of life, you attempt to change the social structure and wait for public awareness to adapt to the new context. Or do you produce polemics aimed at bringing about the change of consciousness first, so that it will come into conflict with and destroy the old order of society?

Overwhelmingly, I think, it's this last course of action which is being tried by those involved in revolutionary social propaganda at the moment. The counter-culture and underground (and the rest of the political left is following them in this) are stressing self exploration, with its ecstasies and insights, through art, drugs, sex and music, which is seen as the preliminary to a time when a "new consciousness" has tasted so much freedom that it will demand the overthrow of a repressive social order.

Improved living standards and increased leisure have given us the social revolutionary who has lost faith in better housing and nutrition, and has turned his attentions to what he sees as the deeper psychological and emotional sickness of a society that has been able to achieve these first essentials. Inevitably though, he has brought the same style of bullying exhortation to meet this new situation that once proved so suitable in demanding higher wages from intransigent employers. The polemicist who might have been hammering away trying to rouse the workers to revolt, in a less favourable economic context, now attacks their emotional and sexual conditioning with the enthusiasm and disregard for complexity which would almost certainly be required in the drastic reorganisation of industry. Since it's one thing to tamper with somebody's delicate feelings concerning a factory or two that they own—perhaps even to the extent of burning them to the ground—and another altogether to advise somebody, for political reasons, to take a mind-changing drug or tell him with whom he should be going to bed and what, for the sake of the peace movement or the greater social good, he ought to be doing when he

gets there, it's a shift of balance in this kind of rhetoric which has important implications in itself, regardless of whether it is being used by an establishment or anti-establishment figure at this time.

If a king or czar and his family, or a prime minister and his cabinet, are shot to remove the head of a social order which has been oppressing the main body of a people, it might be unfair to the individuals involved but it is likely to be politically necessary.

If, on the other hand, the politician turns his attention to the consciousness of the main body itself, and if he happens to discover that the Rule of Reason is tyrannising the Western consciousness, repressing the palpitating mass of emotions and individual intuitions underneath, we can't expect a revolt against the tyrant Linear Logic to end in a nice fair situation in which it is allowed to live quietly among the reinstated mob of disparate emotions. Once moving inexorably in its chosen direction against the announced oppressor, the centuries of injustice which have been perpetrated in the Western mind, can only be revenged for him when it ends in a destruction of the tyrant.

This is a characteristic of the active political consciousness and it has its important uses. Since I'm subject to attacks of crusading zeal myself, I've also discovered its drawbacks. The most enjoyable aspect of the rhetorical drive is its singularity of direction and manipulation of bias. It can't be used to reveal truth however, which has more to do with the balance itself. On the social and material level, truth isn't too important: a little injustice is what the tyrant has coming to him. But if, as has happened, polemics is used to uphold various partisan stances along the spectrum of mental and emotional attitudes, it can only help to fragment a public consciousness which should contain all these elements. Guillotining a few landowners and bourgeois might come to seem a very insignificant event, if in our case the freakout philosopher, the militant artist, the millionaire musician, the anti-rational American academic and the acid salesman or metaphysician, succeed in decapitating the consciousness of a whole people.

ECSTASIES & INSIGHTS

If people are horribly repressed then a little exhortation to an all-inclusive sexual, political and mystical experience—with revolution seen as the orgasm of society and experience of the divine presence as copulation with god—might be quite a good thing. But a time could come (and it already has come among those most exposed to this rhetoric) when the bias of the New Consciousness has pushed so far in one direction that people are as tremulously and determinedly ecstatic as they were once scrupulously and determinedly repressed. Whether this would be an improvement on the old condition, whether it would be more revolutionary or just noisier, is best found out by looking in at its birth in the Melting Pot of consciousness. If what we find has little to do with the inert body of the larger social context, we can rely on the mechanisms of fashion, politics and capitalism to spread it evenly sooner or later.

I take it for granted, unfortunately, that peoples' feelings **can** be reorientated by means of propaganda. If there happened to be a country which had a large number of obsolete but demanding patriots on its hands, would it be possible, depending upon that country's economic development and the extent of its imperialistic ambitions, to turn it all upside down until it had a large number of shameless masturbators and just a few furtive patriots? It would be difficult to prove even if we could find an example of this phenomena, because the actors in such a drama would all believe that they had chosen what they wanted to be regardless of economic development.

If anybody wanted to point out that free people would be neither flagwavers or cockwavers, or join together to make films of themselves involved in either activity, then he should leave polemics alone. The practical issues, the choice having been presented to us—to make love or to make war—people are going to want to leap around a little bit whatever their individual choice, and polemics is concerned with the realities as they present themselves.

GNOMES, HOBBITS & LITTLE FURRY ANIMALS

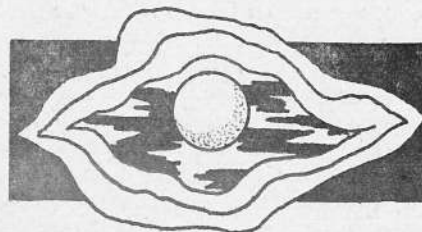
A characteristic of acid fairyland that revolutionaries find encouraging is a noticeable sensitivity to any form of authority among its inhabitants. Policemen loom onto the horizon like malignant alien beings and even a ticket collector can assume the proportions of a formidable barrier to freedom. I started to look for the Exit in an art gallery at the height of a trip one time, calmly enough at first, but the shuddering impression passed through me that I had circled the same impassive attendant five times and that if I passed him again, he must (and here the voice becomes conspiratorial) notice . . . something . . . ODD!!

He didn't of course, but it's an incident that illustrates the fact that the sensitivity to every form of authority—the whole place swarming with police spies and the

group paranoia which this feeling can induce—is because of an increased vulnerability to anything that could rate as a jarring incident. I imagine, and some value acid for this insight, that it reproduces the extreme sensitivity of a child at the stage when park-keepers, schoolmasters and parents are mysteriously in league with each other.

This will definitely involve a revolt against externally imposed authority, but is a long way from the revolutionary awareness which deliberately hardens itself to tackle that authority. Acid awareness can become a squeamishness, a rancid sensitivity, to which anything as harsh as an idea or project, needs must learn a great deal of pussyfooting and dissembling (*sotto voce*) if it isn't to tread on some horribly swollen susceptibility and cause a sudden scurrying for cover. The acid metaphysician or freakout specialist can point out that this vulnerability is a temporary state best passed among comfortably undemanding fellow freaks, and that a knowledge of brutalising authority so gained can then be used to oppose its existence. This can happen, but I've known others who have been broken by the experience and turned into trembly furry people whom I only see now on their rare and talkative weekend holidays from the madhouse. It isn't acid itself which has brought this about. It is an overwhelming awareness of the unpleasantness of their condition, perhaps the human condition, which hasn't surrounded itself with any of the means of support before stepping into this awareness.

Some say that they would like to enter acid reality completely and not step out and begin to use it. In the communes I've been to, or in one of the large houses I usually end up in, full of the people called "heads" I suppose, one of the most striking characteristics which seems as yet inseparable from an awareness of arbitrary human authority in the world, is what might be called a Revolt against the Obvious. The intolerable authority of a clock which indicates an unfavourable hour or a statement that contains an ominous linear truth, are equally the enemies of people seeking the unique and personal view of existence. Bakunin's statement in which he told us that he would only bow to the authority of men "when it is imposed upon me by my own reason", has a peculiarly reactionary tone to it in this context. Why, when every book that has ever been written or any possible thought that man can think, is already contained within oneself, bother to take into account any of these intrusive external realities?



