PSYCHOPHARMACOLOGY AND POLITICS:
TIMOTHY LEARY'S THEORY OF REVOLUTION

by

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I hereby recommend that this dissertation prepared under my direction by Robert Michael Freeman

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ABSTRACT

Timothy Leary has contributed an important body of theory. Its' sources are both empirical and subjective. It is analytical, prescriptive, and predictive. It is theological, philosophical, social, political, and psychological. Contained within it is a theory of revolution.

Leary advocates and predicts a revolution of consciousness in which psychedelic chemicals will serve as the catalyst. He argues that there are hierarchical states of consciousness, and that there is a specific chemical trigger to produce each.

He lists the crimes of the existing political order, and contends that a revolution is both justified and necessary. He calls for revolution not through confrontation nor through any other form of political action, but through an individual change of consciousness.

Leary argues that L.S.D., mescaline, and psilocybin, when properly employed can produce a state of consciousness which includes a temporary suspension of the results of the conditioning process, allowing the subject to experience himself and his relation to his environment from a different perspective. Thus freed from conditioning, man can choose his own values and his own life style.

Leary argues that the subjective quality and value of the psychedelic experience are dependent upon two external variables. They are the set, or state of mind of the subject, and the physical and psychological setting within which the experience takes place.

This sought after state of consciousness has been highly prized by men for millenia. It is essentially unitive, a vision of oneness, of the inseparability of things and events in the world. Leary calls the attainment of this state of mind a religious experience, and claims that it can be produced by a sufficient dosage of a psychedelic chemical when ingested by a prepared and psychologically open subject in a comfortable setting and in a supportive atmosphere provided by one or a few people whom the subject knows and trusts. Leary calls for an individual moral, theological, and philosophical regeneration which will have as its end result the transcendence of the status quo in a non-violent religious and political revolution.

Leary predicted that these chemicals would be widely used, but his assumption that they would be used correctly and therefore have the desired effect is naive. He is more a proselyte for a new religion than a systematic political theorist. Yet his theory is valuable not only for the insights it provides into consciousness and the defects of the existing social and political order, but also because it is a serious attempt to confront the issue of chemically and electronically produced consciousness alteration and control.

CHAPTER I. LEARY AND REVOLUTION

"Timothy Leary's dead Oh, no, He's outside looking in."[1]

Any theory of revolution which attempts to justify and/or advocate either the success or failure of a revolutionary movement is a normative theory. As such it is informed by a commitment to certain values. The advocacy of revolution implies a commitment to a set of values viewed as insufficiently realized in the existing society.

It is obvious that the values of individuals are in conflict not only with those of others, but with competing and incompatible values which they themselves hold. If an individual values stability and equality simultaneously, and comes to realize that inequality exists in his society and cannot be eradicated in the absence of gross change in existing institutions, he must somehow decide on his priorities. Revolution is always undesirable to those individuals and societies which place a premium on stability. On the other hand, goals such as justice, equality, and happiness may demand revolutionary change.

Advocates of revolution have consistently based their appeal on some notion of justice or equality. Men revolt to improve their condition. There is always the promise of a better life in a better world. As Crane Brinton suggests,

> It is...the expression of (such) ideas, rather than particular ideas--which may vary enormously in different revolutions--that makes the uniformity. We find that ideas are always a part of

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[1]The Moody Blues,"Legend of a Mind" on the album In Search of the Lost Chord, London Records, Inc., #18017.

> the revolutionary situation, and we are quite content to let it go at that. No ideas, no revolution. This does not mean that ideas cause revolutions, or that the best way to prevent revolutions is to censor ideas.[2]

Revolutions happen, then, in part because of what happens in men's minds. A change of ideas, either about what is possible or about waht is tolerable, occurs in conjunction with various types of revolutionary movements.

Many revolutionists have called for such a change. Timothy Leary advocates a revolution, not of ideas, but of thinking. He is calling for a change of consciousness in a more profound sense than merely urging men to recognize the abuses and shortcomings of a particular government. He demands, instead, an individual moral regeneration.

The empirical study of revolutions was initiated by Aristotle, who was primarily interested in accumulating knowledge about their causes that might be put to use in the effort to prevent their occurence.

Aristotle contended that there were two primary causes of revolution. The first is a set of psychological motives, what he calls "the state of mind which leads to sedition."[3] For Aristotle, revolution begins in minds of men, at least in the sense that, regardless of circumstances, revolutions do not occur until those circumstances are perceived, interpreted, and judged by individuals. Revolutions, he argues, are never motivated simply by a desire for material gain, but always in the name of some notion of justice.

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[2]Crane Brinton. Anatomy of Revolution. (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 52.

[3]Aristotle. The Politics of Aristotle. Edited and translated by Ernest Barker. (London, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 207.

The second general cause of revolution is the set of immediate objects in view. Objects such as material gain, improved status, etc., spring from universal drives which Aristotle imputed to men.

These psychological and material motives combine and reinforce one another when there is an "occasion which serves to start political disturbance and mutual dissension."[4]

One of his most important observations about the causes of revolution was that they often spring from a desire for equality. For revolution to occur, there must be not only a social inequality, but also a recognition and a rejection of this situation on the part of potential revolutionary recruits.

Aristotle was an observer and an analyst of revolution, not an advocate. His observation that revolutions can be caused by a desire for equality has stood quite well the test of the intervening centuries. As James C. Davies has written: "Whether the language was Lutheran, Wesleyan, Calvinistic, Jeffersonian, Rousseauan or Marxian, the frustrated expectation of equality has been a major factor in all major revolutionary upheavals since Luther posted his Ninety-Five Theses on the Wittenburg church door. Indeed since long before that."[5]

The conditions under which men live are contrasted with the description of some ideal or with a vision of an improved condition which is attainable. And, as Brinton points out, "what differentiates this ideal world of our revolutionaries from the better world as conceived by more

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[4]Ibid.

[5]James C. Davies, (ed.). When Men Revolt and Why. (New York: Free Press, 1971), p. 7.

pedestrian persons is a flaming sense of the immediacy of the ideal, a feeling that there is something in all men better than their present fate, and a conviction that what is, not only ought not, but need not be."[6]

Eighteenth century natural rights--social contract theory provides an elaborate justification for resistance to established rule. Jefferson asserted in the Declaration of Independence that equality among men is a self-evident truth, that is, a self-validating value. Governments are conventional, established by men to perform certain functions. Foremost among these is the protection of the natural rights of individuals. The people are sovereign; the government their agent. Whenever a government becomes destructive of the ends it was designed to promote, the people may exercise their natural right of revolution.

Revolution here proceeds from a state of conscious recognition of the failure of the government to fulfill its contractual obligation. It is justified by an appeal to higher law principles. And, as Brinton says, "In England, America, and France, the essential principle to which men appealed against present conditions was nature, with its clear and simple laws."[7]

Psychological motives, said Aristotle, operate in tandem with appeals to individual self-interest to motivate revolutions. And so they did in the American Revolution. Thomas Paine, in the important and influential tract, Common Sense,[8] combines his philosophical argument

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[6]Brinton, op. cit., p. 49.

[7]Ibid., p. 50.

[8]Thomas Paine. Common Sense and other Political Writings. (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953.)

with a forthright defense of revolution by an appeal to the material self-interest of the colonists. This combination of motives, when an occasion rises to act on them, and there is an immediate prospect of success, results in revolution.

In the French Revolution, the desire to improve the material condition of the masses combined with the 'attitudes of mind' expressed by the cry of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

For Marx, there is no need to justify the proletarian revolution because he regards it as inevitable. The revolution will occur when the proletariat attains class consciousness. The recognition of their condition on the part of the proletariat will occur inevitably and spontaneously when their material condition deteriorates to the point of threatening their survival.

The Marxist revolution is decreed by history, and occurs in accordance with what he regarded as a set of scientific principles. The result of this revolution will be not only an improved material condition, but the final demise of the class struggle, the attainment of equality. This is not a revolution to overthrow a particular government but to end government altogether. The state, in Marx's view is a tool of oppression, an instrument of the ruling class. When there are no more classes, the state will dissolve.

Herbert Marcuse is among the most influential contemporary revolutionary theorists. For him, as for Marx, the goal of the revolution is the liberation of man. Marcuse envisions not only liberation from the imposed needs and obligations forced on the individual by advanced

industrial society, but also liberation from the struggle to survive. Freed from these restraints, man can then also liberate himself from internal repressions and neuroses.

This revolution awaits, according to Marcuse, only for the demise, or rather transcendence, of a state of mind which he calls false consciousness. By the term he refers to the artificial needs and values imposed upon the people by the established system and their resultant blind loyalty to it. Such a prevalent state of mind combined with the repressive apparatus available to the state make revolution virtually impossible and opposition ineffective.

Marcuse points out that the conditions do not obtain in advanced industrial society for a Marxist revolution. Marx had not foreseen the extent of the integration of the working class into the economy. Marcuse observes that the labor unions are entrenched bastions of bureaucratic conservatism and system defense.

If a state of true consciousness should dawn on a sufficient number of individuals, then, presumably, a revolutionary situation would exist. The problem remains one of changing men's minds. Consciousness precedes action. Marcuse is not very helpful in providing a blueprint, not of post-revolutionary society, as is often demanded, but of the revolution itself. Revolution is desirable, even necessary, he says. It cannot succeed except through the use of violence. But a violent revolution currently holds out virtually no prospect of success, and would, in fact, be suicidal. Furthermore, there is a contradiction implicit in Marcuse's approval of the use of violence since he also argues that the revolution should be conducted in accordance with the values which are to

prevail and become institutionalized in the post-revolutionary society. The aim of the revolution he advocates is to create a society in which non-violent revolution would be possible. Yet it may be argued, as Huxley does, that the means determine the ends.[9]

This is the view accepted by Charles Reich and some other theorists often referred to as cultural revolutionaries. In his book, The Greening of America,[10] Reich argues in a vein which in some respects recalls Marx. The structure of what Reich calls the Corporate State contains within it the seeds of its own destruction, or more accurately, its own transcendence.

Reich introduces the notion of three hierarchical states of consciousness, designated as Consciousness I, II, and III. Reich describes these states of consciousness and points out that he is not saying that they are pure forms and therefore mutually exclusive. They are, rather, general orientations toward particular and vaguely definable sets of values and beliefs.

The conditions imposed on individuals by the Corporate State combine to render a transcendence of Consciousness II both desirable and quite likely. Reich is extremely sanguine about the prospect of mass consciousness change, especially among the young.

As Reich sees it, the structure of deception, hypocrisy, and repression which is the Corporate State will collapse under its own weight. Consciousness III will prevail and the revolution will have taken place without firing a single shot. All that is necessary is that

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[9]Cf. Aldous Huxley. Ends and Means. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937).

[10]Charles Reich. The Greening of America. (New York: Random House, 1970).

there be Consciousness III individuals and they live out their lives in accordance with this vision.

To say that this theory forecasts a revolution on the basis of consciousness change alone would be misleading. It occurs and may be defined by the actions of individuals which spring from this state of consciousness. It is finally specious to talk about either cultural or political revolution as though they were separate and exclusive types. In fact, these concepts seem to merge into one another with no clear-cut distinction between them.[11]

The question is rather, one of emphasis or focus. The revolution which Reich foresees will not be brought about primarily by political action, not by competing in the struggle for power according to the rules formulated and supported by the current political system, but by actions outside of what we generally think of as the political arena.

Timothy Leary has formulated a theory of revolution which may, in this sense, be termed non-political. Its focus is on consciousness change and behavior of a non-political sort resultant from it. He argues that, in an immediate sense, all that is necessary for the revolution to take place is that there be a sufficient number of individuals who become committed to an oppositional world view and act out that vision. It is not necessary, in his view, that there be prior institutional change to propagate the new consciousness.

Leary's view, like that of Reich, is that the existing conditions in society will generate the transformation of consciousness. Leary, at

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[11]For a general discussion of this merging phenomenon, or Intermediateness, see Charles Fort. The Book of the Damned. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1941).

one point expresses the notion that the revolution is inevitable given the developments in the fields of physics, electronic and instantaneous global communications, and the mind-altering potential of the psychedelics.[12]

The goal of the revolution which Leary advocates is also non-political, or ultra-political. As for Marx, Marcuse, and Reich, the revolution is to produce a new man in a new world, not simply to alter existing political forms.

The quality of the consciousness change which Leary advocates is not concerned merely with a change of values or an alteration of their relative rankings. What he seeks is a change in the individual's basic self-concept and consequently in his view of his relationship to his environment.

Leary is not just a revolutionary theorist; he is a tactician as well. He prescribes certain specific activities which, he argues, can result in the desired consciousness transformation.

His theory is prescriptive, or perhaps messianic. What he calls for is a kind of conversion and moral regeneration. He refers to this event as a religious renaissance. In his view, this spiritual renewal is the alternative to destruction. There is ample support for this contention. Arnold Toynbee, for example, has recently written: "How can we arrive at a lasting peace? For a true and lasting peace, a religious revolution is, I am sure, a sine qua non...I think this is the only key

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[12]Timothy Leary. Politics of Ecstasy. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), p. 250.

to peace, but we are very far from picking up this key and using it, and, until we do, the survival of the human race will continue to be in doubt."[13]

There seems to be a great deal of agreement on the point that man is approaching a crisis situation. Leary's theory is an attempt to come to grips with what he regards as the fundamental need for mass consciousness-change.

If it is agreed, as well, that consciousness can be enhanced, diminished, or at any rate, altered in some way through electrical stimulation or the ingestion of chemical substances, the implications of such a situation, the potential both for the use and abuse of these techniques, becomes apparent and critically important. If the potential to alter behavior in this way exists, it is quite likely that there will be individuals and groups anxious to employ such techniques to serve their own purposes. Whether electrically and chemically induced behavior change is used in pursuit of ends which are libertarian and humanitarian or to serve the ends of those seeking power and control, the likelihood remains that they will be used.

