

# WHAT IS THE PSYCHEDELIC REVOLUTION?

(signed) — a provo — early 1968

Gentle Reader: A little more than a year ago the mass media began picking up on the hip thing, advertizing it as flowers, love, and rock, much to the bewilderment of hippies who had never heard of any 'flower power', except the power of the little flowers at the top of the plant to get you highest. Slick magazines ignored the complexity of the hip movement—its cultures innately varied, diffuse, a few older, most young, united into the common marijuana subculture. They ignored the deep sense of alienation among hippies (with Bob Dylan, Lennie Bruce, George Orwell and Ken Kesey as icons), the common awareness of the profound sickness of society, to which dropping-out was a response more of despair and disgust than resignation. Love and rock were part of the hip thing, but not without a certain saving realism. Until hippies hit the pages of the slicks, the key ideas for everyone were expanded consciousness and 'psychedelic revolution'. The mass media didn't know where these would lead. But preaching love is safe (churches do it).

The media took the love thing out of context and blew it out of proportion. LOVE became The Message for millions of people who were interested in the movement. The middle class didn't know any better. But hippies themselves became hypnotized by the media, infatuated with themselves in the slick magazines. Denouement was inevitable. Anti-war protests by hippies mounted, and there were the much-publicized murders (as if murders belonged exclusively to *anyone* in New York or San Francisco). The middle class realized that hippies were somewhere else, and hippies relearned that, in the words of a New York digger, "You can't find pure love in Sodom and Gomorrah."

In spite of all this, and the fact that the government clamped off the flow of psychedelics, and speed did its killing, the movement survived. A number of important realizations and concepts grew out of the digger-provo organizing experience. We began to see what psychedelic revolution actually meant; how consciousness-expanding drugs would work the change on society; how our thing was related to other movements and revolutions all over the world. This is a kind of psychedelic manifesto, an attempt to integrate a lot of ideas that have been on the scene, which nobody had time to set forth completely, because they saw how important it was just to promote psychedelics, work for peace, and survive.

## I.

"when ruthie says come see her, in her honkey tonk lagoon,  
Where I can watch her waltz for free, beneath the panamanian moon,  
And I say, aw comon now, you know you know about my debutante,  
She say your debutante just knows what you need, I know what you want."  
(B. Dylan, "Memphis Blues Again")

Bob Dylan, adopted poet of the psychedelic movement, has accurately depicted in this verse the disillusioning impact of the visionary (psychedelic) experience, not only upon the artist, but for any member of this society. "Ruthie" (truth) beckons the visionary to examine the "honky-tonk lagoon" of America's mass culture—milieu of the lower and middle class. There he "can watch her waltz for free, beneath the Panamanian (i.e., red) moon": he can see mass culture with its flaws as springing untrammelled from the anachronistic socio-economic set-up, especially when viewed in the light of radical criticism. No matter how much he reconsiders the benefits of his position and his place ("my debutante"), the visionary is left with the fact that his society cares for his needs, but not for his wants.

The psychedelic movement has been united, up to this point, primarily by a common sense of alienation arising from persecution at the hands of the state. If any idea has been common to the movement, it would be the assertion of 'free consciousness', against all the established authorities that seek to impose their values and versions of events upon our sight—a consciousness freed through the use of psychedelic chemicals. It's not really surprising that a movement toward free consciousness—exploring its own lifestyles, struggling against dogma and routine to see society, in

the manner of Dylan's visionary, as it is—should emerge with the mass use of psychedelics. Too few people have considered what the effects of technology would be, that actually expands consciousness, independent of any given conceptual framework, in an unconscious, routine-ridden society, a society that buys and sells its members, while preparing them for atomic holocaust. It is in these terms that the idea of psychedelic revolution can be understood: as a revolution of technology, like the 'industrial revolution', whose social effects will be more or less drastic as the technology is introduced into the existing cultural matrix. The reaction of the government was to be expected. Just an intuition of what these effects would be led to ruthless police suppression of the psychedelic technology.