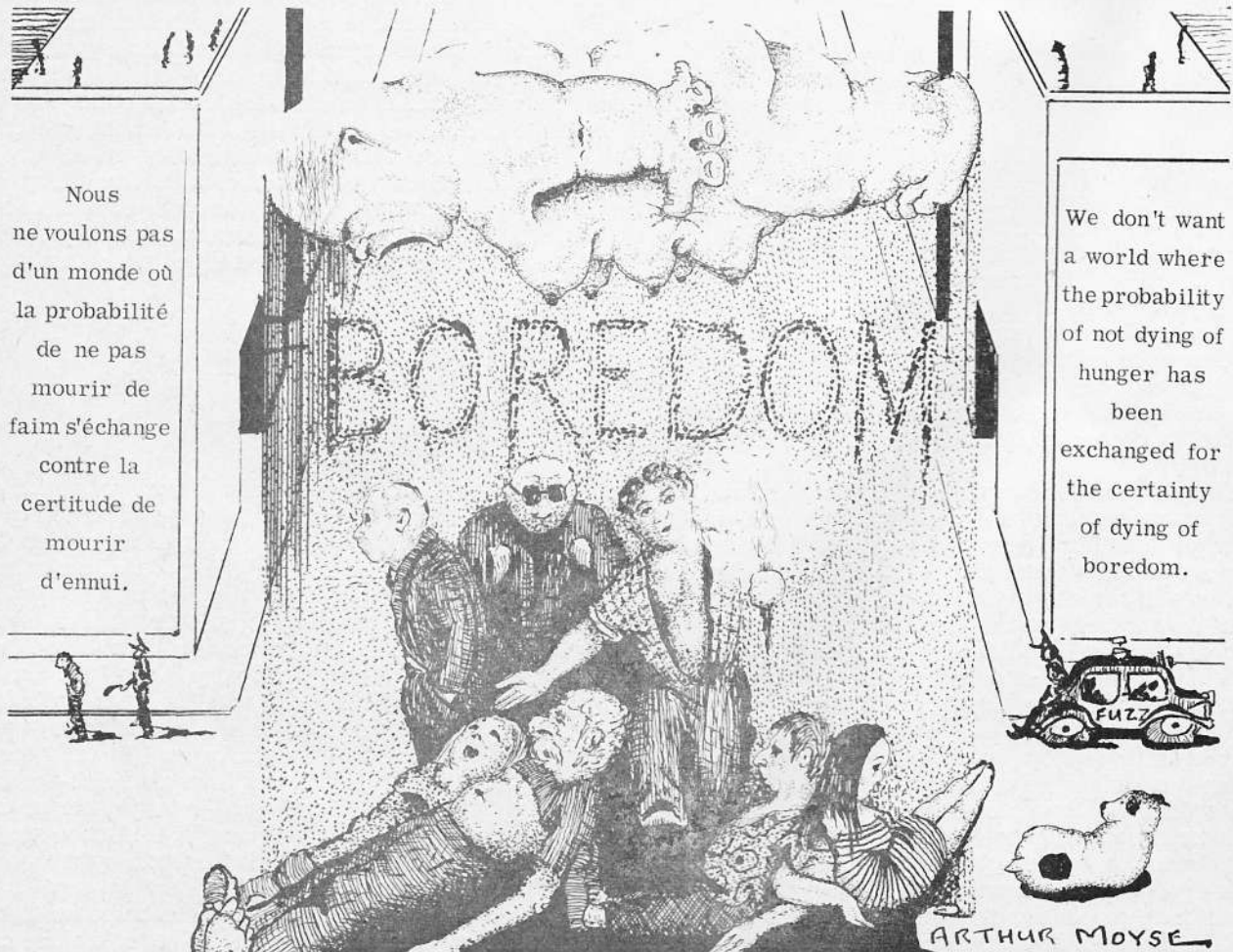
A GROOVY NEW MODEL CITIZEN

The utilitarian and functional stuff of life is going to be in very short supply in the near future, and if people aren't able to find the meaning of existence in self exploration and various forms of play activity, there will be no place for them. By no means all people will be dissatisfied with this arrangement and we ought to ask ourselves, what temperament, perhaps better adapted to the offered possibilities, might welcome a replacement of the grey utilitarian modes of being with opportunities and outlets for multi-coloured self display. Would we find such a person enthusiastically in the forefront of revolutionary social propaganda at the moment? In keeping with the shifted bias of polemics, he would be stressing the need for a change of consciousness and an internal revolution. (Politics proper wouldn't appeal to him in any case.) His hope that when the troglodyte worker and his enslaved woman have become benign brothers and sisters, there would be a revolution against government, might be a cover for what are essentially subjective views on the ideal mode of existence, but is probably quite genuine in its way.

Fun City or the Pleasure Dome would have no place for the functioning capacity of man, only the gratifications of self display and the wonders of sheer Being

would be left to him. The person who is producing propaganda towards this end at the moment however, does have a function in our society, which helps to conceal even from himself the true nature of the world he is helping into existence. The skirmishings with authority, the company of people who are more freaky or original than the mass of humanity, even calling a few people straights or pigs I suppose, help to intensify a life which would become noticeably limp if it was allowed to sink gratefully into its espoused ideal. Guevara isn't really a suitable person to compare with our own polemicists, but he too was geared to the utilitarian outlets for his energies, and whether or not he helped to bring it into existence, he couldn't have lived in a society which didn't offer him similar opportunity to express himself.

The social propagandist, often a rich one, who is creating the microcosmic Pleasure Dome, puts forward the theory that when this ideal engulfs the whole of society, to which end he spreads his message, and people have become undemanding and playful fun-lovers and destroyed the last vestiges of the authoritarian elements in the mind, then the outer embodiment of these impulses, the state machine, will DISAPPEAR. If you doubted whether this would happen in real life, he might say that when **everybody** had turned into the recommended groovy citizen there wouldn't be anybody left to **run** the state machine. If you were still



taking deep breaths and shuffling your feet round, you might hear the final argument. In any case, he can add, government wouldn't be able to allow people to be like this, so that the more we spread the new consciousness, the sooner there will be an explosion against a repressive social order.

These are the three arguments which can be used to support a change in consciousness theory. Allowing that the brothers & sisters, who are the subject of revolutionary polemics that with this end in view, had a sincere dislike of control over their lives, they would be unlikely to do much about it. The human qualities being urged onto them by this propaganda, might create a nice person who didn't want to control others himself, but he would be very vulnerable to the manipulations of those who did want power over others. The state might one day need as many groovy citizens as can be indoctrinated into being satisfied with the pleasures of just existing, drinking in a beautiful universe in an Eternal Present unhampered by the exigencies of the utilitarian. (The howls of boredom would come too late to change anything.) Whether a government would be able to provide an air or a country worth breathing in, is a point of conflict which has forced many to believe that they are revolutionaries opposed to the "idea" of state control, rather than the means of control which are used and the environment which is created at this stage in the development of capitalism.

IT DOESN'T GROW ON TREES!

Ortega Y Gasset suggested that the urban landscape has assumed the aspect of a natural environment to the man who was born into it and in accord with the instinct which makes him oppose real nature, he has turned against the concrete jungle and is trying to destroy it. This seems a better explanation for the perversity that will jeopardize its own existence so as to demonstrate its freedom, than either Dostievsky or Poe offered for the same phenomena. (Although Dostievsky did think that man might one day be forced to choose madness as the only freedom left to him.)

The deliberate disruption of consciousness that is being attempted, probably has its origin in a similarly hopeless and very unrevolutionary urge to freedom. An art which resurrects the random and arbitrary elements in life and says that "it means whatever your own unique self would have it mean", is using a familiar piece of political flattery, except that for the individual artist it is probably a last ditch attempt to gain an audience among people who don't want anybody else's trip to be laid on them.

It must have been an achievement once to grasp order out of the surrounding chaos, and those who managed it had something to be pleased about. Now that universal education and an automated environment seem to be imposing linear thoughts and linear acts upon us, it becomes a point of pride to escape again into chaos and to regain the personal and to reclaim freedom in that way.

THE ACADEMIC FREAK

A struggling race of people, living under the conditions which the negro experienced in the southern states of America, has enough of flux and chance in life itself, and creates a tightly patterned and "together" art and the lithe and tenacious mentality that goes with it. Disruption of consciousness is only conceivable to a people so cocooned in affluence that it never makes contact with the implications of its theories. An individual example of somebody in a different type of cocoon is André Breton whose authoritarian personality (arguing over the precise way minds should be blown!) ensured that he didn't come into naked contact with his own theories. Some of his younger followers who did, later went crazy or shot themselves.

The anti-rational academic hasn't allowed his personal rebellion to run its full course. He doesn't live among people who are spontaneously irrational. (Or better still, attempted to explain the all-inclusive perception to them in a suitably linear manner.) If somebody earns their living in a university and doesn't mix with the counter-culture people at whom his theories are aimed, he might dream of the rebellion which involves dumping a steaming turd into the administration's examination files, or taking off one's clothes in the campus garden. He wouldn't be in a position to do either of these things, and would be more likely to provide the theoretical arguments and philosophical justification for those who have less to lose. He would be much better at expressing this supporting rationale than the few who will actually carry out the acts that illustrate it. But if he did drop out of society, as he might recommend, particularly the stifling environment which could engender such theories, he would enter a much cooler reality in which he would discover them evaporating into thin air and the contradictions between Nature & Order, Spontaneity & Repression, resolving themselves into something a bit better.

IF YOU CAN'T BE ORIGINAL, BE ARBITRARY

Almost any anarchist will join in with an attack on the élitism and preciousness of fine art, attempting to substitute some form of decentralised experience for the uncritical worship of anything. He can't help being depressed though, after the first euphoria when the dusty hundred-year-old classic is thrown away (now, at last, people will think for themselves!), as five-year-old classics and the Golden Age of the Sixties are resurrected in their place with as much snobbishness and exclusive worship as annoyed him so much about the last herd of true believers. It calls for a change of ground. History has been abolished—a sigh of relief and temporary euphoria—now we are getting the hangups of the Eternal Present forced upon us.

When the disruption of consciousness, by means of drugs and the random element in art, is used as a political "message", it has appeared in response to the inert mind of the larger public. The polemicist can

justify his use of the irrational by pointing out that a state machine which depends on linear control and a rigid logic, can be sabotaged by the inconsequential, the silly laugh. What happens though, apart from a few courtroom or mass media confrontations, is that the only people who pay any attention to this doctrine are large numbers of the intelligent young, who sometimes come to **believe** in the recommended mode of thinking. Instead of using it as a sound tactic with a snide deliberation (the game's rigged, don't play it, etc.), they take it onto themselves as their own possession—logic and sanity having been requisitioned by the establishment—and turn into a walking “tactic” . . . a silly laugh. But at least it is their own creation! One man's irrationality is never the same as another's, which makes the communally binding objective truth seem insipid by comparison.

Alongside this reversion to the irrational elements in the mind is a willingness to accept as progress every rational modification that helps control the naturally random and arbitrary in the external environment. Contraception is a rational measure which gives people more choice, more chance of self-determination. (If that's what they want.) It could also be said to remove another element of chance and destiny from their lives, forcing them to submit to other risks and arbitrary destinies. A progressively chaotic mind, and an art and music that reflect it, might be the price we pay for a progressively determined existence which can only find novelty in a self-induced madness. It means that the unity of the internal structure of society and the complex fauna & flora of rational authority among the individuals who bind it together, is under attack not only from the politically neutral forces which are at play in our society, but by a counter-culture which has made itself the avant-garde of these forces. A new consciousness it is, but it's helping along the disintegration of the only structure which an anarchist could point to and say: This is the alternative to an externally-imposed unity.

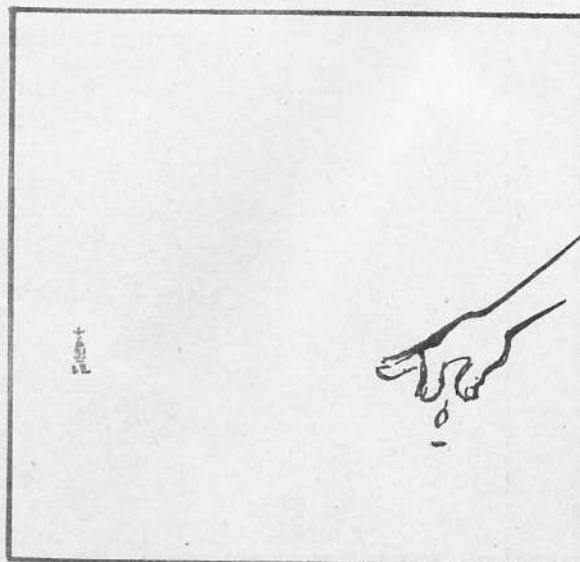
somebody to making money or gaining control—the predatory Bread Head or Power Freak, for instance. As it has been well recorded though, most people when their “direction” is intensified, find that they want to communicate and make contact with others through loving and working with them. This tells us something about people and our own social context, but not about the effects of acid.

The key to the acid experience is the condition Naked Need, an openness to the flux which cries out for an answer: for peace, for revolution, for Jeanne Moreau, for god or the end to vivisection, for love or universal nakedness, or for anything and anybody else that might help at the time. Much raving polemics originate from these desperate fluctuations, demanding an all-inclusive revolution. If you take acid often enough, approaching this crossroads of Naked Need and asking the Overwhelming Question, instead of plunging into one of the escapes which offer themselves, it can become a very painful experience. This is the psychological bridge between acid and the use of barbiturates or heroin to remove the rawness of acid reality. Many people who started taking acid several years ago have returned to alcohol for the same reason, although at one time one of the novel forms of puritanism which acid produced, was the somewhat pious rejection of this drug. Vegetarianism and yoga, whatever good sense they represent, are two other forms of puritanism which I think result from the Good Resolutions which sometimes answer the Overwhelming Question.