Leary's theory is cast in the context of such a potential, and it is an attempt to confront this situation. His prescription of a non-violent transcendence of current culture, a transcendence catalyzed by the use of psychedelic chemicals, is premised on the notion that man's... "next evolutionary step is going to come through these two means, both of

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[13]Arnold Toynbee. "Is Religion Superfluous?" Intellectual Digest, II, No. 4 (December, 1971), 60.

which involve greater knowledge, greater control, greater use and application of that major portion of our brain which we are only dimly aware."[14]

In the last decade, Timothy Leary's name has become recognizable to a wide spectrum of people. He has become a public figure, which is to say, he has been endowed by the media with an expectedly distorted image. The media characterization has been that of a drug-crazed lunatic, the "guru of the drug cult." The production of this image, regardless of what truth it may contain, has relieved many people of the intellectual responsibility of critically examining his ideas.

It is my contention that Leary has contributed an important body of theory. It's sources are both empirical and subjective. It is analytical, prescriptive and predictive. It is theological, philosophical, social, political, and psychological. Contained within it is a theory of revolution. The purpose of this paper is to examine that theory of revolution.

Leary was trained as a psychologist, receiving his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. His first major positions were as Director of Psychological Research at the Kaiser Foundation Hospital in Oakland and as Assistant Professor at the University of California School of Medicine in San Francisco. He then joined the faculty of Harvard. It was from this prestigious academic position that Leary first began to broadcast his views on the nature of man and of human consciousness.

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[14]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 250.

The essence of Leary's public message could be reduced, as he himself proclaimed, to a six-word slogan which he formulated and popularized, "Turn on. Tune in. Drop out." In his view, the slogan was simply a contemporary idiomatic rendering of "the ancient message which the prophets have told you for thousands of years, because the message of God never changes."[15]

Leary's perception of his own public role in the cosmic drama was as a messenger. He claimed to be saying nothing new, but merely paraphrasing and passing on a message which is a core belief of many religious traditions.

This is the belief that it is necessary or desirable for a man to somehow transform his character from its present state to another one, defined as higher. He is to attain grace, to become holy. In a secular sense, each age and class has had its notion of the ideal man; but these notions are manifestly products of particular sets of social circumstances. Yet, as Aldous Huxley pointed out:

> All the ideals of human behavior formulated by those who have been most successful in freeing themselves from the prejudices of their time and place are singularly alike ... For the last eighty or ninety generations, substantial agreement (has existed) in regard to the ideal individual ... The ideal man is the non-attached man. Non-attached to his bodily sensations and lusts. Non-attached to his craving for power and possessions. Non-attached to the objects of these various desires. Non-attached to his anger and hatred; non-attached to his exclusive loves. Non-attached to wealth, fame, social position ... Non-attachment to self and to what are called "the things of this world" has always been associated in the teachings of the philosophers and founders of religions

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[15] Timothy Leary. "The Speech that Never Was," Psychedelic Ecstasy. William Marshall and Gilbert W. Taylor, eds. (Hollywood: Wilshire Book Company, 1968), p. 87.

> with attachment to an ultimate reality greater and more significant than the self ... The ethic of non-attachment has always been correlated with cosmologies that affirm the existence of a spiritual reality underlying the phenomenal world and imparting to it whatever value or significance it possesses.[16,17]

Arnold Toynbee agrees that:

> ...man's fundamental problem is his human egocentricity ... and the fact of death is enough to doom egocentricity to ultimate failure. Human beings try to forget about it as much as they can, but any human being, at critical moments of his life, is aware of the irony of his egocentricity, and the futility of it confronts him and distresses him. Man can deliberately combat his egocentricity, and perhaps he can partially overcome it.[18,19]

It is this ideal which Leary advocates and which he claims can be successfully pursued through the yoga of psychedelic drugs. This pursuit is a religious quest. As Toynbee points out, "All the great historic philosophies and religions have been concerned, first and foremost, with the overcoming of egocentricity. Buddhism and Christianity and Islam and Judaism address themselves primarily to the individual human psyche or soul. They all teach that egocentricity can be conquered by love."[20]

Leary may be accurately characterized as a religious theorist. Yet the theory which he promulgates challenges the validity of such a characterization. Being inclusive, it is also exclusive. The theory points to the limitations of language apparent in any effort to express unity. Words are employed to designate things and events, to set them

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[16]Aldous Huxley. Ends and Means, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[17]See also Aldous Huxley. The Perennial Philosophy. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1945.)

[18]Arnold Toynbee, op. cit., p. 59.

[19]See also Norman O. Brown. Life Against Death: The Psycho-Analytical Meaning of History. (New York: Vintage, 1959.)

[20]Toynbee, op. cit., p. 59.

apart from one another to suit the purposes of categorization and analysis. This utility is not denied, but the inherent defect of emphasizing separateness at the expense of unity is pointed out. The notion of the final inseparability of form and energy is a vision of cosmic unity which Leary shares with certain Eastern philosophic traditions, most notably Buddhism, Zen, and Taoism. This cosmological vision posits a concept of polar unity. Since the notion of up can only exist in company with the notion of down, on with off, light with dark, and life with death, etc., Leary argues that the unity and interdependence of paired sets of polar opposites constitutes the basic design of the universe. Life and death, for example, are viewed by Leary, as by Gautama, as equally illusory when seen in and of themselves. They are, rather, the inseparable polarities of a singular life-death process.

In Chapter II, I will examine the basic metaphysical premises of Leary's theory of revolution. In his writings, Leary has set forth explicitly his views on the nature of reality, of man, and of society. Included in this chapter is a discussion of Leary's basic philosophical premises and an analysis of his view of the structure and process of consciousness.

Chapter III is an examination of the reasons which Leary set forth to justify a revolution. The kind of revolution he is proposing and his view of the importance of its outcome are discussed in this chapter. Leary's "Declaration of Evolution" (see Appendix A) includes a specific list of the crimes committed by the established order which justify and require its overthrow.[21]

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[21]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., pp. 362-365.

The heart of any theory of revolution is its proposed technique. There may be ample reason for revolution, and a proposed blueprint for the construction of a post revolutionary society; but without a method to accomplish the actual transition from what is to what ought to be, the theory would be wholly deficient. Leary's plan of revolutionary action is his theory of behavior change. Chapter IV is an analysis of the tactics and strategy of Leary's theory of revolution.

Chapter V concerns the prescriptive aspect of the theory. The ancient normative questions are asked and answered in the body of the theory. How should man live? What is the good life? The positions which Leary takes on normative political issues are examined. Who should rule? What is the proper relationship between the individual and the state? Leary wrote a "Constitution of Life" to serve as the basic political document of a proposed ideal state.[22] It will be examined in detail in this chapter and is included in full as Appendix B.

Leary began to formulate his theory in the summer of 1960. In the succeeding ten years, it was refined, amplified, and disseminated. Upon his escape from the California Mens Penal Colony, in the fall of 1970, he began to proclaim a fundamentally contradictory message. This paper is concerned with Leary's theory as it was publicly stated prior to September, 1970.

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[22] Ibid., pp. 366-368.

CHAPTER II. THE METAPHYSICAL FRAMEWORK

"I am God of Light...I am God of Life...
I am God of Common Sense. I'm you."[1]

The basic ontological, metaphysical, and epistemological premises of Leary's theory have all been made explicit. In his discussion of the nature of reality, truth, knowledge, and man, Leary takes issue with the thesis that there is a natural and fundamental dichotomy between science and religion. They are, he argues, seeking answers to the same seven questions. These questions, together with their scientific and their psychedelic answers, provide the empirical and the philosophic foundations of Leary's thought.

In Leary's theory of revolution, a basic contention is that LSD can be employed as a sacrament to obtain a religious experience. He defines a religious experience as "the ecstatic, incontrovertibly certain, subjective discovery of answers to seven basic spiritual questions."[2] His contention is that "those aspects of the psychedelic experience which subjects report to be ineffable and ecstatically religious involve a

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[1]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 35.

[2]Ibid., p. 19.

direct awareness of the energy processes which physicists and biochemists and physiologists and neurologists and psychologists and psychiatrists measure."[3,4]

The first question is the "Ultimate Power Question."[5] How did it begin? The quest is to discover the basic energy processes, where and how they began. The sciences which pursue answers to these questions are physics and astronomy. Leary often exhibits a tendency to state as unqualified fact assertions that are quite controversial. His expression is sometimes more poetic than explanatory, and he seems impatient to get the point accepted and get on with the argument. In this instance, he simply states that the most basic energy we know of is centered within the nucleus of the atom. The nucleus radiates an electric field which holds and controls the electrons which orbit around it. Here is: "Incredible power and complexity operating at speeds and spatial dimensions which our conceptual minds cannot register. Infinitely small, yet pulsating outward through enormous networks of electrical forces--atom, molecule, cell, planet, star: All forms dancing to the nuclear tune.[6] The scientific answers to the ultimate power question are constantly changing in accordance with the accumulation and interpretation of the data of nuclear physics and astronomy. In the empirical research studies of the effects

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[3] Ibid., p. 21.

[4] For a further discussion of this point see Robert E. Masters and Jean Houston. The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience. (New York: Dell, 1966).

[5] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 22.

[6] Ibid., p. 22.

of psychedelic chemicals, there are literally thousands of subjective accounts of experiencing awareness of this level of energy. The list of those who testify to the validity of the experience includes poets, mystics, philosophers, clergymen, artists, and scientists.[7] Subjects often report having entered the marrow of existence, becoming aware of pure energy, seeing external structures collapse into wave patterns. Different religious traditions employ their own metaphors to label this transcendent experience. Whether it is called cosmic consciousness, the clear light of the void, moksha, beatific visions, or seeing God, it is an experience that has been reported by men for thousands of years. Aldous Huxley and Alan W. Watts, among other eminent and respected thinkers have argued that the psychedelic experience can be an authentic mystico-religious one.[8,9]

The second question is "The Life Question."[10] What is it? How did it begin? Where is it going? The sciences which address their efforts to these questions are biochemistry, paleontology, and genetics. No suggestion is made that their current answers are final. Leary accepts the astronomical theory that the earth was formed from hot, swirling planetary material, and that we are presently near the mid-point of the anticipated life cycle of our particular sun. Leary accepts a naturalistic account of the origin of life. Gradually, the crust of the planet

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[7]See Leary. High Priest. (New York: College Notes & Texts, Inc., 1968), pp. 59-82, 109-134, 157-172, 213-232, 303-318.

[8]See Huxley. Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell. (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

[9]Watts. The Joyous Cosmology. (New York: Pantheon Press, 1962).

[10]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 24.

cooled and hardened; water flowed over it and mud, fertile with minerals, was formed. Given the existence of transferable electric energy in the form of lightening bolts, life existed potentially. What remained was for the lightening to strike the mud, creating the basic building block of life, the amino acid. Eventually, protein molecules were formed, then protoplasm, then the cell. This description of the origin of life is tentative, but Leary is apparently unconcerned about its empirical verification, since it is not central to his argument.

Within the cell, Leary contends, resides the biological expression of natural law. The genetic code forever structures and regulates the formation of life forms.[11]

> Within the nucleus of every living cell lies a tiny, complex chain of protein molecules called the DNA code. DNA is the brain of the cell, the timeless blueprinting code which designs every aspect of life. DNA executes its plans by means of the RNA molecules. RNA is the communication system, the language, the senses and hands of the DNA. The language of the RNA can be passed from one organism to another. The discovery of this fact is revolutionizing our theories of memory, learning, consciousness, and education. The basic unit of consciousness is molecular.[12]

To Leary, the term "Divine Intelligence" is a metaphorical reference to the accumulated wisdom and memory of the nucleic acids. "At the level of the cell, God is the DNA code, because the DNA code, as biochemists describe it, is all the attributes that we have attributed to

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[11] Time, "The New Genetics: Man Into Superman," April 19, 1971, pp. 33-52.

[12] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 97.

God; the all-powerful, ever-changing intelligence far greater than man's mind."[13] The genetic code is the expression of natural law, and thus equated with the will of God. Human behavior, he will argue,[14] should be conducted in accordance with an accurate perception of the law which is discoverable empirically and can be validated introspectively. Leary theorizes, in a vein which recall's Jung's notion of the collective unconscious, that learning and memory are basically molecular, chemical sequences and that all experience is recorded indelibly in the nucleic acid memory bank. He makes reference to the apparent demonstration of actual chemical transference of memory by one organism's ingesting RNA from another in the experiments of University of Michigan Psychologist James McConnell and of Neurochemist Georges Ungar of the Baylor College of Medicine.[15] He contends that this esoteric store of information, not normally accessible to the conscious mind, can be tapped in a psychedelic experience.

Leary accepts without question the validity of the findings of McConnell and Ungar and assumes that what has been demonstrated by flatworms and mice is no less true of man. The notion that learning may be chemically transferable is not crucial to Leary's argument. He is not proposing that we extract RNA from geniuses and feed it to idiots. But the idea that all experience is recorded and transmitted genetically gives rise to the possibility of "remembering" the whole process of

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[13] Ibid., p. 200.

[14] See Chapter V.

[15] "The New Genetics," op. cit., p. 46.

cellular evolution. Here is a possible alternative explanation of the frequent occurrences of memory sequences involving 'previous life' experiences. As he put it, "Every cell in your body is the current carrier of an energy torch which traces back through millions of generation transformations."[16]

The third question is "The Human Being Question."[17] How is man's body composed and how does it work? Anatomy and physiology describe man in the language used to describe other species, thus circumventing the "romantic fallacy" of man's superiority which partially accounts for his alienation from nature. This anatomical-physiological description sees man as a seed-carrying mammal of primate stock. His form is a bag of semi-hairless skin enclosing a skeletal structure which contains complex and interrelated hematological, endocrine, and organ systems. Complex and intricate processes occur within this body, wholly undirected and, indeed, unnoticed by the conscious intellect. Cells divide, hair and fingernails grow, the heart beats, the lungs breathe, digestion occurs, etc. As Buckminster Fuller put it, "Man is more than ninety-nine percent automated, and he is only a very small fraction conscious. Whereas he tends to suggest that he is really highly responsible for what goes on... he is very successful despite his ignorance and vanity."[18]

The psychedelic experience, it is argued, can produce such an awareness subjectively. One of what Leary calls "the ecstatic horrors of the LSD experience" is the sudden rush of confrontation with one's own

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[16]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 28.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., p. 29.

body.[19] Many LSD subjects report such an experience.[20] Leary describes it as an awareness, as knowledge of an experiential rather than a conceptual kind that: "Your body is the universe. The ancient wisdom of gnostics, hermetics, sufis, Tantric gurus, yogis, occult healers. What is without is within. Your body is the mirror of the macrocosm. The kingdom of heaven is within you. Within your body."[21]

The fourth question is, "The Awareness Question."[22] How does man experience? How do his sense organs function? Everything that man knows is mediated by his own sensory apparatus. Neurologists and sensory physiologists explain in great detail how each of our sense organs receives impressions and transmits them to the brain in the form of neural impulses. There they are decoded and some minute fraction of them register on the conscious mind. The rhythm of those impulses is the basic rhythm of a polar universe: off-on, open-shut, expand-contract. Consider the dimension and capacity of the cortical computer as described by Robert Campbell. "The human brain is composed of about ten billion nerve cells, any one of which may connect with as many as 25,000 other nerve cells. The number of interconnections which this adds up to would (be)...far greater than all the atoms in the universe."[23]

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[19] Ibid., p. 30.