An idea that was popular a year ago among hippies was that, granting we could free ourselves with psychedelics from addiction to the routine symbols and values of the old society, the important 'revolution' was the transvaluation of values within, and a search for new forms of culture and expression. Or as it was classically expressed—"A hippy with long hair and beads causes more revolutions per minute in the minds of the straights who see him than all the guerillas in Cuba." Psychedelic revolution was not equated with a definite break in existing political or economic institutions, or the replacement of these institutions. People neglected to consider that the nitty-gritty of our society is a power structure, built on guns and money, demanding complete allegiance and conformity as the price of its services. And that new technologies are always introduced against the considerable opposition of the vested interests they threaten. Those who wanted to use psychedelics to 'do their thing' and make their own utopia collided with that power structure. No utopia has ever been allowed to succeed in this country; like the Mormons of Utah, all were forceably brought back into the American Mainstream, where you compete only in terms of money.

The United States of the Mainstream is wealthy, because it has acquired so much; hypertense, because that is the posture of acquisition; and largely unconscious, because of the hypertension. Most of this is an outgrowth of corporate state capitalism, which combines ever-greater centralization with the excessive competition and economic instability—all the tendencies toward depression, imperialism, and war—to which capitalism is historically prone. But while 'corporate state capitalism' suggests clearly the marriage of industry and military, for instance, it misses conveying the chief characteristic of our experience as members of this society: the constantly accelerating pace of time, the increasing segmentation of our consciousness by the technologies and institutions of acquisition. True, rural America preserves the pace of an earlier age, but it is the cities that count, because it is the cities—seats of mass media and power—that create our mass culture and history. In the cities, as Dylan says,

"At midnight all the agents, and the superhuman crew,  
Come out and round up everyone that knows more than they do,  
Then they bring them to the factories, where the heart-attack machines  
Are strapped across their shoulders, and then the kerosene  
Is brought down from the castles, by insurance men who go,  
Check to see that no one is escaping, to Desolation Row."

("Desolation Row")

For Dylan desolation row is not a place, but the state of mind that sees things as they are. All the agents of the power structure—education, for instance—seek to replace this vision with proper interpretations and values, so that we grow up strapped into the heart-attack machine of urban social and economic institutions—a constantly accelerating squirrel-cage. As our awareness is increasingly segmented among various institutions into shorter and shorter intervals, and new technologies do everything faster, time speeds up. Society's demands become a superstimulus, and to cope, we grasp at institutional routines, the fixed responses of procedure, technology, value and interpretation.

A routine-ridden society is automatically an unconscious one. There is an intense specialization of awareness involved in fixing behavior into institutional forms, and this fragments Inclusive Consciousness into the multitude of routines. The very tension that keeps routine response fixed detracts from awareness. And while do not experience routine (which is socially conditioned in the first place) as part of ourselves, and directly amenable to our will, routine is nonetheless an extension of ourselves, and a drain on our psychic resources, leaving us neither the awareness nor the energy to modify it. Herein lies the stability of the power structure; its power is to segment experience and behavior, to accelerate, to impose and re-impose the tensions and unconsciousness

of routine. We are taught concepts to interpret the world, but segmenting and accelerating our experience tie interpretation down to procedure, so that procedure modifies thinking, rather than thinking modifying procedure.