Acid has nothing to do with revolution in the ordinary sense, though sometimes the desperation of Naked Need makes people aware that **SOMETHING** must be done, and this usually involves social change. It gives no answers concerning what can be done, given the available material and the human predicament, and is likely to end up banging its polemics against the

WORLD, IN A GRAIN OF RICE

Huxley's description of a first experience with the hallucogenic, mescaline, is misleading to a consideration of the mental attitude which forms from the continued use of any hallucogenic. Acid is an intensity experience which forces a person to the Overwhelming Question which, as Eliot knew, usually finds its answer in sex. The reason why so many different kinds of dogmatists recommend others to take it, is because they think (as we all do) that the same heightened awareness which attached them to their own beliefs, must repeat itself in another at the same point of intensity. Soldiers fall around laughing when they realise the silliness of being a soldier in a place where there is no fighting. Put them into combat under acid, however, and their heightened awareness will reveal to them the importance of fighting with even greater intensity than before. The acid itself is quite neutral, it only brings to a head and forces into a direction, any element of internal or external necessity which is uppermost at the time. This is why, in our own country, it can produce the strange phenomena of “turning on”



latter. The underground's first attachment to Buddhism represents a delight in the flux, still mesmerised by a grain of rice or a chair, the infinite variability and complexity of it all. Its recent interest in Christianity (with its personal saviour) indicates an increasing horror at the emptiness of the void, which Buddhism to some extent is able to accept.

THE STATE OF GRACE

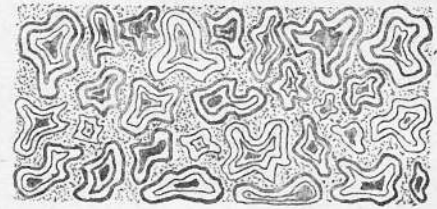
The popularity of the word "grace" in underground writings—it has appeared quite suddenly—could mean an important change has taken place in the attitude and approach to acid among the people who still take it. Since grace is the opposite to fantasy and illusion in the Christian theology, and is supposed to be the reward you will be given for refusing to submit to the latter, an interest in this concept would indicate that people are resisting the acid experience as it takes hold of them.

Resist acid while under its influence, perhaps by trying to get together something decidedly linear, and it can create waves of pain accompanied by a trilling noise in the ears. The regularity of this trill which is almost electrical, is the origin, I'd guess, of rumours that we have been bugged by aliens from outer space. It's a sound which has also been used in some progressive music which gives me the odder notion that certain kinds of art are being produced to give pain to a complacent society rather than pleasure to a struggling one. This would seem to tie up with a disruption of consciousness being used politically to attack the cocoon of affluence.

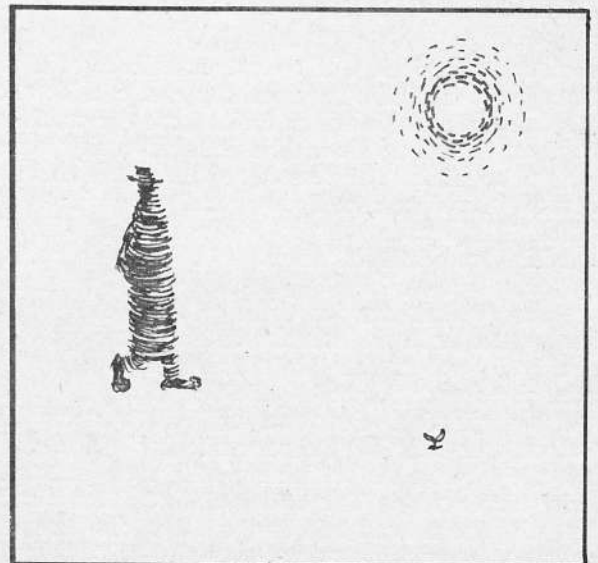
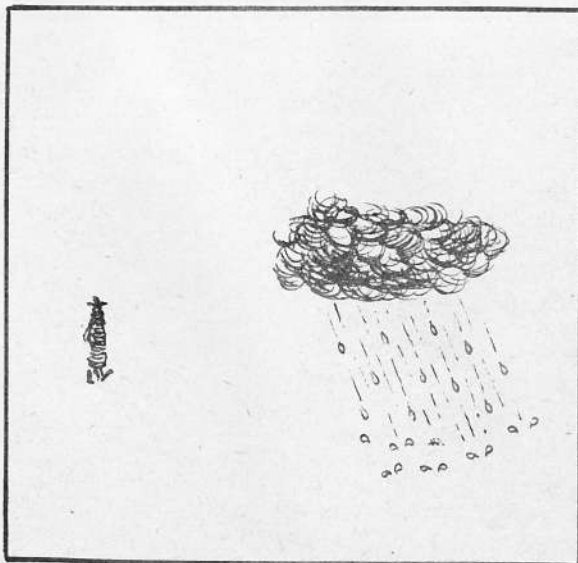
As the acid wears off, the waves of pain subside into a sense of relief, a blessed release—a state of pseudo-grace. This was well enough illustrated by the closing

scences of Disney's *Fantasia* when the night of torment on the Black Mountain switches to the cool mistiness as the procession moves towards the churchyard. For most, a walk at dawn after a "trip" will induce the same experience.

The same mechanism was at work on a larger scale as the Dadaists moved into Surrealism, but it didn't reach the final stages. The Dadaists suspended themselves over the void, refusing hope or belief until, unable to hold out any longer, they accepted the rich reward of fantasy which is offered at this point. The Surrealists then **had** to attach themselves to Communism instead of to one of the more supple forms of anarchism that would seem to be the corollary of their own theories. Potential commissars and their grim procedural methods had become the natural complement of a fantastic world view which could only find balance by attaching itself to its opposite. Similarly,



the more parts of the counter-culture move into hobbitland (the commune movement is very much this scene), the greater its dependence on an external authority which embodies the more stridently practical components of the mind that the search for gentleness and peace recoils from. To some extent, ignoring the ritual cursings against authority, the distance of government makes it a more acceptable form of control to this attitude, than what might turn out to be the never-ending strictures of real opposition.



UNUTTERABLE REVELATIONS

Most people never reach the Overwhelming Question—just as well probably. The ones who do from each generation pass on a message which seeps through to all layers of that generation. If the message is bad, only a few are destroyed or destroy themselves, the rest absorb the message but remain protected from its full impact. What happens in the Melting Pot then is of more importance than the ebb and flow of the larger tidal phenomena. It is the source both of the gravitational pull which determines these movements, and the light which allows us to observe these movements, reflecting down to us the answers it has received to its askings.

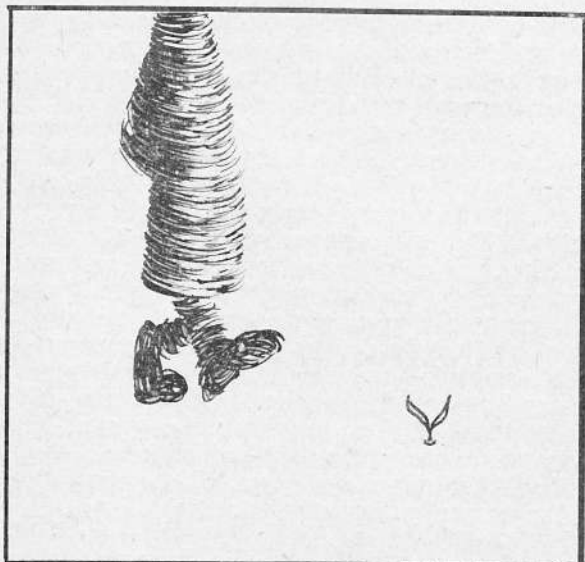
Some of the most adventurously creative of the young have become obsolete to society. This, in spite of the fact that the middle ground of opportunity which capitalism has to offer them, has expanded beyond precedent. Perhaps society grows from its roots upwards, but it dies from the head downwards and if those who want to meet fate head on can no longer contribute to the social good, or attach themselves to a credible revolutionary alternative, they will explode into extremes in search of absolutes. Dean's unutterable revelations, even if we believe they existed, had no point of contact with life, and could only end up running round the streets "starving hysterical naked", as Ginsberg noted. A lot of people have been broken already, I think. They still have their tolerance of others and dislike of authority, yes. But these can add up to a benign listlessness which is farther away from practical revolt than the attitude that tackles each barrier as it gets in the way and doesn't look too far ahead. Perhaps acid removes too many of the seven veils at one time, revealing layer on layer of secret repressions and

oppressions—a view of infinity and complexity, a contact with the absolutes—which can cause a horrified recoil from the laborious effort of destroying the first of those barriers.

The "discovery" that words don't mean anything, and the reiteration of this fact (which is incontestable anyway) is an aspect of the contact with absolutes that leads to a rejection of a conscious compromise with one of the useless tools we use to create civilisation. (A colossal compromise in itself.) Acid can tempt into a belief that you can solve the meaning of existence to the exclusion of everything else. Usually in the form of a piece of paper, for me: I catch sight of it out of the corner of an eye. It is trying to avoid me, so I chase it down the spiral it moves in and corner it, and grab it. Then I surface, holding it tight. I don't hurry to read it, because I like the feeling that I'll soon discover what it's all about. Unfortunately my pieces of paper usually turn up things like: when the dogs in Golders Green learn to ride bicycles, it will mark the regeneration of the human race. Others, who have had a similar experience, have discovered that the only answer is Violence, that they are Christ or Hitler, or that nothing exists, or that love makes the world go round, and BELIEVED it.

DECLINE IN DECADENCE

When the European consciousness began to find itself released from its burden of social purpose, the first sweet languors and pleasures of this condition soon turned into shrieks of boredom and paralysis (in individual terms, possibly Wilde to Artaud is a good enough outline). Now that we have a mass movement of seekers after ecstasy & insight, all of them



obsolete to the greater social purpose as it exists, we see people at every different stage, from ravings about cosmic consciousness and its spasms of belief through to the detached listlessness which has lost any handhold in the present. Also a new phenomena has appeared. People now want the drugs & orgies **and** the social approval, which leads to the philistine pleading for acceptance that would have horrified the individual debauchees and seekers of the turn of the century who still had the cheek and spirit to say: Yes, we are as bad as you say. Wicked even, damn you—but you can keep your social purpose.