[20] Cf. Masters and Houston, op. cit.; Watts, The Joyous Cosmology, op. cit.

[21] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 30.

[22] Ibid., p. 31.

[23] Robert Campbell. "The Circuit of the Senses," Life, LIV, No. 26 (June 28, 1963), pp. 44-49.

Into this matrix pour "about a hundred million sensations per second from the various senses."[24] Leary suggests that, "somewhere in that 10-billion-cell galaxy is a tiny solar system of connected neurons which is aware of your social self. Your 'ego' is to your brain what the planet earth is to our galaxy with its 100,000 million suns."[25]

The psychedelic awareness of this neurological system can come as the shocking revelation that conditioning has tragically enslaved our consciousness by teaching us to accept an illusory reality based on an arbitrary choice of which impulses are to be chosen for conscious attention, and which are shunted by it. Aldous Huxley has suggested that in man's evolution, the brain learned to pay attention to those neural impulses which dealt with threats to the survival of the organism. Thus the brain acts as a filter, or as Huxley called it, "a reducing Valve."[26] Leary places direct blame for this situation on educational, acculturation institutions, which he contends, "employ Pavlovian reward and punishment conditioning."[27] By such means, the socialization process manipulates our delicate and vulnerable nervous systems to accept and consciously record only a specific set of sensory messages.

Huxley's view was that psychedelic chemicals have the effect of allowing sensory messages to somehow circumvent the reducing valve.[28] Leary's thesis is essentially a restatement of Huxley's position. "We

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

[26] Huxley, Doors of Perception . . . , op. cit., p. 24.

[27] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 33.

[28] Huxley, op. cit., p. 24.

can," he said, "obtain a momentary (and even longer) release from the neurological prison."[29] We can, that is, temporarily suspend learned conditioning and imprinting as well. When they are suspended, we can, "experience afresh the hardly bearable ecstasy of direct energy exploding on our nerve endings.... The awakening of the senses is the most basic aspect of the psychedelic experience."[30]

The fifth question is "The Ego Question."[31] Who am I? Leary points out that this question is answered for the individual eagerly and insistently by social institutions. Religious hierarchies, social agencies, and what Leary calls "the new secular state religion" i.e., psychology, all provide their own answers. For most people the question is answered wholly in terms of artificial social roles. But each person, Leary argues, exists at every level of energy and every level of consciousness. Each individual is, therefore:

> At the atomic level...a galaxy of nuclear-powered atoms spinning through changing patterns.
> At the cellular level...the entire chain of life...the key rung of the DNA ladder, center of the evolutionary process, current guardian of the seed.
> At the somatic level...the most intricate, intelligent, complex form of energy structure.
> At the sensory level...the divine receiving station, a two-legged, trembling-tissue, Jodrell Bank radar telescope, dancing, grumbling, sniffing Geiger counter.
> But he is also a psychological role in a social stage set, and it is this version of 'I' which is studied by sociology and psychology. This ego is a social fiction because it is a view of self imposed by social conditioning.[32]

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[29]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 33.

[30]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

[31]Ibid., p. 34.

[32]Ibid., p. 35.

The mainsprings of this conditioning process are socially-sanctioned rewards and punishments.

The psychedelic understanding of 'I' reveals the limitations of ego. As Leary puts it, "The plastic-doll nature of social reality and social ego is glaringly obvious. In a word, ego discovers that ego is a fraudulent actor in a fake show.... The LSD panic is the terror that ego is lost forever. The LSD ecstasy is the joyful discovery that ego, with its pitiful shams and strivings, is only a fraction of my identity."[33]

The sixth question is "The Emotional Question."[34] How should we feel about all this? On this issue, Leary contends that science has failed to produce any satisfactory answer. "The best-known theory of emotions, the Freudian, is a hodgepodge of platitude, banality, and rabbinical piety."[35] Leary indulges in this name-calling without any amplification. He provides neither his own definition of emotions nor Freud's, though they are obviously proceeding from different definitions. Although it is not stated in this context, and therefore makes his charge against Freud seem frivolous and superficial, Leary's basic disagreement with Freud is over the nature and function of the ego. In Leary's view, Freud failed to perceive the ego as a "social fiction." Man has learned to identify himself not with his whole organism together with the field or environment with which it exists, but with only that aspect of brain which accounts for conscious attention and voluntary activity. The tendency to think of ourselves as separate and independent egos enclosed

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[33] Ibid., p. 37.

[34] Ibid., p. 37.

[35] Ibid., p. 37.

within bodies, is a misconception which Freud did nothing to correct. Its effect is to produce a kind of internal contradiction, a self-alienation resultant from man's persistent identification of the self with something less than the total organism/field within which consciousness occurs. Leary argues that the emotions are, "the lowest form of consciousness. Emotional actions are the most contracted, narrowing, dangerous form of behavior."[36] In a book entitled Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality, Leary concluded that all emotions are based on fear.[37] They are caused, he said, "by biochemical secretions in the body to serve during the state of acute emergency."[38] An individual who becomes emotional cannot think and rationalize; effective action becomes impossible. There are rare times when emotions are appropriate. These are emergencies. The DNA code assigns a survival mission to the emotions. They constitute an organismic alarm system.

Psychedelic chemicals can help the subject to reach a state devoid of emotions. It is called bliss or ecstasy. In this state and no other, argues Leary, it is possible to, "Learn, harmonize, grow, merge, join, and understand."[39] In losing the ego, the emotions are lost as well, since they are closely tied to ego games. Leary suggests that the way to turn off the emotions is to turn on the senses.

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[36] Ibid., p. 38.

[37] Leary. Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality. (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1957).

[38] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 38.

[39] Ibid., p. 39.

The seventh question is "The Ultimate Escape Question."[40] How does it end? Leary proposes as the scientific answer: the law of conservation of energy. All forms of energy are vibrations, all pulsing to the same rhythm.[41] There is a constant flux between energy and form. The rhythm of the universe seem to be binary: on-off, start-stop, up-down, in-out, light-dark, life-death. The ego is the only level of consciousness which refuses to recognize and accept this state of affairs. Ego conspires and strives to bestow upon its actions more importance than they merit in the cosmic scheme. Ego is trapped by its deep-seated fear of confronting the fact of its own transient mortality.[42] It seeks its own survival in a universe which is not equipped to produce it. This situation results in what Camus referred to as the absurdity of the human condition, the endless desire for the unobtainable.[43]

Leary points to the consistency with which Western empirical, analytical science continues to confirm the core visions of Eastern mysticism. The Buddhist view is that every form is an illusion, maya. Life and death in themselves are equally illusory. They are completely inseparable, the polar terminals of a single life-death process. But denying this insight and striving for perpetuity at one terminal creates emotional despair. The ego, having failed in its effort to keep the

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[40] Ibid., p. 40.

[41] Cf. Alan W. Watts, The Two Hands of God. (Toronto: Collier Books, 1963), p. 45.

[42] Cf. Norman O. Brown. Life Against Death, op. cit., p. 87.

[43] Albert Camus. The Myth of Sisyphus. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), p. 11.

master switch in the "on" position, sometimes seeks to escape, to hit the "off" button. Suicide is an attempt to escape from ego. So is anesthesia. Barbiturates, tranquilizers, alcohol, sleeping pills, and heroin are all the tools of the quest to turn it all off.

"The deep psychedelic experience is a death-rebirth flip. You turn on to the ancient rhythm, and you become its beat.... The glory of the psychedelic moment is the victory over life and death won by seeing the oscillating dance of energy and yielding to it."[44] Leary adds that this visionary revelation provides an answer to the escape question. The psychedelic answer is that, "There is not death.... There is nothing to avoid, nothing to escape, nothing to fear. There is just off-on, in-out, start-stop, light-dark, flash-delay. Death, void, oblivion, is the split-second pause. I accept the on. I accept the off."[45] This attitude of open, yielding acceptance in a state of internal peace has been carefully cultivated and highly valued by men for millenia.

These, then are the seven basic questions. Leary has suggested that man can become conscious of every level of energy studied by science. There is a level of consciousness analagous to each level of energy, according to Leary. And for each level of consciousness, there is a specific chemical catalyst. His listing of these levels together with their chemical triggers is listed in reverse order as follows:[46]

7. The Anesthetic State is produced by narcotics, barbiturates, and large doses of alcohol.

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[44]Leary, Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 42.

[45]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[46]Ibid., p. 45.

6. The State of Emotional Stupor is produced by moderate doses of alcohol.
5. The State of Ego Consciousness is enhanced by pep pills and mild energizers such as coffee and tea.
4. The State of Sensory Awareness is produced by any psychedelic drug, but the specific trigger for turning on the senses is marihuana.
3. The State of Somatic Awareness is attained by any psychedelic drug stronger than marihuana, but the specific triggers for cakra consciousness are hashish and MDA.
2. The cellular Level of Consciousness is attained by any of the stronger psychedelics--peyote, LSD, mescaline, psilocybin.
1. The Atomic-Electronic Level of Consciousness is produced by the most powerful psychedelics--LSD, STP, DMT.

Leary admits that he is simply assuming that there is a different level of consciousness for each major division of science, based, in turn, on the major classifications of energy manifestations. But, he then proceeds to argue that, "The decision as to which drugs turn on which levels of consciousness is empirical, based on thousands of psychedelic experiences."[47] The contention that chemicals can produce altered states of consciousness is made in conjunction with the previous assertion that the basic unit of consciousness is molecular.

An important supporting idea to the notion of consciousness expansion is the thesis that man is not now using, indeed, has not yet learned to use his neurological equipment at a level even approaching its capacity.[48] "Sometime around 70,000 years ago," writes Leary, "the erect primate with the large cranium seems to have appeared. In a sudden mutational leap, the size of the skull and the brain is swiftly doubled. A strange cerebral explosion."[49] As a species, man is still in his infant

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[47] Ibid., p. 45.

[48] Cf. Loren Eisley. The Immense Journey. (New York: Time Inc., 1957), p. 94.

[49] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 243.

stage. There is a clear possibility, then, that we have not yet learned how to use our brains. Factors which delay this learning are, as previously mentioned, conditioning and imprinting. To believe that the story of evolution has been told in its entirety requires a metaphysical leap of faith. Leary's suggestion is that the next great evolutionary step will come about as a result of learning how to use more of our cortical equipment. Since we know that the brain functions both electronically and chemically, it would be extremely rash to dismiss the hypothesis that this expansion of consciousness could come about as a result of electric or chemical stimulation.[50]

If consciousness can be altered by psychedelic chemicals, and if behavior patterns result from states of consciousness, then behavior can be altered via the psychedelic experience. Leary defines the psychedelic session as, "a planned, temporary suspension of old imprinting and an opportunity for new imprinting, the structure of which should be determined by carefully planned set and setting."[51] This theory of behavior change constitutes the core of Leary's theory of revolutionary technique, as will be shown in Chapter IV.

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[50]See, e.g. Leo G. Abood, "The Biochemistry of Psychoactive Drugs," monograph reprinted with permission of the author in Leary, High Priest, op. cit., pp. A-14 -- A-24, for a discussion of the actual chemical processes involved in the action of LSD.

[51]Leary, "Introduction," LSD, ed. David Solomon. (New York and Berkeley: G.P. Putnam's -- Berkeley Medallion Edition, June, 1966), p. 23.

CHAPTER III. THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION

"That is our avowed aim. To bring down the United States government."[1]

Early in his career as a religious and political preacher, Leary began to call for a revolution. What he meant by the term and his view of the reasons which made revolution necessary are the subjects of this chapter.

To Timothy Leary, the object of revolution is to accomplish an overthrow of institutions, in Veblen's sense. That is, revolution produces profound and sweeping changes in established patterns of thought and patterns of behavior. The manner in which man behaves; the way he interacts with his environment including other men; the way he organizes his society; indeed, all the social, economic and political institutions he creates are functions of the way in which he thinks. The most profound and most fundamental revolutions, then, are those whose result is an important change in man's thinking. Leary's point is that the psychedelic experience can be a temporary suspension of the reciprocal influence which institutions exercise over thinking.

Basically, Leary is proposing a revolution of consciousness. The overthrow of the state will be neither the object nor the fact of the revolution. It will be a consequence. The existence of the state rests

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[1]Leary, "The Speech That Never Was," op. cit., p. 95.

upon an established set of socially accepted ideas. The state will therefore fall, or rather, quite rapidly wither upon the rejection of those ideas.

Leary often spoke of this revolution in connection with the First American Revolution. He accepted the basic notions of natural law, natural rights, and right of revolution. But he argued that if the crimes of George the Third constituted sufficient grievance to exercise the right of revolution, then revolution was certainly justified and required by the present circumstances.

The whole of his argument is contained in a chapter of Politics of Ecstasy entitled "Neurological Politics."[2] It is a contemporary version of Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. The theoretical differences between the two documents begin to be apparent, however, in the titles. Leary's is called the "Declaration of Evolution." He is speaking in a context much broader than that of narrow, human political forms. He is speaking from the perspective of the adverse effect on all life forms on the planet resultant from present human behavior. The statement of independence then is directed to severing the ties with all governments which are controlled by those whose states of consciousness allow them to condone or commit the crimes of which they are accused.

The context is set in the opening sentence when Leary refers not to the course of human events, but to the course of organic evolution.[3]

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[2]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy," op. cit., pp. 362-371.