A year ago Leary wrote that the psychedelic revolution was already victorious, inasmuch as it had "won a place in the consciousness" of the American public. Well, so did the hula-hoop. He didn't really distinguish psychedelic revolution from fad—yielding to a common, though false feeling of security that left the hip community open to repeated police persecution. Leary would be the first to depict ours as a largely unconscious society, but he missed the full import of this, that insofar as the tensions and unconsciousness of routine permeate institutional life, institutional life is alienated. Alienation of social forms from man arises because modifying reality or fixing our response 'objectifies' the consciousness involved; as described above, institutional routines cease to be available to us as part of *ourselves*, becoming alien and even inimical to our will. Institutions tend to assume a life of their own—'super-organic' in relation to the community or individuals—not only from the commitment and self-interest of the men involved, but because the general public believes in them. Corporate state capitalism becomes an independent, aggrandizing, super-organic entity. Maintaining the mechanics of the system, like the warfare economy, becomes more important than human well-being. Means become the ends; and the quasi-organic continuity of precedent and procedure develops along its own lines. Every member of our society contains in his behavior a ritual analogue of the predominant institutions. The institutional functionary, bound to the procedure and precedent of his own position, has as little freedom as anyone. The power structure resists modification or control by anybody, not primarily because people are coerced, but because the energy and awareness sufficient to *change* institutions tends to be more than absorbed maintaining them. It is precisely this tendency of the United States or any power structure to maintain and aggrandize itself, independently, that is ignored by the romantic myth of psychedelic revolution purely as 'dropping-out'. The movement may have attracted attention, but psychedelic technology has yet to be really widely applied, and the institutions, values, and culture of the old society remain untouched.

No matter how many millions drop out, there will still be a conservative mass from which the elite can train its successors, who will preserve the essential features and direction of the corporate capitalist state. All drop-outs land somewhere in America, whose mass culture is generated by the media of education and communication, firmly under the control of the power structure. And the power structure seeks not only to maintain itself; to overcome its own internal contradictions, corporate capitalism aggrandizes itself in all directions, seeking total control of individual experience and interpretation through education and mass media. Deviant consciousness and lifestyles become counter-media, like unto the child asking why the emperor has no clothes.

What will happen when psychedelics are massively introduced into this culture? Western man, at least, was previously limited to conceptualizing ideologies as the means of expanding his consciousness. But concepts are created cultural artifacts; they belong to some one. Chemically expanded consciousness is free. It is not exclusively mine, nor yours, nor theirs. It is even inevitable, once you ingest a psychedelic, whether you want it or not, leaving you faced with the job of applying your concepts and values, formerly partial and fragmentary, to the whole vastness of your vision. For the head who continues to repeat the experience, re-applying concepts and values seems to bring about 'role-detachment': an active, inclusive awareness of values, planning, ideas and behavior previously pursued unconsciously; and new awareness of institutional routine, freeing him from conditioned emotional response and automatic interaction. He becomes concerned more with a personal version of satisfaction, instead of the controls and status symbols of the American Game. Authority *recedes*; he tends to reinterpret the world in terms of his own experience, evolving a stronger, more concrete, more individual ideological response to his notion of society. Every age has produced a few visionaries, men whose consciousness went beyond their own temporary involvements and society's dogmas, who followed their individual vision even in the face of authoritarian resistance. Consciousness-expanding drugs seem to be a technology that produces visionaries en masse, with a visionary's awareness, for masses of people, of their alienation from authority and bourgeois mass culture. This the government cannot allow. But police suppression of psychedelics only compounds the sense of alienation. Psychedelic revolution begins as the struggle of the abnormally conscious—freaks—to protect themselves against the power structure.

To survive, American hippies have moved in the last year toward a kind of visionary politics. Everyone tried to find a politics that would complement, rather than contradict, his past and his

present positions. For secure haves, especially with upper class, rightist backgrounds, the typical rejection of mass values and culture tended to keep the form of spiritualism and dropping out. But have-nots developed a digger-provo-pacifist rejection both of American life and of the socio-economic order potentially behind it. This is why consciousness-expanding chemicals are potentially such a catalyst for social change. Lower class losers and middle class non-winners are 85% of the US population. In order to bring about real revolution it has always been necessary to raise the consciousness of the masses to the point where they see the need for the revolution and identify with it. Psychedelics expand consciousness. Anyone who benefits from psychedelics, and then suffers for it at the hands of the police, gradually loses faith in the government in all things. If he still tries to regenerate culture from within the system, he runs into the limitless capacity of the power structure to absorb brilliant deviants, strip them of subversive features, and remold them into its own image. It's always easier to give up your subversive features. Otherwise the whole culture will be set against you, until you wrest control of the media that generate culture from the power structure. The aggrandizing bent of corporate state capitalism insures not only that control will never be relinquished, without a break in the corporate capitalist state, but that every effort will be made to extend it, to include you. The American hippie, as much as the Negro, lives in a police state. Even a pothead knows what it means to live in fear of the knock on the door in the night. There he sits, with an expanded consciousness of his grievances, of his maniac society sitting on the edge of war, fear congealing into a ball in the pit of his stomach. Just waiting.