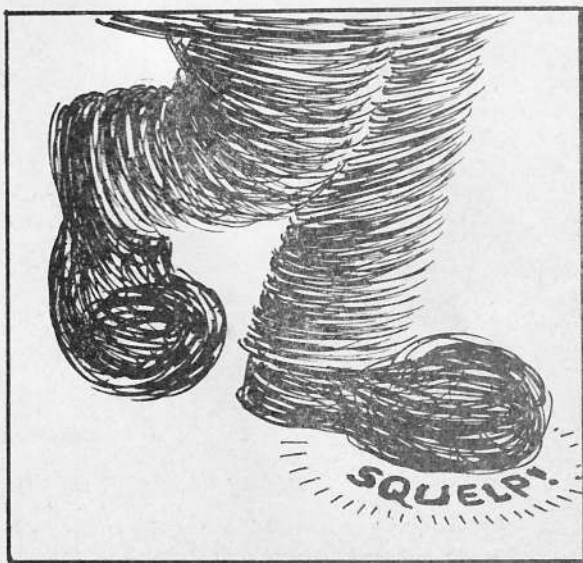
Instead of being enjoyed for their own sakes, hash, acid & various sexual activities are the subject of reports and surveys trying to prove how socially beneficial they are. Instead of being pleased with his unique noethumb at nature & society, the homosexual wants to be considered as good and normal a contributor to mankind as any other good and normal contributor, competing with other individualities for the privilege of having the most socially beneficial outlook, in a jargon that would have had Wilde at the smelling salts. Everybody wants in on the social approval racket, and there has probably never been such a fear of individuality as there is today. If this kind of justificatory polemics was aimed at friends, it would discover that the acceptance already existed and there was no need to appeal to a general public. As one of the Blake followers might tell us: only that which is self-delighting is complete and innocent in itself and that when drug use or copulation advertise themselves for social approval, another element, which is perhaps the desire for influence or self-display, has taken the place of the desire to indulge for its own sweet sake. There is still as much puritanism about offending current morality as there was in an age of more obvious moral totalitarianism. There is a hidden aggressiveness in much pornography (see *SUCK* maga-

zine) which mirrors the threat of social ostracism that the old morality tracts wielded for their own purposes. Either way it's a power scene, and the new one is as oppressive and ludicrous as the last one.

"The ability to engage unashamedly in desired sexual behaviour, experiencing therefrom whatever pleasure her individual sexuality, without irrational repression, inclines her to, is certainly one criterion of a woman's inner liberation. Women feel baffled by the apparent need to assert something so obvious to them as the fact that this does not preclude the occurrence of healthy, individually varying disinclinations to sexual activity, and that immunity from psychological coercion that enables a woman to respect her disinclinations is also a criterion, no less categorical." (ANARCHY 1, p. 17.)

I didn't change a word of that unfortunately. (It's getting too much for me now, and when I risk coming to my own conclusions I'll go.) I gather that a loophole is being added to this charter, that if at some time the individual doesn't feel like doing it, then she must feel assured that there isn't necessarily anything unradically wrong with her. But there is still the wish to advise and to control, that we find in any moralist.

The majority of counter-culture rebels find themselves in conflict with a jarringly repressive society which can't, at this stage in its development, give them the ease they are seeking. When somebody talks about sex being "as natural and pleasurable a function as eating", they are talking of a utopia in which every requirement of the body, including those at present ignored by a hypocritical society, will be duly served up. Compared to the striving for material affluence among the other classes, this represents the most advanced and revolutionary demand for bourgeois ease that has ever been made. Somebody slumped against the wall muttering about Love, Revolution & Beauty, soon becomes a rival in funniness to the old drunkard who amazes everybody by getting to his feet and giving a speech on God, Queen & Country. Stay around a little longer and you find that the appeal to duty and fraternity is a prelude to asking for a loan of two shillings. When this is still new to you, and you are prepared to listen and nod a great deal, you're probably quite happy to come forward with the required amount. But when you've heard enough of them, the confessions of madmen & freaks and the drunkard's life story, begin to sound remarkably similar. The only surprise left then is the discovery that the sociologists & polemicists, the academics & journalists, who have no wish to move from the profitable novelty of diagnosis into the boredom of prognosis, are still nodding and listening, and more important to us, basing their hopes for a changing society on pipe dreams floating out of the underground, when all that was required of them, is to arrange greater ease of access to the particular dope—which in this case isn't alcohol—that engendered them. It's a revolution we can hope soon gets what it wants.



A Proposal for Freedom

OUT OF THE CAULDRON OF REVOLUTION struggled a new age. Hesitantly, falteringly, but with hope born of romanticism, men fought desperately to retain a hold on the familiar ideas of the past or turned loose of the old ideas to grasp for new patterns of thought. A staggering number of separate, but intricately related ideologies grew and competed for support. This ideological fervour that dominated nineteenth century European thought produced anarchism, undoubtedly the most paradoxical of the "isms". Around a core of commonalities clustered at least eight identifiable varieties of anarchism by 1870.¹ But anarchists, no matter what their ilk, shared certain propositions. From these emerged the paradox—complete individual freedom and a strong sense of social responsibility. This meant that the anarchist's major concern remained the age-old question of man in relation to his society. It did not mean he gave the question an age-old answer.

To achieve individual freedom, anarchists denied authority in any guise, which of course meant that they criticized, unmercifully, the existing society. Depending on the character of their anarchist espousal, they might actively undertake to destroy what they condemned. But whether militant or pacifistic, their method was always social rebellion. Such an attitude of "austere idealism" or "apocalyptic passion" very often created saints and assassins.² But it must not be thought that anarchism can be equated with nihilism or terrorism. They are not necessarily synonymous. Anarchy is not malign chaos as is so often the pedestrian interpretation. To view Tolstoy, Thoreau, Kropotkin or Godwin as prophets of chaos is to make Hegel the creator of Nazism.³ Needless to say, such an attitude, almost of necessity, demands a belief in the natural goodness of man; and if not natural goodness, at least the natural sociability of man and an individualistic view of man's nature.⁴

While the academician searches out this relatively orderly definition, anarchism, by its very nature, denies such neatness. Suffice it to say, anarchists rejected dogma in a deliberate attempt to avoid the rigidity that a systematic statement imposes. The anarchist

believed in a freedom of choice—in a possession of one's selfness and in the primacy of the individual's ability to judge the best for that selfness.⁵ Anarchists were motivated by a consuming desire to achieve the release of the total potential of men. This would be achieved through the use of reason. Above all, anarchists were optimists.

When one understands this, the stereotype impression of the anarchist as only the bearded, bomb-throwing fanatic seems quite strange.⁶ George Woodcock suggested that people readily accepted a derogatory image of anarchism because of their fear of its doctrines, that "fear of freedom" enunciated by Erich Fromm. Perhaps also one might attribute the general fear of anarchism to Freud's idea of suppressed guilt coming from the desire to kill one's father—to kill all authority, which of course the anarchist is intent on doing.⁷ No matter what the merit of anarchism, by the very nature of its principles it could not missionize. The role of the anarchist was to enlighten by example, it was not to lead people. Certainly Max Stirner, who epitomized individualist anarchism, never suggested any desire to "mount the barricades".

Max Stirner, the unassuming German school teacher and one of the Berlin collection of Young Hegelians, helped Godwin and Proudhon lay the theoretical foundations of anarchist thought.⁸

The idea of the extreme importance of the freedom of the individual in anarchist theory came from Stirner's contribution.⁹ Stirner wrote *The Ego and His Own*¹⁰ as a direct assault on those things in society which he felt prevented this freedom. But the book is more than a polemic. It also details the nature of human freedom and what must be done to attain it. The intent here, then, is to describe how men arrived in bondage in the nineteenth century, how that bondage could be broken, the character of a free individual, and finally to suggest some areas that might reflect the continuing influence of Stirner's ideas.

The tyrannies which prevent the freedom of men evolve out of Stirner's theory of history.¹¹ While

Stirner did not agree with Hegel's conclusions about the nature of history, he used Hegel's dialectic in drawing his own theory.

Stirner divided the history of men into three major epochs—the Ancients, the Moderns and the new men. The Ancients, in the “childhood” of human history, concerned themselves with the natural world, with objects, with experience, with the material. But in their efforts to understand this “world of things, the order of the world, the world as a whole”¹² they asked questions which predicated the end of the very meaning they had achieved. The Ancients asked what was the meaning behind their world and sought to break free from the bound of things. They decided that only by becoming spirit, could they hope to end their relationship with the world. In their search for freedom from the material world—“to get back of the world and above it”¹³—the Ancients created the world of the spirit “and this is the result of the gigantic work of the ancients; that man knows himself as a being without relations and without a world, as spirit.”¹⁴ Only the Jews of the ancient people never accepted the spiritual world.¹⁵ The Ancients sought to idealize the real and gave to the West the “holy ghost”—Christianity—the second of the tyrannies.¹⁶

With the advent of Christianity, man entered into the “youth” of mankind, into the Modern Age. Things spiritual, things of the mind, reason, abstractions, ideals, causes dominated the concern of the Moderns. Men tried to get behind the ideal to understand it. They attempted to make real, the ideal. Hence they produced the absolute spirit in a material body—“and the Word became flesh”—Christ.¹⁷

From this point on, Christians tried to spiritualize the whole material realm, a task completed by the Reformation when men no longer needed the consecration of the sacraments of the Catholic Church because they had succeeded in putting some of the divine in all things.

Lutheranism . . . tries to bring *spirit* into all things as far as possible, to recognize the holy spirit as essence in everything, and so to *hallow* everything worldly. . . . Hence it was that the Lutheran Hegel was completely successful in carrying the idea through everything. In everything there is reason, holy spirit, or “real is rational”.¹⁸

Hegel's philosophy became the great culminating statement of the Moderns, of the spiritual age.¹⁹

While men in past ages had tried, Stirner thought that they had all failed to reconcile the opposite truths of these two epochs in the history of men. In blending them, they destroyed them. This dichotomy could only be resolved in a third stage, the “manhood” of the human race, the epoch of the egoist. As the spirit of the Modern had dissolved the real of the Ancients, so the egotism of the new age must destroy the spiritual tyranny.