[3]Leary. Ibid., p. 362.

Implicit in this setting is the notion that there is more at stake in this context than simply the replacement of one government by another slightly more benign one based on the same false metaphysical premises.

The disruption which occurs, the break between established institutions and post-revolutionary ones, is referred to as a mutational process, thus lending emphasis to the notion that the proposed revolution is to be viewed within the total context of evolutionary development.[4] The bonds which are dissolved are not primarily political ones, but physical and neurological. The link they provide is the one which connects one generation to the past. And it is not just a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" which requires the forthright publication of the causes which inspire and justify the revolution. It is rather, "a decent concern for the harmony of species,"[5] which requires that the causes of the mutation be declared.

The notions of natural law, natural rights, and the right of revolution are accepted implicitly in the statement of truths regarded to be self-evident. These are truths which can be validated through the exercise of reason. The capacity for, if not the exercise of reason is thus seen as a species attribute.

The fundamental difference between Jefferson's and Leary's conceptions of natural law and natural rights begins to become apparent with Leary's discussion of the truths he sees as self-evident.

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[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

The first of these self-evident truths is that not just all men, but all species, are created different but equal. They are to be regarded as equal with respect to a set of certain inalienable rights shared by them.[6] This basic set of inalienable rights consists of at least the following: Freedom to Live, Freedom to Grow, and Freedom to Pursue Happiness in their own style.[7] The right of pursuit of happiness is later in the document qualified by the suggestion that it extends only to the protection of action vis à vis other men and other species which does not infringe on their exercise of the same right.[8]

Freedom to live, grow, and pursue happiness require periodic aggression by one organism against another in order to fulfill biological needs. But the fact that each species has such a biological need to kill and eat is a clear indication that killing for food cannot be regarded as a violation of the natural order. Each species has an eat/be-eaten relationship with certain other species, and each is equipped with its own particular offensive/defensive survival tools. A natural equilibrium prevails among all non-human species, because they kill only in order to eat or to avoid being eaten. Man's specific offensive/defensive tool is his superior brain. His intelligence, however, may be shortsighted. For, while it has enabled him to kill any other species and largely protect himself from all others, such high survivabilitymay in itself constitute a long range threat. Man may proliferate freely and exterminate other species, but at what cost to his own prognosis for survival is only

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

slowly becoming appreciated. His intelligence might provide man with a device which can compensate for the loss of population control provided by membership in the food chain, and it might not.

Presently, man does not conform to the pattern of behavior with respect to killing that prevails among other species. He kills members of his own species and kills members or whole species for purposes other than obtaining the food necessary for his survival. Natural law, as it pertains to sub-human species is a description of how such organisms behave, in consonance with the genetic heritage of each. It is conscious intelligence that allows the perception of such a rule as one option among many rather than as the only natural and thoughtlessly accepted code of behavior. For man, then, natural law becomes prescriptive, and Leary uses the term in this sense. We should, he argues, abide by the rules of killing which apply to other animals because we are animals ourselves. He is here clearly expressing a value preference, that man should recognize his interdependence with other species, and in order to maximize both intra- and interspecies harmony he should choose to abide by the rules of killing which apply naturally to other species. But because of the survival specialty we have developed, we are free to violate those rules, perhaps at our peril.

Another aspect of the sub-human rule of killing is that it is done in face to face encounters. Leary's conclusion is that this is the natural and therefore right way in which to do it, and man's invention of machines which enable him to kill indiscriminately and over vast distances is a violation of the prescriptive aspect of natural law.

The remainder of the argument in the Declaration is directed, then, only to the human species, because it is the only one which is capable of acting unnaturally.

These rights, then, are God-given and result in the generation of social structures which emerge naturally in order to protect them. Governmental authority is premised on the principles of love of God and respect for all life forms.[9]

Leary implicitly accepts the notion of a social contract which imposes certain obligations on both citizens and on government. It is also a self-evident truth for Leary that "...whenever any form of government becomes destructive of life, liberty, and harmony, it is the organic duty of the young members of that species to mutate, to drop out, to initiate a new social structure..."[10] The act of mutation is, then, a form of generational revolt. The burden of carrying the revolution is placed primarily on the young. If the revolution is to occur, it must take place in the minds of the young. Revolutionary action consists of rejecting not just the political arrangements of the existing order, but of rejecting the metaphysical premises upon which those arrangements were based. The revolution is a highly personal one, occurring, as it does, in the consciousness of individual members of the society. The new social structure is to be based on the new set of principles arising in the revolution.[11]

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[9] Ibid., p. 362.

[10] Ibid., p. 363.

[11] Ibid.

Leary accepted the notion in Jefferson's Declaration that "governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes." As Leary put it, "The ecstasy of mutation is equally balanced by the pain." Experience shows, "that members of a species are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, rather than to discard the forms to which they are accustomed."[12]

To Jefferson, revolution was justified and required, "...when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism."[13] In Leary's view the long train of abuses and usurpations have begun to,

> ...threaten the very fabric of organic life and the serene harmony on the planet.... The history of the white, menopausal, mendacious men now ruling the planet earth is a history of repeated violation of the harmonious laws of nature, all having the direct object of establishing a tyranny of the materialistic aging over the gentle, the peace-loving, the young, the colored.[14]

The list of crimes committed by the present establishment begins with the appeal that these grievances be judged, not, "by a candid world,"[15] but by future generations. They are as follows:

"These old, white rulers have maintained a continuous state of war against other species of life, enslaving and destroying at whim fowl, fish, animals and spreading a lethal carpet of concrete and metal over the soft body of earth."[16] This is a serious charge. That it has happened is undeniable. That it continues is documented daily by the ecologists.

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Thomas Jefferson. Declaration of Independence.

[14] Leary, Ibid., op.cit., p. 363.

[15] Jefferson, Declaration of Independence.

[16] Leary, op. cit., p. 363.

This statement speaks of an ecological awareness which has only quite recently become widely accepted. Its increasing acceptance documents the possibility of a mass revolution of consciousness.

"They have maintained as well a continuous state of war among themselves and against the colored races, the freedom loving, the gentle, the young. Genocide is their habit."[17] This charge is not without substance. Leary is speaking here of governments, of all governments which have been based on what Marcuse calls false consciousness. Although he is obviously romanticizing the victims of state violence, and although he is here using the term "genocide" in a very casual manner, it is evident that men have continually participated in warfare at the instigation of their governments. Depending on how one defines genocide, American war policy in Vietnam may qualify, as it is directed not toward the winning of territory, but toward extermination of the enemy. An operational definition of genocide might characterize it as the pursuit of a policy which transfers killing from a means to a policy objective to the end itself. If governments have not, as a rule, attempted to exterminate whole populations, the fact remains that there have been such episodes. America's dealings with the Indians and the blacks in this country certainly border on the genocidal. Also, the systematic suppression of whole populations through the instrumentalities of colonialism and neo-colonialism has been and is a fact of life to the people of the third world whose societies are pre-industrial and whose populations are largely non-white.

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[17] Ibid.

"They have instituted artificial scarcities, denying peaceful folk the natural inheritance of earth's abundance and God's endowment."[18] The first part of this accusation is directed against the business system. The second part refers directly to an idea which is a core component of the currently prevalent ideology, the notion of private property. The rejection of capitalism or of property generally is at home in many revolutionary idioms.

"They have glorified material values and degraded the spiritual."[19] This statement has its supporters. They are ubiquitous. The established churches, the media, even the political leaders repeat the charge. Here, perhaps, if it exists anywhere, is consensus.

"They have claimed private, personal ownership of God's land, driving by force of arms the gentle from their passage on the earth."[20] This is a restatement of the charge that the idea of private property is partially responsible for the state of the world, and that the idea must be rejected. Also contained in this charge is the contention that the idea of private property produces violence. That wars have been fought over property issues is undeniable.

Leary, elsewhere,[21] contends that most of the violence which takes place on the planet is perpetrated by the agents of government. "Paid, hired government agents account for 99 percent of the violence that

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Leary, "Violent Governments, Nonviolent Hippies," Alternatives to Violence, ed. Larry Ng. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), pp. 88-103.

devastates and terrorizes this planet."[22] Considering violence within the United States, Leary calls attention to the particular set of institutions which promote and perform most of it and which monopolize its legitimate, socially-sanctioned use. They are the United States Air Force, Navy, Army and Marine Corps, and the established police constabulary at all levels. "It is interesting," wrote Leary, "that in almost every country, our own included, the first function of the military and police is to employ violence or the threat of machine-violence against its own citizenry. That is, to protect the Establishment against restless and aggrieved competition."[23]

This revolution is directed to the replacement of political systems which depend upon and employ techniques of organized violence. It does not seek power, but to free men from the grip of power. "The violent seek power, the violent get power. Governments are violent."[24]

"In their greed they have erected artificial immigration and customs barriers, preventing the free movement of people."[25] This is a critique of the idea of nationalism. Men are viewed as a species. The differences between them pale when viewed in the light of their common genetic heritage. Nationalism is a conventional idea, an idolatrous religion. Man invented it and, through the frighteningly effective process of socialization, taught his offspring to pay homage to it. But it is an impoverished idea, blithely accepted in the face of the common

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[22] Ibid., p. 91.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., p. 95.

[25] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 364.

sense judgement, supported by empirical evidence, that the Family of Man is an idea firmly rooted in biological fact. It requires a metaphysical leap of faith to conclude that the nation-state system is the natural or final development in the evolution of human social forms. Yet, the nationalist ideology continues to command men's loyalty and to command their suffering and death in its defense.

"In their lust for control they have set up systems of compulsory education to coerce the minds of the children and to destroy the wisdom and innocence of the playful young."[26] The socialization process functions to produce the kind of citizens with the kind of thought and behavior patterns which support the continued acceptance of the established forms. Leary refers specifically to the American educational process as "addictive." It is, "paid for by adult society to train young people to keep the same game going...to make sure that (they) will...walk out into the bigger game take (their) place in the line...(as) an obedient, efficient, well-adapted social game player, a replaceable part in the machine."[27]

The educational process, Leary argued, does something even worse than merely propagating mistaken ideas and obsolete visions. It is, "an especially dangerous narcotic because it probably does direct physiological damage to the nervous system."[28] Explained first by analogy, "What education does to your head would be like taking your heart and

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., pp. 244-245.

[28] Ibid., pp. 245-246.

wrapping rubber bands around it and putting springs on it to make sure it can pump. What education does is to put a series of filters over your awareness so that year by year, step by step, you experience less and less and less."[29]

The biological explanation rests on the, "considerable evidence showing that a habit is a neural network of feedback loops. Like grooves in a record, like muscles, the more you use any of the loops, the more likely you are to use it again."[30] Since the aim of the educational system is seen as successfully narrowing the mind, imposing arbitrary categories, contracting consciousness, and in the process, producing blind loyalty to itself, it is pernicious and provides justification for its own overthrow. The target here is not the socialization process, per se, but its contents. The grievance is not that men are taught ideas, but that they are taught a particular set of ideas, resulting in the contemporary state of the world and limiting the capacity to transcend them.

"In their lust for power they have controlled all means of communication to prevent the free flow of ideas and to block loving exchanges among the gentle."[31] This is not to suggest that all media of communications in all countries are impervious to oppositional messages. It is a restatement of the Marcusian contention that advanced industrial society is one-dimensional, that is, allows for no organized effective and fundamental opposition. It suggests that those who exercise control of the media, by virtue of their very position as power-holders are in the

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 246.

[31] Ibid., p. 364.

position and possess the motivation to deny an equal public hearing to views which they regard as radical, subversive, or heretical. The problem is one of access, and whether the currency is economic power in one state or political power in another, access to the media by proponents of anti-establishment views is restricted.

"In their fear they have instituted great armies of secret police to spy upon the privacy of the pacific."[32] This charge was recently documented by the startling revelations of Senator Ervin's investigation of the U.S. Army intelligence activities. In addition to the Army, intelligence gathering is carried out by the undercover agents of the C.I.A., F.B.I., Secret Service, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and a plethora of other federal, state, and local law-enforcement agencies.

"In their anger they have coerced the peaceful young against their will to join their armies and to wage murderous wars against the young and gentle of other countries."[33] A system of conscription is a system of coercion. It forces painful choices on those who would question it. The choices may be as stark and limited as acceding to the request of service made by the government or forfeiting one's life as a token of resistance. Other political systems may permit a somewhat broader range of alternatives. In the United States, for example, a person facing conscription may choose to accept it; he may choose to attempt to get the government to allow him to be conscripted for a like time into alternate service; he may choose to go to prison; he may choose exile; or he may

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

attempt to exist as an outlaw and be hunted down for the crime of refusing to be coerced. Conscription exists to fill the man-power needs of armies. Armies exist to wage wars.

"In their greed they have made the manufacture and selling of weapons the basis of their economies."[34] The burgeoning defense budget of the United States provides perhaps the most telling piece of evidence in support of this charge. But nearly all governments spend vast sums of money for what is always called defense. That there is money to be made by fighting wars and continually preparing to fight them better is another generally apprehended fact. That governments also spend vast sums of money conditioning citizens to accept the inevitability of war and the consequent necessity of preparing for it was recently further demonstrated in the CBS documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon."

"For profit they have polluted the air, the rivers, the seas."[35] This is another fruit of the false thinking and the perverted priorities of the currently accepted ideology. The documentation of this charge is an ongoing process. Daily come revelations from scientists calling attention to the scope and rapidity of this destruction of the environment.

"In their impotence they have glorified murder, violence, and unnatural sex in their mass media."[36] The prevalence of violence on television and in other media has recently become a source of concern among students of culture and of behavior from a broad range of disciplines.

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

"In their aging greed they have set up an economic system which favors age over youth."[37] This is a restatement of the contention that economically as well as politically, the status quo can be characterized as a gerontocracy.

"They have in every way attempted to impose a robot uniformity and to crush variety, individuality, and independence of thought."[38] This charge is simply a repetition of the indictment of the socially-sanctioned indoctrination process together with its enforcement apparatus which functions to punish heretics.

"In their greed, they have instituted political systems which perpetuate rule by the aging and force youth to choose between plastic conformity or despairing alienation."[39] This is a restatement of a charge already made.

