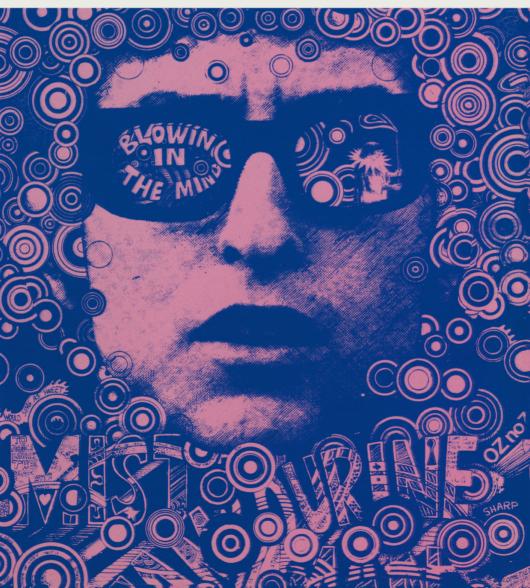**Elizabeth Nelson**

THE BRITISH COUNTER-CULTURE, 1966-73

A STUDY OF THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

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A Study of the Underground Press

Elizabeth Nelson

M
MACMILLAN

For Danielle and Roger

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Preface

> *The revolution begun as a dove, with a CND sign on its*
> *breast. It became a peacock, fanning out a psychedelic rain-*
> *bow of bells, beads and Beatles. But for many it eventually*
> *became a hawk, whose outlook was that of stormy Weather-*
> *men, the Angry Brigade, or even the IRA.*
>
> (*IT*, no. 129, 4 May 1972)

More than a decade after the fading away of the counter-culture, it is clear that it failed to achieve its objectives, and it is too early for the historian to be able to judge how it might have affected the world.

Nevertheless, it might be argued that the counter-culture was important historically, not merely because it covered a period of approximately a decade of the Western world's experiences, but because it was a social movement with explicit and fundamental criticisms of modern capitalism, which offered an alternative vision – regardless of whether this was attained or attainable – of a millenarian type.

The intellectual, cultural and political forms which were employed to articulate the alternative vision were often disturbing and quite profound, and may indeed have contained the seeds for the success of future insurrections of a counter-cultural type.

The counter-culture was, however, in many ways a mood, expressing what might be termed the 'spirit of the times' in which it existed. For the now mostly middle-aged adherents of the counter-culture, it remains a vivid if often confused memory, arguably something much more than a mere nostalgia for lost youth. For the researcher, the counter-culture is an elusive phenomenon, and one which frequently slips through the fingers just when one seems to have captured its forms and meanings.

Fortunately, the counter-culture in Britain did have its documentalists: the underground press writers. Equally fortunately, the underground publications have been meticulously assembled and microfilmed by the Harvester Press, providing

the researcher with a coherent body of primary source material. It has often been observed that the underground press was in effect the only viable institution created by the essentially anti-institutional counter-culture. In Britain, the underground press's history began with the publication of *International Times* in October 1966, followed by many others. This publication and two of the other key underground publications, *Oz* and *Friends* (which later became known as *Frendz*), form the basis of the study of the counter-culture in this work. Through these publications, the British counter-culture is examined in its own terms.

Whilst one must be aware of the many-faceted nature of the counter-culture, we are presented, through the underground press, with its areas of major concern and interest. The underground press functioned in many ways. It was designed to both serve and promote the counter-cultural community and its ideals. Although the 'news' and other articles presented through this medium were articulated by the seemingly committed intellectuals of the movement, the absence of a strict editorial policy – or any editorial policy at all – enabled a variety of often conflicting views and emphases to be expressed. In a very real sense, these publications have recorded a process of dialogue between the writers and the community, and as the opening quotation indicates, they have also recorded the various phases in the counter-culture's development and decline.

Future generations wanting to learn about the hopes which the counter-culture dared to hope will need to listen to the music which expressed its mood and visions: it is in this music that the counter-culture's poets are to be found. For more tangible evidence about the counter-culture, future generations will be able to turn to the underground press where the social history of the movement has been documented by some of its members.

Writing from the perspective of the mid- to late-1980s, where the whiff of conservatism is in the air again, and the counter-culture seems light years ago, a sympathetic observer of the counter-culture might be excused for hoping that the spirit of the times in which the counter-culture existed will endure sufficiently for a future generation to build upon the foundations which may have been laid.

Acknowledgements

List of Abbreviations

AC	*Ahimsa Communities*
Ads	Advertisements
AHIMSA	Agriculture and Hand-Industries Mutual Support Association
A.L. Newsletter	*Arts Lab. Newsletter*
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIT	Binary Information Transfer
Co-op	Co-operative
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
GNP	Gross National Product
H-bomb	Hydrogen bomb
IFP	International Free Press
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IT	*International Times*
LBJ	Lyndon Baines Johnson
LSD	Lysergic acid diethylamide
MGM	Metro–Goldwyn–Mayer
MP	Member of Parliament
n.d.	not dated
n.p.	page un-numbered
NY	New York
TW3	*That Was the Week That Was*
UFO	Unidentified Flying Object
VCM	Vegan Communities Movement
YCND	Young Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

1 Towards a definition

An investigation of the counter-culture in Britain raises obvious questions of definition. What was the counter-culture? How has it been defined? What did the term mean to those who were a part of it? These questions pose a further one: what was the culture which the counter-culture sought to counter?

Culture is one of the most used words in the English language – a keyword as Raymond Williams has suggested – culture being one of the 'significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation; [and one of the] significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought'.[1] Indeed, Williams suggests, culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in English usage.[2] An examination of the usages of 'culture' and the manifold attempts of definition suggests that Williams is probably correct. Any discussion of 'culture' is necessarily complex, and it may be impossible to arrive at what could be termed a perfectly satisfactory definition.

Indicative of the problem is Kroeber and Kluckholn's critical review of concepts and definitions of culture, which presents some hundreds of definitions. These range from the descriptive, historical, normative, psychological and structural, to the genetic. An outline of the general history of the word culture, and notes about its nature, components and distinctive properties are also included.[3]

Marx and Engels for their part, whilst not addressing themselves specifically to the question of 'culture', suggested as early as *The Communist Manifesto* that 'The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class',[4] paving the way, *inter alia*, for a realisation that the question of culture cannot be separated from that of class.

The importance of class was recognised by Raymond Williams in his *Culture and Society*, where he defined culture as a response to democracy, or more clearly, as a 'complex and radical response to the new problems of social class'.[5] Culture is presented here as a 'whole way of life'[6] – material, intellectual and spiritual – and class distinctions proceed from the collective ideas, institutions, and ways of thought specific to a particular class.[7] Williams concludes that for the survival of English society

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a 'common culture' must be arrived at, a theme he developed more fully in a later work.[8] Responding to this latter work, the historian E. P. Thompson has raised a number of questions which were to be taken up and developed by others. Thompson argues that the 'whole way of life' description approaches tautology: 'what is society apart from way of life: does society equal culture also?'[9] Further, he suggests, Williams had not shaken off the 'ghost' of T. S. Eliot, whose own definition of culture as a 'whole way of life' offered a seemingly endless listing of activities, to which each reader could always add more.

To counter this tendency, Thompson seeks to locate the debate within the framework offered by a Marxist appraisal of society, suggesting that in order to arrive at a definition of culture it is necessary to consider the aspect of function, that is, to ask 'what culture *does* (or fails to do)'.[10] A further aspect is thus posed, of 'culture as an experience which has been "handled" in specifically human ways'.[11] Such a description steers us in the direction of acknowledging the significance of class, viewing culture as something to be understood within the context of human beings making their own history. Culture then becomes a 'study of relationships between elements in a whole way of *conflict*'.[12] Thompson adds that for 'conflict' one may read 'struggle', which seems a more satisfactory word, as struggle implies a creative striving.

As to Williams's desire to see a common culture created, Thompson, whilst finding the idea admirable, points to the likelihood of such attempts having the effect of heightening class tensions within society. He adds that such efforts – along with those of creating a common ownership and building a co-operative community – can only have partial success as long as they are made within the framework of capitalism.[13] Thompson's ultimate judgement is that something like Williams's 'common culture' can only come into being in a 'free and classless' society; then history will become the history of human culture, as 'only then will social consciousness ... determine social being'.[14]

It has been suggested that Thompson has attached cultural struggles too closely to class, even if this has the advantage of ensuring that struggles within culture will therefore not be ignored,[15] but is would seem that many contemporary writers on the subject of working-class or popular culture have taken

Thompson's lead. Thus we find, for example, the German historian Hans Medick defining popular culture as

> those symbolic and structured attitudes, norms and practices through which the lower orders experience, articulate, and act in response to their own social relations.[16]

Medick adds that this process is not to be regarded as occurring outside of class (as Williams may have regarded it, one suspects), but as the expression of a 'whole way of conflict'.[17]

Writing from a sociological perspective, Zev Barbu has suggested that in contemporary industrial society there is only one culture, that of the dominant classes, and that the 'great masses' have had to define their culture by opposing and rejecting the dominant culture 'without possessing a positive alternative'.[18] An extension of Barbu's approach would presumably lead to acceptance of the 'whole way of conflict' typology.

The debate over the definition and meaning of culture, or popular culture or working-class culture, has been lengthy and is continuing, and only the outlines of some recent discussions have been provided so far. A number of other works on this question can be cited briefly, before taking up the equally vexed question of how one defines 'counter-culture'. Such works include E. P. Thompson's critique of Louis Althusser's approach to culture (and, more importantly, history), and of the identification by Althusser, and fellow structuralists, of ideology as a general feature of societies and of central importance. Thompson has been at particular pains to point to what he perceives as the folly of Althusser's concept of ideology as something quite divorced from consciousness. Such a concept denies the role or significance of 'experience' in the ways people view the world, and is thus, arguably, essentially ahistorical.[19]

Thompson's critique of Althusser and his followers has provoked a number of useful responses from historians and others. For example, the sociologist Stuart Hall, whilst on occasion making explicit criticism of Thompson's position,[20] has also in essence supported Thompson's view of culture as a 'whole way of conflict'. Identifying domination and subordination as an 'intrinsic feature of cultural relations', Hall has argued that there is no autonomous or whole 'popular culture' outside of these relations.[21] Cultural struggle is thus located within the

'continuous and necessarily uneven and unequal struggle, by the dominant culture, constantly to disorganize and reorganize popular culture: to enclose and confine its definitions and forms within a more inclusive range of dominant forms'.[22] Popular culture, Hall argues, is where the 'struggle for and against a culture of the powerful' occurs, the 'arena of consent and resistance. [It is] partly where hegemony arises and where it is secured'.[23]

It was a similar struggle against the 'culture of the powerful' in which the counter-culture was engaged in the 1960s and early 1970s, though with the hope or even the expectation that the power of the dominant culture could in fact be broken. The ways in which this hope or expectation were articulated, especially within the pages of the underground press, and the forms which the struggle against the dominant culture took are examined in the following chapters. At this point it is necessary, however, to turn attention again to the matter of definitions: what was the counter-culture?

Most observers of the counter-culture are agreed that the term 'counter-culture', like 'underground', which is often used synonymously, is at least confusing and almost impossible to define. This difficulty arises largely from the fact that there were few, if any, genuine theorists of counter-culture among its devotees: the problem was often avoided by merely using the term rather than examining its meaning. A further problem encountered by the researcher seeking to analyse the counter-culture from an historical perspective is that, generally speaking, such concrete definitions as are available come from sociologists, many of whom are ·not greatly concerned about historical significance, whereas in considering 'culture' we were able to draw upon the analyses offered, in part, by historians. This is not to suggest that sociologists – any more than historians – are in agreement over the terminology: there are disagreements as to whether counter-culture, youth culture (or revolt), sub-culture, or contra-culture are the most appropriate labels.

Some years before the emergence of the counter-culture, the American sociologist, Milton Yinger coined the term 'contraculture' to describe 'the normative system of a group [which] contains, as a primary element, a theme of conflict with the values of the total society'.[24] The element of conflict was central to a contraculture, Yinger continued, and 'many of the values,

indeed, are specifically contradictions of the values of the dominant culture'.[25] The context in which Yinger was writing was his worry that sociological enquiries made extensive and diverse use of the concept of subculture, resulting in a severe lack of precision. Subcultures, he argued, were 'cultural variants displayed by certain segments of the population', and were relatively cohesive culture systems,[26] in which the conflict element was not central. In a footnote to his article Yinger discusses Talcott Parsons's reference to the concept of 'counter ideology', which Yinger agrees is a similar concept to his contraculture.[27] This point seems to have been accepted by Yinger's fellow sociologist, James L. Spates, who has stated that Yinger's article defined counter-culture as occurring

> when a group of people begins to reject the major values of its society and attempts to replace these with an alternative set of values, many of which are direct opposites to those being rejected.[28]

A similar definition has been offered by Richard Flacks, in his freely admitted partisan study[29] of the counter-culture, in which he argued that the 'youth revolt' (which term he used more frequently) was 'historically decisive [and] socially necessary'.[30]

To add to the confusion however, yet another sociologist has argued that the counter-culture was 'actually a *subculture*, since it depends on the larger, dominant culture for its existence', (that is, parents financially support their children).[31] Perhaps aware of the difficulties and pitfalls implicit in attempting to define the counter-culture, many writers have tended to discuss it in mainly descriptive terms. Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor, for example, have described the counter-culture as being 'no more than a site for experiments in reality work and identity work; the symbolic equivalent of other free areas such as hobbies and holidays',[32] while Fred Davis has described those within the counter-culture as 'rehearsing *in vivo* a number of possible cultural solutions to central life problems posed by the emerging society of the future'.[33] Kevin Kelly, for his part, has suggested that the counter-culture was another step in the 'long process of slowly undermining the Protestant [work] Ethic and the culture of capitalism', but predicted that it would not lead to a revolution.[34]

Theodore Roszak, whose book *The Making of the Counter-Culture*, despite its many faults,[35] remains the major study, unfortunately neglects to analyse the terms. At best Roszak offers the reader a description of the counter-culture which is, arguably, almost as bizarre as the counter-culture itself appeared to the more timorous outsiders:

> a culture so radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbaric intrusion.[36]

A sympathetic observer of the counter-culture, albeit with some reservations as to the possible directions it might take, Roszak saw within it the last hope for the salvation of Western civilisation.[37] In a somewhat paternalistic manner, he suggested that it was necessary therefore not only to understand the counter-culturalists, but also to 'educate them in what they are about'.[38]

More recently the English sociologist Bernice Martin, writing with the benefit of hindsight, has agreed in part with Roszak. The counter-culture, Martin has suggested, was more than a 'minor footnote' to cultural history, if less than a failed revolution. It was 'an index to a whole new cultural style, a set of values, assumptions and ways of living', and the period in which it flowered – the 1960s – was a transformation point.[39]

It is possible, however, that the most descriptive accounts surveyed above have missed the point. Daniel Foss and Ralph Larkin have suggested that the 'historically unprecedented nature of the youth movement of the 1960s seems to have escaped sociologists'.[40] Terms such as counter-culture did not fit into the normal sociological categories, and Foss and Larkin would prefer to treat the counter-culture as a social movement, defined in terms of its 'dissident nature' and 'three mutually reinforcing lines of development'. Firstly, intensifying social conflict in which use is made not only of existing, conventional avenues of conflict, but more importantly, in which 'new social formations, techniques, and institutions' are invented to carry through the struggle'.[41] (The underground press, rock festivals, varieties of alternative ways of living, such as communes, and the Arts Labs as alternative cultural 'institutions' are counter-culture features which fit into this process.)

Secondly, a social movement develops a 'growing reinterpretation of social reality', in which those 'in' the social movement free themselves from the social reality 'imposed' upon them by the dominant society. Models of the future alternative society then begin to be devised.[42] (In the case of the counter-culture in England, we see this process from the early period after 1966, when the underground press was primarily involved in exploring the various means by which those of the community it served might change their consciousness. The underground press gradually progressed towards defining – albeit tentatively and often inconsistently – the forms which the alternative society might take. The blueprint offered by *Oz* magazine in February 1968, discussed in a following chapter, was the clearest single example of this multifaceted process.)

The third and final line of development identified by Foss and Larkin involves

> what amounts to mass therapy where [the movement's participants] in effect 'cure' themselves of ago-crippling [*sic*] and other character formations which are a consequence of their socialisation into a stable condition of social subordination.[43]

(Activities such as using drugs for self-exploration and consciousness expansion; rock music and festivals for group reinforcement and identity; belief, if not necessarily participation, in communal living arrangements, were aspects of such 'therapy'.)

The use of the designation 'social movement' to describe and define the counter-culture would seem to have validity, especially as such a term enables one to take account of the historical nature of the counter-culture. The counter-culture is thereby removed from the purely sociological realm, where its status as a phenomenon generally divorced it from its historical context.

Moreover, the 'social movement' typology may have been what yet another American sociologist had in mind when he defined the counter-culture along ideological and behavioural lines. Ideologically, it was a set of beliefs and values which rejected the dominant society, and which 'prescribe[d] a sectarian alternative'. Behaviourally, those who accepted such beliefs and values, acted in 'such radically nonconformist ways that they tend[ed] to drop out of society'.[44]

It was in the nature of the counter-culture that the vast majority of its 'members' were quite uninterested in such academic discussions of their movement. But one suspects, even if one cannot prove, that at least some of those who wrote for the underground press in England were aware of the questions that interested sociologists and historians alike, though an examination of the underground publications consulted for this work demonstrated clearly that the counter-culture meant different things to different people at different times. The only constant was the rejection of the dominant or 'straight' society and its culture. Similarly, it will be argued in this work that the counter-culture was an important, if short-lived, chapter in the continuing anarchist tradition, though the underground press, whilst often implicitly aware of the anarchist nature of the counter-culture, failed to take account of the theory and practice of anarchism over historical time.

In rejecting the values of the dominant society, the counter-culture – as documented in its underground press – did not progress very far towards developing a clear perception of the alternatives, despite an ever-increasing awareness of the necessity for doing so. Clearly, a 'new sensibility' as Herbert Marcuse termed it,[45] was being evolved by the counter-culturalists. But overall there was a failure to create alternative structures or to positively define the ways and means of achieving the (ill-defined) alternative society, and this, along with hostility and co-option by the dominant society, destroyed the chances of achieving what may, in any case, have been an impossible dream.

2 The Precursors of the Counter-Culture

Even though part of a world-wide phenomenon in the industrialised, Western societies, the British counter-culture of the 1960s required an intellectual heritage in which it could 'take root'. Arguably, and to switch the metaphor, the nineteenth-century Romantics provided some intellectual – spiritual, even – links with the essentially romantic and messianic blend of anarchism and diverse interpretations of socialism so important to the counter-culture.[1]

That the counter-culture activists were the heirs of the nineteenth-century Romantics (while obviously having much to learn from them in terms of artistic expression and articulateness) is suggested by their respective rejection of authority and restraint and insistence upon the autonomy of the individual and his/her freedom from traditions and conventions which had ceased to be liberating. Rejection of the claims of society or the State, disbelief in the cult of 'progress' or technology for its own sake, idealisation of Nature and the complementary belief in the essential goodness of people, who are corrupted only by society, also point to links between the two movements. Other common areas include an interest in communal living, the abolition of institutionalised sexual relationships, as well as experimentation with sense-extending/sense-distorting drugs (here the counter-culture and De Quincey are not very far apart),[2] and the use of literary and other art forms to express these views.

The visionary writings of Blake, the works of the young Wordsworth, Coleridge, the young Southey, Shelley and Godwin, as well as those of Mary Wollstonecraft – a forerunner of the women's liberation movement – and of Mary Shelley, provide links with the counter-culture. As well as links, there are also some notable contrasts, for example, the lessons which Shelley and Godwin were prepared to draw from history as opposed to the counter-culture's apparent disregard of such concerns.

The more immediate precursors of the counter-culture were a less romantic and often less articulate collection of people, and

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we can effectively begin the examination of the precursors in the 1950s.

It has been remarked that only by comparison with what followed do the 1950s appear a relatively placid era.[3] In many ways the 1950s do appear placid; even the protests of those years – most notably that represented by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament – had a certain politeness when contrasted with those of the following decade. As will be seen, the CND protesters were mostly middle-class, which may perhaps partly explain, if not their politeness, then at least their comparative restraint. But the counter-cultural 'protesters', and the more serious political protesters of the 1960s, were also mostly middle-class, which suggests that if their 'middle-classness' explained the politeness of the 1950s, then something quite dramatic must have occurred between the two decades.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was not, of course, the only protest of the 1950s, although it was the most vocal, visible and influential. Two years before the founding of CND in 1958, the so-called Angry Young Man was launched upon the British public with the performance of John Osborne's play *Look Back in Anger*, which in retrospect issued less a note of protest and more a cry of despair at the cultural complacency and sterility of British life under the new, postwar affluence. Combined with this was a fairly strident cynicism at the continued acceptance of and reverence for institutions such as the monarchy, the church and the whole class system. A cental theme of the anger in this play was that, unlike the generation of their fathers, the young of the 1950s had no causes worth fighting for ('there aren't any good, brave causes left'), a quite remarkable assertion in the light of what was shortly to follow with Suez and the anti-nuclear movement, publicity for the latter having been gained over the previous two years at least.