But who, then, will dissolve the spirit into its *nothing*? He who by means of the spirit set forth nature as the *null*, finite, transitory, he alone can bring down the spirit too to like nullity. I can; each one among you can, who does his will as an absolute I; in a word, the *egoist* can.²⁰

Stirner correlated his three ages of men with the three races of men. Thus, “Negroidity represents antiquity, the time of dependence on things . . . ; Mon-

goloidity, the time of dependence on thoughts, the Christian time”, and finally that age reserved for the future, the age of the Caucasians, the true age of western man. In this age men will say “I am owner of the world of things, and I am owner of the world of mind”.²¹

Here the question became, how to bring men into this third age. As Stirner analyzed the situation, clearly two things had to be accomplished before men could hope to achieve the ownership of their own. They had to be cut free from the spiritual servitude to Christian precepts before they could know the real self. In a statement so typically Stirnerian, Stirner described this dismal state of Modern men.

But to you the whole world is spiritualized, and has become an enigmatical ghost; therefore do not wonder if you likewise find in yourself nothing but a spook. Is not your body haunted by your spirit, and is not the latter alone the true and real, the former only the “transitory, naught” or a “semblance”? Are we not all ghosts, uncanny beings that wait for “deliverance”—to wit, “spirits”?²²

This makes it plain that Stirner saw the spirit as “something other than [himself]” and that until it belonged to him, he would not be free. While some in the nineteenth century thought that Feuerbach had at last destroyed this spiritual domination over men, Stirner did not. Feuerbach had written

The essence of man is man's supreme being; now by religion, to be sure, the *supreme being* is called *God* and regarded as an objective essence, but in truth it is only man's own essence; and therefore the turning point of the world's history is that henceforth no longer *God*, but man, is to appear to man as *God*.²³

To this Stirner retorted:

With the strength of *despair* Feuerbach clutches at the total substance of Christianity, not to throw it away, no, to drag it to himself, to draw it, the long-yearned-for, ever-distant, out of its heaven with a last effort, and keep it by him forever. Is not that a clutch of the uttermost despair, a clutch for life or death, and is it not at the same time the Christian yearning and hungering for the other world?²⁴

If Feuerbach had not escaped from the bonds he struggled against, Stirner seems to have broken with the old morality.

The supreme being is indeed the essence of man but, just because it is his *essence* and not he himself, it remains quite immaterial whether we see it outside him and view it as “God”, or find it in him and call it “Essence of Man” or “Man”. I am neither God nor *Man*, neither the supreme essence nor my essence, and therefore it is all one in the main whether I think of the essence as in me or outside me.²⁵

This statement is basic to an understanding of Stirner's idea of freedom. The only meaning that Stirner possesses is the meaning he gives to himself by his own power. This statement also contains the second point that had to be resolved before the epoch of the Ego could prevail. This Stirner called “wheels in the head”: “fixed ideas” which “subjected the man to itself” as surely as though he were bound in chains.²⁶ Morality, law, justice, virtue, monogamy, filial piety, truth, light, all represented fixed ideas whose “sacred”

quality could not be questioned without the sceptic running the risk of attack from "lunatic" defenders.

Yet as Stirner saw it, none of these fixed ideas dominated nineteenth century thought like the "love of Mankind", of "Humanity", of Man.²⁷ In its various guises, nothing threatened individual uniqueness more than the sacredness of Man.

To Man belongs the *lordship* (the "power" or *dynamis*); therefore no individual may be lord, but Man is the lord of individuals;—Man's is the *kingdom*, the world, consequently the individual is not to be proprietor, but Man, "all", command the world as property—to Man is due renown, *glorification* or "glory" (*doxa*) from all, for Man or humanity is the individual's end, for which he labours, thinks, lives, and for whose glorification he must become "man".²⁸

Closely related to this "humane liberalism" were political and social liberalism which Stirner considered to be as destructive as the humanitarian attitude. The first glorified the State²⁹ and the second, Society.³⁰

While political liberalism contained many types, Stirner issued his sharpest and most persistent criticism against the Hegelian State.

So then the separate interests and personalities had been scared away, and sacrifice for the State had become the shibboleth. One must give up *himself*, and live only for the State. Hereby the latter has become the true person before whom the individual personality vanishes; not I live, but it lives in me. Therefore, in comparison with the former self-seeking, this was unselfishness and impersonality itself. Before this god—State—all egoism vanished, and before it all were equal; they were without any other distinction—men, nothing but men.³¹

This subordination of men to a higher concept occurred in social liberalism, only here the object became Society instead of the State. Stirner's judgment of socialism/communism proved acute enough to elicit a comprehensive rebuttal from Karl Marx in *Die Deutsche Ideologie* published the year after Stirner's book. This brief comment from Stirner points up well the reason for Marx's comments.

But at the same time the labourer, in his consciousness that the essential thing in him is "the Labourer", holds himself aloof from egoism and subjects himself to the supremacy of a society of labourers. . . . People think again that society gives what we need, and we are under obligations to it on that account, owe it everything. They are still at the point of wanting to serve a "supreme giver of all good".³²

Stirner made it patently clear that he thought that socialism was nothing more than a "new Spook" which "takes us into its service and allegiance!"³³

Albeit in polemical fashion, *The Ego and Its Own* caused no little stir among the intellectuals of Europe. Little escaped Stirner's condemnation. His new age, the age of the individual, demanded more than just reform in the existing value structure; it called for a new way of thinking. The individual, in order to be free, must refuse to be possessed by any of the fixed ideas, by wheels in the head, by abstractions that have no real meaning to his selfness. He must instead, possess.³⁴ As in the history of man, so in the history of the individual,³⁵ he begins the accumulation of his own uniqueness by conquering the material world.

"When I had exalted myself to be the *owner of the world*, egoism had won its first complete victory, had vanquished the world, had become worldless, and put the acquisitions of a long age under lock and key."³⁶ This meant claiming his material self as his own as well—an obvious denial of the Christian doctrine of the corrupted flesh: "for it is only when a man hears his flesh along with the rest of him that he hears himself wholly, and it is only when he wholly hears *himself* that he is a hearing or rational being."³⁷ Thus one of the essential keys to freedom and to individuality is the creation within oneself of a uniqueness that can only be found by possessing one's whole self—body and soul, mind and heart. Freedom cannot be given, it must be taken.³⁸ Against all opposition the individual must demand and retain with his own might the possession of himself. Nothing else matters unless the Ego chooses to make it its own. So Stirner says:

I on my part start from a presupposition in presupposing *myself*; but my presupposition does not struggle for its perfection like "Man struggling for his perfection", but only serves me to enjoy it and consume it. I consume my presupposition, and nothing else, and exist only in consuming it. But that presupposition is therefore not a presupposition at all: for, as I am the Unique, I know nothing of the duality of a presupposing and a presupposed ego (an "incomplete" and a "complete" ego or man); but this, that I consume my self, means only that I am. I do not presuppose my self, because I am every moment just positing or creating my self, and am I only by being not presupposed but posited, and, again, posited only in the moment when I posit myself; that is, I am creator and creature in one.³⁹

One might well ask if Stirner's individualism reflected something out of the mainstream of European thought at mid-nineteenth century. If Stirner condemned all the major ideologies of the day as indeed he did, one is likely to summarily decide that he was out-of-step with his day. Considerable evidence, however, supports the idea that Stirner was rooted in a strong German tradition of individualism going back at least to Luther. One historian has pointed out that most of the great German art and thought has come from a "long endeavour of the individual to fathom his own inner nature and the deeper significance of his own existence."⁴⁰ This sort of interior journey certainly is evident in *The Ego and His Own*. In 1842, three years before Stirner published his book, the German liberal, Karl Brüggegan "contrasted the selfish individualism of political economists to a 'German infinite individualism based on an infinite individual self-confidence to be personally free in morals and truth'."⁴¹ Again, this sort of thinking is not foreign to the ideas expressed by Stirner. To these could be added many other statements which would locate Stirner strongly in a German individualist tradition.

Perhaps this is part of the reason that while most historians would agree with Albert Lévy that while Nietzsche received no direct influence from Stirner,⁴² nevertheless the similarities in thought and expression are indeed striking.

Soon that church will embrace the whole world, and you be driven out to the extreme edge; another step, and the world of the sacred has conquered: you sink into

the abyss. Therefore take courage while it is yet time, wander about no longer in the profane where now it is dry feeding, dare the leap, and rush in through the gates into the sanctuary itself. If you devour the sacred, you have made it your own! Digest the sacramental wafer, and you are rid of it!⁴³

One might note also Stirner's statement—"How can you believe that the God-man is dead before the Man in him, besides the God, is dead?"⁴⁴ The similarity to the famous Nietzschean phrase demands consideration.

While it would take a particular study to determine this point a parallel might be made between the motive power in Stirner and the unconscious force in things which Darwin would later discuss. Another influence that would be interesting to investigate involves Kierkegaard.

In 1843, after his second trip to Berlin, Kierkegaard wrote *Fear and Trembling*; the following year a curious line appeared in Stirner's *Ego and His Own*—"but, if I am duty bound to reason, then I, like Abraham, must sacrifice my dearest to it!"⁴⁵ Had they talked in Berlin or had Stirner simply read the book by the Dane? The latter seems unlikely which leaves one with the tantalizing question—who stimulated whom?

While it might be expecting too much from Stirner's influence, there are similarities to be seen between Stirner's discussion of freedom, "ownness" and "the owner" and in the psychological ideas of Victor Frankl, Fromm and even Freud. The terminology is different but note the Freudian sound of the following passage.

This tearing apart of man into "natural impulse" and "conscience" (inner populace and inner police) is what constitutes the Protestant. The spy and eavesdropper,

"conscience", watches over every motion of the mind, and all thought and action is for it a "matter of conscience", that is, police business.⁴⁶

In a more general way one should mention that Paul Avrich definitely maintained that Stirner and Nietzsche played important roles in shaping Russian anarchist thought.⁴⁷ Similarly, Max Nomad suggested that Mussolini's reading of Stirner helped to influence the character and direction taken by the dictator.⁴⁸ This is of course one of the difficulties of a strong individualist statement like Stirner's—it can be corrupted into a tyranny of its own.

Finally, the individualist anarchist tradition of rebellion clearly parallels existential alienation. Certainly Albert Camus' definition of a rebel (in his book, *The Rebel*) would be something Stirner would have understood. That is: Rebellion is prompted by a spirit of affirmation, not negation. It is not to destroy, but to preserve, in the face of external destructive forces, that which the rebel feels is essential to his selfness. An anarchist cannot be nihilistic because the whole mind-set is affirmative, as in the case of Camus's rebel; not destruction absolutely.

Such postulations of influence are interesting; but more often than not they must remain just that, postulations. Suffice it to say; Max Stirner very interestingly reflected much of the tension that dominated the 1840s in Europe. His prose is powerful and seductive. He spoke to questions which plagued him in his own day, but ones which have not lost their currency—witness the rebel, the search for freedom, the search for selfness.