"They have invaded privacy by illegal search, unwarranted arrest, and contemptuous harassment."[40] This accusation is also redundant. As is the next one: "They have enlisted an army of informers"[41]

"In their greed they sponsor the consumption of deadly tars and sugars and employ cruel and unusual punishments for the possession of life-giving alkaloids and acids."[42] Tobacco is a physically addictive substance which the Surgeon General of the United States has certified is

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

hazardous to health. Yet it may be processed and sold openly, and until recently could be advertised in the media without restrictions. Its cultivation is still supported by governmental subsidy at taxpayers' expense. As for the second part of this charge, Leary was himself sentenced to thirty years in prison plus a $30,000 fine for the possession of less than one-half ounce of marihuana. This punishment was self-evidently both cruel and unusual.[43] The life-giving alkaloids and acids referred to here are the so-called psychedelic drugs.

"They never admit a mistake. They unceasingly trumpet the virtue of greed and war. In their advertising and in their manipulation of information they make a fetish of blatant falsity and pious self-enhancement. Their obvious errors only stimulate them to greater error and noisier self-approval."[44] This charge calls to mind the Orwellian night-mare of double-think. By this totalitarian logic, the Tet Offensive of 1968, the aborted flight of Apollo 13, the raid at Song My, and the invasion of Laos can all be called successes, victories for our side. Failure is success. Success is failure. We fight wars for peace. We have to destroy a village in order to save it.

Finally, "They are bores. They hate beauty. They hate sex. They hate life."[45] Such a charge can only be leveled based on observed behavior. If these allegations are finally unprovable, the behavior which indicates their truth is ample.

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[43]Leary, "Episode and Postscript." Playboy, XVI, No. 12 (December, 1969), p. 221.

[44]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 365.

[45]Ibid.

These then are the reasons for revolution. They become apparent, also, in the process of examining and analyzing the nature of the opposed forces in the current revolutionary movement. Leary has consistently depicted this struggle in dichotomous terms. It is, he said, "a political conflict, a struggle of Caesar against the God-seekers."[46] It is also, a theological conflict, and the revolution a religious one.

Leary deals with the place of religion in American life in High Priest. He views the commitment to current tribal games as a religious phenomenon, although he is using the term differently from the way in which he defined it earlier.

> Every expression of American society--however secular, materialistic, scientific, or agnostic it may appear--is based on deeply held unconscious religious assumptions. America is an immature, irrational, superstitious, materialistic, priest-ridden, intolerant, religious state...General Motors is a religious institution with its priests, rituals, gods, saints, devils. General Motors worships mechanical power and dogmatically clings to academic taboos and empty rituals...Science itself is a religion. Fanatically defending its superstitions, rites and areas of priestly prerogative...The American government--state and federal--is a monolithic religious structure.[47]

His argument, then, is simply that it is time for a new religion. There are, he argues, "...few Americans over the age of twenty-five who are not totally committed to a dogmatic religious way of life and belief. To admit evidence (however scientific) which threatens the theological structure is intolerable."[48] In this statement is contained reference to what Leary regards as the most basic and pervasive cleavage in politics.

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[46]Leary. Psychedelic Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 94.

[47]Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 316.

[48]Ibid., p. 317.

It is the generation gap. "The crucial variable in today's political equation is age. The basic areas which now divide men are harmonal."[49] The current revolution is fundamentally biological in Leary's theory. The three newly harnessed energies, i.e., atomics, electronics and psychedelics have combined to produce a phenomenon which Leary refers to as "an evolutionary mutation."[50] These breakthroughs account for and provide an empirical basis for the occurence of the gap between generations.

Leary's description of the make-up of the opposition parties in the revolutionary movement indicates that it is not simply age versus youth, although that division is primary. There are three groups which overlap somewhat and which together provide the energy and direction for the revolution. Leary described them in High Priest. "The three groups who always await and accept the revelation which comes in every historical time were present in full and goodly numbers. The young, (who always want more and have no game to protect), the artists (who always hunger for the ecstatic moment), and the alienated (the wife slaves and noble minority groups watching from the periphery of the society)."[51] These are, not at all coincidentally, the same ones whose membership, Leary contends, is composed of people who are willing to pursue the yoga of psychedelic drugs.[52] This division of society provides a reason for revolution to the

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[49]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 168.

[50]Ibid., p. 169.

[51]Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 131.

[52]Leary, "The Politics, Ethics, and Meaning of Marihuana," The Marijuana Papers, ed. David Solomon (New York: New American Library, 1968), p. 125

extent that the natural process of evolutionary growth and development is frustrated by the imposition of dogmatic positions on the issues of consciousness and expansion of consciousness.

According to Leary, "Control over your own nervous system, freedom from the machine and from machine violence is the aim of the neurological or psychedelic revolution."[53] The fact that such a movement to establish control over one's own nervous system is necessary at all constitutes, in Leary's view, perhaps the most compelling reason of all for revolution. The most serious crime of existing governments is their attempt to control the consciousness of their citizens. This action is taken in defiance of what Leary calls, "The Two Commandments For The Molecular Age: I. Thou shalt not alter the consciousness of thy fellow man; and II. Thou shalt not prevent thy fellow man from altering his own consciousness."[54]

The basic conflict in society is internal. It is a conflict between the desire of man to do good (as defined by social conditioning) on the one hand, and the desire of man to feel good, on the other. "This conflict rages everywhere, in every action of the human being. It manifests itself as psychological conflict, as interpersonal conflict and as social conflict. Painful duty versus free pleasure. Repressive control versus free pleasure. Social conditioning versus doing what comes naturally."[55] This conflict is resultant from the phenomenon of the split

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[53]Leary, "Violent Governments, Nonviolent Hippies," op. cit., p. 102.

[54]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 95.

[55]Leary, "Episode and Postscript," op. cit., p. 222.

self. If man thinks of himself as having simultaneously two natures, one physical and one spiritual, the conflict is inherent. The problem is partly linguistic in that we have no satisfactory word to describe a reality which is simultaneously material and immaterial. Leary's point is that we should come to think of ourselves in organic rather than mechanistic terms. Instead of saying, for example, the mind should rule the body or intellect should control passion, we must come to realize that the mind/body organism is a unity which rules itself. If it is seen that we are not part body and part soul or part conscious and part unconscious, the inherent conflict between the parts dissolves. Repression and conditioning meant to coerce and control consciousness have been responsible, Leary argues, for creating the kind of world we live in. They are violations of higher law, natural law, as expressed in the DNA code. Revolution is thus in order.

> We therefore, God-loving, peace-loving, life-loving, fun-loving, men and women, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the Universe for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the Authority of all sentient beings who seek gently to evolve on this planet, solemnly publish and declare that we are free and independent, and that we are absolved from all Allegiance to the United States Government and all governments controlled by the menopausal, and that grouping ourselves into tribes of like-minded fellows, we claim full power to live and move on the land, obtain sustenance with our own hands and minds in the style which seems sacred and holy to us, and to do all Acts and Things which independent Free men and Free women may of right do without infringing on the same rights of other species and groups to do their own thing.
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> And for the support of this Declaration of Evolution, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, and serenely confident of the approval of generations to come, in whose name we speak, do we now mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.[56]

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[56]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 365.

It is one thing to declare independence, another to accomplish it. How this revolution is to be brought about is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV. REVOLUTIONARY TECHNIQUE

> "We demonstrate to anyone whose soul has fallen to pieces that he can rearrange these pieces of previous self in what order he pleases, and so attain to an endless multiplicity of moves in the game of life."[1]

Perhaps the best way to begin a discussion of Leary's plan to accomplish a revolution is to examine the techniques he rejects. He voiced sympathy for the cause of those who would resort to violence, but he could not accept or condone its use.[2] Of the Black Power movement, he wrote it was simply, "the discovery by certain articulate blacks that (they) have not been violent enough in a nation obsessed with violence."[3]

His rejection of violence as a political tactic is both ethical and pragmatic. He makes a distinction between violence and aggression. Violence is defined as killing or wounding at a distance through the use of machines.[4] Violence is immoral, he argues, since it is a violation of natural law expressed in the DNA code. Man is the only violent animal, the only species which engages its fellows in the kind of struggle which enables the agent to separate himself physically and insulate himself psychically from the consequences of the act. He wrote, "Violence is

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[1]Herman Hesse. Steppenwolf. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Bantam Book Edition, 1963), p. 219.

[2]Leary. You Can Be Anyone This Time Around, Douglas Recording, 1971.

[3]Leary, "Violent Government, Nonviolent Hippies," op. cit., p. 93.

[4]Ibid., p. 89.

the other side of the technological coin, the perversion of the Promethean power granted to man by an experimental divinity."[5] Man's genetic heritage does provide him, however, with an instinct for aggression. It has a physiological expression in the form of adrenal secretion, which produces widespread alterations in various bodily processes. Thus the organism is prepared to flee swiftly to safety or to engage in direct physical struggle with the source of the threat. In this view, "Maiming, killing, devouring other forms of life with whom you are in direct physical contact, whom you touch, with whom you struggle, whose cries and writhings and panic you see and hear and smell are the inevitables of life."[6] Violence, however, is wholly conventional, an invention practiced in defiance of the law of God.

Violence, to Leary, is not only immoral. It is ineffective. As the revolution is directed to the downfall of existing patterns of thought and behavior, it can succeed only by producing such changes. Changes in the thought patterns, the consciousness, of an individual must obviously come from within. They cannot be imposed from without by force or any other device. Violence is one pattern of human behavior which the revolution proposes to change. Violence is not ended by continuing to practice it.

Leary felt that the changes brought about by the revolution would be natural, desirable, and fun to the extent that the means were natural

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[5] Ibid., p. 95.

[6] Ibid., p. 89.

and fun. Modern man, Leary contends, is conditioned to seek learned rewards, to do good. His desire to feel good, to seek the unconditioned neurological state, to "get high" has been mostly swallowed up by a socially-accepted puritanic impulse to equate the enjoyment of pleasure with a selfish and evil hedonistic indulgement.

We are, he argues, a goal-oriented society, and those goals are, for the most part imposed by the socialization process. "Most of the things we like are artificial, learned rewards, the artificial man-made bell that made Pavlov's dog salivate."[7] We are taught, for example, to equate prosperity with happiness and consumption with satisfaction. Believing that certain material and social rewards are necessary to produce contentment, we struggle incessantly and ruthlessly to obtain them. The rewards, which were supposed to be means to an end, become ends in themselves. There is a finite limit on the availability of such rewards, therefore strife is the condition of man. The elimination of strife thus requires an alteration of human desire. Marcuse suggests that man must learn to distinguish between true, i.e., biological, needs and false, i.e., culturally imposed ones.[8] The earth may have sufficient resources to meet the needs of man, but his greed, a product of false consciousness, is insatiable.

The changes which come about must occur naturally, that is, in accordance with, not defiance of, natural genetic law. To Leary, this

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[7]Leary, "Episode and Postscript," op. cit., p. 223.

[8]Herbert Marcuse. Essay on Liberation. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 4.

meant that the revolution had to be highly individual, intimately personal. "Organic changes occur gradually and invisibly," he said.[9] Not only is violence rejected, therefore, but so is any kind of action in a collective political sense. "We're not going to do it by picketing or any of the games of political struggle. We're going to bring down the American government...through a religious renaissance."[10]

The groups to whom the new religion, the new vision, will first appeal and in whose ranks it will be nurtured are the artists, the alienated, and the young. These are the same groups, Leary argues, which have always provided the seed beds of revolution.[11] Leary, in discussing the use and control of new forms of energy says this, "A fifteen year old is going to use a new form of energy to have fun, to intensify sensation, to make love, for curiosity, for personal growth."[12] By the time they become adults, their consciousness has been constricted by socialization, the reducing valve functions efficiently, and direct experience and sensation have been filtered down to mere shadows of their former prominence. Therefore, adult society seems peculiarly bent on examining new forms of energy, if at all, only in terms of the incremental power and control they can bestow.

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[9]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 236.

[10]Leary, "The Speech That Never Was," op. cit., p. 95.

[11]Ibid., p. 93.

[12]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 123.

But Leary argues we stand on the brink of a new age. As Whitehead put it:

> All our sociological theories, our political philosophy, our practical maxims of business, our political economy, and our doctrines of education are derived from an unbroken tradition of great thinkers and of practical examples from the age of Plato...to the end of the last century. The whole of this tradition is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will substantially live amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mold with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false.[13]

The generation gap is not, it is argued, a social trend. It is a species mutation, an evolutionary lurch. This is the first generation in human history to live out its life under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation. It is the first generation to be raised on television and therefore subjected to the subtle alterations of sensory balance described by McLuhan.[14] It is the first generation to live in a world whose spatial dimensions no longer impose a consequent separation of men. And it is the first generation in human history which has been able to control its own consciousness. The political, religious, consciousness revolution which Leary advocates and predicts, is regarded as a natural development in response to the revolutions of atomics, electronics, and psychedelics. "Electronics and psychedelics," Leary argues, "have shattered the sequence of orderly linear identification, the automatic imitation that provides racial and social continuity."[15] Through the technological narrowing of space and time, Leary argued that:

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[13]Cited in Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 203.

[14]Marshall McLuhan. Understanding Media. (New York: New American Library, Inc., 1969), p. 64.

[15]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 162.

> The American youngster is beginning to catch on to the frightening fact that the affluence and bribery of things and the carnivals of televised athletic and political spectacles are the come-on for grim, monolithic, mind-copping social machines. And for those rebels who spurn the seductive bribe, there awaits, on either side of the Iron Curtain, the guns and steel to coerce those who will not conform.[16]

The kind of behavior change that Leary is talking about is, therefore individual, pleasurable, in accordance with genetic law, and comes originally from the brain. The specific regimen for accomplishing such change is stated in the motto: "Turn on, Tune in, Drop out." This technique is doubly revolutionary, he argues, since it is both symbolic and neurologically real. In practicing this yoga of revolution, a person engages in a passive act of defiance as well as accomplishing neural alterations.