Suffice it to say that the title 'Angry Young Man' was, like most media creations, somewhat misleading, and was used only reluctantly by those to whom it was intended to refer.[4] The 'anger' expressed by these writers, though in its own way provocative, was not of the style or quality of the anger expressed during the 1960s. What the 'Angry Young Man' movement had most in common with the other movements and groups of the 1950s and 1960s was the youthfulness of its members. Although the 'Angry Young Men' were dissatisfied primarily with the

institutions which continued to bolster their society, rather than being critical and scornful of the society *per se*, by expressing through a cultural medium their dislike of society they laid foundations upon which the counter-culture could later build.

A third strand of protest during the late 1950s was that of the New Left, which consisted initially of a group of mostly young left-wing intellectuals disenchanted with British politics and society, and more particularly with the British Left, be it the Communist Party or the left of the British Labour Party. The criticisms made by this group were presented in learned discussions and publications which it was hoped would lead to a reappraisal – especially in the light of the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 and of the Russian intervention in Hungary in the same year – of past dogma and praxis, and new approaches to creating a socialist society.[5] The refreshing critiques offered by the New Left in Britain may have at least partially facilitated the renewed interest in left-wing ideologies, particularly among the young in the following decade. Although claiming to eschew ideologies and politics, the counter-cultural-ists in England were not entirely unaffected by this process.

Yet another style of protest – vastly different from any of the above, and by no means organised or ideological in origin – was that of the Teddy Boys (and later, at the beginning of the following decade, the Mods and Rockers), each of which set the scene for the seemingly endless teenage styles and groupings which continue to appear into the 1980s. Their impact was chiefly felt through their ability to shock, and this was perhaps their most significant aspect, in that to a large degree the 'battle lines' between the generations were sketched in with the arrival of the Teddy Boys, and even more firmly drawn with the appear-ance of the Mods and Rockers, their successors.

The factor which all of these 'protesters' shared was their youth, and perhaps the most salient feature of the 1950s was the emergence of youth as a discernibly separate – and often, self-consciously separate – grouping,[6] to the extent that these years have been referred to as 'the decade of the teenager'.[7] Accompanying this was at once a new hostility towards youth, or at least towards certain categories of youth, and a near-worship-ping of youth, particularly by the media and consumer indus-tries.

Hostility towards youth was focused initially on the Teddy

Boys who emerged in the early 1950s, and who seemed to many Britons to portend inter-generational conflict not only in Britain but in Western societies generally,[8] a view which was probably reinforced by the lack of advance warning of such a phenomenon occurring.[9] Rock and Cohen state that British society was little prepared for the appearance of the 'fully fledged deviant, i.e. a person defined as a social problem'. They add that the Teddy Boys had dual parentage: the upper-class Edwardian 'dandy', and the older, delinquent sub-culture of South London.

For a short period following the Second World War, upper- and middle-class males had adopted an Edwardian style of dress, such dandyism probably being an attempt to transcend the austerity and drabness – in dress and other aspects of life – which characterised the immediate postwar years in Britain. Although there is some confusion as to exactly when the Edwardian style was taken over by young working-class males, the most detailed study[10] suggests that in 1953 the style was adopted and modified, thus spelling its immediate abandonment by its original devotees and an equally rapid withdrawal of public approval of the style.[11]

The following description of the Teddy Boy style partly explains the extreme reactions it generated. Starting from the top, because for the first time this century the hair received lavish attention as a part of the total personality of the young male, hair was, in comparison with what had been considered the norm, 'excessively long, with side whiskers in many cases'. A great deal of grease supported some sort of quiff at the front, allowing some variations at the back. Variations on the style produced 'a rather obscene sausage-like shape' which dangled down on to the forehead, or the 'apache', 'a very radical style in which the whole head was shaved except for a fore-to-aft ridge'. The general effect, in spite of the length, was 'aggressively masculine', and not necessarily accompanied by hygiene, thick dandruff on the collar not being uncommon, and in fact grooming for its own sake was not a concern of the Teddy Boys. The clothes consisted of tight trousers and long jackets with velvet collars, to which the Teddy Boys added boot-lace ties and suede shoes.[12]

Immediately following the adoption of this style, youths were increasingly categorised and approved or otherwise according to the way in which they dressed, and Teddy Boys almost over-

night, as it were, became the scapegoats, particularly via the media, for delinquent behaviour which occurred during 1953 and 1954.[13] They continued this role even after the Teddy Boy style had virtually disappeared from the major cities.

As with the 'Angry Young Men', it seems that the term 'Teddy Boys' was coined by the press, the term first appearing in print in a *Daily Sketch* article describing Teddy Boys as 'young thugs who dress in Edwardian-style clothes'.[14] National notoriety thus achieved, Teddy Boys soon appeared all over the country: by April 1954 they were to be found not only in the south of London where they had originated, but in the provinces, and at the same time they were clearly identified as a 'social problem'. By 1955 and beyond, 'Teddy Boy' was being employed as a general epithet of abuse, John Osborne for example being described as 'an intellectual Teddy Boy'[15] for his efforts to shake the British out of their cultural apathy and conformity. Initially the label was used metaphorically and in inverted commas, but later was used literally to describe juvenile misbehaviour internationally. The style did not leave Britain, but the label was used internationally.

Although the image of Teddy Boys – largely created and promoted by the press, as being uniformly and collectively delinquents bent on violence – was doubtless, like all such popular images, misleading in the extreme, a taste for violence and gang misbehaviour existed amongst a minority. This most likely reinforced the media image and thrust concrete manifestations of Teddy Boy 'deviance' before the public to the extent of triggering off an official response to the 'problem'.

It seems that for this small minority of Teds, violence was often 'an end in itself', though whether such violence was purely gratuitous, or whether it was an expression of consciousness that the new prosperity experienced by the Teddy Boy (and postwar working-class youth generally) had not enhanced his status or even maintained the inadequate status he would have enjoyed in the prewar working-class community where working-class culture and values were more securely intact,[16] remains unknown. Alex McGlashen expanded Potter's theory, to suggest that because sexual permissiveness during and after the Second World War had become 'boring for the young' and no longer an act of rebellion, it was necessary for them to find other gestures, delinquent behaviour being one such gesture. He further suggested

that society had 'lost touch with Eros', which was a bad thing, Eros being 'the archetypal force that alone keeps sanity and warmth alive in human hearts'. It seems likely, however, that the immediacy of their rejection by society, and the speed with which notoriety was awarded them by the media, may have increased the eagerness with which a minority of Teddy Boys embraced violence as a means of excitement and entertainment. Such a process not uncommonly results when deviant behaviour is presented in a highly stereotypical way, for example by the media, and is not experienced by society at first hand. An initial act of deviance, most notably in dress style, receives attention and is responded to punitively. The objects of such a reaction thus become isolated and alienated from society, leading them to perceive themselves more deviant, which deviance they then act out. This cycle continues with increased punitive response from mainstream society. Societal reaction may thus actually increase, rather than decrease or keep in check such deviant behaviour.[17]

Following from Cohen's emphasis on dress as being the initial indication of 'deviance', it must be remembered that dress was indeed the most important single feature of the Teddy Boys' gesture and their self – and group-identification. (This was to be equally true of the Mods and Rockers.) Teds dressed in their distinctive style not to attract society but to repel it; their real concern was to impress themselves with their style and to impress each other,[18] a considerable amount of money being spent on clothes to this end.

The postwar British youth was, as a market researcher demonstrated, 'newly enfranchised, in an economic sense', which had given him 'the chance to be himself and show himself'.[19] Abrams has pointed out that the new affluence of youth had 'misled a number of people, especially some elderly ones, into the belief that the young of mid-20th century Britain are something new and perhaps ominous'. Allowing for the fall in the value of money, real earnings of teenagers in 1957 (as compared with 1938) had increased by 50 per cent, which was double the rate of expansion for adults, the average wage for teenage males being £8 per week, and for females £5 10s. per week.[20] Of these amounts, after meeting fiscal obligations to the State and paying board to their parents, the teenage male was left with about £5 to spend as he chose, and the female about £3.

Nearly a quarter of this 'free' money was spent on clothing and footwear; 14 per cent on drinks and tobacco, and another 12 per cent on sweets, soft drinks, and so on in cafés and restaurants, much of the balance being spent on pop records, record players, romantic magazines, cinema and dance-hall visits.[21] Such increased wages and spending power on the part of youth may well account for some of the hostility felt towards them by their elders, who did not enjoy the fruits of affluence to such an extent, and had coped with the austerity of the war and postwar years. The fact that relatively large amounts of money were spent on clothes would have appeared to many adults to be self-indulgent, again reinforcing the hostility expressed towards youth in general and Teddy Boys in particular. This preoccupation with clothes was mirrored in the literature of the times which had working-class characters as its 'heroes'. For example, Arthur, the central figure of Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, was portrayed inspecting his wardrobe of Ted suits (£100 worth of property) with satisfaction: 'These were his riches, and he told himself that money paid out on clothes was a sensible investment because it made him feel good as well as look good.'[22] This is not to suggest that all working-class youths spent their money on Teddy Boy suits, but the fact that the wearers of such clothes were so immediately visible and recognisable probably suggested to many that Teddy Boys were ubiquitous, a view which would have been reinforced by the tendency of a minority to congregate and fight in gangs. One gang confrontation, in April 1954, between two rival groups of Teddy Boys at St Mary Cray station in Kent involving more than 50 youths, was avidly reported in the press; whilst not being the first such incident, it set off a 'huge official reaction to the Teddy Boy problem'.[23] Henceforth the punitive response referred to earlier as an element in the creation and reinforcing of deviant behaviour was stepped up. Any youth dressed in the Teddy Boy style was excluded from many public places, not surprisingly leading to increased friction. Not only were boys wearing Ted suits banned from youth clubs, dance halls, cinemas and cafés, but in one town they even – supreme indignity? – found themselves excluded from the fish and chips shops.[24]

It remains unclear whether such reaction – or over-reaction – is given a measure of justification by statistical evidence of increased teenage delinquency during the 1950s. Sources vary in

their interpretations of teenage crime rates during this period, some suggesting that crime had been 'the preserve of youth since the beginning of the century',[25] while others suggest that 1955 witnessed changes in delinquent behaviour, with 'a large increase' in crimes of violence, and 'a growth in behaviour which was typically labelled as hooliganism or rowdyism'.[26]

Seemingly, people interpreted evidence as they wanted, but it seems fairly clear that the British public and the media, for whom the Teds provided very good copy, tended towards the belief that they represented not only a strange new form of social deviance, but more ominously, a qualitative change in the nature of teenage behaviour. Some writers sought to take a balanced and essentially sympathetic view of the rebellion of youth during the 1950s.[27] Others did not, however, one such writer coining the phrase 'Teddy Boy International' to describe what he perceived to be the growing destructive element in modern youth.[28]

A further development which doubtless added to these sentiments, and which was of considerable significance not only for Britain but for the entire Western world, was the coincidental arrival of the first real pop movement. Such coincidence was a wonderfully happy accident, not only for youth, but for the exclusively teenage commercial market, especially in the textile and record industries which not only exploited teenage tastes but helped to form them.[29]

There is no evidence that rock 'n' roll's arrival was anything but coincidental; in fact, it seems to have been spontaneously 'thrown up' by the times. Young people already had more money than had previous generations, as well as generalised anti-Establishment feelings: now they were to get a new music which suited their circumstances and their outlook (and which was ultimately to suit the market even more). As George Melly has suggested, the kids who greeted rock 'n' roll were 'like a theatre audience ... already waiting (and) ... formally dressed'.[30] It seems most likely that British and other youths were indeed waiting for a distinctive sound which would 'belong' to them and them alone, which would match and reflect their distinctive style and their postwar affluence and rejection feelings. The release of Bill Haley's record 'Rock Around the Clock' in 1954 signalled that the new sound had arrived, the disc selling 15 million copies in that year alone. Two years later, the

vision of the 'rock 'n' roll riot' in cinemas across Britain, inspired by the screening of the film 'Rock Around the Clock', was sufficient to convince many that rock 'n' roll was another manifestation of the new menacing youth, epitomised by the Teddy Boys.[31] Such rioting was not confined to Britain, being associated worldwide with Bill Haley.[32] Not all rioters were Teddy Boys, of course, but Melly has noted[33] that the Teds amongst them, whom he terms the 'hardcore Teds', were 'frightening and horrible, the dinosaurs of pop', adding that such dinosaurs were a necessary step in the evolution of rock and its audiences.

The nature of early rock 'n' roll, appropriately termed 'screw and smash' music by Melly, served admirably to set youth aside from their elders. Again, as Melly suggests,[34] the whole point of early rock was its lack of subtlety: it was 'music to be used rather than listened to: a banner to be waved in the face of "them" by a group who felt themselves to be ignored or victimised'.

The arrival of Elvis Presley films and records in 1956 sent further shock-waves through the adult ranks. His hairstyle immediately became the norm amongst large numbers of young males, but his impact was deeper than mere influence on grooming. Presley brought sex out into the open, specifically male, aggressive sex, suggesting in his lyrics that not only was sex desirable but that the traditional gestures or promises were unnecessary in persuading girls to comply. Sex permeated his performing style, the electric guitar being used as a phallic symbol and simulated orgasmic sounds punctuating the song.[35] Melly also noted the rumour that into Presley's 'skin tight jeans was sewn a lead bar in order to suggest a weapon of heroic proportions'. Similarly, popular myth had it that Presley's television performances during the 1950s in the United States were restricted to shots of the upper part of his body.

At about the same time as the arrival of Elvis Presley on the pop scene, Britain produced its own first true pop star, Tommy Steele, carefully moulded and exploited by two young London promoters.[36] His first record 'Rock with the Caveman', while successful, did not reach that all important position of number one in the charts, this achievement being gained in the following year. Though very popular, Tommy Steele did not ever threaten to dislodge the American performers of the period, but his importance as Britain's first rock 'n' roll star remained considerable.

He signalled, albeit weakly, the independence which was later to be asserted by the Beatles who for a time dominated the international rock scene, and who wrote and performed music which was distinctly British. In addition, Tommy Steele provided British teenagers of the mid-1950s with an image of a working-class lad made good with which they could identify more closely than they could with a figure like Presley,[37] from Memphis, Tennessee, even if the substance of Steele's songs remained strongly imitative of US songs of the period. Perhaps his greatest significance was that he was the first realised dream of an entire new class, the model of a new world.[38] On a more frivolous note, Melly attributes the importance of Steele as being the 'first British performer to receive the true pop accolade: the pubescent shriek'.

Claims that a model of a new world had in this manner been created were not excessively far-fetched, bearing in mind the development of the teenage market and spending power of the working-class young. Middle-class youths in this period were either still at school or college or newly embarked upon their careers, which meant that their spending power was at a much lower level than that of their working-class contemporaries. Almost 90 per cent of all teenage spending was 'conditioned by working-class taste and values', resulting in the 'aesthetic' of the teenage market being a working-class one,[39] which was perfectly suited to the demands of mass production.

It is appropriate at this point to make some mention of the 'maleness' of British society, at least as it pertained to youth, during the 1950s. It will have been noted that the first postwar youth 'group', the Teddy Boys, not only had a specifically male title, but seem to have been discussed in literature as comprising only males. There was, it would seem from the literature, no distinctive female fashion or style at that time, and while it must be assumed that Teddy Boys had girlfriends, it must also be assumed that these girls were identifiable simply through their boyfriends. Of all the sources consulted on the Teddy Boys, only two made any direct reference to their female counterparts. One such reference employed 'Teddy Girl', as a generic term to encompass girls considered a 'problem' to society because of their delinquent behaviour, whilst the other merely mentioned the Teddy Girl style as comprising 'hobble skirts, black-seam nylons and coolie hats'.[40]

Indeed the entire decade of the 1950s appears to have been strongly identified with maleness,[41] and even the 'deviant' groups of Mods and Rockers in the early 1960s were essentially expressions of the male ethos and identity through fashion and aggressive behaviour. On a cultural level, notably that of the 'Angry Young Man' movement, women were to suffer at times quite savage attacks merely for being women, notably Alison Porter in *Look Back in Anger*.

It is hardly surprising, then, that Abrams should have highlighted maleness as one of the characteristics of the teenage market of the 1950s, showing that at least 67 per cent of all teenage spending was 'in male hands'.[42] Although, as has been shown, females had lower wages and thus less to spend on themselves, this alone hardly explains the male domination of the market. A tentative explanation might be that in this period before the women's liberation movement, entrepreneurs automatically catered mainly for male tastes. But Abrams has suggested that perhaps girls had a greater sense of security, identity and continuity than their working-class male peers, knowing that in a few years they would become wives and mothers,[43] and were thus a less malleable and less responsive market.

It is against this background of postwar teenage affluence, rock 'n' roll and dominant maleness that the significance of the Teddy Boy phenomenon must be assessed. Its significance can be weighed on a number of levels, not the least being the considerable public attention and discussion that it generated. This process was so extensive that it led to some of the more serious social commentators becoming concerned in the early 1960s that there was a danger of young people 'becoming the most documented and discussed section of the community', with the consequence that some were showing excessive self-consciousness about their role as 'members of a curious, disturbing and unpredictable sub-species'.[44]

Another feature of significance was the short duration of the Teddy Boy style, a feature which was to be repeated with subsequent youth fashions and modes of dress and behaviour, symbolising perhaps the transience of the satisfaction gained from such gestures against the so obviously dominant society. We have seen that the Teddy Boy phenomenon probably first appeared during 1953. By 1955, at the time that the British

public began to regard Teds as a serious threat, the fashion began to lose its popularity, as other sections of working-class youth (and specifically the Mods and Rockers, our next teen actors) began to develop or initiate new fashions. 'Real' Teds were to be found in numbers only in the provinces by 1957–8, having become 'a submerged minority' in London by this time.[45] But almost certainly the greatest significance of the Teddy Boy style was that it was the first successful attempt by youth to establish 'a male working-class fashion with a symbolic rather than a functional *raison d'être*'.[46] This did not merely make it easier for the subsequent styles of the Mods, Rockers, hippies and beyond to be articulated, but gives the Teds an important place in the evolution of the self-conscious 'separateness' of youth, an attitude which was extended into the political sphere by the counter-culturalists and expressed through their attempts to define alternative dreams and realities to those offered by the dominant society. Public reaction to the Teds was also significant in that it ignored the fact that they were a small minority of British youth, even if their 'nihilist spirit' and fashion affected large numbers of teenagers. Such a generalised public response was also to be encountered by the counter-culturalists. 'Hard-core Teds' (the criminal, violent Teds) were always few, but of course these were the ones who captured the attention of the sensationalising press and other media, resulting in the Ted phenomenon seeming to be all-pervasive,[47] even when it was in fact already in decline.

The decline of the Teddy Boy style did not, however, signal the end of distinctive teenage styles and groupings. Teds were followed within a short space of time by the Mods and Rockers, who arrived on the youth scene in the late 1950s and remained until at least 1964, after which the Mods became submerged into what became known as 'swinging London'.[48]

Curiously, the Mods and Rockers always seem to be mentioned together, and considered as somehow intertwined. In fact, each had quite independent and distinct characteristics, and apart from the fact that they were contemporaries and during one year clashed violently, there is really no apparent logic to this constant linking. Mods and Rockers will be treated as separate phenomenon here, partly in deference to the distinct features each group tried so hard to cultivate and project to the world.

Initially the term 'Mod' referred to a 'very small group of young working-class boys who ... formed a small totally committed little mutual admiration society totally devoted to clothes',[49] who were mainly skilled manual or routine white-collar (clerical, shop assistant) workers.[50] The original Mods were characterised by almost obsessional neatness and devotion to 'style'.[51] Clothes were primarily a means of creating themselves as works of art, such clothes being made to order to maintain their exclusiveness and individuality,[52] and also, presumably, to allow for the realisation in style of their more exotic fantasies, a usage not dissimilar from that of counterculturalists. Mod clothes, unlike those of the Teddy Boys, were not used as a vehicle for the expression of aggression against society. Regardless of this, and of their extreme neatness, Mod clothes – or at least the way the clothes were used – were threatening in a subtle and almost indefinable way. Taking on styles which were essentially smart and neat – qualities approved by the adult 'straight' world – they managed to subvert these qualities by turning them into stylised commodities.[53]

Mods' efforts to transcend or compensate for the boredom of their work situation resulted in a 'fierce devotion to leisure' and an apparently 'insatiable appetite for the products of the capitalist society'[54] (even if these products were to be handled subversively). Such devotion to leisure and style, and the imaginative use of the latter, spelled their eventual downfall, however, as Mod style was easily commercialised and exploited by Carnaby Street entrepreneurs from around 1963.[55]

The second wave of Mods retained their predecessors' devotion to style as the essence of their fashion, and neatness and fussy vanity still predominated, but the individuality which had characterised the original Mods was now eroded, mass-produced clothes now being not only acceptable but sought after by this second wave. Individuality in style was not to reassert itself until the heydey of the counter-culture, and the motives then, as we shall see in another chapter, were quite different from those of the first Mods.