## II.

"Inside the museums, infinity goes up on trial...  
Voices echo, this is what salvation must be like after awhile...  
But Mona Lisa must have had the highway blues,  
You can tell by the way she smiles...

See the primitive wallflowers freeze,  
When the jelly-faced women all sneeze,  
Hear the one with the mustache say jeeze, i can't find my knees...  
The jewels and binoculars hang from the head of the mule,  
But these visions of Johanna, they make it all seem so cruel."  
(B. Dylan, "Visions of Johanna")

Establishment ideology always supports the establishment, not only because it expresses an awareness tied down to procedure and segmented among various institutional realities, but because like the rest of mass culture, it belongs to the power structure. The museums that Dylan is talking about here are the repositories of institutional ideology—church, university, and mass media—which seek to embalm reality in precise values and the proper versions of events, presenting their 'knowledge' as the true salvation. Dylan rejects this propriety; for him truth partakes of artistic creation—like "Mona Lisa's highway blues", it arises as an ecstatic personal response to the larger aesthetic of things as they really are. The sterility of official learning is in direct proportion to the degree that the power structure controls it. Dylan likens the priest, professor and journalist of the establishment to "primitive wallflowers" who freeze with fear at the slightest disapproval from the "women" (elsewhere "ladies"), his re-occurant symbol for the elite. Institutional ideologues busily doctor up a version of things designed to protect against the wrong reflections on our society, meanwhile rewarding the "mule"—an ass—with "jewels and binoculars"—wealth and the symbols of learning. It is only that Dylan's own ideal vision makes it all seem so cruel.

A less articulate version of Dylan's attitude is fairly common among hippies. And unfortunately for the establishment apologist, a longing for something more than ideological apologies pervades our whole society, just because its individual members are dulled by routine, wasted by hypertension, and frustrated by the conflicts and alienation of urban mass culture. The modern success of movements like Marxism and Freudianism derives largely from their providing the 'convert' with an inclusive framework of concepts and values with which to grasp and integrate his past and present, freeing his energies and awareness from the conflicts of life in a fragmented, hypertense society by explaining everything in terms of a compact system. The individual member

of our society feels an overwhelming need to stand just outside of it, as a compact self. 'Conversion' brings this self-integration, but through slow, rigorous re-interpretation which is liable to distortion under the weight of routine and mass culture. The psychedelic experience fills the same deep, common need. But it does so by expanding awareness *itself*, exposing conflict and repression directly, letting the user re-integrate himself by applying his partial interpretations completely and stringently, or by adopting new ones. Conversion frees consciousness, but with psychedelics, it's easier.

When we talk about psychedelics 'expanding awareness', we are really talking about one of two kinds of awareness—man's awareness of what he experiences, as opposed to his awareness of what he feels or does in response. The flow of our lives is rooted in the dialectic of the two—in the tension between objective experiencing, and subjective responding. Substances like LSD and mescaline are unique, as stimulants that accelerate the perceptual, experiential awareness with far less acceleration of behavioral response. Most stimulants accelerate behavior, or speed everything up in lockstep; psychedelics speed up the rate at which you *notice*. Now normally, as we interpret reality, we pick and choose stimuli, so that as we construct an ideology, we create a reality, which is tested and defined through further behavioral response, emerging as 'material reality'. Psychedelics speed up 'noticement', the concrete perceptual awareness which elicits response from the organism: you have far more stimuli, for which you develop stronger, (more compact, inclusive interpretations).