An amplification of this formula is: "(1) Blow your mind with a powerful psychedelic; (2) Recondition yourself to rewards and punishments that you select; (3) Avoid all institutions based on involuntary reward-punishment conditioning."[17] The aim of the revolution, then, is, "to produce the first generation in human history.that could choose its own mode of conditioning, react selectively to self-selected rewards, and literally, neurologically make up its own mind."[18]

Before we undertake a detailed description of these steps, it is necessary to analyze Leary's theory of behavior. Psychologists are aware that there exists a variety of learning in other animals, a learning sequence they have labelled as imprinting. Leary argues that this

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[16] Ibid., p. 172.

[17] Leary, "Episode and Postscript," op. cit., p. 223.

[18] Ibid.

phenomenon also occurs in the infancy of humans and sets our consciousness in a particular social stage set. Imprinting occurs during a relatively short period of infancy. It is sudden and not based on any reward or punishment. It has also been thought to be irreversible. The conditioning process then takes over to support and refine this basic mind set. Leary argues that all behavior is learned, culturally determined. He suggests that behavior sequences should be considered as game-playing.

Leary defines a game as a learned cultural sequence characterized by the following six factors:[19]

(1) Roles: A game assigns roles to the human beings involved.
(2) Rules: A game establishes a set of rules which hold only during the game sequence.
(3) Goals: The game has a specific goal or purpose, which may be quite complex and not easily recognizable.
(4) Rituals: Conventional behavior patterns not related to the goals or rules but yet quite necessary to comfort and continuance.
(5) Language: Each game has its jargon. Unrelated to the rules and goals and yet necessary to learn and use.
(6) Values: Each game has its standards of excellence or goodness.

A cosmology which views all human behavior as game-playing has long been common in Eastern cultures. It is an idea to which the Western mind seems peculiarly impervious. There has been a recent resurgence of Western interest in Eastern philosophical systems due, in part, to the efforts of Alan Watts to make these ideas accessible to more westerners.

Attention focuses the conscious mind like the beam of a flashlight by registering only certain few neural impulses, and ignoring the rest. This ignorance, for most westerners, includes the failure to perceive the

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[19]Leary, "How to Change Behavior," LSD, ed. David Solomon. (Berkeley: G.P. Putnam's Sons, Berkeley Medallion Edition, 1966), p. 104.

game nature of behavior. This, claims Leary, is the primary factor in the process of maintaining cultural stability and continuity. As he put it, "Cultural institutions encourage the delusion that the games of life are inevitable givens involving natural laws of behavior. These fixed delusions tend to rigidify behavior patterns."[20] This failure to recognize the game nature of behavior is thus seen as the principle obstacle to the revolution of consciousness. A technique must be found which will allow and assist more people to obtain this perception.

Leary recommends such a technique in the, "Turn on" segment of his slogan. According to Leary, "turning on" with a psychedelic chemical involves, first of all, the temporary suspension of imprinting. This allows the subject to see behavior as a game-playing. Leary contends that, "Change in behavior can occur with dramatic spontaneity once the game structure of behavior is seen."[21] Leary carried out a rehabilitation program for prisoners in Massachusetts using psilocybin as the chemical catalyst, with what he claimed were remarkably successful results.

Recently there has been a growing alarm in this society about the extent and the personal and social consequences of the problem of heroin addiction. Leary contends that the junkie and the psychotic have made much the same choice and must be viewed and understood in the same way. These are people who have recognized the game structure of behavior, and, in response, have opted out of the game. "There are millions of Americans in mental hospitals who have made this choice.... Psychosis is an

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[20] Ibid., p. 107.

[21] Ibid., p. 109.

ontological state, and the psychotic is the person who just won't buy the culture, won't play the game."[22] These are deeply religious people, Leary contends. They are seeking transcendence. The social response should be, he argued, to accept the validity of their search and merely try to help the addict to, "see that blackout drugs are just bad methodology because you can't just keep holding the 'off' switch."[23] We should try to help the psychotic see that his rejection of the game is itself a game. The object is not to escape from game-playing, since that is what all behavior is, but to choose your own game and play it without forgetting that it is a game.

The second aspect of the "turn on" experience is that it not only shatters the conventional view of reality, but that it also provides the mystical perception that, "We are the two-billion year old carriers of the light, born not just of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of the Light that flashed in the Precambrian mud, the Light made flesh."[24] The suspension of imprinting, the opening of the brain's reducing valve allows for an awareness of all levels of consciousness. We can become directly aware of messages from our electrons, cells, organ systems, senses, and ego.

The message from our electrons tells us that we are merely vibrating energy in a space filled with the same energy. Through the language of RNA, the DNA code delivers to us knowledge of our entire evolutionary

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[22]Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 334.

[23]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 43.

[24]Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 3.

history. The organs can make us become aware of ourselves as somatic processes. The senses inform us of our contact with the environment.[25]

The third aspect of the psychedelic experience, and the one most directly affecting behavior change, is the opportunity the experience affords the subject to reimprint, selecting his own game and role. Free individual game selection can create enthusiasm for playing well the game chosen, and the conscious perception of it as a game will prevent blind addiction to it.[26]

The psychedelic experience, by its nature, is shocking and shattering. But the quality of the experience, whether it is a "good trip" or a "bad trip" depends upon two factors, according to Leary. His contention is that neither mystical insight nor existential terror is in the drug, any more than biological knowledge is contained in the microscope. There is no specific or typical subjective reaction to the ingestion of a psychedelic chemical.

The two factors, which in Leary's view, determine the quality of the experience, are set and setting. By "set," Leary means, "that which the subject brings to the situation, his earlier imprinting, his learning, his temperament, his emotional, ethical and rational predilections, and perhaps most important, his immediate expectations about the drug experience."[27] For this reason, Leary advises careful preparation for the session. It is not an experience one should approach with the thoughtless

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[25]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

[26]Leary, "How to Change Behavior," op. cit., p. 117.

[27]Leary, "Introduction," op. cit., p. 22.

indulgence of a cocktail or a cigarette. It is, or can be, in the proper circumstances, a fundamentally life-altering religious experience. It can be what William James called a "conversion experience."[28]

This preparation, Leary advises, should include learning something about the actual chemical process involved and about the kind of awareness which can result. The subject should have some idea of what to expect so that he can prepare himself to accept it. Most importantly he should understand beforehand that psychedelic awareness is only an expansion of consciousness. Nothing appears, disappears or changes, we merely perceive things in a different way. The brain, depending on whether it is relaxed, open and receptive or rigid, defensive and paranoid can create heaven or hell. As Leary said, "Our consciousness creates the universe we experience."[29]

Setting is the environment of the psychedelic session. From hundreds of sessions, Leary and his research associates learned a great deal about providing an effective setting. It makes a significant difference, not unexpectedly, whether the subject has the experience in an atmosphere of warm and loving support from people whom he knows and trusts or in a sterile and clinical atmosphere surrounded by impersonal white-coated observers hovering around him expectingly waiting for him to go berserk.

The physical location is quite important. The place where the session occurs should be free from distractions or interruptions. It

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[28]William James. Varieties of Religious Experience. (New York: Modern Library, 1936), p. 136.

[29]Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 80.

should be generally comfortable and familiar to the subject. In creating an effective atmosphere many accoutrements or sacrementals can be borrowed from other religious traditions. It is basically a religious atmosphere which Leary recommends, complete with incense, music and candles.

Probably the most important aspect of the setting is provided by the people in whose company the experience takes place. Leary recommends that only people known and loved by the subject should be present. One such friend should act as the guide, or guru.[30] The presence of a guide is especially recommended by Leary because of the extreme suggestibility of the psychedelic state, especially when the experience is new and unfamiliar. "The rigidity of the normal mind (is) so different from the complete openness and vulnerability of the psychedelic situation."[31] The guide can help to bring subjects out of fear situations or help to direct them toward particular goals.

Setting may also involve the use of certain rituals. These rituals can be employed in quite the same way and for the same purposes they are designed to accomplish in other religious traditions. They may be used in the psychedelic experience to create moods, to direct attention, and again to overcome paranoia. Familiar religious rituals may be used as may more esoteric Eastern religious texts and rituals. Leary and his collaborators, Richard Alpert and Ralph Metzner, wrote a manual for directing the psychedelic experience based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead.[32]

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[30] Ibid., p. 171.

[31] Ibid., p. 159.

[32] Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert. The Psychedelic Experience. (New York: University Books, 1964).

Leary makes no claim that the experience, by itself, will inevitably produce lasting behavioral changes. Because of the importance of set, some individuals may not be ready for revelation. Eastern religious tradition refers to the sum of previous experience as karma. The metaphor is that enlightenment can come only to those whose karma permits such an advance. Some subjects may be unable to face the shattering effect of psychedelic awareness. They will return to their previous game-playing. Others, with a narrow unhappy, and unsatisfying background or set, will understand and accept the psychedelic revelation, but will have no repertoire from which to select a new game.[33]

The third reason why the psychedelic experience may be inadequate, in itself, to effect permanent behavior changes is intrinsic in Leary's understanding of the dynamics of behavior. It calls for the second step in the process--"tune in." The opportunity for new imprinting afforded by the experience must be followed up by new conditioning to support and sustain the psychedelic vision. The subject should strive to manifest the change in his mind through his physical actions. He should seek, Leary urged, "...to express the revelation, the glory, and the confusion and the paradox which comes from turning on in acts of glorification, of communication, of expressing the wonder and the meaning. It's this process of acting it out that is called 'tuning in.'"[34]

Leary argues that, "All music, all dance, all theatre, all painting, all poetry started with a somewhat psychedelic or visionary experience.

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[33]Leary, "How to Change Behavior," op. cit., p. 115.

[34]Leary, "The Speech That Never Was," op. cit., p. 86.

And that person who's been turned on rushes back to the tribe and he struggles, he hungers, he drives himself to express the glory which is God-sent."[35] The new conditioning process should encourage the development of artistic talents and creative abilities as the person plays his new game with vigor and satisfaction. Changes in life style should occur as reflections of the glory and meaning of the experience. The new life style, because it is more natural, pleasurable and satisfying provides its own conditioning and is self-perpetuating.

As the individual changes his life style, it becomes impossible for him to play his old role with respect to the established social order. The third step, then, is to "drop out." Probably no other aspect of Leary's theory has been as variously interpreted, by himself as well as others, as this one. Dropping out is primarily a state of mind. It is a gentle and psychological detachment from, "the violent society and its computerized, impersonal, inhuman technology."[36] It should be a peaceful and total rejection of established social beliefs, values and goals. Dropping out is the conscious decision, made on the basis of the evidence presented by the psychedelic experience, to seek a new and better way of life. To Leary, dropping out ultimately means an active effort to create new social forms based on a new understanding of natural law, of society, and on the individual's relation to it. Leary urges those who would drop out to group themselves into tribes of like-minded fellows, migrate to the

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[35] Ibid., p. 89.

[36] Leary, "Violent Governments, Nonviolent Hippies," op. cit., p. 96.

countryside, and form religious cults. All of this, he cautioned, should be done as a positive act of belief and creation not as a negative act of rebellion against the existing social order.[37]

In order to assist people who wish to accomplish this transition, Leary proposed the establishment of urban spiritual centers which would provide counseling, encouragement, and advice. They would be reverse half-way houses, for the use of those who are on their way out of established society rather than back into it.

This is Leary's plan for revolution. He views it as a continual process. The psychedelic experience will require repetition for most people. The specific psychedelic yoga or method which Leary advocates will require dedication, time, effort, and technique. It is not a matter of swallowing a pill, period. As he said, "Dear friends, to specialize in the use of your own nervous system, to learn to use your head, and to use the wisdom in your cells, requires many years."[38]

The revolution will grow, Leary contends, like any other organic process, cell by cell. It will grow individual by individual. Most of these individuals will be relatively young, due to their physiological openness. A discipline, as regimen, is recommended. But Leary views the psychedelic revolution as inevitable because it is in accordance with evolutionary cycles and genetic laws. The psychedelic view of the universe, must result eventually from the discoveries of physics, electronics, and neural physiology in conjunction with the revelations of psychopharmacology.

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[37]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 226.

[38]Leary, "Politics, Ethics, and Meaning of Marihuana," op. cit., p. 140.

The imputation of inevitability to this phenomenon is, of course, specious. New knowledge in these fields may make the revolution possible or more likely, but certainly not inevitable.

These developments have produced such an awesome enhancement of human potential, that Leary consistently refers to it as a species change, a mutation. A new energy has been discovered; a new culture will be formed to use it. What kind of culture it will be is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V. A VISION OF POST-REVOLUTIONARY MAN AND SOCIETY

> "My blueprint for the world is that we will live in harmonious, interspecies interactions."[1]

Timothy Leary's political theory includes a normative and predictive vision of human social and political arrangements resultant from the revolution of consciousness. Descriptions of post-revolutionary society are found throughout Leary's writings. In amplifying the "tune in" and "drop out" phases of this theory, Leary has left suggestions as to his view of the shape of the future. At Millbrook, a large estate in New York, Leary, in communion with about sixty others attempted to construct an alternate community.

Leary rejected the content of the current socialization process, but never denied that such a process is essential to social continuity. He argued that some sort of social structure is essential for two reasons. First, the chaos of limitless awareness is overwhelming, and there is a need for some kind of order to return to and in which to give expression to this awareness. The second need for order is to provide a direction and a context within which transcendence can be sought. By order, Leary means the development of traditions, rituals, even laws which provide an atmosphere conducive to individual transcendence. He does not reject the idea of order, but contends that there are both good and bad, natural and unnatural varieties.

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[1] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 221.

There remains the problem, however, of deciding how much structure is needed, of trying to strike an appropriate balance between authoritarianism and anarchy. Striking such a balance is a matter of listening to and acting in accordance with cellular wisdom, says Leary. We all have, he argues, "a cellular, intuitive sense about where law, which is necessary to protect society, stops and where individual growth, which is necessary to keep society going, begins."[2] Obviously, the problem here is that we have attained no common perception, intuited through cellular wisdom or from any other source about where in specific terms, law ends and individual growth begins.

Most of what Leary prescribes in regard to social and political arrangements is contained explicitly or implicitly in his "Constitution of Life," the basic political document of a proposed future social order.[3] The title of this document serves to establish the dimensions of the context. All national, racial, and even species boundaries are subsumed under the aegis of a single authority.