The implicit homosexuality of the early Mods was also retained by the second wave,[56] although this may have been due partly to the Carnaby Street designers' promotion of the Unisex look.[57]

The lifestyle ideally desired by the Mods was that of sheer glamour, revolving totally around night-clubs,[58] and it has been suggested that the physical and mental demands of such a lifestyle induced the Mods to introduce drugs – and specifically 'speed'[59] – to the youth scene. Patently, their idealised life-style was beyond the reach of the 'average' Mod, however, even with the greatly increased wage and spending-power of the postwar working-class male teenager, and it is likely that the Mods' use of pep pills was connected with the realisation that their goals were unattainable, and that the Mod reality was no more than 'a draughty anorak, a beaten up Vespa, and fish and chips out of a greasy bag'.[60] Pills would have provided the Mods not only with escape, but with temporary 'highs' or 'kicks'. Their use of drugs linked them to the counter-culture, yet their choice of drugs ('speed') was abhorred by the counter-culture, and their motives were probably those of escape, whereas counter-culturalists used drugs in ways they perceived to be constructive, to enhance perception and self-awareness, and ultimately as a means to subvert the prevailing social reality.

Drugs were not the only new element introduced into the youth culture by the Mods; another was 'customised', deliberately group-oriented music. Whereas the Teds had, not long before their disappearance, coincidentally benefited from the arrival of rock 'n' roll, certain elements of the Mods' image and interests were adopted by a number of contemporary rock groups, the most notable of these being the Rolling Stones[61] and The Who. Apart from their celebrated arrests on drug charges, the Stones' stage act was another 'Mod' feature, containing many of the elements of 'Mod'. Keith Richards 'simply spelled Borstal' by his appearance and actions, Brian Jones acted camp (but was not), and Mick Jagger was 'all sex, obscene, excessive ... beautiful'. The Rolling Stones in particular reflected the new mood of teenage arrogance. The Who (who were to continue to be identified with 'Mod' long after the style was indiscernible) continued the Mods' attempts to at once justify themselves and to hit out at everybody who had ever 'put them down', as well as reflecting their obsession with youthfulness. For example, The Who's classic Mod song of *c.* 1965 'My Generation': 'People try to put us down / Just because we get around / Things they do look awful cold / Hope I die before I get old.'[62] With these two groups, particularly, rock became the vehicle for the rebellious

ideas of the young to be expressed and spread. The use of rock music in this way was to be developed to a considerable degree during the period of the counter-culture, rock becoming for some the medium through which the revolutionary message was and ought to be expressed, the Rolling Stones being strongly identified – along with others – with this process.

The Rockers, on the other hand, had no such influences, and in fact their name itself is rather curious, as there seems to have been little connection between them and rock, other than their enjoyment of it, along with most of their age group. Rockers were the complete antithesis of the Mods; crudely and aggressively masculine, noisy, greasy, dirty, dressed mostly in leather decorated with brass studs or 'naïve pictures'.[63] Cohen has suggested that reactions to the Rockers were more overtly hostile because they 'were unfashionable, unglamorous and appeared to be more class-bound' than the Mods. Rockers were also more aggressive and threatening.[64] Their weapons were large spanners and lengths of heavy chains. Pastimes included 'doing a ton' up the motorways (literally enjoying the benefits of postwar reconstruction and expansion) on their enormous motorbikes,[65] and 'eating fry-ups and drinking mugs of sweet tea' at transport cafés.[66] Whereas Mods, when they drank alcohol, did so at jazz clubs and pubs, rockers preferred the roadside outside off-licences establishments.[67] The typical Rocker was an unskilled manual worker and, like the Mods, Rockers saw themselves primarily in terms of dress.[68]

Mods might have been the largest teenage group in Britain,[69] but Rockers also had a considerable following. Indeed some surveys indicated that large numbers of adolescents between 13 and 18 identified with one or other group.[70]

It was hardly surprising, given the amount of media and commercial attention that the Mods and Rockers received and the distinct and contrasting self-images of the two groups, that violence should eventually erupt between them. A number of seaside centres provided the venue for such violence during the Easter and long weekend holidays of 1964, arrests being made from both groups, prompting not only sensationalised reports in the press, but a considerable number of sociological (and other) surveys.[71] Details of these clashes are amply provided in the sources listed, and it is not necessary to pursue them, but rather their significance. Of greater significance than the violence,

perhaps, was the fact that the Mod-Rocker fights were witnessed by large numbers of people, many of whom were present for this specific purpose.[72] Youth-as-theatre, a mode which was to be developed and used both for narcissistic and propandist/ shock purposes by the counter-culturalists, had arrived, and it seems that the press and public were an eager audience in 1964. According to Cohen,[73] the two groups were not initially polarised along the Mod versus Rocker lines, but polarisation (at Clacton, for example) was between the Mods and Rockers from London and the local youths. In fact, he suggests[74] that the gap between the Mods and Rockers was largely a *created* one, and that although they represented two different consumer styles, they had much in common, particularly their working-class membership. It seems fairly clear that the division between them was readily exploited, and thereby widened, by the commercialised exaggeration of their stylistic differences.[75]

Whereas the violence of some Teds during the 1950s was apparently gratuitous, it seems that the violence displayed during the Mod-Rocker riots might have been a partially disguised call for attention from a society that was visualised as disdainful and rejecting and partly an attack upon society (or both). Indeed, unlike the violence expressed at times amongst the Teds, which was essentially against other Teds, the violence of the Mods and Rockers on these occasions resulted in things being wrecked, rather than fellow adolescents just roughed up. Nuttall, admittedly a sympathetic observer, has suggested that the riots were

> not only the next step in the excitement game.... It was the only way the growing mind could deal with the constant probability of unprecedented pain and horror which the squares took such trouble to preserve.[76]

The theory that the term 'youth' in the postwar period in Britain was

> a powerful but concealed *metaphor* for social change: the compressed image of a society which had crucially changed, in terms of basic life-styles and values − changed in ways calculated to upset the official political framework, but in ways *not yet calculable* in traditional political terms...[77]

makes considerable sense when related to the Mods and Rockers, and to the Teds before them. These subcultures were, in a sense, a visual expression of the rapid social change which Britain was undergoing, especially the way in which this change encompassed the emergence of consciously 'separate' subcultures of young people with whom many – whilst themselves not actually of those subcultures – partially identified.

It could be argued that the Mods and the Rockers played an important function in the transition from the first clearly-defined and clearly-expressed youth group of the postwar years, that is, the Teds, to the eventual counter-culture. In the early 1960s the line had still not been clearly drawn between the generations or between the values and aims of 'straight' society and its critics. The Mods and Rockers, by developing the concept of youth as a separate force and of revolt (albeit within 'the system'), helped to clarify and make known the battle lines. By the mid-1960s, with the announcement by *IT* that the counter-culture had 'arrived' in England, the protagonists on both sides were ready.

Of course, other social forces and groups also contributed to this situation, one of which was the Angry Young Men 'movement'. Whereas the Teds, Mods and Rockers filled the role of social delinquents in British society of the 1950s, the Angry Young Men, initially at least, were regarded as literary delinquents. The most obvious parallel between the two groupings was their despair that the promises of Socialism had not come true, and postwar affluence under successive Tory governments had not really furnished them with either recognition or satisfaction. Jimmy Porter's anguish about 'our youth [which is] slipping away'[78] in deadening, monotonous ritual and his equally anguished suggestion that his ménage 'pretend that we're human beings, and that we're actually alive. Just for a while ... Let's pretend we're human'[79] seems a reflection of the dissatisfaction expressed more directly by the working-class teenage delinquents.

The major differences between a character such as Jimmy Porter and working-class delinquents were Porter's articulateness, unversity education (even if 'red brick', implicitly another source of his dissatisfaction),[80] and his wilful rejection of a job or profession in keeping with his education, in favour of a partnership in a sweet-stall with his working-class friend Cliff. Jimmy's gesture of defiance was basically an empty one – more an

avoidance, perhaps, than defiance – since as a member of the new middle class of the 1950s he could afford to make such a choice, whereas Cliff (apparently not a beneficiary of the 1944 Education Act) could not. As Cliff pointed out, making his announcement that he wanted to leave the sweet-stall: 'The sweet-stall's all right, but I think I'd like to try something else. You're highly educated and it suits you, but I need something a bit better.'[81]

It is the emptiness of Jimmy Porter's gesture which captures both the essence of the Angry Young Men 'movement' and its quite fundamental contrasts with the counter-culture of the following decade.

Essentially, the characters drawn by the Angry Young Men were seeking either to avoid the existing system (which they defined almost purely in class terms), or to gain entry into the higher ranks of that system. One gains the impression from these works that class only matters because it is still present in English society; if it were not, one feels that the characters might not mind what the society was like. For example, Charles Lumley, the central figure of John Wain's novel, *Hurry on Down*, which has been termed 'a definite starting point' of the Angry Young Man 'movement',[82] recognising that the style of his upbringing had been designed for a different age felt that he had been 'thrust into the jungle of the 1950s'[83] and sought to evade the lifestyle for which his upbringing had prepared him. Upon attaining a university degree, Charles decided to live as far away as possible from the town of his family and childhood (this decision being made by stabbing a map of England with a pin), and fell into a succession of transient and meaningless – and sometimes dangerous – jobs. The first such job, as a self-employed window-cleaner, was undertaken primarily because Charles was unwilling to become an official member of the working class, but wanted rather to remain completely outside the class structure.[84] By the end of the novel, which provided an appropriate comment on British society of the 1950s, Charles had, through no real efforts of his own, achieved wealth, having been offered a lucrative three-year contract with a bizarre jokes-writing team. The novel implied that this wealth would enable him to 'win' the woman of his romantic dreams but equally important, it provided him with

> Neutrality; he had found it at last. The running fight between himself and society had ended in a draw; he was no nearer, fundamentally, to any *rapprochement* or understanding with it than when he had been a window-cleaner, a crook, or a servant; it had merely decided he should be paid, and paid handsomely, to capitalise his anomalous position.

The new job was 'an armistice, obviously leading to a permanent armed truce'.[85]

The most significant aspect of Charles Lumley's rejection of society was its passive nature: 'I never rebelled against ordinary life: it just never admitted me, that's all. I never got into it.'[86] Beyond his desire for neutrality, he had no thought of or desire for an alternative form of society or any vision of an alternative way of life which might satisfy him as a human being.

The extreme opposite to Charles Lumley was John Braine's anti-hero of *Room at the Top*, Joe Lampton, who ruthlessly used an upper-class woman to attain entry into that class and the wealth and status which accompanied it.[87] 'Go-getters' of the Joe Lampton type were not, of course, new to society or fiction, but as has been pointed out, the difference with the 1950s version of this type was that Lampton had no admiration for the class he was 'gatecrashing', desiring its advantages and privileges, but not its conventions, and not wanting to be assimilated into it.[88] Kingsley Amis expressed this point well, his central character observing the *nouveau-riche* customers in the pub he frequented, and reflecting that 'there was a lot to be said for them compared with the old privileged classes. At least they had the bad taste to drink brandy before "dinner" '.[89]

Whether the characters created by the Angry Young Men were seeking 'in' or 'out' of society, they were not seeking to start a revolution, or to lay down a blueprint for a new society, despite the considerable shock-waves they sent through the Establishment of the time. This may be partly explained by the fact that, although the press had created the term 'Angry Young Men' to designate a group of anti-Establishment writers, in most cases its 'members' did not even know each other,[90] and did not wish to form a cohesive 'school' producing a didactic literature of social change.

Another clue to this deliberate lack of cohesion may be found

in the collection of essays where some of the Angry Young Men argued for 'commitment' in literature. Such commitment, in so far as it existed, proved to be almost laughably diverse. For Colin Wilson, commitment meant a new religious position, arrived at by continuous scepticism, but providing a clear perception of the human position, and a return to religious faith on the basis of civilisation rather than political ideologies.[91] Doris Lessing by contrast argued for a commitment which involved the creation of a socialist literature which differed from that of the previous two decades ('cheerful little tract[s] about economic advance'). This new socialist literature should assist people to make the choice between forcing themselves into 'the effort of imagination necessary to become what [they] are all capable of being', or submitting to being ruled by big business or socialist bureaucrats.[92]

John Osborne seemed less given to commitment and more concerned with venting spleen against the institutions of the Establishment, most notably Royalty and the Church (which had during the past 50 years 'repeatedly ducked every moral issue that has been thrown at its head – poverty, unemployment, fascism, war, South Africa, the H. Bomb, and so on').[93]

The contributions of John Wain and Kenneth Tynan were perhaps the most revealing, however: Wain suggested that the writer's task was to 'tackle the problems of contemporary life' as they confronted him personally,[94] commitment to one's own values in a personal sense. Tynan, however was somewhat more traditionalist, in the old-fashioned leftist style, stating that the period urgently required

> plays that are waves, and big crashing ones at that. There will be time later for what is exquisite.... If all art is a gesture against death, it must not stand by while Cypriots are hanged and Hungarians machine-gunned, and the holocaust pre- pares. It must go on record; it must commit itself.[95]

The great paradox of the Angry Young Men literature, despite the high-flown prose in *Declaration*, was that the plays and novels produced did not in any major way – and often did not at all – protest against war, want, inequality or even the H-bomb.[96] Perhaps Kingsley Amis's *Fabian Tract*, 'Socialism and the Intellectuals', best summed up the personal, self-centred

response of the Angry Young Men to their period. Attacking writers of the previous generation such as Orwell, Isherwood, Auden and Spender for having established a political base for their thought and art, he concluded (denying Tynan) that the intellectual's involvement in politics was inevitably romantic and unconstructive. Despite declaring himself to be a lifelong supporter of Labour ('regardless of how depraved the Labour candidate and how virtuous his opponent'), he was not much concerned by the apathy of the times, believing that the best and most trustworthy political motive is self-interest.[97]

At best, the protests of Angry Young Men were personal: they were railing against the stultifying nature of contemporary British society and institutions, as so many had done before. Such protests could be dismissed as essentially provincial and old hat, in that their horizons were 'bounded by their immediate experience of British life and standards'.[98]

Indeed, a reading of what is arguably the most important product of the Angry Young Men 'movement', *Look Back in Anger*, suggests that Osborne was primarily nostalgic about a past when at least (as Jimmy Porter so eloquently expressed it) people had beliefs and causes to fight for, at least cared about things: 'Nobody thinks, nobody cares. No beliefs, no convictions and no enthusiasm', and later in the same speech:

> I hate to admit it, but I think I can understand how big Daddy felt when he came back from India after all those years away. The old Edwardian brigade do make their brief little world look pretty tempting. All home-made cakes and croquet, bright ideas, bright uniforms. Always the same picture: high summer, the long days in the sun, slim volumes of verse, crisp linen, the smell of starch. What a romantic picture. Phoney too, of course. It must have rained sometimes. Still, I regret it somehow, phoney or not. If you've no world of your own, it's rather pleasant to regret the passing of someone else's. I must be getting sentimental. But I must say its pretty dreary living in the American Age – unless you're American of course. Perhaps all our children will be Americans. That's a thought isn't it?[99]

Despite the limitations of the Angry Young Men, their influence was of some importance to the development of the

counter-culture in England. Their literature represented the first post-war assaults upon the 'sacred cows' of the Establishment, and although these assaults now seem, in contrast with those of the counter-culture, polite in the extreme, they may in retrospect have contained the beginnings of the 'crashing waves' Tynan had called for. John Osborne, in particular, seemed determined to destroy the credibility of prevailing institutional values with his characters' diatribes against the class system and the Royals:

> Why do people like us sit here, and just lap it all up ... what's it all in aid of – is it really just for the sake of a gloved hand waving at you from a golden coach?[100]

Osborne restrained his criticisms, however, with an eye on the Lord Chamberlain,[101] whereas counter-culture writers deliberately stepped over censors' limits as part of their provocation of 'straight' society.

David Widgery, one time of underground press fame – most notably in *Oz* – suggested that the Angry Young Men, even leaving aside those who later drifted to the political Right, had 'no real connection, with the rebels they inspired' in the following decade.[102] If by that statement Widgery meant they had no *direct* connection, then he was probably correct, considering the ways in which the Angry Young Men 'movement' contrasted with the counter-culture. But by drawing characters who were unable to accept British society as it was during the 1950s, and even less able to accept its conventions and revered symbols (even if they were equally disinterested in alternatives), the Angry Young Men contributed to the total rejection by the counter-culture of all aspects of 'straight' society. The counter-culturalists' quest for alternative forms of consciousness, values and ways of living may have received reinforcement from the fact that the literature of the previous decade had shown that mere avoidance of society provided no 'answers'.

Moreover, with the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on 15 January 1958,[103] many of the writers associated with the Angry Young Men 'movement', presented with the cause for which they apparently had hoped, lent their names to the Campaign as sponsors.[104] Although, as has already been observed, most of the Angry Young Men later became avowedly Conservative politically, their involvement with CND

– both as 'names' for the committee of sponsors, and as participants at the annual Aldermaston marches – provided a direct link between them and the post-CND young who were to welcome and embrace the counter-culture.

The more prosaic links between the CND experience and the counter-culture are, however, of greater relevance to this chapter. One of the most obvious and perhaps important links was the simple fact that CND widened the rift between the generations which had been brought to the fore by the Teddy Boys earlier in the decade.[105] As Jeff Nuttall has noted, the widening gap between the generations required something more cognitive than the often dramatic gestures of the Teds, and this CND supplied or helped to shape:

> What way we made in 1945 and in the following years depended largely on our age, for at that point, at the point of the dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the generations became divided in a crucial way.[106]

According to Nuttall, those who had passed puberty at the time of the bomb found life without a future inconceivable, whereas those who had not yet reached puberty at that time found life with a future inconceivable.[107] Obviously he is too absolute in his statement, but CND gave force to such sentiments, and Suez and Hungary provided the political opportunity for the expression. Nuttall has also recorded the feeling of many of the young in 1956, after Suez and Hungary, that with these events 'the square world had now made utterly clear its suicidal intentions'.[108] Thompson observed similarly that the younger generation was a difficult one for the old left [and the older generation generally] to understand being 'the first in the history of mankind to experience adolescence within a culture where the possibility of human annihilation has become an after-dinner platitude'.[109]

The distrust between the generations, which the Teds, and adult reactions towards them, had brought out into the open, was further exacerbated by the apparent bewilderment felt by many of the older generation when confronted with the image of thousands of crusading, protesting young people. Unlike the Teds, they were mainly middle-class, educated and non-violent, but had clearly decided on the fundamental unacceptability of a

society which, since the Duncan Sandys Defence Review of 1957, had based defence philosophy upon the possession of weapons of total annihilation. (Britain had exploded its first megaton H-bomb at Christmas Island in November 1957).

As Widgery has rather sourly observed, the formation of CND was actually the culmination of nearly ten years during which opponents of the bomb had 'unsuccessfully pottered around'.[110] Such efforts had included a press conference called by Bertrand Russell in July 1955 to make public a statement signed by a number of scientists, including Einstein, who signed shortly before his death, outlining the dangers of nuclear warfare.[111] There were also other actions, petitions and now-forgotten early marches to the nuclear research station at Aldermaston organised by the Direct Action Committee which had been in existence since 1954. The real catalyst for the creation of CND was a *New Statesman* article by J. B. Priestley in February 1957, arguing that Britain should provide moral leadership to the world by opting out of the nuclear arms race.[112]

Apart from the appealing aspect of Britain providing a moral lead, young people were doubtless attracted to CND by its self-conscious efforts to distance itself from political party ideologies. This did not preclude strenuous lobbying of the Labour Party, whose almost constant twists and turns on the nuclear issue, as well as Nye Bevan's defection from the unilateralist cause in 1959, merely entrenched the mood of disillusion with politics amongst the young. As Parkin has concluded from his survey of young CND marchers, the movement's lack of a formal ideology provided an ideal form of protest, enabling anti-Establishment sentiments to be focused on a single issue which could be defined as a simple choice between 'good' and 'evil'.[113]

The single most significant aspect which links CND with the counter-culture's development in Britain was CND's appeal to youth: CND heralded

> the first appearance of youth on the political stage. For the first time in British life the rebellion of the young against the old acquired a political dimension.... [Both CND and the Teddy Boys provided] a foretaste of the new power of youth to fascinate, alarm and disrupt adult society, as well as being early symptoms of an alienation from the meritocratic, technological goals of the affluent society.[114]

The old ties between the generations had finally, it seems, been severed, so that subsequent youth phenomena such as the counter-culture could hardly have been unexpected, and would be greeted by a society already hostile to challenges to its mores and values.