Normal behavior in our society, including ideological response, has tended to become an expression of the flood of adrenaline we feel as we are progressively unable to integrate a response, both satisfactory and conscious, to the superstimulus of a fragmenting culture and an accelerating technology. We feel adrenaline as irritation or fear, externalize it as violence, or transmute it into tension, which mediates between the superstimulus and adrenal reaction, preserving our psychic equilibrium. Concepts involve the tension of response, since conceptualizing is subvocalization. But more often in this society, our quest for equilibrium fixes the mediating tension to repress both stimulus and adrenal reaction (repression), or to condition a routine response (alienation). Repression and alienation make adrenal reactions static, instead of relieving them.

Of course, the personalities that result are a bit warped, like the cool, analytic McNamaras who plot out all possible ends for the world. For aside from the ebb and flow induced by chemical additions to the organism, the stimulus-response dialectic is a kind of 'closed energy system', wherein strength of response detracts from distinctness of perception, and vice versa, while various 'fixed charges' in the system—conditioned tensions—detract from both. Neurotic and institutional personalities, saddled with their tensions, are characteristically 'frigid'.

In effect, a consciousness-expanding drug is a deconditioning agent. It speeds up 'noticement' so much that, cinemagraphically, noticing becomes continuous. Even the normal subject/object division of *knower* experiencing *known* tends to give way to an egoless 'experiencing'. The tensions that 'objectify' repressed subconscious material and routine conditioning weaken as well, as does the tight 'role-playing' that normally excludes stray responses from consciousness. At the same time, intense perceptual awareness elicits from the user total conditioned response for the set and setting he finds himself in. Disparate roles, memories, ideas, reactions—even repressed and alienated ones—all become immediate in consciousness, available for change. Conversion to any one compact ideology, like a religion, may free you from confusion without really touching alienation or freeing consciousness. Conversion is basically re-conditioning. But during the psychedelic experience repressed fears and alienated routines are available as part of yourself—all the conflicts are immediately apparent—you can integrate yourself by developing increasingly compact interpretations. The immediate opportunity posed by psychedelics is to substitute conceptualization (a tension), for repression and alienation (other tensions). The superstimulus of our culture is there, and it may never be changed. But we can develop a flexible, more compact, more inclusive ideological response, liberating our energies and relieving our fears. We can modify our personality and society, rather than apologizing for their ills.

It is clear that the spreading use of deconditioning agents will cut the base right out from under any power structure built on conditioned routine. This won't happen in our country without a struggle to spread use, arrests, mass civil disobedience, and a final clash with the government. But the psychedelic revolutionary not only has the advantage, like many earlier revolutionaries, of being on the side of the prevalent trend of technological development. He can use his technology to create revolutionary ferment directly, to render people susceptible to the message of various counter-media. The popularity, among the turned-on, of anarchist poets like Dylan and Ginsburg, and of the underground press, is a measure of how well these supply concepts and criticisms

relevant to the emotions, memories and problems of expanded consciousness. As throughout history, the psychedelic revolutionary will have to depend mostly upon youth and the lower classes. The need for psychedelics is common to our whole society, but organizing experience shows that older, upper class people remain mostly contemptuous of the revolutionary aspect of psychedelics even when they use them, sticking to religious interpretations out of an unwillingness to take risks. But a deconditioning agent isn't supposed to recast everyone in the same mold; a person is only made more conscious of his own memories and reactions. In building small cadres (a necessity to avoid busts) to work with other movements and levels to resist the government, the revolutionary can develop a strong bond of common emotion and ideas with his group, through repeatedly sharing the psychedelic experience, the mutual criticism and support, as his group works toward free consciousness and a solid program of action.

### III.

"Mona tried to warn me, to stay 'way from the train line,  
She said that all the railroad men just drink up your blood like wine,  
And I said well I didn't know that,  
But then again there's only one I've met,  
And he just smoked my eyelids, and punched my cigarette."  
(B. Dylan, "Memphis Blues Again")

Throughout "Memphis Blues Again", Dylan develops the metaphor of the meth-amphetamine high—characteristically tense, speeding, fragmented, and highly aggressive—as the analogue of the dominant, conditioned brain chemistry in corporate capitalist society. Here he laments that "Mona" (Lisa), his artistic intuition, warned him to avoid the "train line" pace and tension of his society, that all the institutions and influences of capitalism—"railroad men"—would only drink up his artist's life-blood. But he found that to make it as a commercial artist in this milieu, he had to match its pace, resorting to the stimulant methedrine—the "only one I've met". This kept him going late into the night, but burned his creativity out, destroying his aesthetic vision—"smoked my eyelids"—while incidentally countering the effects of marijuana, which meth-heads smoke in large quantities to relieve their drug-induced tensions.