SHIRLEY F. FREDRICKS.

¹Irving L. Horowitz, ed., *The Anarchists* (New York, 1964), pp. 28-55. Horowitz listed conspiratorial, utilitarian, peasant, anarcho-syndicalist, collectivist, communist, pacifist, and individualist anarchism. While one can justifiably argue that some of the distinctions made to arrive at this number are pedantic and that some of the "varieties" really belong to ideologies of their own, it does, nevertheless, illustrate the complexity of anarchist thought—thought which tentatively, at least, could contain collectivist with individualistic and conspiratorial with pacifistic conditions.

²George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (New York, 1962), p. 16.

³One has only to read selections by these men in Horowitz, pp. 106-119, 232-49, 311-30, 145-67 and in L. I. Krimmerman and Lewis Perry, *Patterns of Anarchy* (New York, 1966), pp. 70-9, 185-206, 223-39 to see this is true.

⁴These principles of anarchism can be culled and synthesized from any number of sources dealing with anarchism, but the best descriptions are to be found in Woodcock, pp. 9-22, Horowitz, pp. 15-64, Krimmerman and Perry, pp. 5-60 & 554-64 and G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought* (5 vols., New York, 1953-60), II, 337-8.

⁵This attitude dominated and motivated the whole of Max Stirner's essay, *The Ego and His Own* (New York, 1936). This book was originally published in Leipzig in 1845.

⁶This is not to disavow the fanatically militant anarchist, but only to modify.

⁷Woodcock, p. 17.

⁸Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, 1967), p. 4. Stirner did not agree at all with the overriding communal tone of Proudhon or with his dependence on the authority of morality as a source of social control. Stirner, pp. 47 and 78. He would have agreed with Godwin's remark that "there is but one power which I can yield a heart-felt obedience, the decision of my own understanding, the dictate of my own conscience." Quoted in Woodcock, p. 34.

⁹It is interesting to note that Cole said that "in Germany Anarchism never took much hold; . . . The Germans made no significant contribution to Anarchist theory." Cole, II, 330.

¹⁰This book is considered by some to be a pioneer study in semantics. It is written as a mental dialogue which makes it hard at times to follow Stirner's train of thought, that is, which position he holds. One of the important things about Stirner, which is lost to the person not able to read German, is Stirner's choice of words. Apparently they add greatly to the strength of his argument. Fortunately, the translator, Steven T. Byington, attempted to indicate to more important semantic points.

¹¹Stirner, pp. 15-97.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 35, 362, 365.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 92-3. The italics are Stirner's here and will be in subsequent quotes.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 72.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 67.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 35.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 43-67.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 123-43.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 137.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 98-116.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 116-23.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 100.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 123.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 61, 165.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 365.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 94.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 167.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴⁰Richard Kuehnemund, "German Prophets of Doom and Hope", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III (October, 1942), 443.

⁴¹Koenraad Swart, "'Individualism' in the Mid-XIXth Century (1826-1860)", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXIII (Jan.-March, 1962), 90.

⁴²Albert Lévy, *Stirner et Nietzsche* (Paris, 1904).

⁴³Stirner, p. 97.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴⁷Avrich, p. 172.

⁴⁸Max Nomad, *Rebels and Renegades* (New York, 1932), p. 269.

More dogmatic than the Jesuits, more powerful than the Mafia . .

Much has been written of late in the British press about a Spanish Lay Catholic organisation called "Opus Dei" (the Work of God). The precise line varies, but generally it is presented as the most powerful organisation in Spain, which indeed it is. Opus Dei (or the Sacerdotal Society of the Holy Cross to give its correct title) denies this and claims to be a religious society taking as members people from all walks of life—including generals and cabinet ministers.

In traditional Spanish Catholic terms, Opus Dei is intellectual and what is far worse "liberal". It is this last aspect that has most interested the press of the "Western Democracies", who, as part of the mythology of democracy, find it necessary to condemn Franco (but not too harshly!) from time to time. Opus Dei has been the answer to their problem of whom to support when Franco goes. The women's pages are already tooled up to give ample coverage to the young "handsome" King. His public relations operation is easy. More difficulty

occurs in the political and economic fields where memories are just that bit longer. The bourgeois press cannot give any support to a socialist or anarchist alternative. What better then, than a slightly liberal and more importantly technocratic group to appeal to their slightly liberal and often "technocratic" readership. Opus Dei is posited as a mass organisation, but it is in reality very elitist with four levels of membership. The highest is the only one that really matters, an intellectual powerhouse, a university doctorate being the first qualification, to which accession from the ranks is virtually impossible. To be a member, at any level, is to totally commit yourself. Perhaps this idea appeals to the technocrats who often seem to totally commit themselves to their organisation or company or even to the idea of technology itself.

Opus Dei is not popular with the more established sections of the Church of Rome. Its saving grace from Vatican proscription appears to be its charity work in Africa. Yet Opus Dei insists on

its purely spiritual role. It may have been thus in the beginning, but now it is certainly (despite two enormous financial scandals—to the extent of £120 million) the most powerful organisation in Spain, so powerful that it can order the police to break up a Falangist demonstration.

The following article, translated from "Tierra y Libertad" will show this in more detail and point out clearly how their activities are harmful to the economic though not the political interests of the working class. Opus Dei is far too intellectual and elitist to ever have the attraction to the poor that Falangism once held.

Tony Levene.

* * * * *

IT IS NOW WIDELY KNOWN that Opus Dei was founded in 1928 by the priest Balaguer, who wrote the bible of the movement, "El Camino" ("The Way"). He was helped by twelve disciples, a somewhat crude plagiarism of the Judea Christ. All of this, to the

misfortune of the Spanish people, for in exchanging the rule of Opus Dei for the rule of Christ, they have introduced at least twelve birds of a genuine, as opposed to superstitious, bad augury. This group of "evolved" Jesuits has much the same pattern as the original sect of Ignatius Loyola—and now as then, the policy seems to be to give the semblance of honouring and protecting the church, by all means, "fair" or foul, while in reality furthering their own interests.

Balaguer, a doctor of theology, has given a new dimension to Spanish politics, with his apostles, smooth-gloved, broad-clawed, narrow-minded, who could logically take over power tomorrow, but who continue to hypocritically obey Franco—now that he is a living corpse and not a man in full possession of his faculties. The work of Opus Dei is none other than the absorption of everything useful into the ruling sect, for it has no other goal than that of imposing its creed on the world, or perhaps put better, of imposing its speculative dimension upon the political order.

The organisation, as an organisation, does not strictly speaking exist. There are no statutes—save the nine hundred or so statutes of "El Camino" (now translated into over twenty languages and which its followers prefer to the Bible) and no list of members. The principal themes of this bible are blind obedience and strict secrecy, based in turn upon coercion and intransigence. These are the pillars of the faith which counts some sixty thousand adherents in the world, mostly powerless and just there as ballast, to give the semblance of a mass organisation. Two thousand of these are priests. It is mainly virulent in Spain, but has spread to other countries such as Kenya, Japan and French Canada.

Opus Dei owns and controls student hostels, professional training and apprenticeship schools and various cultural and religious centres of which the most important is at Tajamar, near Madrid. Members can be found in the schools and the universities, in business, industry and commerce;

they exercise a considerable influence in the press, radio, television, cinema and even in bullfighting and, of course, the government. Most of these members are in the intermediate and lower echelons. They have no power in Opus Dei, but by obeying orders from above and acting in concert, they have achieved a massive power in Spain.

All this is done in anonymity and with no opposition from Franco, who is, in any case, no longer in a position to oppose. Going further, it can be said that the methods that they use to grab

what does not belong to them are psychological and that they frequently use the lowest forms of moral blackmail.

Before any and every meeting of the Spanish Government those ministers belonging to or controlled by Opus Dei have their own meeting to work out their ideas and keep themselves on the chosen path. Cunning and intransigence are the watchwords. Everyone is aware of the common front they put up against the army faction in the Spanish Government split over the fate of the Basque Nationalists in December

LA VANGUARDIA

ESPAÑOLA

BARCELONA (1)

Barcelona, 6 de julio de 1966

UNDADES: DON CARLOS Y DON BARTOLOMÉ

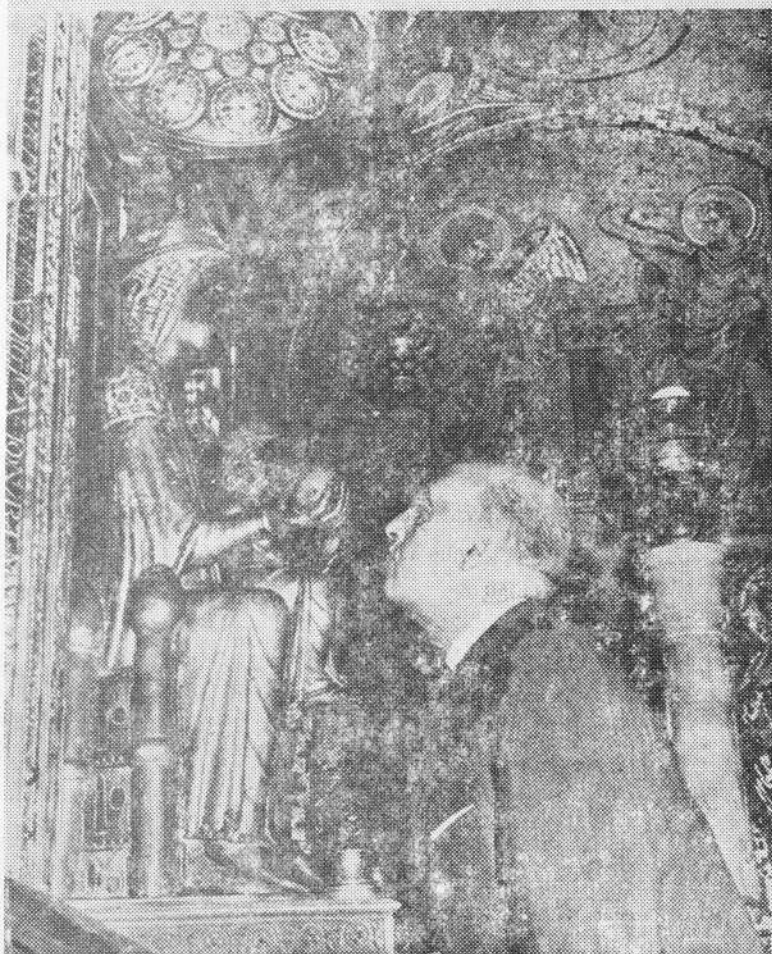
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S. E. EL JEFE DEL ESTADO, A LOS PIES DE LA VIRGEN DE MONTSERRA

S. E. el jefe del Estado hace la imagen de la Virgen de Montserrat que realizó ayer por la noche el escultor barcelonés de Montserrat.