As was to be the case with the counter-culture, Parkin has found that only a small minority of British youth became involved with CND.[115] He suggests that most of them were concerned less with the achievement of the ostensible goal of banning nuclear weapons than with the moral satisfaction to be gained from expressing personal values in action,[116] unlike the counter-culture which combined the primary aim of changing society with the immediate enjoyment of living the revolution. It was also possible, as sceptics such as Nuttall have suggested, that many of the adult organisers used CND as a vehicle towards advancing the cause of socialism,[117] which was their primary concern.

Although CND did not achieve its aims, it did through the Aldermaston marches help to create a new folk culture[118] and for the youth involved, embryonically a new youth culture.[119] Nuttall has captured the colour and 'feel' of this nascent youth culture when he describes the ways in which the young marchers

> made each march into a carnival of optimism. [They] ... appeared from nowhere in their grime and tatters, with their slogan-daubed crazy hats and streaming filthy hair, hammering their banjos, strumming aggressively on their guitars, ... capering out in front of the march, destroying the wooden dignity of Canon Collins ... and other celebrities who were the official leaders of the cavalcade. It was this wild public festival spirit that spread the CND symbol through all the jazz clubs and secondary schools in an incredibly short time. Protest was associated with festivity.[120]

The importance of this aspect of CND in its influence upon the development of the counter-culture in England in the mid-1960s, need hardly be stressed. It seems quite clear that the belief of the counter-culturalists that society must be changed by playful, festive, fun actions, derived to a considerable extent from the earlier example of the young CND marchers.

A link of greater importance, possibly, to the development of the atmosphere out of which the counter-culture was later to

emerge, was the growing influence of libertarian ideas and activities in the anti-nuclear movement of the early 1960s. The opportunities offered by CND as a means of introducing young people to anarchism were welcomed by anarchists. In Manchester, for example, the local anarchist group continually 'poached' members from YCND branches with far greater success than either the Young Socialists or the Young Communists,[121] not surprisingly perhaps, considering the disillusion and distrust with which ideologies or dogmas were regarded at that time by many of the young CND supporters.

Finally, the formation of the Committee of 100 late in 1960 as a movement of civil disobedience, and hopefully as a precursor of a mass movement strong enough to force its opinions on the Government directly,[122] seems of considerable significance for the emergence of the counter-culture a few years later, in two major ways. Firstly, the breakaway Committee insisted that through its own departure and adoption of new tactics CND would be the 'last of the old radical movements'[123] in the supposedly 'constitutional' tradition of the Levellers, Chartists or Suffragettes, whose memories were often evoked by CND officials.[124] These groups, particularly the seventeenth-century dissenters, were at times referred to in the underground press. Such references, however, suggested that the counter-cultural-ists' admiration was divorced from any feeling of actually belonging in the tradition of radical dissent – or of wanting to; their memory was merely inspirational.

Secondly, the Committee of 100 attracted many of the young people who were to some extent disillusioned with CND, and who spurned the political process, thus presumably being open to more consciously anarchist ideas and actions. Anarchism was enjoying something of a revival in the early 1960s in Britain, one observer suggesting that between 1960 and 1963 anarchists had had an 'increasing influence' within the Committee of 100. This was not due to deliberate infiltration, but rather because many members of the Committee had moved towards anarchism.[125] Indeed, Paloczi-Horvath has noted that by 1961 'a new type of young anarchist' had begun to be active in various other campaigns and movements, because they believed that 'all politics [were] hopelessly corrupt and futile, and that in this apocalyptic age the only hope [was] to end [what they regarded] as a pretence of democracy'.[126]

The first sit-in organised by the Committee of 100 in February 1961 indicated the appeal of such a form of protest: despite the 'cold, dark, drizzly day', over 20 000 people attended the meeting at Trafalgar Square, after which 5 000 marched to Whitehall where they joined Bertrand Russell in sitting or lying on the pavement for two hours.[127]

The fortunes of both CND and the Committee of 100 have been well documented by other researchers and are not in themselves of direct relevance to this chapter. It should be mentioned, however, that while the anti-nuclear movement did not succeed in persuading – or coercing, as the Committee of 100 might have preferred – the British Government to provide a moral lead to the world in denying the nuclear option, the 'idea and spirit of Aldermaston and of the Committee of 100's sit-down demonstrations spread all over the world',[128] and the use and appeal of the CND emblem has proved to be enduring.

The restraint shown by the super-powers during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 (as well as the irrelevance of the British bomb in the crisis) and the signing of the partial test-ban treaty in the following year accelerated the decline of the anti-nuclear movement. Nevertheless, it seems fair to suggest that the movement's influences remained, especially upon the young, many of whom now perceived established values as essentially corrupt, and thus sensed the futility of both legal and semi-illegal protest against the state. J. B. Priestley, whose 1957 *New Statesman* article was widely regarded as the catalyst for CND, warned politicians in 1963 that they should consider why 'the more sensitive and articulate young English' were so contemptuous of British society and politics.[129] The belief of George Melly, that an anarchist *attitude* was growing in Britain,[130] may have partly answered Priestley's question.

The marches and other activities were in many ways forerunners of the counter-culture style; as one writer has suggested, the march was a

> student movement before its time ... in its midst could be found the first members of the hashish underground and premature members of the Love Generation as well as cadres of the forthcoming revolutionary parties.[131]

The Committee of 100 took the anti-nuclear movement a large

step forward and laid foundations – both of an experimental and attitudinal nature – for the counter-culture. It provided a form of protest which temporarily at least satisfied the anti-political, anti-state sentiments of many young supporters. Civil disobedience requires the preparedness to take risks, to symbolically (at least) reject the validity of the State. The Committee of 100 was, as Widgery has suggested 'pioneering the confrontation theory',[132] which was to be refined by the counter-culturalists as a weapon for needling the State and other authorities, as well as having 'fun' whilst preparing the revolution in consciousness which it was hoped or believed would bring in the new society.

The most obvious point to emerge from what could be appropriately termed a *smorgasbord* of forerunners, has been the diverse parentage of the counter-culture, which may partly explain its own very diverse nature. To push the original metaphor further, the *smorgasbord* has at times been attractive; at other times the fare offered, whilst of intrinsic interest (for example, the Teds, Mods and Rockers) has been somewhat less appetising.

The phenomena of the 1950s so far examined – the Teddy Boys, Mods, Rockers, Angry Young Men, CND and its offshoot, the Committee of 100 – have illustrated two particularly significant features of the period. First, they represented in their various ways the arrival of youth as a distinct, identifiable and self-assertive category in English society. Secondly, each of these groupings, through their actions, gestures or belief-systems, made clear their dissatisfaction with their own society, but declined (with the exception, in a limited way, of the anti-nuclear protesters) to consider ways of changing that society, or to envisage an alternative society. Nevertheless, young people in the 1950s were, as Marwick has stated, 'beginning to speak with [their] own voice';[133] unlike earlier British youth movements since the 1920s, they no longer necessarily looked to their elders for inspiration or guidance. As was to be the case with the counter-culture in the next decade, the voice of youth was not united, but at least it had 'broken through the mumble of the stale, worked-out cultural tradition lingering on from the Forties'.[134] One effect of this, of course, was that the lines between the generations became more sharply drawn and were now to a considerable extent hostile.

It is significant that the period under consideration has been

characterised as 'the age of affluence',[135] and yet this affluence was apparently at the root of much of the dissatisfaction felt by the Teds, Mods, Rockers, as well as the Angry Young Men. For the mainly middle-class young anti-nuclear protesters, affluence was nothing new, and it enabled them to devote their energies and emotions to issues they regarded as of international and national importance, not having to concern themselves about employment, education or status.

The same cannot be said, however, for the Teds, Mods and Rockers, most if not all of whom were working class. The Teddy Boys' adoption of the Edwardian style of dress was in many ways ironic, and symbolised that they were caught between two cultures. Their relatively high wages enabled them to enjoy an economic independence unprecedented for working-class youth, and the specific teenage market which quickly came into existence in the mid-1950s provided a variety of ways in which they could acquire symbolic paraphernalia proclaiming both their youthfulness and their separate, rebellious identity. Their economic status was not, however, matched by their social status; they still performed the boring, dead-end, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs traditionally associated with their class. Furthermore, their wage did not negate the fact that they remained, in the main, 'the products of squalor amidst growing affluence', living in 'squalid homes in squalid districts, and [attending] squalid schools'.[136] Media reaction to the appearance of the Teddy Boys was from the outset universally hostile, and this hostility accelerated with the appearance of the Mods and Rockers, and generated what Cohen has termed a 'moral panic',[137] against these two groups of individuals who were regarded as 'folk devils'.

The reaction of the Angry Young Men against the affluent Britain of the 1950s was no less dramatic than that of the working-class Teds and others, but it was expressed through literature rather than through more public gestures of defiance. The basic theme of most 'angry' literature – the ultimate dissatisfaction experienced by clever working-class males who had 'broken through' the class and education barriers to no real avail – was enthusiastically approved by a large number of young people at the time. The 'angry' literature virulently attacked snobbery, but as Bogdanor and Skidelsky have noted,[138] the attack was directed more against petty cultural

snobbery than the actual social or economic conditions which lay beneath snobbery proper. This, however, was only one of the limitations of the Angry Young Men: in retrospect it is amazing that, given the years in which 'angry' literature flourished (from 1953 to the end of the decade, roughly), it failed to reflect in any significant manner the upsurge of social criticism then being expressed. It has already been seen that John Osborne in particular managed to continue to rage against the 'establishment' at the same time expressing a nostalgia for the certainties of the Edwardian age.[139] Furthermore, in a literature which was essentially misogynist, Osborne's attacks on women were as vicious, if not more vicious, than those upon society.

Nevertheless, the significance of the Angry Young Men movement to the development of the counter-culture lay in its having begun the process of *cultural* criticism of society. Balanced against this was the fact that the 'angry' writers were deliberately not seeking to offer any solutions or to present a challenge to society, and although individual writers became for a short period involved in the CND and Committee of 100, they seemed fundamentally uncaring about the inequalities and hypocrisies in British life.

Looking back over the decade of the 1950s, A. J. P. Taylor has suggested optimistically, however, that Lucky Jim, the 'hero' of Kingsley Amis's novel of the same name, was 'not a rebel, as often alleged, not even an angry young man. He was a modern Everyman',[140] and that thousands of Lucky Jims had marched from Aldermaston. It seems difficult to imagine the original Lucky Jim as one of the marchers (considering that Lucky Jim would not have had the energy), but perhaps Taylor was correct in so far as implying that the 'angry' movement had offered many middle-class people symbolic figures who were disenchanted with the state of British society.

The youthful supporters of CND and the Committee of 100 provided the clearest link with the counter-culture in that they expressed a fairly fundamental dissatisfaction with the belief system upon which British society and politics was based. The experience of CND demonstrated to many the futility of peaceful protest marches, no matter how well attended and enthusiastic. The direct action, civil disobedience philosophy of the Committee of 100, with its strong anarchist influences, even if in the main of a non-theoretical nature, and its later involvement in

wider protests, most notably against the Vietnam War, prepared the ground for the counter-culture as well as for the more political left-wing groupings in the mid- to late-1960s and beyond.

Nevertheless, the various forerunners are best regarded as surface manifestations of a society going through rapid change and trying to come to terms with its loss of world status: to paraphrase Dean Acheson, trying to find a role. The atmosphere of unease at home was not the only factor contributing to the emergence of the counter-culture; the crossing of counter-cultural ideas and adherents from the US, and the fact of a common language and to some extent heritage, were also important ingredients in the birth of the counter-culture in Britain. Other aspects of postwar British life must also be examined in order to find clues to the counter-culture's development. Some of these are: the prime-ministership of Harold Macmillan and the thirteen years – thirteen 'wasted years' as they were called by the Labour leader Harold Wilson – of Tory rule. The hallmark of the Macmillan years were affluence and the decline of British power and loss of empire, symbolised most dramatically by the Suez venture in which appropriately enough Macmillan as Chancellor of the Exchequer had been 'consistently ardent' in his original advocacy and support of the invasion.[141]

The expansion in education and ostensibly greater equality in educational opportunities and standards must also be considered. Finally, the 'satire boom' in the early 1960s and the image of 'swinging London' and 'permissiveness' complete the picture of British society immediately prior to the arrival of the counter-culture.

Despite his popularity as prime minister, which was primarily due to his slightly fortuitous association with the new affluence,[142] Macmillan was in many ways a curiously out-of-place figure in the 1950s. Regarding himself as the last of the Victorians,[143] he provided a strange blend of Edwardian values and mannerisms and mid-twentieth-century style. For instance, from the time of the first-ever party political television broadcast in 1953, Macmillan showed himself a master of the medium,[144] and at the same time soon provided ample material for the satirists – both on and off television – who exploited and guyed his talent.

Rather characteristically, the theme of Macmillan's first television broadcast had illustrated his inability to comprehend the

changing nature of the world and of Britain's place within it. The speech emphasised his belief that Britain was not a second- or third-rate power, but 'has been great, is great and will stay great, provided we close our ranks and get on with the job'.[145] Ironically, his advocacy of the Suez invasion in 1956, in opposition to both the US and the great bulk of the Commonwealth, revealed and probably accelerated Britain's decline as a world power. Admittedly he later seemed more in touch with the reality of Britain's position in the world, as his efforts to take Britain into the European community were to demonstrate.

What was plain, however, despite the many confusing and ambiguous aspects of Macmillan's leadership, was that Britain had, as stated in his famous electioneering phrase, 'never had it so good'.[146] That phrase was later to be parodied by the satirists, and to remain in the national memory as a sour reminder of the materialism of the 1959 election campaign.[147] The new affluence of British society, none the less, symbolised by the range of consumer goods available, was a stark contrast with the austerity of the immediate postwar years.

Not only had average earnings increased by 110 per cent in the period 1951–64, accompanied by an equally spectacular rise in the number of cars, television sets, telephones, washing machines and refrigerators,[148] but pensions had also risen concomitantly. Even the more modest expansion in the health service was impressive, with a steady rise in the number of hospital and private doctors as well as nursing staff.[149] In the circumstances of Britain of the 1950s, where memories of the deprivations of the war years remained quite vivid, it is hardly surprising that the voters continued to elect the party which seemed to be responsible for such material improvements. The fact that Britain's performance, although impressive, lagged significantly behind that of other leading industrial countries[150] was largely obscured from the electorate in part, it has been contended, because of the Conservative Government's policies of sacrificing potential long-term economic security to achieve immediate political success.[151]

Apart from the affluence associated with the Conservatives, the considerable disarray of the Labour Party during these years probably contributed in large part to its loss of electoral support. Not only did Labour seem disunited after the 1951 election loss, it seemed to offer no exciting new ideas or policies. For many of

those seeking in Labour a genuine alternative to the Conserva-
tives, ideas such as those expressed, for example, in Anthony
Crosland's *Future of Socialism*, in which he argued that 'We
must now learn to be middle-class',[152] must have offered little
comfort. Added to these problems was Labour's less than
enthusiastic support, initially at least, for the anti-nuclear move-
ment and Nye Bevan's ultimate defection from unilateralism in
1959. The spurning of Labour and other left-wing parties by
those forming the New Left further added to the distaste and
distrust with which the young intelligentsia regarded mere
parliamentary politics.

Coupled with the political malaise of the 1950s and early
1960s was a social malaise, largely connected with the realities of
the endurance of the class system, which many had envisaged
would be largely eroded by postwar education. On the one hand,
in the period 1951–64 there had been a huge increase in
education spending (from £381 million in 1951 to £1 365 million
in 1964),[153] and education became a dominant political issue, in
the way that military and imperial issues had once been.[154] On
the other hand, as Marwick has observed, despite the large
proportion of students receiving public grants for education, the
public education system was 'extremely erratic and arbitrary in
its operation', and the 'odds against a child of lower class
background were still heavy'.[155] An illustration of this was the
fact that in the 1950s and 1960s Oxford and Cambridge gradu-
ates still dominated the élites of British public life, and the public
schools still kept their grip on 'Oxbridge'. Even with 80 per cent
of university students receiving grants from the State, the
proportion of grammar school students did not markedly in-
crease; 45 per cent of Oxford undergraduates were from public
schools in 1957, and at Cambridge the figure was 55 per cent.[156]
In 1960 there was still little evidence of the breakdown of the
supremacy of Oxbridge graduates over those from the Redbrick
universities in relation to careers in the civil service, politics or
the law. The division was based on class, with many public-
school boys preferring to enter business, the services or a foreign
university rather than enrol at a Redbrick university.[157] It need
hardly be added that the situation for female students aspiring to
an Oxbridge education would, on the whole, have been less
encouraging.

For a generation which had been led to believe that the 1944

Education Act would lead to a genuinely classless education system, in which ability would be the primary criterion for advancement, the realities of the system added to the malaise affecting British society in this period. Such realities were not lost on 'lucky' working-class undergraduates such as Dennis Potter, who considered that 'a spurious "equality of opportunity" boils down to a hardening of class lines'.[158] Clearly, to many, particularly the young, 'the Establishment' was well and truly intact, as a literary symposium of the same name, published in 1959, argued. Introducing this symposium, the editor wrote of 'the Establishment' as the 'present-day institutional museum of Britain's past greatness',[159] and argued that what was considered socially 'good' or 'bad' really meant whether or not it had been 'done' by the Establishment over the past 100 years.[160] The term 'the Establishment' seems to have been first used in print by Henry Fairlie during the spying revelations surrounding Burgess and Maclean in September 1955. Fairlie's argument was that they had been protected by 'the Establishment'.[161] In the ensuing decade, of course, 'the Establishment' became the catch phrase for all that was disliked in society, and was rather oddly the subject of a rather loving article in the underground press.

It was the Establishment which became the prime target of the satirists in the early 1960s. The 'satire boom' began in 1960, with the Cambridge Footlights revue 'Beyond the Fringe' opening at the Edinburgh Festival, and later enjoying success in the West End. Television soon caught on to the popularity of satire, most notably the BBC's weekend programme *That Was the Week That Was* (*TW3*), which began on 24 November 1962. *TW3* devoted its attention primarily to politicians, and to 'the pretensions of men of religion rather than with religious faith', and was viewed by 'an immense national audience'[162] on Saturday nights. The programmes which, it has been claimed, were always 'full of carefully researched facts'[163] relied heavily not only on satire itself, but included members of the studio audience in controversial discussions of the politicians and events under scrutiny. Although the programme ran for a relatively short time – until December 1963 – it was indicative not only of the enduring liberal tradition of tolerance, but also the lack of esteem with which British politicians and institutions were regarded by many. Nothing, it seems, was above satire as

far as *TW3* was concerned: one of their programmes included a skit on the Aldermaston marches, with the suggestion that these too had become a part of the Establishment: 'As the years go by it becomes more and more one of those lovable British institutions, sandwiched between the distribution of the Maundy Money and Trooping the Colour.'[164]

Satire was not restricted to the stage or television, however, as the launching of the newspaper *Private Eye* in October 1961 indicated. Although Nuttall has suggested that satire of this variety had little importance, except to indicate that 'the public school/Oxbridge clan could now use satire as an alternative career to the church, the army and broadcasting',[165] *Private Eye*'s contribution to the dissemination of the anti-Establishment feelings of the period was important in that it provided an outlet for the stories that national newspapers considered inadvisable to handle.

British satire of the 1960s owed much to the Goons, whose anarchic humour spanned the decade of the 1950s.[166] *Goon Show* creator Spike Milligan defined its humour as 'essentially ... critical comedy', anti-bureaucracy and for human beings. 'Its starting point is one man shouting gibberish in the face of authority and proving by fabricated insanity that nothing could be as mad as what passes for ordinary living.'[167] In many respects it is to the Goons rather than to the later satirists that one must look for resemblances with counter-cultural 'happenings'.

This chapter began with the proposition that the 1950s were not really dull years. The proposition seems well founded, and if the decade is extended, as it can arguably be, to include those years of the 1960s until the arrival of the counter-culture, the validity of the thesis is demonstrated by the frenetic era of 'swinging London'.