The perspective on our society that Dylan developed while using meth has its strength from his carrying something like the characteristic brain chemistry of the culture to its ultimate limit. The amphetamines are related to adrenaline, which is produced naturally in the body as a behavioral stimulant. We feel adrenaline as excitement, fear, and anger. Like amphetamine, it sublimates our energies away from affection or perceptual reverie into an aggressive nervousness bent on 'doing something'. It makes the difference between contemplating a threat or irritation, and doing something about it—but at the cost of clear perception. In our society, a super-abundance of adrenaline is institutionalized: constantly re-enforced by the superstimuli of competitive values and hypertense pace, the dominant ideologies and institutions of acquisition and war, and continual assimilation of new technologies that require sustained specialization of awareness. To keep up with things, everybody swills caffeine, and millions of middle-class housewives and businessmen have prescriptions for amphetamines, to supplement a relative shortage of natural adrenaline. A norm of superstimulation, of continuous surplus adrenal flow, forms the basis of the whole range of alienated ideological, artistic, and socio-economic responses which make up bourgeois mass culture. Dylan is quite right in calling it a characteristically 'amphetamine' culture, wherein most technology and all institutions are in effect artificial stimulants—"railroad men" that combine to keep us moving faster and faster.

Of course, constant superabundance of adrenaline has had considerable psychic consequences for our society, besides hypertension and fragmented consciousness. We pay the piper. People who are addicted to excitement burn out sooner. Especially in the cities, unfocused anxiety and mental breakdown are pervasive, as people are unable to cope with the strain of life in general. Society is 'repressed', because hypertension and anxiety 'borrow' sexual energy. When an individual develops a chronic, unrelieved surplus of adrenaline, especially when he doesn't cope with actual irritations, he tends to channel his energy and fear into a continual systematizing of stimuli that further and further distorts reality. He becomes paranoid. Our whole society is paranoid, as one may see in official ideologies. (The government didn't have to know what the exact effects of LSD and

mescaline would be before moving to suppress them.)

The most striking distortion of mass behavior is a shortened reaction-time, and obviously adrenal, conditioned reactions: in the lower classes, an addiction to violence; and in the middle and upper classes, addiction to rigid norms of possession and control. The further down and more alienated you are, the less chance you have to express your adrenal surplus in socially accepted activities, the greater is your tendency to externalize fear and aggression in sporadic acts of individual violence against anything which seems to threaten you. The bourgeois obsession with possessing and controlling people and things, absolutely, also externalizes fear and aggression, but does so by directing bourgeois behavior into the authoritarian routines of capitalism, administering a larger, collective violence. What is common in both cases is the alienation: there is no reflective pause when a key symbol or situation flashes, just immediate adrenal reaction—violence or rigid control. The lower-class criminal is violent because he has not. The upper-class individual who craves rigid control when he interacts with others, who approaches everything bent on possessing it, displays a past full of *emotional* starvation, and fear, a childhood spent being possessed and controlled to the exclusion of love. A child learns violence or control very early, instead of love and serenity, and the culture just keeps on reconstructing itself in its own image.