The aims of the new society are stated in the Constitution's Preamble. Although the constitution is ordained and established by the "Freemen and Freewomen of the Planet Terra," it is designed to accommodate and direct the interrelationships of all life forms. The first two purposes specified are: "...to form a more perfect union," and, "to

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[2] Ibid., p. 199.

[3] Ibid., pp. 366-368.

reestablish species harmony."[4] These ideas are premised on the explicitly stated "self-evident truths" contained in the Declaration of Evolution that all species are equal and endowed with equal rights.

The next two purposes stated in the Preamble are to: "Provide for the physical and spiritual sustenance," and, "to promote the general welfare of all living forms."[5] This is akin to the Biblical notion of dominion, which assigns to man, by virtue of his highly developed cortical capacity, assigned that is, by natural law, not simply the possibility of exercising power over other species, but also assigns to him the responsibility for doing so in conformity with natural law.

Leary believes that the reason for living is to glorify the divine within and without. Living is an act of adoration. This is what he means by the next stated purpose, that of insuring, "a climate of ecstatic prayer."[6] The aim is to insure that life is understood as an act of worship and can therefore be lived consciously and fully as a religious activity. To create a new society, or as Leary put it, "To drop out means to detach yourself tenderly, aesthetically, harmoniously from the fake-prop studio of the empire game and do nothing but guard and glorify the Light."[7]

Finally, the Constitution is promulgated to "secure the blessings of liberty to all creatures now living and their posterity."[8] Here again,

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[4] Ibid., p. 366.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 33.

[8] Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 366.

reference is made to the unity and harmony of all life and to the responsibility to preserve the presence of life. Life is viewed as totality. Like the Christian notions of the Mystical Body of Christ and the Communion of Saints, it is composed of life forms which have been, those which are, and those which are yet to be.

Article I of the Constitution deals with laws. It states the basis of authority in Section 1. "The laws of God as expressed in the evolving principles of Biology and Physics are the Only and Supreme Power of the Planet."[9] The basic statement of the ethical system and the principle which is to govern the conduct of all human affairs is: "Love God and every living creature as thyself."[10] The constitutional limits of political authority are specified by the proviso that, "No rules shall be established by man which interfere with the harmonies and rhythms of nature or the rights of other men or other species to evolve according to the Divine Plan."[11]

Since Leary claims that this future society will be natural and therefore good, human forms of social organization will be those which are decreed by divine genetic law. The evolution of the human species has prepared us, Leary contends, to live in a tribal based society. "We are," he said, "tribal animals. Primates. We have lived together in small bands for a hundred thousand years. The unit of human survival--spiritual, economic, political--is the clan. The clan is a small collection of

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

families."[12] "Man is designed by over two billion years of divine blueprinting to live in small groups," he argued.[13] And each human being contains, "in the very cellular essence of (his) being, tribal commitments. Tribal style. Tribal mores. Tribal taboos. Tribal sexual rituals."[14] The vast and seemingly insoluble social, political, economic, and moral problems which presently confront man in advanced industrial society are seen as resultant from his attempt to live in a style which is contradicted by his very nature. The great problems of war, poverty, pollution, and racism are indeed insoluble, Leary would argue, within the context of existing social forms. Social systems larger than the clan are based on irrational and unnecessary fear and finally must resort to force to maintain their viability.

Because man is basically a primate, said Leary, he should not accept the political or spiritual leadership of anyone whom he cannot experience and relate to personally, face to face, flesh to flesh. The clan, which Leary defines as, "a small group of human beings organized around a religious goal,"[15] is the most ancient and most sacred human structure.

Although Leary does not make his usage entirely clear, he uses the terms 'clan' and 'cult' interchangeably and implies that a 'tribe' is a collection of clans. Article II of the Constitution deals with tribes.[16]

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[12]Leary. High Priest, op. cit., p. 230.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 227.

[16]Ibid., p. 366.

In the first section, they are explicitly recognized as the natural units of human association. Each one is defined by a territory which is understood as collectively leased from God and by its individual and freely chosen style of life and worship. The lines which are invented to define territory are conventional and arbitrary, but will be based as much as possible on natural geographic features of the land. The criticism that the intellectual invention of such imaginary lines serves to divide men is admitted. But if the premise that mass society is unnatural to man is allowed, then there must be some natural division of the members of the species into smaller units. The specific lines of division are conventional, but the urge to establish them is not. And, at any rate, it makes a great deal of difference what sort of importance is attached to them and what kind of political authority makes the rules within and between territorial tribal units.

Each tribe has the authority to establish its own game rules regulating the style of life and worship. But the Constitution specifies that these rules are valid only within the territory and, "shall not interfere with the physical and spiritual growth of other species in the territory and other species and tribes outside their territory."[17] Territory is to be proportional to tribal size, and no tribe can number more than 360 members between the ages of fourteen and fifty.

A series of limitations on political authority are set forth explicitly. The Constitution refers to the following provisions as "seed principles."[18]

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[17] Ibid., p. 367.

[18] Ibid.

First, no tribe is to make or possess mechanical, chemical, or electrical weapons.

Second, police are to function as unarmed social game referees. No individual is to exercise police or judicial authority for more than three years.

Third, there are to be no secret police.

Fourth, each tribe must guarantee free and equal access to life-giving energies. They are to be shared equally by all tribal members. Competition and artificial scarcities are permitted only with respect to nonessentials.

Fifth, the exercise of tribal political authority is to be considered as a burden which the genetic code assigns to the tribal seed bearers, those over fourteen and under fifty years of age. "Persons under the age of fourteen and over the age of forty-nine, in consonance with the obvious directives of the DNA code, shall be relieved of all secular obligations and be free to laugh, learn, play, love God and exist as Holy Children of the Divine Parents."[19]

Sixth, no tribe is to, "allow the invasion or restriction of private behavior within the dwelling places, shrines, or bodies of Freemen and Freewomen."[20] The notion of sin is to be separated from the notion of law. No more victimless crimes. And no political authority is to alter the consciousness of any individual, or to prevent him from altering his own.

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

Finally, "No tribe shall compel or restrict the mode of education, free movement, or free communication within and between individuals and tribes."[21]

Article III of the Constitution calls for an All-Life Council which is to govern planetary affairs and interplanetary relations.[22] Its functions are to protect the freedom of all species and all people within tribal territory and to negotiate on behalf of the collectivity of tribes with nontribal governments.

The Council is a representative legislative body whose decisions are binding on all tribes. It is composed of one democratically elected representative from each tribe, and in addition, a representative of every other species of life on the planet and representatives of future generations. The Council will select these representatives, "from among scientists who have exhibited concern for and knowledge of the needs of infrahuman and superhuman generations."[23] Such a legislative body might be exceedingly unwieldy, but the proposition pays respect to the principle of the equal rights of all species of life. Recently, American society has become alarmed about the content of toxic mercury in certain species of fish. The concern has issued from a wholly human perspective. We ask whether human health is thereby threatened. Leary is here proposing that we ask the fish how they feel about it. What is the scientific answer to to the questions of the various needs and tolerance levels of each species?

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 368.

[23] Ibid.

The Council is to coordinate and harmonize the spiritual and physical growth of each tribe and species without favoring any one over another. Human beings who are not tribal members are to, "be considered and honored as belonging to a different species."[24]

In an attempt to perfect the practice of a political trick pioneered by the Framers of the American Constitution, it is specified in the final section of Article III that, "A founding assembly of the All-Life Council shall be convened at the call of forty-nine tribes of Freemen and Freewomen who have maintained territorial harmony under a tribal constitution for a period of one year."[25]

This Constitution reveals much about the nature of Leary's vision of post-revolutionary society. It is quite similar to Jefferson's theory. Emphasis is placed on small, local governmental units wherein political authority is located. Political decisions at this level are to be made democratically by those tribal members who bear the physiological responsibility for the continued propagation of the species. Every political decision is to be made at the lowest practicable level, as close to the people as possible. On the basis of the game nature of the human contract, Leary developed through his empirical research with psychedelics the following set of egalitarian principles which will be practiced in this future society. They are, "equality in determining role, rule, ritual, goal, language, and commitment; equality in the explicit contractual definition of the real, the good, the true, the logical; equality of the

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

right to speak and to have access to relevant information. Any contract between men should be explicit about any temporary suspension of these equalities."[26]

In the future society, a new language will be developed to communicate new aspects of experience. New values will arise based on a broader range of reality. New methods of education will be employed utilizing psychedelics to facilitate learning and begin to realize the potentialities of the human cortex.

The need for psychedelic chemicals will be less acute in the future, Leary believes, because we will learn how to raise children who are not addicted to drugs or to symbols. "Nature always produces the cure for the particular disease which has evolved. The disease that is crushing and oppressing this planet today is man's possessive and manipulatory symbolic mind.... The young generation needs LSD to cure the symbolic plague. Their children won't need LSD except for the mentally ill. The mentally ill in the second generation to come will be those who get addicted to symbols, power."[27]

In the envisioned society, a cycle of interspecies harmony and mutual collaboration will be built up. "We'll pay respect to the facts that the symbolic human mind can't face--one, that we all die; two, that we all eat each other; three, that we must all provide for each other's genetic or soul growth."[28]

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[26]Leary, "How to Change Behavior," op. cit., p. 113.

[27]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 219.

[28]Ibid., p. 221.

Leary does not condemn technology. He is highly commendatory of Aldous Huxley's prophetic vision of a society in which technology is man's servant rather than his master.[29] It can be used to liberate man from the struggle for existence, as Marcuse theorizes. Such a transition can be accomplished only in the context of the developed human capacity to distinguish between true and false needs. Leary speculates that what industry is necessary will be placed underground.[30] The problem of leisure can be dealt with only by encouraging the exploration of the infinity of inner space. A highly specialized new occupation which will emerge will be that of psychedelic adviser, the new priesthood. Leary undertook a project of training psychedelic subjects to function as guides for others who seek the experience.[31]

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[29]Aldous Huxley. Island. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937.)

[30]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 268.

[31]Leary, "The Rationale of the Mexican Psychedelic Training Center." Psychedelic Review, IX (1966), 178-185.

CHAPTER VI. THE VALUE OF THE THEORY

> "I knew that he (Leary) was not interpersonally destructive--he might be destructive of institutions, but not of individuals. He was a very loving person."[1]

One way of assessing the importance of any theory of revolution is to observe how seriously it is taken by those whose positions in the established order are threatened by it. Leary's theory has seldom been taken seriously in the sense of being openly and critically examined on its merits, with a subsequent national decision made as to its acceptability. But it has apparently been perceived as a serious threat, if such a judgment can be made on the basis of official reaction. The fact of Leary's harassment by law enforcement agencies and his final incarceration for a victimless crime are matters of public record. His initial sentence of thirty years in prison and a $30,000 fine for possession of less than one-half ounce of marijuana was clearly excessive and clearly political. Legislation has been passed prohibiting all but government sanctioned research with psychedelics, and the public airwaves have been flooded with subsidized messages calling attention only to the hazards of drugs and with no particular care taken to differentiating between marijuana and heroin. They are all 'drugs,' psychedelics included, and the entire generic category labeled as harmful.

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[1] Baba Ram Dass (formerly Richard Alpert). Be Here Now. (San Cristobal, New Mexico: Lama Foundation, 1971), p. 8.

Leary, himself, was a subversive figure, a threat to the established empire, and treated accordingly. He was incessantly hounded and finally locked up as a criminal. At the time of his escape, Leary was appealing to the United States Supreme Court to review the decision of a California court which had refused to grant bail during the conduct of his appeal. The court had refused to grant bail on the ground that his activities constituted a menace to society.

Perhaps an instructive parallel can be drawn between the public careers of Leary and Socrates. Both men presented ideational systems which constituted challenges to existing consensual philosophies. Both were accused of essentially the same crime, that of corrupting youth and preaching disrespect for established religious ikons and symbols. Both were judged and condemned by the established legal system. This recourse is a traditional social practice for disposing of threats. Or so it might seem. But whatever threat Leary may have posed to society was and is contained in his ideas. Those ideas have not been locked up.

There are other modes of judgment, of course. Leary is not an academic theorist. He is an apostle for a particular religious and political persuasion. As a proselyte, he takes certain liberties with the canons of scholarship. Consider, for example, his treatment of the notion of imprinted learning. He begins from the accepted premise that imprinting takes place in other animals, and infers that it occurs in man, as well. Nowhere, to my knowledge, is this process explained, although Leary claimed to have an explanation.[2] The psychedelic experience can

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[2]Leary. Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., p. 246.

temporarily suspend the results of imprinting, he argued, but it remained unclear, to me at least, just what effect such a suspension would produce.

The entire edifice of Leary's formulation rests on the status of the psychedelic experience itself. Leary's position on this question, supported by a wealth of research studies, is that there is no such thing as the psychedelic experience. There are only psychedelic experiences. There is a set of typical physical reactions to the ingestion of a psychedelic, but they are of no concern here. There is no typical subjective response, however. The quality of the experience is a function of set and setting.

Leary was zealously optimistic in his prediction of the widespread use of psychedelics. While this prediction may have been correct, his facile assumption that they would be employed in the proper setting and by people in a serious, reflective, and prepared state of mind was surely specious. Leary often referred to the psychedelics as tools, available for use and subject to misuse. That they have been widely misused, seems to me beyond question. There has been no psychedelic priesthood, no corps of gurus to prepare and instruct others on the use of these chemicals and to serve as guides during the psychedelic session. Ironically, it was for the offense of attempting to train such a priesthood that Leary was deported from Mexico.[3]

The question remains, however, whether given adequate dosage and the prescribed set and setting, psychedelics can induce the state of

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[3]Timothy Leary, "The Rationale of the Mexican Training Center," op. cit., pp. 178-185.

consciousness Leary describes and result in appropriate behavior change. Herein lies a weakness in the theory. For Leary is attempting to describe with words an experience which is ineffable.

The state of consciousness which Leary and many others have pursued through psychedelics is a unitive one, a level of awareness of the mutual interrelation of all things. This is a perception much closer to field theory and relativity in modern science than to any brand of religious supernaturalism.