It was the 'swinging London' image which gave impetus to the widely accepted view of the 'permissive' society in Britain in the early 1960s, although the availability of the contraceptive pill for women from the late 1950s probably played a greater part than any media 'image' in affecting the actual comparative sexual freedom of the period. The importation of the discotheque to London in 1962 provided the locale for the 'swinging' club scene which soon developed.[168] Despite a fair proportion of upper- and middle-class patrons, most of the clubs were 'virtually classless',

success in a given field being the criterion (and for the females, beauty). Only one club, Annabel's, deliberately cultivated a distinctly upper-class clientele.[169] Among the patrons of these clubs were figures such as the Beatles and Rolling Stones, as well as Royalty. One club, the Ad-Lib enjoyed almost overnight success after Beatles drummer Ringo Starr became a regular.[170] The clubs were not cheap, and were carefully decorated, often in 'joke bad taste' and their members occupied the gossip columns, often because of their status as film or pop stars, fashion designers or models, rather than because of their social class. George Melly surveyed some of the 'swinging' clubs in 1965, and recorded one particular incident which seems to have encapsulated their essential character: the host of 'The Scotch of St James' club told him that a

> party of millionaires came down recently and wanted to sit at the table reserved for the Stones. Mick [Jagger] and [girl-friend, model] Chrissie Shrimpton were there by themselves. There was plenty of room, but he wouldn't let the millionaires join them, and they went away offended. He'd turned away perhaps £50 worth of business, but he knew he was right.[171]

Of course, like most fads, particularly perhaps those of the postwar period, the 'swinging London' scene soon became outmoded and by 1967 was patently a thing of the past.[172] 'Swinging London', which had upstaged all that went before it, had itself been upstaged, for by this time a full-flowering counter-culture had emerged.

3 Proclaiming the Counter-Culture: the World of *It*, *Oz* and *Friends*

It may be seen from the previous chapter that certain activities and an atmosphere conducive to the 'arrival' of the counter-culture in England were present before 1966. But in October 1966 the launching of *International Times* – the first underground publication in England – signalled the formal arrival of the counter-culture. The launching was celebrated by a 'launch party' which was avidly reported in the second issue of the paper.[1] According to the report, the occasion was attended by 2500 dancing people. 'Famous people' in attendance included film director Antonioni and his leading lady Monica Vitti, Beatle Paul McCartney disguised as an Arab, Beat writer Kenneth Rexroth and others. Also in attendance it was noted, were 'a well-known junkie, a notorious homosexual, and many happy people who were only known to their friends but who the hell cares in a scene like that anyway?'. Not that everything went well, however: people were reported as 'wondering what the hell was going on'; somebody appeared to be about to become violent, there was the sound of bottles breaking, the communal toilet flooded, and a 'giant jelly made in a bath was unfortunately run over by a bicycle'.[2] A mixture of fun and confusion, clearly. Nevertheless England's first counter-cultural journal had made its debut with éclat – and with the appearance of *Oz* a few months later, followed by a stream of other underground publications, it was clear the time was nicely chosen. In fact, the next three years, 1966–9, were to be the 'great days' of the English counter-culture, a period of optimism and confidence, even of conviction that the counter-culture's millennarian vision could be realised.[3]

And against the background of fun and renewed revolutionary fervour many of the postwar changes in attitudes and values, discussed in the previous chapter, found expression in a series of reforms covering, for example, divorce, abortion, censorship and homosexuality. As well, there were enquiries into drug use,

accompanied by lobbying (for example *The Times* advertisement of 24 July 1967 to which the Beatles' names lent lustre) for the legal acceptance of the use of marijuana. Meanwhile its social use continued, and the spectacular 'busts' (arrests), and trials and acquittals of members of the Rolling Stones in 1967 indicated perhaps more than anything else the continuing war between the generations. More speculatively, they also suggested to many young people the inability of the ruling generation[4] to continue to enforce the playing of life's games according to its rules.

But before examining the activities that characterise the great days of the counter-culture, it is necessary to turn attention to the role and significance of the underground press in England, and specifically to the three publications referred to in the title of this chapter. At the conclusion of this section an analysis of the content and style of these publications will be attempted.

The underground press was to the counter-culture what Fleet Street journalism is to 'straight' society. The underground even created its own version of Reuters, in the form of the Underground Press Syndicate and the Liberation News Service (both originating in the US), which ensured international dissemination of news considered significant for the counter-culture. In addition, many underground papers, including *IT*, *Oz* and *Friends/Friendz*, were circulated internationally.

Given that the counter-culture may be only loosely termed a 'movement',[5] and was one which did not include membership lists or card-carrying members, and had – like most movements – various levels of commitment and involvement, there is no other clear-cut body of material from which to glean its ideas and values or even its aspirations. The underground press thus serves as the major repository of counter-cultural views and visions, having served, as has been noted, 'quite literally to hold the movement together and to give it its identity'.[6] Bouchier has also warned, however, of dangers inherent in using underground publications as a means of learning about the ideology – for want of a better word – of the counter-culture, primarily because of the likelihood of people involved in the production of underground publications being more 'activist minded' than others.[7] The point appears a valid one, but perhaps need not be taken as literally as Bouchier seems to suggest, and the readers' responses, particularly through the letters columns, indicate a

variety of attitudes about the content and style of the publica-
tions. (Indeed the letters columns and articles contributed by
readers were illustrative of a quite seriously-taken process of
discourse within the counter-culture.) Similarly, it must be
admitted that the publications served different purposes for
different readers, ranging from the more straightforward
political/'news' content, to the merely visual appreciation (or
lack of, as the case may be), to a primary interest in the 'small
ads' or other advertisements.

Nevertheless, and however much the use of the underground
press is a task that must be approached with caution, it is
primarily within that press that the documentary record of the
social history of the counter-culture lies.[8] The underground
press was more than a mere documentor of events and attitudes
within the counter-culture: its other role – that of articulating
and shaping the new lifestyle[9] – was equally important.

Most underground publications were started for fun, 'attract-
ing a pool of under-employed creators bent on inventing a new
language to communicate new ideas in a new style'.[10] An article
by the editor in the first issue of *International Times* admitted he
was having difficulty deciding why *IT* had been initiated, and
stated firstly that its *raison d'être* was a loosely-defined need for
change, but concluded his piece by saying '*IT* is just for fun.
Even when we're blasting off or being subversive, remember
we're just in it because we like playing games.'[11] The formal
editorial in the first issue was suggestive of the marriage between
fun and revolution which was to receive more prominence later,
readers being counselled to 'only work at what you enjoy –
movement; governments are a drag so ... Change begins with
you'.[12]

Underground publications made no claims to objectivity and
it was this perhaps as much as the differences in language, style,
colour and content, which distinguished the press in is own eyes
from the hypocritical 'objectivity' of Fleet Street. To quote
Richard Neville, founding editor of London *Oz*, underground
papers were 'pugnaciously partisan and each reporter is, in a
sense his own editorialist'.[13] This lack of either editorial policy or
direction fitted well into the free and easy, unstructured way of
doing things, so valued within the counter-culture. It also
prevented, to a considerable degree, the categorisation of ideas,
for which straight society was believed to have a penchant. The

absence of such policy, incidentally, makes it difficult for the researcher to state, except in loose terms, what the primary values and aspirations of the publications were. Nevertheless, the absence of editorial direction was one of the attractive features of the underground press, even though it may also have contributed in the long run to its disarray. It must also be remembered that underground writers were not concerned to facilitate future academic researchers seeking to define and analyse that which to many counter-culturalists should not be defined or analysed.

Returning to the supposed fun element in producing underground publications, it seems that with the exception of *Oz*, the fun was relatively short-lived and usually more imaginary than real. More will be said on this point later, but suffice it to say that internecine squabbles between underground publications were frequent and only occasionally relieved by co-operative or supportive ventures. Such rivalries, however, were probably outweighted by the internal disputes which beset *IT*.[14]

Newspapers or magazines not yet designated as 'underground', but, as Neville termed them, 'anti-society', had been in existence in the United States since 1955.[15] By the early 1960s similar ventures were underway in England, although there was seemingly little interaction or awareness that these early 'cultural guerrillas', were not alone.

As one such publisher of an early 1960s 'anti-society' magazine of poetry, Jeff Nuttall, put it '[we were] putting on our shows in hired rooms, exclaiming our poetry in public parks, swinging the duplicator handle throughout the long Saturday afternoons in 1963 [and] we had no idea that the same thing was happening all over the world'.[16] Nuttall was to make an easy transition into the underground press, contributing some particularly sexist cartoons to *IT* at various times. Nuttall's involvement in the counter-culture illustrates the continuity from earlier social/political movements, Nuttall being a veteran of CND marches as well as being involved in early anti-Vietnam war activities. He has suggested that the word 'underground' probably came into usage in New York around 1964[17] and identified its primary concern as 'the spiritual bankruptcy which begat the bombs'.[18] Despite acknowledging the importance attached by the underground to immediate problems such as the war in Vietnam, his insistence on the primacy of the bomb was most

likely partly explained by his belonging to the generation which had been politicised by CND. For many of the counter-culturalists, Vietnam was the great moral motivator, the one political concern which at bottom united them, the West's involvement demonstrating the same moral bankruptcy which the bomb had symbolised for Nuttall's generation. It is interesting to note, however, that only occasional reference to either the bomb or CND are to be found in the underground press.

The rather narrow, literary concerns of the pre-underground magazines such as Nuttall's were abandoned by the underground press. Rather, culture and society were regarded as one, and distinctions or categorisations were rejected. This was made clear in the first issue of *IT*, where a play about Vietnam (*US*) was evaluated in the light of its ideology as well as literary merits, with perhaps slightly more emphasis on the ideological dimension.

The three publications which are the principal concern to us were by no means alone in their strivings to articulate the new consciousness and to serve the counter-cultural community. In all there are some 75 underground publications included in the Harvester collection, ranging from one-off ventures to those which, like *IT* and *Oz*, endured for a number of years. Some relied upon cartoons or comic form as the sole means of communication (*Cozmic Comics, Street Comix, Nasty Tales*); others expressed the more mystical elements in the counter-culture, and attempted to show that the alternative lifestyle was to be found away from the cities, in a more simple, self-sufficient way of life (*Country Bizarre, Gandalf's Garden*). Other publications served the needs of their specific or local communities, for example, squatters' and tenants' rights (*Hackney Action, Street Aid*), or of gypsies (*Romano Drom*). The commune movement was represented by a publication of that name, and eventually there were underground publications put out by women advancing the aims of Women's Liberation. As well, there was a range of regional underground publications which attempted to develop some independence from the London-based underground press, most notably the *Liverpool Free Press* and the *Manchester Free Press*, both of which began publication during 1971.

The underground publications supplying the main body of primary source material and our focus for discussion are *IT*, *Oz* and *Friends/Friendz*.

IT, originally *International Times* until legal action was threatened by *The [London] Times*,[19] has been consulted primarily on the basis of its importance as the first of the English underground publications; begun in October 1966, *IT* was, incidentally, one of the longest running. Richard Neville has suggested that *IT*'s most important contribution to England's counter-culture was its mere existence.[20] Although in many ways the least interesting or articulate of the three, as well as illustrating some of the most glaring contradictions between the reality and the belief systems of the counter-culture, *IT*'s role in the practical development of the counter-culture was, as Neville has also acknowledged,[21] quite considerable.

Like *IT*, *Oz*, which began publication in February 1967 as *London Oz*[22] (for the first three issues), provides valuable documentation and insights into the development of the English counter-culture. More theoretical and articulate than *IT*, and maintaining throughout its existence a delight in visual experimentation – even if this did at times render the print illegible – *Oz* managed to sustain a committed, if often verbose, journalism, apparently successfully blended with the celebrated 'fun revolution'. Not only was *Oz* fun to read, but it seemed that it was fun to produce. *Oz* was the most famous (and to many, infamous) underground publication, significant not only as one of England's first underground ventures, but also for its articles dealing with politics, which generally conveyed a more historical, philosophic and universal view than did those of other underground publications. Of greater significance, *Oz* was the only publication of the three to offer a serious and detailed 'blueprint' for the alternative society.[23] Although in many respects fairly naïve, the blueprint avoided the more slogan-ridden prose employed by the other underground publications, and demonstrated *Oz*'s commitment to at least attempting to articulate tangible forms for the alternative society.

Of the three publications, it was *Oz* which appeared to take seriously – at times quite literally – the counter-cultural belief that the boundaries which confined respectable, straight society ought to be stretched beyond their limits. The publication of issue number 28, the *School Kids Oz*, and the sensational 'bust' and obscenity trial that this provoked, provided the most celebrated example of the practice of this belief.[24]

The third publication, *Friends*, appeared three years after *IT*,

changing its name to *Frendz* with issue number 29, in May 1971. *Frendz* ushered in volume 2 of the publication, and the name change symbolised a hoped-for fresh start following internal disputes (the resignation of founding editor, Alan Marcusan), and the financial difficulties encountered by their publishing company, The T. F. Much Company Ltd. The editorial in the first issue of *Frendz* stated the intention to 'cover much of the same ground as *Friends* but with greater efficiency', and explained that some of the staff of *Friends* had decided 'rather than let a good paper disappear ... to form a company called Echidna Epics to publish a paper called *Frendz*'.[25]

Friends began as the British edition of the US music paper *Rolling Stone*, but split away from its parent to become an independent, alternative paper.[26] Both *Friends* and *Frendz* continued their interest in music, but included a variety of other subjects in each issue, with an increasing dedication to politics and the revolution, although, as will be seen in a later chapter, the kind of revolution espoused and the means of attaining it changed more dramatically in this publication than in either *IT* or *Oz*.

The most distinctive characteristic of *Friends/Frendz* was the way in which music was treated, the emphasis being on rock music as the vehicle for the expression of the revolutionary spirit and for articulating the strivings for the alternative society. The frequently intelligent and excellently written music reviews more often than not evaluated the usefulness or otherwise of a particular group or record by its contribution to fostering the revolution.

All three publications were edited in London, illustrating the fact that, whilst there was a (rather derivative) provincial wing and a (rather more influential) rural wing, the English counter-culture was in essence London-based. Ultimately this metropolitan base – or more accurately, the seeming absence of any really concrete bonds between the London papers and 'scene' and the rest of England – was probably one of the more debilitating features of the English counter-culture. It was not until the 1970s that the interests of the rural counter-culture became more influential, mirrored in the increased attention paid to ecological matters, vegetarianism, and so on by which time such concerns looked somewhat bizarre alongside the praise of terrorism and exhortations to violent revolution.

What did underground press readers get for their money? Could they, as it were, feast upon the paper(s) of their choice, enjoying not only a host of informative, reassuring, amusing, irreverent articles amidst superbly creative illustrations and innovative layout techniques? Or did readers find that the paper(s) they bought (or which were passed on to them) bore an uncanny resemblance to the despised offerings of the 'straight' press, or the dogmatic exhortations of some of the left wing press? Did each publication remain basically unchanged, both in its interests and its mode of presentation and self-promotion? What kinds of advertisements appeared in the underground press, and how were these presented? In a medium which prided itself on having abandoned tradition in the form of editorial policies, how was the message of the counter-culture spread, and what was the composition of the staff who produced the papers?

To try to answer these questions a survey has been conducted on selected key issues of *IT, Oz* and *Friends/Frendz*. For convenience, the key issues have been taken as: issue number one, the issues appearing six months and twelve months later, and the final issue. The issues of *IT* and *Oz* which coincided with the students' and workers' revolts in France in May 1968 were also surveyed and are discussed in a separate section of the chapter.

The fact that *Friends* did not begin publication until November 1969 (three years after the appearance of *IT*) was unfortunate from the point of view of the survey, as one may only speculate on the likely attitude of *Friends'* staff and contributors to the events of 1968. The time-lag in the appearance of *Friends* also makes comparison between the three publications less meaningful, in the sense that the counter-culture had arguably experienced its greatest days before the appearance of *Friends*. Indeed, it may be said that *Friends* arrived in good time to document the decline of the counter-culture and missed the opportunity to celebrate its values and optimism. Be that as it may, the decline of the counter-culture by late 1969 is more evident in hindsight than it might have been at the time, although it was clear from articles and letters in the underground press that many readers and writers were at least aware of the changed realities within the counter-culture.

Perhaps the most obvious point to emerge from the survey was that the underground press was by no means monolithic: each

paper had its own unmistakeable style. The degree to which visual or graphic effects were employed and the apparent importance attached to their use reveals much about the papers' diverse personalities. In this regard *Oz* was outstanding: although the microfilmed collection does not reproduce the brilliant psychedelic colours and designs which were so freely used, the joyful creativity of *Oz* is nevertheless still conveyed on film.[27] Indeed, it is for the visual experience as much as for the written documentation of the exalted and dashed hopes of the counter-culture that *Oz* will most likely endure as possibly the most significant publication of the English counter-culture.

The chief significance of *IT*, on the other hand, may well have been its mere existence, as Richard Neville has suggested.[28] As the first of the English underground publications, *IT* was arguably the parent of the others, even if the offspring often bore little resemblance to, and were at times highly critical of, their parent. *IT* took its perceived role as organ of the alternative society very seriously and made genuine efforts to inform readers of what was happening in the English (or more specifically London) underground 'scene', both in terms of events and of ideas. The involvement of some *IT* staff and money in the Arts Labs[29] and other counter-cultural ventures was a quite significant and concrete contribution towards the growth of the London counter-culture.

In spite of its title, originally *International Times*,[30] and its stated intention to be an international publication, *IT* was of the three publications the most distinctively 'English' in interests and character. *IT*'s attempts to be of service to the nascent English counter-culture at times made it rather didactic and heavy reading. Unlike *Oz*, *IT* did not seem to convey for long the impression that the counter-cultural life was fun – life at *IT* was far too serious for such levity.

IT was published in London (from various addresses in the WC1 or W1 areas) fortnightly, at a price of one shilling for the first twelve months, after which the price rose to one shilling and sixpence, at which it remained until the final issue. Of the four issues surveyed in depth, average page length was nineteen pages, with the layout becoming gradually less conventional (or more haphazard) although arguably never particularly creative. The editor remained unchanged for the first six months, as did many of the staff members. By the time *IT* had been in existence

for twelve months (October 1967) there was a new editor and only three of the original staff members remained. Similarly, by the issue for May 1968, another new editor was credited and most of the staff had changed. The final issue of *IT* did not include a listing of staff.

Throughout the existence of *IT*, staff listings – in common with *Oz* and *Friends/Frendz* – indicated that not only was the staff composed chiefly of males, but males tended to have what would be regarded as the more 'important' tasks. Indeed, it was not until the publication of *Spare Rib* in June 1972 that women were able to transcend male-defined capacities, and 'prove' their ability to edit and produce newspapers or magazines.

The initial task facing *IT*, as the first underground publication in England, was to attract readers, which it apparently sought to do by printing articles on a variety of subjects whilst emphasising, especially through editorial comments in the first few issues, the necessity of change. For example, the first editorial: 'Nearly all the "creative" people of London seem agreed that the quality of life must change'; whilst leaving open the question of defining the kind of change required or envisaged.[31] Hence two and a half pages of explanations of the alternative society and events within it were followed by news from Europe (a report on the activities of the Amsterdam Provos,[32] the death of André Breton, the Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Modern Music: approximately two pages in all); followed by items on theatre and art exhibitions, China (a report on the activities of the Red Guards, expressing the hope that their apparent excesses had been exaggerated by the Western press), and drugs (including local and overseas prices and availability as well as reports on 'busts').

Many articles were not easily 'categorisable' in this and later issues of *IT*, as well as in *Oz* and *Friends/Frendz*, as the categories have a tendency to overlap. For example, the editorial in *IT*, no. 1, which described the emerging counter-cultural scene in London, could reasonably be categorised as either 'London news' or 'alternative society' news. Similarly, a review of the play *US* can be slotted into both 'Vietnam' and 'theatre'.

The first issue of *IT* contained a total of 6¼ pages of advertisements scattered throughout the twenty pages, with advertisements for alternative lifestyle happenings (including the party to launch *IT*, referred to earlier), advertisements for

clothes, jewellery and other paraphernalia required by counter-culturalists, and advertisements for bookshops and magazines each taking up (about) 1¼ pages. Advertisements for personal needs, such as places to live ('pads'), books, theatres and galleries made up a large part of the balance.

Oz, on the other hand, apparently felt less compulsion to rely upon such conventional artifices as editorials for attracting readers or defining its intentions. From its first appearance in February 1967 it was clear that *Oz* was the living image of the fun revolution: stylishly and creatively presented, cheeky, irreverent and fun, as the cover headings suggested: 'Theological striptease / turn on, tune in, drop dead / Why 'New Statesman' editor Paul Johnson is so bloody successful / In bed with the ... English / Free ... LBJ playmate fold-out / Private Eye? / the Death of a President / Colin MacInnes and Malcolm X / 'Raped Congo Nuns Whipped with Rosary Beads' / Yankee Doodles / and so much more in this first issue of London Oz, ...'.[33] Reflecting the superior talent for daring and imagination possessed by *Oz*, it is worth noting that this first issue appeared in the month following yet another serious-sounding editorial in *IT* which commented, in response to criticism from American underground writers of the somewhat stolid image of *IT*, that 'London 1967 is not ready for a completely flipped out "newspaper'.[34] This misreading of the receptiveness of the nascent English counter-culture was to become increasingly characteristic of *IT*, which in all senses seemed to take itself – and the counter-culture it was seeking to serve – very seriously, which hardly left time, let alone space, for fun to be an essential ingredient of its living version of reality.[35]

In terms of space, this first issue of *Oz* devoted three pages to the United States, which included overlaps with Vietnam and Australia,[36] sex, and the political history of President Johnson. An additional three pages featured a calendar for 1967, with a suitably grotesque caricature of LBJ.