This culture is not hostile to drugs like alcohol, that relieve conditioned adrenal tensions temporarily. Tranquilizers and depressants are used by millions, often the same millions who use amphetamines, and alcohol is more tolerated now than ever before. In fact, consumption of alcohol is highest among the college graduates who are the flesh and blood of corporate capitalism, who are most caught up in its hypertense rhythm. But these drugs are consciousness-*contracting*; they relieve tension by damping awareness of stimuli, without interfering with the capacity for instant adrenal reactions, as is demonstrated by the well-known propensity of alcohol-drinkers for violence. Psychedelics are consciousness-*expanding*. They stimulate awareness as opposed to behavior, lengthen reaction-time, and interfere with instant conditioned reactions like violence and control. Psychedelics impair the capacity to fear and to act far less than most euphorants. But beyond temporarily relieving tensions, frequent use even of mild marijuana alters the static surplus of adrenaline in which our culture is based. In a state of expanded awareness, constant adrenal flow and hypertension cause acute discomfort. As repressed memories and fears return, and all the high tensions associated with his social conditioning, the psychedelic-head is obliged to work them through, until he achieves some measure of serenity. Hence the concern of hippies, freed from their society's adrenal obsession with violence and rigid control, for love and perception. Psychedelics form a new chemical basis for the whole range of social response.

Seeing psychedelic technology as a threat to the very chemical basis of super-adrenal cultures is the key to understanding the speed and harshness of the universal campaign to stamp out psychedelics. Most other technologies tend to increase hypertension and to fragment consciousness—the price of doing more, faster—and in effect re-enforce the various 'super-organic' power structures. Instead of freeing man and feeding him, these technologies have been mis-used and mis-applied in the interests of the power structures, rapidly destroying the planet's ecological balance, making small elites in modern urban countries enormously rich and powerful, leaving the subject population powerless and the other 2/3 of the world utterly poor, and facing us with atomic holocaust. Electronic communications media, for instance, which reproduce externally the human nervous system itself, in effect give the police state a nervous system of its own, making the alienation of power structures from people complete. One would have to be a maniacal speed freak—our cultural archetype—not to see what is wrong just from the 'vibrations'. Any psychedelic-head evolves enough awareness of his own anxiety and tensions, to sense their rhythm reproduced at large in the societies of the world around him. This is what makes psychedelics so subversive.

In highly developed countries, both capitalist and collectivist, other things besides psychedelics are present that tend to free consciousness. Most important is the coincidence of mass education and mass leisure. Public education increases people's consciousness immensely, and though this consciousness 'belongs' to the power structure, given leisure time people gradually free it from establishment domination. Hence everywhere the centuries-long fight for free public education, and conservative hostility towards welfare and unemployment compensation. In Russia, actual Marxist texts provide the basis for radical criticism of the Soviet system, if only the masses had leisure time to reflect on them. Russia recently returned to a six-day week. Again, in the West, advertizing media manipulate 'motivation-in-depth', repeatedly emphasizing socio-economic inequality. But you can't tell a poor Negro that he's worthless until he has name-brand clothes and TV, and expect him and his fed-up neighbors not to go and appropriate the same, one hot summer night, from the local store-window. What makes this an insurrection, instead of a bunch of

individual crimes, is the presence of a common, free consciousness. The Negro's educational level zoomed upward, and he remained unemployed, while he made few material gains. Poor minorities and unionized labor may be inert without radical leadership. Highly educated youth, on the other hand, is constantly developing a radical leadership for itself and all movements. Even out of the Cold War, a radical youth is evolving in Western and collectivist cities, whose consciousness is free—a new revolutionary class that is bound neither to the collectivist nor the capitalist productive process.

A socialist revolution is sweeping the proletariat of hunger in the Third World. But even before victory, conscious revolutionaries regiment themselves into a party to survive police persecution. The party establishes its dictatorship, in the ensuing turmoil, as a substitute for the dominance of masses whom primitive fascist regimes have left uneducated and unconscious. Faced with continuing US imperialism without, and ingrained poverty, tyranny and violence within, nascent socialism collapses under the adrenal strain, degenerating rapidly into a dictatorship for, as well as by, the party, which becomes an apparatus of bureaucrats. The party's anxieties are gradually transferred into maintaining its own privileges, its control of the productive environment and the powerlessness of the masses. The result is one more super-organic state. Bureaucratic collectivism may be the shortest road through industrial revolution for the non-western world, considering the unconsciousness of the masses there. But when we have psychedelic technology, the cost in human suffering and resources seems too high, especially when the outcome is a number of bureaucratic collectivist states, still poor, but armed to the nuclear teeth for war with US imperialism.