The only evidence available to support the contention that psychedelics can be used to effect such a level of consciousness is the subjective testimony of those who have had the experience. In their number are an impressive array of poets, philosophers, and clerics. Alan Watts, in fact, professes to be: "...at once gratified and embarrassed by a development (psychedelics) in Western science which could possibly put this unitive vision of the world, by almost shockingly easy means, within the reach of many who have thus far sought it in vain by traditional methods."[4]

In any listing of contemporary human problems, two which surely merit prominence are man's inclination and willingness to employ violence against his fellow man and progressive pollution of the planet's ecosystem. When the individual is defined and felt as a separate ego or personality he is unaware that his organism is an energetic pattern that exists only in inseparable concert with myriads of other patterns. And as Watts put it: "So long as we do not effectively feel this to be so, there is no

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[4]Alan Watts. The Joyous Cosmology, op. cit., p. 12.

motivation for forms of politics that recognize the interdependence of all peoples, nor for forms of technology that realize man's inseparability from the entire network of natural patterns."[5]

Given such a realization, however, it is apparent that the perpetrator of violence is also its victim. Or, as Jesus put it, "Whatsoever you do unto the least of my brethren, you do unto Me."[6] And, with respect to the pollution problem, Watts argues persuasively, it seems to me, the "What we need is a technology managed by people who no longer experience 'self' as something foreign to the body and its physical environment."[7] And he adds,

> We cannot proceed with a fully productive technology if it must inevitably Los Angelize the whole earth, poison the elements, destroy all wildlife, and sicken the blood stream with the promiscuous use of antibiotics and insecticides. Yet this will be the certain result of the technological enterprise conducted in the hostile spirit of a conquest of nature with the main object of making money. Despite growing public alarm over the problems of soil erosion, pollution of the air and water, and the deterioration of crops and livestock raised by certain methods of industrial farming, little is as yet being done to develop an ecological technology, that is, a technology in which man has as much respect for his environment as for himself.[8]

Leary contended that those who have attained this vision would live out its terms by adopting a life style which would place fewer and more manageable demands on the dwindling life supporting resources of the planet. Given the suspension of social conditioning, they would be able to distinguish between true organismic needs and culturally imposed ones.

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[5]Alan Watts. Does it Matter? (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 22.

[6]The Bible. King James Version. Matthew 25-40.

[7]Alan Watts. Does it Matter?, op. cit., p. 74.

[8]Alan Watts. Ibid., p. 17.

Leary argues that there is a right way for man to behave. His attempt to identify a normative natural law applicable to man and discoverable through a study of genetic conditioning is a metaphorical device. All human behavior is a reflection of man's nature. When he argues that we should behave in a particular way because it is natural, it seems to me that he tries but fails to add an additional element of persuasiveness to his prescription. The prescribed behavior is desirable, not because it is more natural than some alternatives, but because it is more conducive to the maximization of certain values.

That there must be widespread and fundamental adjustments in human behavior patterns in a very short period of time if we are to avoid belligerent mutual annihilation and the creation of a climate inhospitable to life on the planet, I feel is obvious. Such major changes occurring in a compacted time span is a definition of revolution. In this sense, a revolution may be seen as a desirable alternative to destruction.

Any realistic assessment of the success potential of a violent revolution in the United States today and for the foreseeable future would find the revolutionaries hopelessly outmanned and outgunned. Given the awesome destructive capacity at the disposal of the forces of the establishment, any such attempt would be suicidal. Nor could such a revolution, even if it succeeded at overthrowing the government, produce the desired result.

Leary's defense of non-violent revolution is based on pragmatic considerations, then, as well as on ethical, logical and aesthetic ones. Ethically, Leary rejects machine violence as a perversion of human intelligence. Logically, a revolution which aims to end violence cannot

continue to practice it. Aesthetically, a revolution of joy and love is preferable to one of bloodshed and bitterness. To Leary, trust and openness, love and humor are the means of the revolution. The ends will follow.

Is there time for such a revolution? It would take a generation, perhaps two, to accomplish it. No one knows the answer to that question, of course, but neither has anyone offered an alternative strategy which would be faster and have a chance for success.

There may be those who would see in Leary's proposals an elaborate rationalization for a system of hedonism. But in a society as unhappy as this one, joy and love are truly subversive states of mind.

Leary has performed a valuable service through the formulation of his theory. He has initiated the necessary confrontation of the problem in religious and political terms of the potential for electrical and chemical consciousness alteration and control. He predicted that these chemicals would play an important and positive role in man's next evolutionary step.

In his view and mine they provide a tool, not the tool, for the production of a non-egocentric consciousness. Such a consciousness, psychedelically generated or not, provides a vision of a better, happier, holier way of life. That vision must be lived out by those who attain it, for as Burke wrote, "Example is the school of mankind; they will learn at no other."[9]

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[9]Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955), p. 99.

The children of the next generation or two will decide the issue. If they are confronted by a choice between the rigid and repressive, unhappy and puritanical, bureaucratic, manipulated, and violent life style of contemporary society and a truly revolutionary, free and flowing, joyous and sensual, personal, open and gentle life style, there is hope that they'll know which side to be on.

APPENDIX A

DECLARATION OF EVOLUTION[1]

When in the course of organic evolution it becomes obvious that a mutational process is inevitably dissolving the physical and neurological bonds which connect the members of one generation to the past and inevitably directing them to assume among the species of earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent concern for the harmony of species requires that the causes of the mutation should be declared.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:

--That all species are created different but equal;

--That they are endowed, each one, with certain inalienable rights;

--That among them are Freedom to Live, Freedom to Grow, and Freedom to pursue Happiness in their own style;

--That to protect these God-given rights, social structures naturally emerge, basing their authority on the principles of love of God and respect for all forms of life;

--That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of life, liberty, and harmony, it is the organic duty of the young members of that species to mutate, to drop out, to initiate a new social structure, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its power in such form as seems likely to produce the safety, happiness, and harmony of all sentient beings.

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[1]Leary, Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., pp. 362-366.

Genetic wisdom, indeed, suggests that social structures long established should not be discarded for frivolous reasons and transient causes. The ecstasy of mutation is equally balanced by the pain. Accordingly all experience shows that members of a species are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, rather than to discard the forms to which they are accustomed.

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, all pursuing invariably the same destructive goals, threaten the very fabric of organic life and the serene harmony on the planet, it is the right, it is the organic duty to drop out of such morbid covenants and to evolve new loving social structures.

Such has been the patient sufferance of the freedom-loving peoples of this earth, and such is now the necessity which constrains us to form new systems of government.

The history of the white, menopausal, mendacious men now ruling the planet earth is a history of repeated violation of the harmonious laws of nature, all having the direct object of establishing a tyranny of the materialistic aging over the gentle, the peace-loving, the young, the colored. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to the judgment of generations to come.

--These old, white rulers have maintained a continuous war against other species of life, enslaving and destroying at whim fowl, fish, animals and spreading a lethal carpet of concrete and metal over the soft body of earth.

--They have maintained as well a continual state of war among themselves and against the colored races, the freedom-loving, the gentle, the young. Genocide is their habit.

--They have instituted artificial scarcities, denying peaceful folk the natural inheritance of earth's abundance and God's endowment.

--They have glorified material values and degraded the spiritual.

--They have claimed private, personal ownership of God's land, driving by force of arms the gentle from their passage on the earth.

--In their greed they have erected artificial immigration and customs barriers, preventing the free movement of people.

--In their lust for control they have set up systems of compulsory education to coerce the minds of the children and to destroy the wisdom and innocence of the playful young.

--In their lust for power they have controlled all means of communication to prevent the free flow of ideas and to block loving exchanges among the gentle.

--In their fear they have instituted great armies of secret police to spy upon the privacy of the pacific.

--In their anger they have coerced the peaceful young against their will to join their armies and to wage murderous wars against the young and gentle of other countries.

--In their greed they have made the manufacture and selling of weapons the basis of their economies.

--For profit they have polluted the air, the rivers, the seas.

--In their impotence they have glorified murder, violence, and unnatural sex in their mass media.

--In their aging greed they have set up an economic system which favors age over youth.

--They have in every way attempted to impose a robot uniformity and to crush variety, individuality, and independence of thought.

--In their greed, they have instituted political systems which perpetuate rule by the aging and force youth to choose between plastic conformity or despairing alienation.

--They have invaded privacy by illegal search, unwarranted arrest, and contemptuous harassment.

--They have enlisted an army of informers.

--In their greed they sponsor the consumption of deadly tars and sugars and employ cruel and unusual punishments for the possession of life-giving alkaloids and acids.

--They never admit a mistake. They unceasingly trumpet the virtue of greed and war. In their advertising and in their manipulation of information they make a fetish of blatant falsity and pious self-enhancement. Their obvious errors only stimulate them to greater error and noisier self-approval.

--They are bores.

--They hate beauty.

--They hate sex.

--They hate life.

We have warned them from time to time to their inequities and blindness. We have addressed every available appeal to their withered sense of righteousness. We have tried to make them laugh. We have prophesied in detail the terror they are perpetuating. But they have been deaf to the weeping of the poor, the anguish of the colored, the rocking mockery of the young, the warnings of their poets. Worshiping only force and money,

they listen only to force and money. But we shall no longer talk in these grim tongues.

We must therefore acquiesce to genetic necessity, detach ourselves from their uncaring madness and hold them henceforth as we hold the rest of God's creatures--in harmony, life brothers, in their excess, menaces to life.

We, therefore, God-loving, peace-loving, life-loving, fun-loving men and women, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the Universe for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the Authority of all sentient beings who seek gently to evolve on this planet, solemnly publish and declare that we are free and independent, and that we are absolved from all Allegiance to the United States Government and all governments controlled by the menopausal, and that grouping ourselves into tribes of like-minded fellows, we claim full power to live and move on the land, obtain sustenance with our own hands and minds in the style which seems sacred and holy to us, and to do all Acts and Things which independent Freemen and Freewomen may of right do without infringing on the same rights of other species and groups to do their own thing.

And for the support of this Declaration of Evolution with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, and serenely confident of the approval of generations to come, in whose name we speak, do we now mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor.

APPENDIX B

THE CONSTITUTION OF LIFE[1]

WE, THE FREEMEN AND FREEWOMEN OF THE PLANET TERRA, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, REESTABLISH SPECIES HARMONY, PROVIDE FOR THE PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL SUSTENANCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE OF ALL LIVING FORMS, INSURE A CLIMATE OF ECSTATIC PRAYER, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO ALL CREATURES NOW LIVING AND THEIR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED TRIBES OF EARTH.

ARTICLE I: LAWS

Section 1: The Laws of God as expressed in the evolving principles of Biology and Physics are the Only and Supreme Power of the Planet.

Section 2: The governing of human affairs shall be based on this basic principle: Love God and every living creature as thyself. LOVE-EVOLVE.

Section 3: No rules shall be established by man which interfere with the harmonies and rhythms of nature or the rights of other men or other species to evolve according to the Divine Plan.

ARTICLE II: TRIBES

Section 1: The organization of Freemen and Freewomen into small social units for the purpose of physical and spiritual growth is recognized as a basic part of the unfolding Law of Nature.

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[1]Leary, Politics of Ecstasy, op. cit., pp. 366-368.

Section 2: Tribes are defined by territory collectively leased from God and by an individual tribal style of life and worship freely chosen.

Section 3: Tribes shall establish game rules governing their own style of life and worship. Such rules shall have authority only within the tribal territory and shall not interfere with the physical and spiritual growth of other species in their territory and other species and tribes outside their territory.

Section 4: The territory and natural resources leased by any Tribe shall be proportional to the numbers of tribe members.

Section 5: No tribe shall number more than 360 persons over the age of fourteen and under the age of fifty years.

Section 6: While each tribe shall evolve its own style of self-government, the following seed principles shall not be violated:

a. No tribe shall manufacture or possess weapons (mechanical, electrical, or chemical) designed to maim flesh, cripple health, wage war against or coerce other sentient beings.

b. Police shall function as unarmed umpires to supervise tribal games and to isolate violence in emergencies. No person shall exercise police or judicial authority for more than three years.

c. No secret police. No secrets about other sentient beings.

d. Each tribe shall guarantee free and equal access to life-giving energies. Competition and artificial scarcities shall be allowed only in the case of nonessential things. Competitive and greed games shall be considered as therapeutic expressions of archaic impulses, throwbacks to earlier, prehistoric epochs.

e. The exercise of tribal authority--voting and rule making--shall be considered burdens assigned by God and the DNA code to the tribal seed bearers, those between the ages of fourteen and forty-nine years. Persons under the age of fourteen and over the age of forty-nine, in consonance with the obvious directives of the DNA code, shall be relieved of all secular obligations and be free to laugh, learn, play, love God and exist as Holy Children of the Divine Parents.

f. No tribe shall allow invasion or restriction of private behavior within the dwelling places, shrines, or bodies of Freemen and Freewomen.

g. No tribe shall compel or restrict the mode of education, free movement, or free communication within and between individuals and tribes.

ARTICLE III: ALL-LIFE COUNCIL

Section 1: Planetary affairs and interplanetary relations shall be governed by an ALL-LIFE COUNCIL. The ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall protect the freedom of all species and individuals within the territories of the participant tribes and shall negotiate on behalf of Freemen and Freewomen with nontribal governments.

Section 2: The deliberations and legislations of the ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall be binding on all tribes.

Section 3: The ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall be composed of one representative, democratically elected, from each tribe. Tribal representatives can be organized into regional groupings. The deliberations and votings of the ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall utilize all available technical means for enhancing communication and coordinating information.

Section 4: The ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall also include representatives of every other species of life on the planet and representatives from future generations. These spokesmen for infrahuman and superhuman evolutionary forms shall be selected by the ALL-LIFE COUNCIL from among scientists who have exhibited concern for and knowledge of the needs of infrahuman and superhuman generations.

Section 5: The ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall coordinate and harmonize the physical and spiritual growth of each tribe and species and shall not establish any law which favors the growth of any species or tribe at the expense of others. Human beings now living who do not belong to tribes of Freemen and Freewomen shall be considered and honored as belonging to a different species.

Section 6: A founding assembly of the ALL-LIFE COUNCIL shall be convened at the call of forty-nine tribes of Freemen and Freewomen who have maintained territorial harmony under a tribal constitution for a period of one year.

MAY THE WISDOM AND BLESSING OF THE DIVINE PARENTS GUIDE US.

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