After politics/the Vietnam war, sex was the topic of next greatest importance for this initial *Oz*, which featured a two-page article by Germaine Greer titled 'In Bed with the English' on which the skill of the English male was reported on unfavourably. This was followed by a two-page article critical of the declining standards of the *New Statesman*. The satirical publication *Private Eye* fared worse, however, with four pages of

scathing criticism of its contents and style, and a character assassination of its editor Richard Ingrams. This was perhaps a recognition that *Private Eye* was in many ways a chief competitor for readership and, distinctively, for 'scoops' portraying Establishment figures in a sorry light. The fact that *Private Eye* survived both *Oz* and the counter-culture is possibly ironic and certainly suggests the greater endurance of its particular appeal.

Straight society, drugs and black power each received approximately one page of attention.[37] The total length of *Oz* no. 1 was 25 pages. Of the four issues chosen for the detailed survey, average length was 40 pages, but this average was boosted considerably by the final issue which was 73 pages long, largely because of the many advertisements inserted to recover costs.

Initial price of *Oz* was 2s. 6d., which was increased around mid-1968 to 3 shillings. *Oz* was published more or less monthly from London. Richard Neville remained editor until mid-1970, and many staff members remained constant in that period, not the least being fellow-Australian Martin Sharp whose brilliantly creative covers and illustrations were a major contribution to the essential visual experience offered by *Oz*, and to the likely endurance of *Oz* as an important historical documentary record of the period.

The final issue of *Oz* in November 1973 still included a number of staff contributors who had been with the publication since its early days. Also included amongst the staff of the final *Oz* were a number of ex-staff from *Friends/Frendz* (by then no longer in existence). Cross-fertilisation between *Oz* and *Friends/Frendz* had occurred from the inception of *Friends*, with, for example *Oz* contributors Jonathon Green and Jon Goodchild being amongst those who had been involved in the publication of the first issue of the other paper.

Oz no. 1 included 6½ pages of visual effects, mostly illustrations. (Photographs were never widely used by *Oz*: why bother when illustrations could be employed to more effect?) Apart from being visually enjoyable, these indicated from the start the importance *Oz* staff placed upon this aspect of journalism as being a part of the total experience of 'reading' – or at times more correctly, deciphering – *Oz*. A three-quarter-page cartoon in this issue further indicated interest in this medium, which was to be expanded in later issues.

Of the 7¾ pages of advertisements, advertisements for books

and for sex aids and magazines (1¾ pages each) led a field which
included advertisements for other magazines and publications,
clothes and jewellery, 'small ads' (personal ads from and for
readers), self-promotional advertising and promotion of alterna-
tive lifestyle 'happenings'. Of the three publications examined,
Oz was the only one which did not have an identifying motif. The
Black Frog of *Friends/Frendz* was not only employed as a visual
aid, but also served sometimes as a *nom-de-plume*, with some
articles being simply signed 'Black Frog'. It seems that black
frog badges were also sold to *Friends/Frendz* readers. Probably
the motifs were more idiosyncratic than anything else, but it may
be possible that *Oz* staff did not feel the necessity for taking up
such gimmicks.

   Friends, which began publication in November 1969 (approxi-
mately three years after *IT* and *Oz*), was published more or less
fortnightly in London. Priced initially at 2s. 6d., increasing to
3 shillings after July 1970, *Friends* offered readers an average of
30 pages of fairly conventional and unimaginative layout, with
occasional creative illustrations, the emphasis, however, being
on photographs. Editorial staff remained fairly constant
throughout 1969–70, but by the final issue few of the original
members remained.

   The illustrated cover of the first issue of *Friends* was both
interesting and attractive, as might justifiably have been ex-
pected of an underground publication by November 1969.
Reflecting its origins (*Rolling Stone*), the emphasis of *Friends*
no. 1 was on rock music, which was to be its abiding interest.
Rock accounted for 3¾ pages of articles, and rock reviews added
a further 2¼ pages. Not surprisingly for a paper much concerned
with exploring links between rock and the alternative society,
and with its *Rolling Stone* background, record company
advertisements accounted for a total of 8¼ pages. Other
interests in this first issue of *Friends* were: an editorial explaining
Friends' evolution, a miscellany of events in the alternative
society, sex (a report of a sex fair – 'Sexmesse' – in Denmark),
drugs (an attack on Home Secretary Jim Callaghan), book
reviews (*Chariots of the Gods* and *Confessions of Aleister Crowley*),
mysticism (exploration of various cults and the use of magic),
peace (information on, and a short advertisement for, the British
Fund for the (Vietnam) Peace Ship), extracts from the *Whole
Earth Catalogue*, and the United States,[38] featuring an interview

with author Tom Wolfe about various aspects of American society.

The 12½ pages of visual effects (as against 6½ pages in *Oz* no. 1 and 1¾ pages in *IT*, no. 1) might have reflected the well-established sense of importance attached to that means of communication by this time, were it not for the fact that most of the visuals were photographs rather than creative illustrations. Nevertheless, throughout the issues sampled, emphasis on visual effects remained – quite remarkably – one of the few constant features of each publication, underlining the underground's attempts to appeal to the senses as much as to the intellect, whereas areas of interest shifted considerably with time. Indeed, it could be said that with the exception of *Friends/Frendz*'s interest in rock music as a medium for revolution as well as for its own sake, there was no uniform or distinctive, constant interest evident in any of the three publications chosen for our study,

Six months after its inception, *IT*'s emphasis had changed somewhat. Actually, the *IT* 'six month after' issue (April–May 1967) consisted of two half-issues, both of which featured rather unexciting psychedelic covers, possibly due to the competition now coming from the truly psychedelic *Oz*. The reason for the half-issues was explained on the cover of *IT*, no. 11 (21–8 April 1967) – they were the result of *IT* having been 'busted' (raided) by the police. The subject of this cover was a 'groovy girl [who] we are putting on the front page to say that free speech free image lives on in Great? Britain'. The remainder of the (unpunctuated) prose on the cover referred to the 'free speech human be-in' weekend to be held at the Alexandra Palace at the end of April. This cover advertising reflected the increased interest in news relating to happenings within the alternative society which received the most attention (three pages in all) in this and the other half-issue. This was further emphasised by the 2¼ pages of advertisements for alternative society happenings, the only other advertisements in these half-issues being one page for 'small ads', and a half-page advertisement for the Elektra Record Company.

Drugs were the other area of major interest in these two half-issues (with coverage increased to 2½ pages over 1¼ pages in *IT*, no. 1). Thereafter followed scattered and fairly superficial references to politics, Vietnam, sex, pirate (illegal) radio, Arts

Labs, and China.[39] Whilst there was no significant increase in English news (only ¼ page), interest in European news had declined from two pages in *IT* no. 1, to a mere half page six months later.

The layout of these half-issues was less conventional than that of the first issue of *IT* (or most of the following issues). Different print sizes and types were used, as well as a greater breaking-up of articles by prominent column headings and creative illustrations, which indeed accounted for a total of 5½ pages. The overall result of this layout, however, verged more towards sloppiness and the haphazard than towards the presumably desired effect of creative innovation.

Whereas, in all fairness, *IT* was probably attempting to brighten up its image and presentation, the six-months-old *Oz* merely built upon the creativity which had been evident from the start. Indicative of this major interest in *Oz* no. 7 (October/November 1967), the cover was a brilliant piece of psychedelia on the subject of Bob Dylan.[40]

Dylan was the subject of three pages in this issue, only two of which were legible, however. Contained within these pages were reprints of Dylan's lyrics (poetry), and the articles were positive appraisals of his artistry – something which Dylan did not always enjoy within the underground press. Photographs, illustrations and other visual effects accounted for 9¾ pages of *Oz* no. 7 of which four pages were devoted to cartoons.

Other articles of length dealt with Black Power, specifically Michael X (five pages); European news, poetry, letters, book reviews, the US (specifically the sexual attitudes of Americans in relation to what was regarded as an American obsession with personal cleanliness); and the alternative society and lifestyle. The latter, titled 'Blueprint for a Beautiful Community' mirrored the prevailing mood of idealism and confidence, suggesting that Britain was no doubt 'on the verge of its most exciting cultural revolution for many years'.[41] The influence of American 'social and cultural guerrillas' in this trend was acknowledged. 'Digger action', already initiated successfully in the US (by Emmet Grogan in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury), was suggested as the means whereby the specific need for a strengthened and structured London community might be achieved. Another urgent requirement was identified as that of defining the relationship of the alternative community to straight society,[42]

although throughout its existence the underground press never did succeed in this endeavour.

Sex aids and sex magazines again comprised the largest number of advertisements in this issue (1¾ pages), followed by the 'small ads' column, and advertisements for counter-cultural paraphernalia and events within the alternative society. Advertisers from record companies were apparently either not interested in *Oz* at that stage, or were regarded by *Oz* as unnecessary sources of income. Perhaps the sex-aid companies paid well enough. The irony of the apparent reliance upon commercial sex as one of the means of financing the publication should have become more obvious as the women's liberation movement gained momentum later in the decade, although none of the publications under discussion expressed an awareness of this contradiction.

The cover of the issue of *Friends* six months into its career (no. 7, 29 May 1970) was neither psychedelic nor beautiful (unlike *IT* which was the former, and *Oz* which was both). But what the cover lacked in creativity was perhaps compensated for by the curiosity value of the half-woman, half-zebra that it featured.

Consistent with the first issue of *Friends*, the emphasis of no. 7 was again on rock music: 3½ pages of articles plus 2¾ pages of rock reviews. These included some quite important and thought-provoking material, such as the idea that rock musicians were recreating a structure for the future society.[43] The perceived current need for a regeneration within British rock[44] was discussed in a page-long article. Interestingly, a one-page interview with British rock musician Spencer Davis publicised his view (a view contrary to that of most *Friends* writers) that music was not supposed to proclaim the revolution, but was merely for enjoyment.[45]

News from the US comprised the next most favoured topic in this issue (four pages in all) including: police corruption in New York; the Charles Manson trial – the murders could not be condoned but the affair had been overblown by the US media, and Manson was not receiving a fair trial; police in Brooklyn attempting to gain a more positive public image; FBI and police harassment of Blacks; followed by articles about the alternative society and lifestyle and happenings within it (3½ pages). The folly of the new Drugs Bill was also canvassed and increased

numbers of victims of impure drugs from black market sources forecast. An interview with Jean Genet on persecution of Black Panthers in the United States was also featured. Film-makers were examined: a page-long article on the supremacy of MGM and an interview with film-maker Ken Russell, as well as a page of film reviews. Book reviews also accounted for one page and included a discussion of William Burroughs's *The Job* and a book tracing the history of the use of the 'sacred mushroom' drug.

The emphasis on visual effects had almost halved since the first issue, these now accounting for 6¾ pages, but as with *Friends* no. 1, the majority of the visuals were photographs.

Record company advertisements had decreased considerably since the first issue, but they still comprised the largest single advertising item (2½ pages in all). The remainder of *Friends* no. 7 advertising was derived from 'Little Friends' (readers' personal service – 1½ pages), and a beautifully illustrated one page advertisement for the launching of pirate radio station Geronimo. Small advertisements for alternative society happenings and for magazines and theatres and galleries supplemented these large advertisements.

By October 1967, when *IT* celebrated its first birthday, optimism was still running high in the English counter-culture (no doubt aided by the relative novelty of its style and argument). Such optimism was conveyed by the cover of *IT* no. 19: alongside the *IT* motif read the words, 'We announce our first birthday and ... [in large print] The Second Coming.' Whilst not in itself a visually stunning issue, the layout and general appearance of *IT* had nevertheless improved over the twelve months.

Drugs were the big issue in no. 19, commanding 3½ pages (out of a total of twenty). Specifically, the drug referred to in two articles was LSD, its legal, sociological and chemical aspects being examined. Some of the less pleasant possible effects of LSD were discussed, but overall the tone of the article was very positive, indeed almost reverent. It was doubted whether a person could be truly human without undergoing the psychedelic experience, and outlawing the drug was deemed 'to restrict religion and [the] personal pursuit of happiness'.[46]

The approximately two pages of visual effects were a combination of photographs and illustrations.

A curious feature of *IT* no. 19 was the introduction of pithy

little sentences across the top of each page. Some were of practical intent, such as 'we need more street sellers in Amsterdam, in Berlin, in Paris, in Stockholm, in Rome, in Madrid, in Mexico City, in Washington D.C. etc. etc.', which mirrored the optimism and self-congratulatory tone of this birthday issue, implying that *IT* was indeed a successful international publication. Others were more informative, though still somewhat self-satisfied: '*International Times* no. 18 sold 27 000 copies', and '*IT* now sold in Belgrade'. Counter-culture concerns were expressed in other headings, such as 'England can only be regenerated as part of a world evolutionary process', '*International Times* one little side effect of LSD', 'Going to school interrupts education', and so forth.

The largest single item of advertising in the year-old *IT* was for events in the alternative society (3 pages), fitting in with the overall image that the counter-culture was thriving at this time. Record company advertisements accounted for two full pages, followed by sex aids (1½ pages). A number of small advertisements for theatres, counter-cultural paraphernalia, bookshops, other underground publications, books and self-promotions (including the *IT* Girl of whom more will be said later), made up the balance.

IT's cover twelve months after first appearing announced 'the second coming', whereas *Oz*'s cover twelve months after its first issue suggested a different kind of 'coming' – that of UFOs. Indeed, UFOs were something of an obsession in this ninth issue of *Oz*, four pages being devoted to articles and illustrations on the subject.

Other matters which received attention, ranging from ½–1 page, were letters (including one to Fidel Castro inviting him to invite young European 'ideological dissenters' to Cuba to help the Cuban revolution);[47] sex, ideology and the Establishment; the United States (reprint of an article from the *Los Angeles Free Press* on the need for a reinvestigation of the assassination of President Kennedy), and poetry. There were 5½ illegible pages, adding support to the contents of a letter from a journalism instructor at the University of Iowa, which *Oz* was clearly delighted to print:

> may I say that rarely have I seen a more confused, confusing, botched-looking, noxious, sloppy, tasteless or incoherent magazine than yours. Keep up the good work, yours admiringly...[48]

The page and a half of cartoons were supplemented by 6¾ pages of visual effects of the high standard that *Oz* readers would doubtless have taken for granted by this time.

Alternative lifestyle happenings made up the largest item of advertising in *Oz* no. 9, followed by counter-cultural parapher-nalia, 'small ads', *Oz* book offers (in this instance past issues of *Oz*), sex aids and magazines, other underground publications and other (non-sex or underground) magazines.

Oz no. 9 was arguably the most significant issue of *Oz* to be published, regardless of the rather bizarre concern with UFOs, containing as it did a quite comprehensive and seriously argued 'blueprint' for the counter-cultural society, something which the other counter-cultural organs did not care or dare to attempt. Tracing the Digger movement from its mid-seventeenth-century English origins to the contemporary United States Digger move-ment, the article exhorted all readers to become Diggers. The practical, philosophical and joyful or liberating aspects of 'organising' the alternative society were explored in some detail.[49] This article will be examined more fully in the following section, where an attempt will be made to relate the confidence it expressed to the significance of its timing, coming as it did only a few months before the great events in France in May 1968. Suffice to repeat that the article was unique, mirroring both the optimism of the period, and the self-confidence pervading *Oz*. There was another, practical purpose behind the article: readers were being encouraged to attend an open forum to discuss the launching of a London Digger Love Commune, which was envisaged as a joint venture involving *IT*, the Arts Lab and various other groups and individuals, a rather rare example of solidarity within the underground.

If one were seeking to define the essential character of *Oz*, this issue would do very well. Although the range of articles was more limited than the corresponding issue of *IT* (and although we may well wonder at the relevance of UFOs), the impression conveyed by *Oz* no. 9 was one of fun, and of celebration of the counter-culture, expressed through the self-confidence which made the 'Digger' article possible, and through the visual effects which were clearly regarded as of equal importance to the printed articles.

Whilst the one-year-old *Oz* was proclaiming the optimism of the counter-culture, the issue of *Friends* twelve months after its

inception looked very much like a conventional left-wing publi-
cation. This may, to a large extent, be explained by the fact that
Oz was one year old in February 1968, whereas *Friends* did not
'celebrate' its first birthday until November 1970, by which time
the counter-culture in England was already in decline and
disarray.

It was the cover of *Friends* no. 19 which primarily created the
impression just mentioned. As noted earlier, the layout of *Friends*
was never very adventurous, but the content to a large degree
made up for this deficiency. *Friends* no. 19 portrayed a combination
of its earlier libertarian tendencies with an increased interest
in working-class politics, the value and importance of the
working-class, and a more conventional 'left' analysis of society.

Possibly reflecting the partial shift in emphasis within *Friends*
by this period, rock music content for the first time was slightly
overshadowed by ecology, mysticism and technology 4¾ pages
to rock music's four pages). However, each of the articles on
ecology or mysticism were reprints, including one from the
British edition of the *Whole Earth Catalogue*. The attitudes
expressed were by no means universally positive, as one reprint
from the Liberation News Service demonstrated.[50] This article,
titled 'Ecology Sucks', suggested that the ecology issue 'sucks the
life out of social reform. It sucks irritants out of campus movements.
It sucks change out of politics. It sucks reason out of thought'.

A curious feature of this issue of *Friends* was a page-long
reprint – without comment – of a South African news sheet
which purported to show a shift away from racist thinking and
practice within the Republic since the Second World War.

Other page-long items included readers' letters, a report on
the Greater London Council's planned motorway development,
astrology, an open letter to Timothy Leary from Ken Kesey on
the occasion of Leary's escape from a California prison, and
warning him against succumbing to violence (this item being
'stolen and reprinted from *Rolling Stone*'), and book reviews.

There was a ¾-page review of films, and a ½-page account of
the Liberal Party's proposal to decentralise government, which
was somewhat naïvely welcomed by London-published *Friends*
as 'Another way of saying "Power to the Provinces. Fuck
Whitehall" '.

The 4½ pages of visual effects were, as usual, mostly photo-
graphs.

A full-page illustrated advertisement for Cannabis: 'It was the 8.29 every morning until I discovered Cannabis. . . . The effect is shattering' (copied from the Smirnoff Vodka advertisements of the time, for which apologies were offered) led a field of fairly diverse advertisements. Rock record company advertisements had further decreased since the 'six-months-later' issue, and were now down to no more than two pages. Other advertisements were for *Friends* subscriptions, 'Little Friends', alternative society happenings (screening of underground films at the London Arts Lab) and *Friends* book offers (these included books about Zen and I Ching, Mescal and works by assorted counter-cultural gurus: Kerouac, Ginsberg, Burroughs, R. D. Laing, Aleister Crowley, Genet and Herman Hesse).

By October 1973, when the final issue of *IT* appeared,[51] it was clear that the counter-culture was a spent force, and that the time for psychedelia – both in visual effects as earlier attempted on *IT* covers, and as a way of life – had passed or was on the point of passing.

The cover of the last issue of *IT* reflected the uninspired prose within. Nevertheless, the counter-cultural origins of the publication were still in evidence in some of the subject-matter as well as the 1¼ pages of cartoons or comics. The overall impression of this issue, however, was that life had become very serious indeed, and there was lacking the self-confident assertiveness which had been evident in earlier issues.

Interest in rock music had increased considerably, judging by this final issue (totalling 3¼ pages), although the tardiness of *IT* in realising its importance was curious.

Police corruption was the subject of the cover of the last *IT*, and of two pages of articles within; a further 1½ pages were devoted to the all-too-common connection between drugs and police activity (or harassment). Richard Nixon received his share of *IT*'s spleen, followed, to adopt a 'page count', by book reviews, letters, Black Power, Northern Ireland, Chile. There were a number of small items of news about London, which accounted for approximately half a page in all, and the quarter-page devoted to terrorism in England was quite misleading, as this had been a subject of considerable fascination and approval within *IT* (and *Friends/Frendz* and *Oz*, for that matter), although this did not show up in the issues chosen for our sample.

Record company advertisements made up the bulk of advertise-

ments in this last issue, folowed by *IT* book offers, films, restaurants (mostly vegetarian). Alternative society happenings had dwindled in significance and scope to a mere half page, after which came sex aids and magazines, other underground publications, personal needs and (very slightly) travel.