In all super-adrenal societies—even China—the power structure is threatened at this point by patches of free consciousness among the lower classes and youth. Simultaneously, every power structure also has a time-tested mechanism for repossessing leisure and inundating consciousness in fresh waves of adrenal fear and aggression—War. War means witch-hunts. War incites the proletariat to loyalty, regiments and kills off troublesome youth. Corporate capitalism is certainly more retrograde than any collectivist bureaucracy, in waging war not just to secure the state in mass hysteria, but out of sheer economic necessity. Only bureaucratic socialism is warlike (as versus Sweden). Capitalism, however, tends to produce more than it can sell to its own relatively underpaid workers, and runs into depression, unless it can siphon overproduction into a military establishment. Prosperity becomes based in 'defense spending', as in the US since 1940. Of course, the public who pays for 'defense' wants a believable threat, or they stop paying. Eventually no threat is believable enough. There has to be real war, socialist and it might as well be against the/world revolution, which is cutting off markets and investments, and making things even more uptight.

It was the terrible inevitability of the coming war with China that prompted Dylan to write of it to his public:

"Your dancing child with his Chinese suit,  
I spoke to him, I took his flute,  
You know I wasn't very cute to him, was I,  
But I did it because he lied,  
Because he took you for a ride,  
Because time was on his side, and because I Want You."  
("I Want You")

But the Johnsonian pied-piper has his flute firmly in hand. The timing of Kennedy's elimination was no accident. After the Cuban missile crisis Kennedy started to question unrelenting hostility towards collectivist states. He was too tolerant of deviant minorities, who began to shake the country as the Great Fear of the 'fifties faded. Major escalation in Vietnam—as opposed to a Laos-type settlement—began in the year after his assassination. Johnson's specific moves were determined by momentary expediency (like his securing re-election through the Gulf of Tonkin hoax), but the overall growth of the war, besides expressing US imperialism, represented a movement to stop every dissidence in the country cold. Every peace demonstration in the last three years was followed with clock-work precision by a new escalation of the war—a further attempt by the government to drown us in an adrenal flood.

The formula failed. Sometime between '66 and '67 the rank-and-file at peace demonstrations began to be hippies, who were chemically immunized against the War Game. Just when all the institutions and technologies of our society were forcing us into frantic adrenal movement toward permanent warfare or nuclear annihilation, fragmenting and obliterating any inclusive



consciousness of our situation, there appeared a technology that could expand consciousness and free us from deadly speed. It is strange that psychedelics—one of man's oldest technologies—should be the key to coping with the effects of all the others. But when clear perception was overwhelmed for all but a few visionaries, by the pace and tensions of urban, highly technological society, only another technology could restore the balance. The strength with which the use of psychedelic drugs sprang from out of isolated subcultures into mass society was the need that society as a whole had for them.

The psychedelic movement can never compromise with any super-organic power structure—and not only because such compromise involves you in the exploitation of your fellow man. The power structure itself will not compromise. The movement must make alliances with groups and forces outside of itself, if it is to survive and spread psychedelics. But any technology of free consciousness challenges the power structure's fundamental control-mania and paranoia, which guard the privileges of the elite and ensure the alienation of everyone else from wealth and power. This is a police state. It can only move in the direction of more repression. Laws against sale have slowed the spread of psychedelics.

The laws that Johnson is going to get passed against possession—with all his lies, in the face of the First Amendment—these laws are not concerned with the spread. They will be used like the pot possession laws, to eliminate anyone who give the government a hard time. Possession laws will go on the books to punish hippies for opposing the war.

To survive, hippies will have to clash with the government, and change society so that it no longer seeks to eliminate them. You cannot serve Moloch without ending in his fiery mouth. Plant your seeds, and spread the word.

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NOTE, the author of this manifesto is probably Chester Anderson.