Foto: Pina de 3000

1970. In general, they have prevailed and must claim a certain part of the credit for dragging Spain in the realities of twentieth century capitalism.

To this end they own in the financial field:

Banca Popular Española;
Banco Europeo de Negocios;
Banco Atlántico;
Unión Industrial Bancaria;
Banco de Andalucía;
Banco de Salamanca;
Banco Castellano;
Crédito Andorra;
Satina;
Financiera Euro-Española;
Universidades de Inversiones;
Infisa;
Unión Popular de Seguros, etc.

In the field of publishing:
Actualidad Económica;
Mundo Cristiano;

Telva;

La Actualidad Española (a mass circulation magazine based on "Life", "Paris-Match", etc., a national outlet for consumer advertising);

Ediciones de la Universidad de Navarra;

as well as daily papers in Madrid, Barcelona, León, Valladolid and Pamplona and several more local papers.

They own over twenty major construction companies (very important in a rapidly developing country such as Spain).

The list is never-ending. Were their possessions even one half of these—then Spain would still be utterly in the power of this modern Jesuitism of big monopoly capitalism—for in general it is

now Opus Dei that both pays the piper and calls the tune of the Spanish working class and by their tight control over the financial side of the economy—of those Spaniards who have been forced to go abroad to seek work.

Opus Dei is the power in Spain. Whatever the religious pretensions of Opus Dei may be, Capitalism (of both the private and state varieties) sees only one thing; with its slight liberalism and modern approach to capitalism, it is (in bourgeois terms) efficient and that is all that is necessary to gain the support of Capital. Although their policies might be slightly preferable to those of the Falange, this liberalism must not blind us to its true capitalist, elitist and anti-working class nature.

Anarchism from the Right

POWER AND THE MARKET: Government and the Economy, by Murray N. Rothbard. The Institute for Humane Studies Inc. 232 pp. 1970. \$6.

THE ART OF COMMUNITY, by Spencer H. MacCullum. The Institute for Humane Studies Inc. 112 pp. 1970. \$4.

SOME EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO I had the temerity to suggest in the columns of *Freedom* that if anarchists wished to look for allies they were more likely to find them among what in the USA is called the "libertarian Right" than among the assorted socialist sects. A minor storm burst about my head and letters were printed excoriating me for "heresy" and stridently maintaining that there could be no connection between anarchists and "right-wing" advocates of laissez-faire capitalism.

Undeterred by these excommunications in advance, the movement I had in mind has continued to grow in momentum and intellectual clarity and many of its adherents are now calling themselves "anarcho-capitalists" and urging the abolition of government. Such books as *The Market for Liberty* by Morris and Linda Tannehill and *Radical Libertarianism: A Right Wing Alternative* by Jerome Tuccille, journals such as

Libertarian Connection and *Protos*, and associations such as the Society for Individual Liberty, continue to push the line that the logical end of laissez-faire, free market economics, and its philosophical apologia, is an anarchist society. There are even those who want to combine with the New Left to make a violent revolution to abolish the State, and, as a consequence, have become sadly fixated on a variety of leftist socio-political myths ("Libertarian Leninism" for one).

The view that laissez-faire is incompatible with government is, of course, not a new one. Writers like Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov and H. L. Mencken in the USA, or Auberon Herbert and Wordsworth Donisthorpe in Britain, reflected it in their various ways. And the whole school of Tuckerite anarchists who flourished in the eighties and nineties of the last century believed that free competition and free banking were the economic bases for anarchy, but they claimed that they were *anti-capitalist*, in the popular sense of the term.

The attempted identification of anarchism with "pure" capitalism, however, had to wait for the present time. Its advocates tend to draw their inspiration

from two main sources: the philosopher/novelist Ayn Rand and the economist Ludwig von Mises. Neither Rand nor von Mises consider themselves anarchists (they are, rather, "limited governmentals" in the Herbert Spencer tradition) but their more radical followers have extended the teachings beyond the teachers.

Amongst the most prominent of these "radical libertarians" is the New York economist Murray N. Rothbard, who edits *The Libertarian Forum* and heads the Radical Libertarian Alliance. His new book, *Power and the Market*, is a sequel to his two-volume study *Man, Economy and State* (1962) and puts the case for expelling government intervention not only from the economy, but also from society at large:

"This would imply the complete absence of a State apparatus or government, for the State, unlike all other persons and institutions in society, acquires its revenue not by exchanges freely contracted, but by a system of unilateral coercion called 'taxation'."

In common with other laissez-faire advocates, Dr. Rothbard believes that the slumps, poverty and privileged monopolies which socialists usually attribute to capitalism are, on the contrary, the

product of government intervention in the economy ("the hegemonic principle") and not the product of capitalism as such. Despite the denunciations of capitalism by the various schools of collectivism, it is "the hegemonic principle", not "the market principle", that creates "conflict, coercion, poverty and chaos". "Pure" capitalism, Rothbard would argue, has never existed, since even the heyday of nineteenth-century laissez-faire was distorted and constrained by government.

Kropotkin, in his essay "Anarchist Communism", claimed that what stopped the classical liberals from becoming out and out opponents of government was their belief that for private property to continue in existence it was necessary for government to remain in a policing capacity. Rothbard counters that the kind of protective services that classical liberals thought only government could provide can be far more efficiently provided by voluntary agencies operating on the free market principle. Those who did not want to pay for protective services would not be compelled to do so and could take their chances accordingly.

Whatever one may think of Rothbard's economics (I, for one, do not find them acceptable), he certainly makes out as plausible a case to be called an anarchist as do many others who lay claim to the title. In order to refute him it will be necessary to do more than resort to anti-capitalist sloganizing.

There is one point made by Rothbard, however, that leaves the door open to the re-introduction of authority into his capitalist "anarchy". Discussing the advocates of voluntary taxation he re-

marks, *inter alia*, that:

"While 'the government' would cease to exist, the same cannot be said for a constitution or a rule of law, which, in fact, would take on in the free society a far more important function than at present. For the freely competing judicial agencies would have to be guided by a body of absolute law to enable them to *distinguish* objectively between defence and invasion."

To advocate an "absolute" is to advocate the *unchangeable*. The unchangeable soon becomes the *unquestionable* and the unquestionable, in turn, becomes the *sacred*—that which is "right" in and of itself, that which one *ought* to do whatever one's inclination may be. And *this* is *authority par excellence*. Along with authority comes the sanction necessary to compel respect for it on the part of those recalcitrants who want to go their own way, and the merry game of "tailoring" the individual to fit the demands of the "absolute" begins again under new management.

A critic of Ayn Rand's conception of egoism acutely observed that while she advocates that men be egoists, *she* defines *who* are egoists and *what* they are to do by means of a *new* moral system. In other words, she urges the individual to act according to his self-interest, but reserves the right to determine what his self-interest is! Similarly, what is Dr. Rothbard's "body of absolute law" but, at best, the projection of what certain individuals at a particular time think should or should not be done? He wants us to get rid of the spooks of statism and

collectivism in order to submit to the spook of "law". Small wonder, then, that although he claims to be sympathetic to anarchist individualism, he has no time for the "Stirnerites", for the "rule of law" would shatter against the Stirnerian "Unique".

Nonetheless, his book presents a considerable challenge to those who accept the conventional image of anarchism as a species of socialism.

In *The Art of Community*, Spencer H. MacCullum, a social anthropologist, argues that in the Western Hemisphere there is an inchoate but significant social trend towards substituting "proprietary authority" for the sovereignty of the State. Drawing on his anthropological researches and his knowledge of real estate in the USA, he claims that if such a trend were clarified and acted on in a conscious manner it would result in a society of contract instead of a society of political coercion.

I do not find this prospect attractive. To look to real estate management for social organization is no guarantee that the individual would be any freer than under the State. This "new capability" might well "contain the empirical seed of a new social integration", but where there is "social integration" there will be not only those who are "integrated"—there will also be those who do the "integrating". This new effort at "socializing" individualism is no more to my taste than the old.

S. E. PARKER.





set-up in this first part of the test was then explained to them, and there was then a second part in which A was given a placebo and B was given LSD; here neither reported any effect.⁵ It is a great pity that this last study has not been repeated with more subjects—the implications with regard to the subjective assessment of effects in both the normal and abnormal fields of use are enormous.

PURE RESEARCH

This is the far more objective field of the biochemist, the microscope and the chromatograph. It hardly falls within the subject of this article except that if one reads the digested results reported in many newspapers, one is likely to be misled. Take the "chromosome studies". These are now getting on for a hundred in number and the conclusions are extremely uncertain. First, they do not use standard subjects, or enough of them—papers appear on one baby, four adults or two hundred hamsters; secondly, studies are not comparable as regards the animal studied or whether the work was done *in vivo* or in a test-tube. The case for chromosome damage resulting from LSD is not helped by the (possibly apocryphal) tale of one of the earlier researchers on the subject, strongly anti-drug and during the height of the American fuss in 1967, who declared beforehand that his study would prove damage. However, the studies fall into two piles: those which have reported chromosome modification after LSD administration and those which have found nothing. It would be wise to adopt the Scottish verdict "Not Proven" and make no judgement either way, until the evidence either accumulates sufficiently for people to make their own bets, or until scientific deductive methods are refined so that the non-scientific person can accept the pronouncement of yes or no (and uncoloured by press comment).

THE NORMAL PERSONALITY

While scientific research progressed, several psychologists felt that this missed the essence of the supposed psychedelic experience. Two of these, Doctors Leary and Alpert, then at Harvard, were more interested in the mystical significance of the LSD experience than in marking the IQ scores of users. They publicised possibilities for transcending the problems of the "Great" American society, and advocated the use of LSD, as others had recommended mescaline, peyote and ololuiqui before them. The over-enthusiastic distribution of LSD on the Harvard campus led to friction with the authorities, and to the expulsion of Leary and Alpert in early 1963. They departed saying that LSD was more important than Harvard, and set up the International Federation for Internal Freedom in Mexico. This episode was really the first to bring LSD to the notice of the public and the newspapers followed with an increasing number of stories with such informed headlines as:

"LSD—like swift death"

"LSD kills sex drive for ever"

"LSD and sex madness"

"LSD causes blindness"



Yet *Time* magazine, in 1966,⁶ estimated that in that year 10,000 students in the University of California had tried LSD "though not all had suffered detectable ill effects" (a generous comment). A survey for *Life* magazine, in the same year, made the remarkable claim that a possible four million Americans had used LSD in 1965.⁷ Estimates for England tend to be more conservative, but some give similar percentage use to these in America.