Whereas the last issue of *IT* left no memorable images or utterances, as the publication apparently simply 'faded out', the consistently more stylish *Oz* made a characteristically more stylish exit, in the final issue jauntily announcing on the cover, and at various places throughout the paper, that this was indeed the final *Oz*.[52]

Admittedly the cover of this final *Oz* was not up to the usual standard visually and to female readers it would have confirmed that sexism was still flourishing in *Oz* (and indeed in the underground in general), despite the written vows to mend its ways which had issued from *Oz* from time to time. But however uncreative, the cover effectively suggested that *Oz* (and its compilers) had stayed faithful, or at any rate cheerful and cheeky, to the end.

Throughout this long issue of *Oz* (73 pages), the importance of the visual impact was reinforced, with 14¼ pages devoted to illustrations.

Editorials and an article, 'What Went Wrong?', which sought to define the vulnerable points which had eventually enabled the counter-culture to destroy itself and/or to be destroyed were probably the most significant sections of this final issue. But drugs, without which, arguably, the underground press (and counter-culture) would never have got off the ground, were accorded the largest share of space. Only some of the material was positive: the 5¾ pages on drugs included an 'exclusive' interview with the gaoled Timothy Leary, described with touching if somewhat misplaced nostalgia as the 'advance madman for the new age'.[53] But most of the space devoted to drugs was given over to a nightmarish fictional tale by former *IT* writer, Mick Farren, about a group of people dehumanised by drugs; the inherent dialectic in the counter-culture's emphasis – at least in its earlier period – on the necessity of drugs as a means of opening 'the doors of perception' was allowed a final hearing.

Racism in England and South Africa also received considerable attention, and other subjects of less prominence included

the junta in Chile, rock reviews, film reviews, news from (now Labor-ruled) Australia (an appreciative report from founding editor, Richard Neville), Europe, the United States, and as a sprinkling, some 1¾ pages of cartoons.

One cannot help suspecting that, given *Oz*'s tendency to tease, the one illegible page in the final *Oz* was perfectly deliberate.

It is not clear whether *Oz* editors ceased publication for financial or for other reasons. The editorial statements announcing the cessation of publication suggest a variety of non-financial reasons for the decision, although it was noted at the conclusion of the editorial that a proportion of profits would be paid by the liquidator of *Oz* Publications Inc. Ltd to the creditors of the company. Such a requirement may partly account for the exceptional length of this final *Oz* issue, 24½ pages being advertisements. A number of these advertisements referred to the fact that this was the final *Oz*,[54] the implication being that not only were the advertisers losing a (possibly valued) avenue for their wares, but also realised that an era was indeed coming to an end.

The inherent problem of the relationship between the underground press and counter-culture and capitalism remained unexamined and tantalising. A breakdown of the advertisements reveals that record companies accounted for 10½ pages, closely followed by sex aids and sex magazines,[55] with assorted smaller advertisements for counter-culture paraphernalia, films, record shops, 'straight' magazines, theatres and galleries, and alternative society happenings and travel providing the remainder.

The final issue of *Frendz* (no. 35), undated although it presumably appeared in December 1972, judging from the reference to the approaching Christmas,[56] gave no indication that this was to be the final *Frendz*.[57] In fact, a number of promises were made regarding future articles,[58] and attempts to rectify perceived deficiencies in previous issues promised or at least discussed.[59]

The cover of the final issue of *Frendz* was no longer suggestive of a left-wing publication, but instead of a music publication, recalling its origins and earlier interests. In fact, this final issue conveyed the impression of happier times at *Frendz* than had been suggested in the previous issue of our four-part survey.

In this final *Frendz*, ecology again received the most attention, but the previous hostility to it had disappeared. The four pages devoted to ecology were however merely reprints from *The Great*

British Catalogue. More important, however was what was *not* included in this final issue: there were no articles about or reviews of rock music, although one page had been set aside for an interview with American rock musician Lou Reed (who had made London his home in 1972). The interview was deferred due to Lou Reed having influenza.

If John Spiers's point is correct, and *Frendz* no. 35 was primarily designed for advertising, it seems that the collective might have been a little disappointed. Record companies provided only 3½ pages, films one page, small ads three quarters of a page and there was half a page of advertisements for counter-cultural paraphernalia and book offers. Theatres and bookshops provided a meagre quarter-page apiece – all in all a rather unimpressive commercial 'haul' – especially when compared with the large number of advertisements featured in the final print of *Oz*.

So much for our content analysis of the four selected issues. It seems appropriate, however, to devote a further section of this chapter to a discussion of some selected material from *IT* and *Oz* which illustrates some of the other interests not brought out so fully in the content analysis above, and which incidentally also illustrates the heady atmosphere of this early period of the counter-culture.

The responses of *IT* and *Oz* to the revolutionary events in France in 1968 will also be discussed, as will the 'blueprint' for the alternative society, offered by *Oz* in February 1968. Finally, the almost farcical takeover of *IT* by members of the London Street Commune, which demonstrated (amongst other things) that even during the 'great days' all was not consistently well within the counter-culture, will be chronicled.

One of the singular aspects of *Oz* referred to by John Noyce (of the Underground Press Syndicate – Europe) in his introduction to the *Oz* microfilm collection was its political content, and as has been noted elsewhere in this study, it was a characteristic of *Oz* to combine at times quite sophisticated political comment quite naturally with what *IT* might have termed mere 'flipped out' psychedelia.[60] This tendency was apparent from the first issue of *Oz*, which included an amusing piece on the only political subject always taken seriously within the counter-culture: Vietnam, entitled 'Good Vibrations':

> In future American soldiers will not be sent to Vietnam but
> will be put inside this machine [constructed on the outskirts of
> the Pentagon] where giant hammers will ground them to a
> pulp. The machine will be programmed to take in soldiers at
> the same rate as the average death rate in the Vietnam war ...

Reflecting the Australian origins of Richard Neville and other *Oz*
staff at this stage, the article concluded that a similar machine,
suitably adjusted to the Australian average death rate in
Vietnam, was to be constructed on the outskirts of Canberra.[61]

The British Labour Party was also the recipient of a rather
more stinging comment in relation to Vietnam: recalling
speeches in sympathy with the struggle of the 'masses of Asia'
against foreign exploitation and domination at the 1954 Labour
Party Conference, *Oz* concluded that 'once in power, Harold
[Wilson] and his colleagues soon stopped worrying about
Vietnam and learnt to love the dollar'.[62] As one might expect,
political criticism was not restricted to Labour politicians and
governments however; the political process itself was more
importantly – in terms of the counter-culture's values – attacked
in an article addressed to politicians: 'Only the scum of a society
could bother to fashion a career so ruthlessly opportunist, so
intellectually parasitic, so spiritually unrewarding ...'.[63] Hints
that dissatisfaction with Labour was, at least in part, a reflection
of differing generational world views were also apparent, for
example, an article 'Ballad of a Thin Man', which rather
cleverly adapted Bob Dylan's lyrics 'Something's Happening,
and You Don't Know What It Is, Do You Mr Jones?' The
advent of a Labour Government in 1964 had been expected to
produce some marginal improvements but instead things be-
came worse and the new leaders 'were indeed rogues and villains
and not socialists at all'. In the name of 'the National Interest'
('is it a small domed building? A Hyde Park Bog, perhaps with a
dash of Albert Memorial? British it may be, but it is not the stuff
of which Socialism is made'), Labour had entertained or traded
with racialists from Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as
'wining and dining villainous old gangsters from obscure King-
doms and Shiekdoms in Arabia'. To make matters more
disillusioning, Labour had simultaneously initiated a pay freeze
'that differs only from its Tory predecessor in the amount of wool

that has been pushed over the eyes of the worker, the supposed Labour Party Folk Hero'.[64]

At this early stage of *Oz*'s development, it seems clear that critiques of society, based, as is evident above, upon a nostalgia for a somewhat ethereal image of a pure Socialist praxis, represented a significant concern. Not only was the British Labour Party and Government attacked for its deviation from socialist ideals, but there was vigorous criticism of the Soviet Union for its apparent abandonment of ideals of personal liberation. Consistent with the counter-culture's advocacy of a freewheeling sexuality, *Oz* evoked 'a golden generation, when the family was set free', a time of 'uninhibited private lives, free from the hypocrisy and inconsistencies of current attitudes on sex',[65] which had been destroyed by Stalin's rule, and whose destruction demonstrated the erroneous path a revolution could take when the concept of the role of the State remained virtually unchanged. In a following issue *Oz* attempted a more detailed appraisal of the Russian revolution, again noting and condemning the revolution's repression of sexuality. The conclusions drawn from the analysis were not all negative, however: there was commendation of the positive aims and early achievements of the revolution, along with an emphasis on the failures and perversions of revolutionary Marxism since the death of Lenin and the exile of Trotsky:

> Fifty years later Socialism hasn't even begun in the Soviet Union, [whose] people have become good consumers and silent workers. Where are the ... new arts which should have come from the new man. Where is the new man? ... Fifty years later it is a mean miserable society ... a perfect bourgeois state.[66]

Following some reflection on whether the Chinese revolution would 'do better', the article concluded on the high note that perhaps it was more appropriate to 'wait for new signs among the rabble of the overfed, because there where the world is craziest, the new buds will appear'.[67]

Whilst not offering the same degree of political analysis as *Oz*, *IT*'s attitude to politicians was expressed through such exhortations as 'be a provo, don't join anything',[68] or 'Politics is the Dexedrine of the Masses',[69] and such appreciably more reasoned comments as 'it is essential that we drop the romanticism about

Cuba, the Vietcong, the Red Guards and so on. . . . Otherwise we will end up in the same embarrassing hole as those who believed Stalin could do no wrong'.[70] Whereas *Oz* tended to examine politics within an essentially more theoretical framework, *IT*'s equally scathing attacks on politics and politicians were made within the context of examining the direction in which the counter-culture was actually proceeding. For example, offering a somewhat tenuous argument that the current vogue for Mao-jackets among sections of the young in England reflected a shift towards a revolutionary redefinition of society, the Labour government was presented as simply irrelevant to this bourgeoning revolutionary consciousness. Under Wilson, *IT* suggested, the 'old standards of socialism' – identified as 'peace, disarmament, sharing of wealth, military disengagement, radical change in education' had been abandoned.[71]

More interestingly perhaps, *IT* stood out from other counter-cultural journals through its willingness to attempt – and even agonise over – definitions of the counter-culture. The first of these attempts was apparently a response to a possible prosecution for indecency, following a police raid on the Indica Bookshop from whose basement *IT* was published, and an *IT*-sponsored mock funeral for free speech was a serious – if basically enthusiastic and optimistic – examination of the nature and progress of the counter-culture (whilst recognising that 'too close a definition is impossible and undesirable'). Significantly, it was claimed that it was 'now possible to talk aout a "we" despite the multi-direction and anti-uniformity aspects of our movement'. Those involved shared a common viewpoint rather than a common dogma or ideology, and this commonality could not be destroyed by police raids 'because the revolution has taken place WITHIN THE MINDS of the young'. Possession of this new, if indefinable, attitude has the great virtue of setting one apart from the rest of society. Some of the manifestations of the new common viewpoint were listed as 'permissiveness', taking due care not to impinge upon others in the pursuit of pleasure; and the adoption of a stance that was 'post/anti political', that is, the movement was a movement not of protest, but of celebration, simultaneously 'futuristic, looking towards the leisure of a computer culture', and 'for having a good time now', an attitude which, it was claimed, would ensure that 'this is the one revolutionary movement that must win one way or another'.

Rejecting suggestions of heavy influence by leaders of compa-
rable movements in the US, and in line with *IT*'s long-term
primary interest in England, it was claimed, perhaps somewhat
over-enthusiastically, that 'Britain has come up with a new
spiritual movement', which was 'essentially optimistic', and
'post-existentialist ... bringing to an end years of tough and
painful despair'. The big problems of the real world had not
been forgotten, however, but there was a new commonsense
approach, which was 'to make positive changes wherever you
are, right in front of your nose. The weapons are love and
creativity – wild new clothes, fashions, strange new music
sounds'. All these factors could be celebrated as 'slowly, carelessly,
[but inevitably] constructing an alternative society [which]
operates on different conceptions of time and space. The world of
the future may have no clocks'.[72]

This attractive revolutionary notion of breaking the time of
the rulers and reinventing revolutionary time (such as that
expressed by the Communards of Paris when the clocks were
symbolically shot), was a theme taken up at the Dialectics of
Liberation Congress held in London in July 1967. David Cooper
in his Introduction and Conclusion ('Beyond Words') to the
compilation of some of the principal addresses[73] reflected on the
necessity 'to take over time and own it', and concluded, 'And
now I think, it is our time!' It is odd that *IT* did not take account
of this aspect of the Congress, which it would presumably have
felt to be of positive value. In the event, the tone of *IT*'s
appraisal of the Congress was set by the title, 'Dialecticals'
Masturbation', and the article considered initially some of the
perceived negative aspects of the Congress, such as the audience's
reaction to Stokely Carmichael's invocation of Black power:
'instead of demystifying human violence [the Congress] cheered
frenziedly at every mention of violence. Non-violent actions were
booed – racism was once again affirmed'. Other disturbing
features had been the banning of the sale of *IT* and the closing of
a stall run by a pacifist bookshop, though this was later per-
mitted to open. All was not lost, however; in *IT*'s opinion some
of the names previously held in high esteem had been 'demysti-
fied', leading *IT* to conclude on a high note: 'GO HOME AND GET
LIBERATED. Try the next step: you are at the crossroads and you
have to be with-it: all power comes from within, pray use white
Magic – and let the dead bury the dead.'[74]

   Advancing again the idea that liberating solutions were to be found within the individual, *IT* and *Oz* co-operatively organised a 'campaign of mutual interest – National Drop-Out Day' on 1 November 1967. Readers were advised that Drop-Out Day did not mean 'just sitting around doing nothing, but rather stay[ing] away from work, university, even your job in the underground. The answer is in your head'.[75] Unfortunately, neither *IT* nor *Oz* reported in subsequent issues whether this venture had been successful; possibly the absence of any such report indicates that it was not.

   Of perhaps greater importance for *IT*, however, around the time of National Drop-Out Day, was its apparent renewed necessity for self-evaluation. Whereas the first anniversary issue of *IT* had optimistically stated on its cover 'We announce our first birthday and the second coming',[76] the final issue for 1967 editorialised on the strengths and weaknesses of *IT* and the community it served. Reflecting that the reason for establishing *IT* had been to 'provide a communications medium for what we felt to be a community in the process of formation',[77] *IT* accepted that some growth had been achieved, as was shown in the increased circulation figures (which were not provided, however). But in order to build upon what were accepted to be less than adequate achievements, it had been decided to embark on a 'total reconstruction ... as one of the media of the underground', which would result in gradual changes. (*IT*, though painfully self-critical, was obviously seeing a long-term future both for itself and for the underground.) Readers were asked to take a larger responsibility to assist the publication to improve its service to the underground community.[78]

   Further self-evaluation appeared in later issues: at the end of December 1967 *IT* issued a rather strident warning that 'the bluff of the under-30s is being called' by the Establishment, and responded that 'it is up to us to make the future Ours and to do it before the wave finally breaks';[79] what was at stake was not a 'mock revolution': 'this time it is for real'. Optimistically, and with characteristic unreality the article proclaimed that those of the counter-culture were without class or social roles, and more importantly, 'totally without an agreed notion of reality'. These positive factors could enable the counter-culture to 'start society again from scratch simply because society, by coming full cycle [sic] has started us again from scratch'; the new construction of

reality would be based upon 'what we have found and won ourselves without fear or favour of outside help and by our own resolve integrity and talents'.[80] Admitting past errors and less than complete honesty, *IT* reminded readers with astounding disregard for the power of the State, as well as historical attempts to change society, that 'it is we who have rejected Society and not they who have rejected us'. In line with its perceived role of existing to enable readers to 'speak to the rest of the Underground', *IT* promised to publish details of communal schemes and plans to organise the Underground 'on a vaster and more practical basis' in forthcoming issues.[81]

Reflecting the positive search for a new, independent identity, the cover of a later issue took up the term 'tribe' as the best way to describe the new social relationships in the underground, 'because it suggests the type of new society now emerging in the industrial nations ... based on community and comradeship, personal relations and responsibilities'.[82]

It was *Oz*, though, which, two months earlier, best developed this tribal-cum-communal theme and in doing so provided what was arguably the most thorough and lucid exposition of the form or shape which the alternative society might come to take. Titled 'The Digger thing is your thing ... if you are really ... turned on', the article began with some brief comments on the seventeenth-century English Diggers who had aimed to create a new and equal society. The modern Diggers were the 'dharma descendants' of the original Diggers, but the contemporary application of the term 'Digger' was without any reference to historical affiliation, and defined 'any person who digs love, freedom and sharing and *acts* on his understanding'. The first modern Diggers had emerged in 1966 in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, and 'made history' by providing free food and running a free store (Emmet Grogan's 'The Free Frame of Reference'), and that pattern had been reproduced in other parts of North America. In England, the Digger movement was 'lagging behind but we'll soon catch up'. The most urgent thing to do was to create 'love communes', each with its own land, houses and means of production for primary as well as secondary goods. In order to achieve this within a capitalist society, it was necessary to 'play their money game' and 'score bread' to buy these things back for the people. Once this first stage had been reached, surplus goods would be given to Diggers in need and

sold in hippie shops at prices which undercut those of 'the
profiteering hucksters of Squareville', money obtained in this
way being turned back into Digger schemes.

The optimistic tone of this exposition of how love communes
would function in many ways encapsulated the 'great days' of
the counter-culture. Retrospectively at least, the entire Digger
article may be read as over-optimistic to a mind-blowing degree
(to use a counter-cultural image); for example, 'the potential of
the love economy is limitless'. Accordingly the problems of the
practical implementation of certain aspects seemed blithely – or
perhaps euphorically – ignored, as may be seen in the following
resumé.

The means of production in the Digger love communes would
be automated; scientific and technological research would be
conducted in order to 'easily flood the market with cut-price and
free goods'; the profit-oriented 'hassles' experienced by the
capitalist world would be avoided.

The spirit of Bakunin was not invoked, but was implicit in the
formal definition of a love commune:

> a group of diggers practising together the digger dharma of
> love, freedom and sharing ... the nucleus of the love society
> [with] a love economy. It is interlinked with other love
> communes all over the world in a love network.

Fundamental tenets must be observed, such as the basic
recognition of the rights and integrity of others. Love communes
were to be 'anarchistic ... without any authoritarian hangups'.

It seems surprising, given the more sophisticated level of
writing generally achieved within *Oz*, that the theme of anarch-
ism was not developed more fully here. It seems unlikely that the
writer of this article would have been ignorant of the anarchist
tradition, but perhaps failure to acknowledge this may be
explained by the felt necessity to emphasise the new. At all
events, knowledge and enlightenement, and material goods,
would be shared. Work also – but drudgery would be automated
and as a consequence leisure to 'do one's own thing' would be
abundant. True personal freedom would be ensured for all,
including children, by no one being regarded or treated as the
property of others. The 'freedom, well-being, education and
enlightenment of children' would be the responsibility of the

entire commune. Sexual freedom would be achieved by sexual relationships being freely entred into and freely ended.

The practical 'side issues' that would be faced by love communes would be worked out by their members. It was envisaged, for example, that in the early days of the love communes it might be valuable or even necessary to have part-time or 'weekend' Diggers, and it might even be useful for some Diggers to learn karate or some other form of self-defence against 'the brutal violence of thugs, bullies and other crooks and evil elements', including police ('sadistic fuzz'). Such side issues, however, could be easily coped with if 'the revolutionary praxis is a living and tuned-in one'. To keep the praxis from stagnating, it was essential to have a 'revolutionary critique' and dialogue among the Diggers.[83]

The Digger article opened with the warning that:

> Unless we can wipe out the menacing mountain of evil karma accumulated by the human race it will soon crush out love, freedom, enlightenment and all that is beautiful in the world. To avert this catastrophe we must act quickly, for time is not on our side. It cannot be overemphasised that delay will surely spell doom of the love revolution.

Apart from its significance as the first and only article of its kind, and despite the over-optimism and flagrant disregard for the complexities of applying the blueprint (perhaps born of the over-optimism), the article was quite well timed. By February 1968 when the article appeared, the English counter-culture was quite solidly established; *IT* and *Oz* were both flourishing and a number of other underground ventures had been begun. In addition, the 'scene' overseas, especially in America, was exciting and seemingly buoyant. For an underground publication which was in many ways more daring than its major rival, an attempt to give the alternative society a tangible form rather than merely continuing to define and redefine it subjectively, was not perhaps, surprising. But it is difficult to assess the responses of the readers as the article apparently provoked no letters or other dialogue within the following issues of *Oz*. In any event, other matters of more immediate import soon arose, most notably the student and worker revolts in France during May 1968. It is to these events, as presented within the pages of *IT* and *Oz*, that we now turn.