In many ways, LSD seems to have touched off the same sorts of anti-attitudes as "al-koh'l" and coffee did and cannabis still does. When LSD was regarded as a psychotomimetic, there was little fuss when people experimented with it, professionally or otherwise. In 1956 Christopher Mayhew took mescaline, which was a drug comparable in fame at the time, before television cameras and the whole session was featured in the *Observer*, which only received 67 letters about the matter.⁸ But now that the drug is famous and is publicised as being pleasure-giving, there is a public outcry at personal experiment and it is loosely classed with the Dangerous Drugs in general, with opium and

the opiates. The publicity is now very bad. LSD has been given the so-called "bad thing" treatment of American television; the British branch of Sandoz Pharmaceuticals (the original manufacturer) has ceased to distribute information on this and similar drugs and the American branch has handed all supplies over to the National Institute of Mental Health; it is rather unlikely that any politician would now be willing to admit he had used a legal drug similar to LSD.


LSD has been under legal control in England since 1966. Prohibition has probably increased interest in this drug without regard to its actual merits. Full enforcement of the law, as with many other laws attempting to control an individual's private actions would lead to administrative chaos. Enforcement of the law could never be fully successful; the drug is too easy to make, hide or smuggle. At present, an ounce, costing a few pounds to produce, might sell for up to £400,000—the incentive is high. The objection to the law which seems socially most acceptable is that people who will use a drug anyway will do so now in an uneducated fashion. Leary pointed out in 1965 that psychedelic drugs open up a region but fail to give a map. There is indeed a marked disparity between the sales of informative books and the number of people reported to use LSD.

The reasons for individuals using LSD are not particularly clear. Figures for the total numbers of users are thought to be unreliable as many people, in an interview situation, will claim to have taken LSD when this is not the case; users are sometimes reluctant to admit drug use due to the law against possession. Many LSD users are very cautious in the interview situation itself and it often takes a considerable time, and possibly the witnessed use of LSD, before the researcher is accepted. Initiation occurs, often with considerable forethought, within groups of friends, between husband and wife, and young parents are reported to have initiated their young, pre-teen, children and children from twenty-one to thirty to have initiated their parents.⁹ The same researchers investigated the rejection of LSD in a group of 47: 41% lacked interest in the change supposedly produced; 26% feared loss of self control; 15% had a general set against drugs of any kind; 15% were uncertain about LSD dangers; 13% lacked the time; 10% lacked confidence in the investigators who were offering the drug; 8% had been previously advised against its use; 8% had knowledge of unfavourable reactions in others; 4% were reluctant to try anything new; 4% considered it to be a private matter and the researchers to be strangers; 2% had fear of addiction and 2% had moral (unspecified) inhibitions.

The "in-group" situation arises partly from the legal situation and partly from the necessity to take LSD in a supportive atmosphere. Becker, 1967, has reported a decline in "bad trips" when LSD takers cluster together, away from a hostile society, when they use the drug.¹⁰ Ethnocentrism is not only typical of LSD users: Blum found that whereas 45% of LSD users are rated as moderately or severely ethnocentric, as many as 31% of controls also were. This to investigate; language used to describe the LSD experience is invariably heavy with superlatives and specially coined words. This was partially explained by Blum, who described how an initiate is often unable to describe the experience until the language of either the group, or users as a whole, is utilised. This has the effect of rendering the description comprehensible to the group but not to outsiders. Description of the experience with reference to that of others has received much comment. Blum postulates, in fact, that the inner sensations of the experience are common to all users; users often claim that each experience is totally different, between users and within individuals, but this is virtually impossible to investigate. There is no doubt that LSD is providing users and, gradually, non-users, with a new emotional and experiential descriptive vocabulary.

The social effects of the use of LSD are much publicised, although frequently in a biased fashion: Timothy Leary is a great proselyte and fame resulted from his exclusion from Harvard; if the effect is

Richard Seewald: Revolutions
(Original-Holzschneider)



during these years would have considerable impact on the future, if the future could get at it. Large contributions by Bakunin, Herzen, Ginzburg and Kropotkin marched across *AKTION's* pages, accompanied by poems which foretold War, Revolution and the reconstruction of Man's social heritage. Unlike some of the Marxists, Pfemfert saw that War, an instrument of the State for stifling Revolutionary possibilities, must be avoided if the social upheaval was to be lasting. *AKTION* did its best to promote revolution and forestall War at all costs. Pfemfert became a friend of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg as early as 1911 (you won't find that in East German books either). In 1912, with the socialist landslide in the January Parliament elections, Pfemfert castigated the smug believers in progressive social democracy:

Poor old bourgeois. But don't worry. The SPD will fight your war for you ok.

Pfemfert's literary revolution began to materialise in the form of certain programmes about the middle of 1912. In May, Ludwig Rubiner wrote two essays in *AKTION* entitled *The Poet into Politics*, where a revolutionary programme was put forward which was to have enormous impact on the younger generation.

Rubiner argued that people (and especially poets) do not think in gradualistic, linear concepts which are the political equivalent of social evolution; instead, their ideas come with "catastrophic" suddenness. The emerging generation were beginning to realize that its thought processes were revolutionary. Once this state has been achieved, it would stand on the outside of all the futile and self-important activities (careers, business, party politics) which characterize social gradualism and reformism:

"We are: the unemployable" i.e. because we have shorted out the whole range of activities bound up with accumulative experience which sidetrack bursts of creative upheaval. Rubiner's message, after he had peeled away the successive layers of the "pointless activity" onion, came to a few words:

"Only one thing remains:
WANT Catastrophe."

"Catastrophe" is perhaps an unfortunate word, but Rubiner, who quite rightly saw the whole of German society dancing merrily on the lip of a self-made volcano, jabbing itself in the arm with phoney activity narcotics administered by . . . the administration, was bound to state his finds in extreme terms.

An objection can be raised to Rubiner's theory. How does it work? How does social action arise from here? Is this not merely a device for alienating (privileged) poets from society rather than making them

face society? But Rubiner's theory does find its way back to a battle position *vis a vis* society. He and Pfemfert argued that ruthless propaganda against the activity-wasting society would lead to conversions on a large scale, especially among those who were not too far gone in the main structures; literature must break out of elitist circles and make first contact with those for whom society already holds little charm: criminals, robbers, junkies, the poor, were a vast lever by which to topple the main structures of government. It's not bad for 1912, slap in the middle of Serge's "Years without issue".

Rubiner's essays started a ball rolling which was to revolutionize the younger generation. In 1913, Rubiner's "Catastrophe" theory emerged with renewed force in Munich with the periodical *Revolution* (see



The picture on the cover shows a painting by Richard Seewald of a crowd flying the black flag with FREEDOM on it. The buildings are scrawled with advertisements for deodorants—a reflection on the waste-making society. (The scene was to become real life in 1919 when the Munich Soviet Republic was suppressed by the entire white army, in whose ranks was lance-jack Julius Streicher, founder of the Nazi S.A. brownshirts and co-killer of Gustav Landauer.) Needless to say, *Revolution* was immediately confiscated. It was prefaced by Erich Mühsam, and an article by Johannes R. Becher (East German Minister of Culture) which he has (of course) since disavowed. It was called "The Song of Freedom":

Anarchists! Revolutionary Anarchists! To Battle!

—and it largely recapitulated Rubiner's theories.

The ball was rolling faster and faster. During 1914 the authorities were no longer convinced that the general hatred for *AKTION* and *Revolution* amongst bourgeois art critics could stop the revolutionising of youth. *AKTION* was repeatedly confiscated during 1914. Pfemfert began a running battle against the authorities to stop himself being censored out of existence. He planned a revolutionary convention for 1915. In May Senna Hoy died, and Pfemfert fell out with Karl Liebknecht because Liebknecht hadn't tried to get Hoy repatriated from his Warsaw prison. The revolutionary movement began to pop up in Dresden, Hamburg, Prague and Leipzig.

But in August the long-planned war was started. For the authorities it was perhaps the most convenient war ever, for mankind the most

disastrous. Even the German Kaiser was unable to stop the vast takeover of the military-industrial complex, for when he had serious doubts about the wisdom of attacking France and Belgium, von Moltke burst into tears. Moltke got his way, and on August 4th Pfemfert, bitterly disillusioned by the vast welcome given to it by most of his friends (including Mühsam), wrote that it was the logical climax to a generation of organised socialism. He then began to work for Revolution in earnest. But at the same time he realized that the years 1911-1914 had a potential which was now gone forever. As the war dragged on year after year, and more and more of his friends were reported dead or missing, even more of them were falling for ideologies which were the product of the moment, and some of them being taken in by the flood of organized lies thundered out by the patriotic press, Pfemfert's disillusion and loneliness increased. In 1915 he could only hope that his life's work, *AKTION*, would stand as a historical structure of German society, and as a running commentary on the dangers of Parkinsonian (narcotic) bureaucracy.

Pfemfert had a very sharp eye. Every week from 1911 until August 1914 he singled out one aspect of society for analysis, and reaffirmed his belief that youth could radically change the whole concept of industrial society. His powers of prophesy were remarkable. In 1913 he foretold the foundation of the German Communist Party by a break-away by Luxemburg and Liebknecht from the main stream of the SPD. This happened in 1918. He foretold in 1912 that, if a strong enough reactionary movement were to try and take over in Germany, it wouldn't matter if there were 70 SPD members sitting in the Prussian Parliament, they would still suffer the same old organized paralysis. In 1912, the SPD has seven seats in the Prussian Parliament, their first electoral success. In 1932, sure enough, when von Papen threw the SPD out of Prussia to make way for Hitler's takeover, not a whimper was heard. In 1912 he warned against the machine-worship of the Futurists, especially that of Marinetti (who lectured in Berlin in April) because of sinister consequences. Sure enough, Marinetti was fast to join the Italian Fascist Party. Ten years later. If Pfemfert was right in these matters, he was probably right in his hope for a new, radical generation of dropouts. The War killed off most of Pfemfert's hopes. But one wonders what would have happened if von Moltke hadn't burst into tears because of his nice new plan!

MIKE JONES.

Revolution

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Zweiwochenschrift

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Richard Seewald: Revolution

(Original-Holzchnitt)

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