The potentially revolutionary events of May 1968 in France were reported in quite characteristic manner by *IT* and *Oz*. The cover of the relevant issue of *IT* appeared to promise much on these events but in fact delivered little. Emblazoned across the cover were the headlines: 'Special Rush. Paris Alternative Society Now. UK 1/6 Paris Free',[84] but the issue devoted only two pages of a total of 23 to this subject. This took the form of an interview with a member of the March 22 Movement at Nanterre University, which elicited information about what was happening, but involved little direct analysis. Behind the presentation of the news, however, one senses a degree of excitement. Indeed, the focus of the news itself expressed excitement, including as it did techniques for building barricades, self-defence measures, the methods of attack employed by the police, the 'twenty million' workers on strike, the Red Flag – 'the flag of the people of France' – flying from factories, the Odéon, railway stations, and private houses, 'wherever the people are in control', first-aid and food distribution, students' strikes, and, of course, the brutal CRS, the Government's special riot squads.[85] Visually, the presentation of this interview and information, superimposed over scenes from the events, reinforced the feeling of exhilaration. Nevertheless, the emphasis in this issue of *IT* continued to be very much on English news.

Thus *IT* no. 32, having devoted the cover headlines and two pages to what might arguably have been considered the most vital experiences affecting revolutionary youth in this period, preferred to turn its attention to the valid and continuing need to serve and develop the local counter-cultural community. A total of 4½ pages was devoted to the English alternative society and consciousness, as well as to events within that society.[86] The cover of this issue is again instructive, for not only did it suggest a euphoria over the French events, which however were only explored in a limited way, but it also featured an announcement of the creation of the 'BIT Information Service'.[87] The initials stand for Binary Information Transfer, a 'binary unit' being the smallest unit of information which can be fed into a computer. The report on the establishment of BIT was continued in a quarter-page corner ('Alternative Society – 2') of the same page which began the report of the French events, suggesting that the admittedly more prosaic development in England was equally important. Although the details of BIT were rather sketchy at

this stage, its significance lay in being an attempt to organise the co-ordination and streamlining of counter-cultural information and services, a most timely and necessary development, and one which indicated that at this time the counter-culture as an on-going phenomenon – and a successful one at that – was taken for granted. Richard Neville has suggested that BIT was 'little more than a telephone surrounded by stoned optimists',[88] whereas Kenneth Leech has recorded that by 1971 it was receiving two hundred phone calls and ten to twelve personal visits daily from people with a variety of needs. More importantly, according to Leech, BIT became the model for other advisory or welfare groups within the counter-culture.[89]

Other subjects of major interest in this issue of *IT* included a one-page article, 'Tribe Time', about African societies' differing conceptualisations of time (again, *IT*'s obsession with time); one page on mysticism; half a page on health foods; a quarter-page report on the alternative 'scene' at Manchester, including the opening of the Manchester Arts Lab; a quarter-page on the perceived absurdities of passports in the light of McLuhan's notion of a 'global village'; and a quarter-page on German student revolutionary, Rudi Dutschke. The latter item was of some interest, being a complaint from the person who had translated an interview with Dutschke, published in an earlier issue of *IT*. The translator alleged editorial cuts and word alterations which changed the meaning of the interview in important ways; for example, the substitution by *IT* of the word 'underground' for Dutschke's phrase 'anti-authoritarian move-ment'. Furthermore, the translator alleged that *IT* had over-emphasised Dutschke's negative response when asked whether he dissociated himself from violence, and contended that *IT* had not comprehended the care with which Dutschke and the German movement of which he was a part had been theoretically analysing the issue of violence.[90] Implied in these allegations was that *IT* had over-simplified – or even falsified – the interview due to a lack of political sophistication and an over-commitment to a simplistic underground perspective.

The relevant issue of *Oz* presented the news from France equally characteristically. Although the cover gave no indication of the great happenings, the contents more than adequately compensated. Of a total of 38 pages, *Oz* devoted 13¾ pages to the concept of revolution and the events in France, the latter

specifically receiving 5¾ pages (which included one illustrated page showing a helmeted, baton-wielding policeman). Of the pages specifically discussing the events in France, the first featured a three-quarter-page interview with Jean-Jacques Lebel, who led the storming of the Paris Odéon and who was in gaol at the time *Oz* went to print. Lebel emphasised the necessity to break the nexus between the governors and the governed in order to achieve self-management of all spheres of life. To this end it was necessary to 'abolish even the left', which would permit the union of workers and students and put an end to the manipulation of the workers by the trade unions in the interests of the government.[91]

Another, three-page, article by regular contributor Angelo Quattrocchi celebrated the events, detailing strikes and occupations of factories:

> The country is immobilized, breathless. It's time for takeover. Start running the factories, providing the essential services. Workers' control, workers' councils. Now. Now.[92]

Anger was also present in his account – against the State, but more importantly against the State's new allies, 'the parties of the Left, the Communist Party traitor to its cause, and the Trades Unions, which assume the role of the police of the working class'.[93] In spite of the anger, the prevailing mood in the articles was optimistic, however: the warning of those revolting was thus extended to the left: 'But we have eaten the apple, we will be back to take the tree.'[94]

For those at *Oz*, as another article made clear, the meaning of these events lay in their signalling the renewal of the European revolutionary tradition 'and the activist heart of Marxism within it'. Solidarity felt and expressed by *Oz* was not merely a 'vicarious gesture', but arose from the appreciation that 'our struggle is integrally linked to theirs and . . . we both face and are overcoming very similar problems'.[95]

Inspired by these somewhat fevered glimpses of revolution, *Oz* devoted a further four pages to an examination of the historical tradition to which the contemporary events belonged, providing quotations from revolutionary thinkers such as Marx, Fanon, Che Guevara, George Lukács and William Morris, as well as extracts from the Putney Debates. Included was a genealogy of

revolution, beginning with Cromwell's revolution in England in the 1640s and leading up to Paris 1968. Indicative of *Oz*'s non-sectarian perspective, this 'family tree' of revolution also had branches accommodating Fabianism and Anarchism.[96]

Other items to receive significant attention in terms of space in this issue of *Oz* included three pages of extracts from the film 'Don't Look Back', which recorded Bob Dylan's tour of England.[97] A brief paragraph elsewhere suggested that a more appropriate title could have been 'Don't Think Once' (a parody of his 1963 song, 'Don't Think Twice, It's All Right'), adding that the reason the film had not been screened was that Dylan's manager had – fortunately – thought twice.[98]

Also highlighted was a three-page review of Stanley Kubrick's film '2001: a Space Odyssey', titled 'The Worst Trip Ever'. Paying tribute to the 'stunning' impact of the film, and outlining the story in detail, the reviewer concluded that the – to him – false message of the film was absurd, especially 'in this year of our Revolution'.[99]

Reflecting the Australian origins of editor Richard Neville and others associated with *Oz*, a two-page report of the Royal Tour of Australia and New Zealand was included, the page dealing with Australia being probably deliberately printed upside down.[100]

The English alternative scene was not entirely neglected, despite the overwhelming interest in revolution past and present. A total of two pages on the 'scene' in England were included, one of which consisted of varied short items,[101] and one page about the forthcoming Legalise Pot rally.[102] Possibly because BIT had grown out of *IT* no reference was made to this creation in the issue of *Oz* under discussion.

The advertisements in both publications focused upon events in the English alternative society: 2½ pages in *IT*, plus two pages of the small ads readers' service. *Oz* devoted two pages to advertising events within the alternative society, one of which was a sexually graphic illustration advertising the second '*Oz* Night', to be held at the end of June.

From their differing perspectives in the light of the events in France in May 1968, it is clear that both *IT* and *Oz* were confident of the counter-culture's future. *IT*'s rather limited attention to the French events – although curious – was balanced by its emphasis on the continuing development of what seems to have been regarded as a viable alternative society. *Oz*,

for its part, was inspired by what it regarded as the resurgence of the revolutionary spirit in Europe, and the English 'scene' at this moment was subsumed. The 'traitorous' actions of the traditional left in France, whilst being the subject for scorn and painful reflection, could be turned to positive use. Thus *Oz* could argue that it was up to the younger revolutionaries to make the true revolution; English revolutionaries, through their solidarity and their own specific struggles, had a role to play within the wider European context.

Happenings within *IT* were soon to indicate that its almost complacent mood at this time was unrealistic, as the first of a series of internal upheavals was about to occur. Inspired by revolutionary fervour in France, and, probably more importantly for *IT*, by the student revolt and teach-in at the Hornsey College of Art (avidly reported by *IT*), the structure of *IT* was in mid-1968 changed to that of a workers' co-operative. On the initiative of the staff who were threatening revolt, the directors of *IT* agreed that the 'nominally capitalist structure [of *IT*] was no longer necessary or desirable'; the workers' co-operative would have absolute autonomy and total control over production,[103] and the paper was re-registered as a Workers' Co-operative in the name of Knullar Ltd.[104] This development was clearly more in line with the spirit of the underground, and gave rise to optimistic articles throughout this issue of *IT* about the 'vibrations of revolution' being felt by 'almost everybody under 30', at the same time suggesting, in the serious tone which readers must have come to expect by this time, that much hard work was still necessary to realise the potential of achieving 'control of the world's destiny' within the next ten years.[105] In the words of *IT* at this time, 'so far, so good'. But not good enough for long, it seems.

In October 1969, *IT* was beset by another revolt of the staff, most likely inspired in part by an 'Open Letter to the Underground from the London Street Commune', published in *IT*, and highly critical of the perceived role of the underground. The London Street Commune was formed after two demonstrations, one to Ulster House in support of Northern Irish civil rights and the others to the BBC in support of free radio in England. Participants had returned to a student hostel in Broad Court, Piccadilly, and had decided 'spontaneously' to combine and take it over.[106] The London Street Commune's criticisms of the

underground were largely based upon the belief that it had not accelerated the growth of dissent among the young, but had obscured any real perception of the basis for such dissent in 'a stifling haze of hashsmoke and Amerikan hipkultur'.[107]

The following issue of *IT* responded by acknowledging that its editorials were usually too introspective and absurdly apologetic, at the same time headlining its cover page with the very unapologetic slogan, 'The original and only *International Times*'. The trouble with the underground, *IT* felt, was that it was growing on every level, people involved with its various institutions simply being unable to cope efficiently with this growth. That said, and having begun on a rare note of something approaching self-mockery, the article reverted to the familiar and decidedly self-justificatory tone. *IT*, readers were informed, was not just preaching to the converted, but was basically a communications service, and as such had to remain reasonably efficient, as well as remain solvent to pay for 'an increasingly large print run'. A rift had been developing at *IT* between those who wanted to develop the paper and those who wanted to keep it as it was. To make the situation 'more incongruous', it was the latter group who wanted an increased say in editorial content and more power in decision-making. In language more fitting for a 'straight' business concern, it was asserted that such notions of direct democracy were palpably absurd: 'to run *IT* by referendum is well-nigh impossible', the people with experience in their jobs should be left free to perform them.[108]

Apparently, fortnightly or even weekly meetings had been held to discuss the content of future issues and proposals on the organisational structure of the paper, and at a recent meeting the staff had chosen to become equal shareholders, but had also voted the directors back 'into power'. It was suggested that those who dissented from the way the paper was run should start their own newspaper (which they did). An open letter to the directors of *IT* was published on the cover of *IT*, informing readers that they would be publishing their own paper, which would be as good as, if not better than, *IT* but which would be produced in a democratic manner.[109] The dissenters paid tribute to the founders of *IT*, its readers, and all those who had ever worked at *IT*, but the situation had degenerated to the point that *IT* had become 'almost . . . a straight business set-up (shareholders, directors – elected by the shareholders), workers – the whole capitalist scene'.[110]

The saga was not yet over, however. *The International Free Press* appeared, published by the dissenting breakaway group (to whom *IT* referred as the '*IT* breakaway group of committed anarchists',[111] shades of 'straight' society again). Apparently a one-off publication,[112] in spite of optimistically announcing itself as a weekly, the *IFP* continued its criticism of *IT* and the contents of the twelve pages suggested a strong American influence, which seemed rather incongruous with its aim of representing the 'true' underground in England.

The upheaval was for the time being over, but the trauma, it seems, lingered in the collective mind of *IT*. A few issues later, announcing the break-up of *Black Dwarf* and the formation of *Red Mole* out of the internal disputes at that publication, *IT* lamented the dissipated energies caused by such squabbles.[113]

More than a year after the unsuccessful takeover attempt at *IT* and the secession of the *International Free Press* group, yet another announcement of changes at *IT* was made. It was announced that the licence to print *IT* had been withdrawn from Knullar Ltd, the process of transferring the paper into the hands of the staff being 'finally completed'.[114] Every member of staff would henceforth be an equal shareholder. It remains unclear whether the final completion referred to dates from *IT*'s registration as a Worker's Co-operative in 1968, or from the decision on equal shareholding in 1969, or whether *IT* was indeed – as suggested of the underground generally by an *Oz* writer quoted in a later chapter – so lacking in a sense of history as to not know what happened to it yesterday, and simply did not *know* that its 'news' was essentially old hat. Whichever was the case, and it does seem unlikely that the process of transferring the paper into the hands of the staff, once begun, would have taken so long to complete, the underground press and the counter-culture it was serving and reflecting had other more important things to do, most notably to attempt to live the alternative reality.

4 Living the Counter-Culture: Play, Drugs, Festivals, Communes and Revolution

The counter-culture of the 1960s was much less unique than it supposed, and given that Anthony Esler has suggested (with considerable plausibility) that French Bohemian society of the 1830s was the first counter-culture in modern history, the proud trail-blazers of the 1960s may be said to have been following in a highly venerable tradition.

Bohemia had constituted a separate society with its own lifestyle, values and view of the world. Many of its members were students or student drop-outs, who were unconcerned about or romanticised their material poverty. They often lived in communes, and spoke a private language designed to puzzle the bourgeoisie and their parents who were regarded as one and the same. In Roszak's terms they constituted a real counter-culture.[1] The similarities between this, original, counter-culture and that of the 1960s are obvious, and extended to such immediately perceptible details as dress, or 'counter-fashion'. The poet Theophile Gautier, a prophet of this first modern counter-culture, apparently a rather Jerry Rubin figure, had the same flair for combining fun and mockery of the dominant society. Having been arrested several times for avoiding compulsory military training, Gautier finally reported for service in a blue-flowered yellow waistcoat, a green dress-coat and a rose-coloured cravat, with a gendarme's hat perched on his flowing shoulder-length hair, an elegant antique musket on his shoulder.[2]

Nor did the similarities end there. The counter-culture of the 1830s elevated the concept of 'art for art's sake' to the status of a substitute religion[3] in much the same way that the 1960s counter-culture developed its cult of love, dope and rock. Both counter-cultures expressed themselves as a living experience, a total way of life.[4]

And as the counter-culture of the 1830s found that beauty was not capable of sustaining the dream, so the counter-culture of the 1960s learnt that love alone would not turn their dreams to reality. The young French counter-culturalists were beaten by the system: no one bought their books and paintings, and in general their life-style brought them contempt rather than converts. After a few years they dropped back into the society they had rejected, finding steady work in commercial art, journalism and even the bureaucracy or professions.[5]

Similarly, many of the young of the 1960s eventually defected, dropping back into society, though sometimes to take 'glamour' jobs, especially in the media. By the 1980s, *Oz* founder Richard Neville was appearing as a regular on an Australian commercial television daytime show.

Patently, the counter-culture of the 1960s was unique only in the sense that each new generation is unique, in that no other generation has grown up through that particular span of history. As Esler has ably demonstrated, practically everything from the 'New Left militance to hippy-style withdrawal from society, from the campus revolt to the commune movement – [had] been tried before.'[6] Indeed, all the major enthusiasms of the 1960s counter-culturalists – their cult of play and drugs and rock, and their commendation of communes and revolution – can be regarded as more or less individualistic, sometimes brilliant, sometimes laboured, variations on familiar themes.

PLAY

The counter-culture's celebration of the idea of play followed from its abhorrence of the dehumanisation and boredom of work and a rejection of that inculcation of the morality of work which it believed characterised Western societies. Such attitudes, of course, were by no means unique or original to the counter-culture; nevertheless it seems fair to say that the counter-culture was 'another step in the long process of slowly undermining the Protestant Ethic and the culture of capitalism'.[7] The counter-culture did indeed take up existing criticisms of the work ethic and carry them a step further, not merely providing criticisms, but indicating ways in which to desist from work, by playing.

It is doubtful, however, whether the counter-culture's aversion

to work reflected the opinions of the majority of young people. One study of 212 seventeen- to twenty-four-year-olds in London revealed that, with regard to satisfaction with paid routine employment, the broad majority were as different from the 'hippies' as were the majority of older people. Asked how satisfied they were with their work, only 12 per cent replied explicitly that they were not satisfied; 45 per cent were very satisfied; and 43 per cent fairly satisfied. (More than one in eight of those sampled were engaged in work which seemed from the outside to be essentially routine and humdrum.) The survey also revealed that the majority of its subjects were contented with their leisure-time experience: 67 per cent claimed to derive more satisfaction from leisure pursuits than from their (as we have just noted) generally satisfying work.[8] The terms in which the questions were posed by this survey assumed a clear division but also an interdependence between work and leisure; possibly the responses might have been quite different had this assumption not been made. In addition, the fact that the respondents were drawn from the electoral register may have meant that few 'hippies' were included, as they may not have been on the register either due to ideological opposition to the voting system, or to their somewhat itinerant existence.

The counter-culture's rejection of work involved a rejection of the division between work and leisure, as well as a rejection of the concept of leisure as something earned by the worker in compensation for the loss of freedom caused by work. Timothy Leary's urgings that the young 'tune in, turn on, drop out' were really exhortations to play. Leary was not advocating that people 'drop out' by acts of rebellion, but that they start planning ways of living 'harmoniously, sequentially, lovingly', and detach themselves from 'the social commitments to which [they were] addicted'.[9]

As already observed, the counter-culture was neither unique nor original in its rejection of the work ethic, but the manner in which it not only argued, but sought to *live* its rejection may possibly have contained the seeds of the more widespread rejection had the counter-culture lasted longer than it did. What was more original about the counter-culture's rejection of work, however, was its celebration of play, both as a concept and as an alternative way of life. It was believed, as Richard Neville wrote in *Play Power*, that the emphasis on play anticipated future

economic policy, where people would be paid not to work because work had become obsolete through the correct application of technology.[10] *Frendz* also suggested that technology's correct use was an essential element in the realisation of the full potential of play. Those who feared automation, *Frendz* asserted, also feared leisure, which they preferred to term 'unemployment'. It was necessary to 'get people out of the factories and get the machines in', and to bury the 'nineteenth-century paraphernalia' of the 'sanctity of labour, the right to work, reward and punishment'.[11]

Counter-culturalists, Neville asserted, were 'relearning how to play',[12] that is, to have fun, the essential ingredient of play. The distinction beween work and play was between an activity which was compulsory and one which was voluntary; work being compulsory could therefore not be play. Play, being voluntary, was freedom, as Sartre had observed: 'As soon as a man apprehends himself as free and wishes to use his freedom ... then his activity is play.'[13]

Not only the capitalist system was at fault, however. According to Neville, the Old Left had also been duped by the acceptance of the sanctity of work and its systems of delayed rewards in the form of the false concept of leisure. Play, and not 'Grubby Marxist leaflets and hand-me-down rhetoric' was destined to 'put an end to toil'.[14] Another fault of traditional Marxists, he suggested, was their inability to realise that the workers, 'their textbook revolutionaries', were 'inevitably reactionary, conformist and authoritarian' owing to their sexual repression, which was caused partly by the alienating process of work discipline, partly by capitalism and partly by the nuclear family. By spurning these things too, the counter-culture was turning sex back into play, revelling as it did 'in the easy sexuality found in pop, the Underground Press, language and lifestyle',[15] even if the traditional exploitation of females inherent in the counter-culture remained unquestioned.

In order to play it was not strictly necessary to abolish all work. Some work could be play, if those performing the work did so not from compulsion, and if they actually enjoyed it. In other words, if work was done only for fun, 'as a pastime, obsession, hobby or art-form and thus ... not work in the accepted sense',[16] it was really play. Media work was one such example; media was 'substitute play' or 'armchair play'. The underground was

'obsessed' with the media believing that the media had kept play alive over the last one hundred years.[17]

Play Power, however, tended to idealise underground ventures,[18] and particularly the underground press which it presented as an almost totally fun venture. Neville admitted that 'bickering, backstabbing and sporadic dishonesty' still existed within underground organisations, but it was implied that people worked together in the underground in rather more accord than a reading of underground newspapers, for example, would suggest. *IT* in particular might have set something of a record within the underground for its internecine squabbles and attempted takeovers, not to mention its often bitterly sarcastic comments about writers for other publications (which did not, however, preclude occasional co-operation with others in arranging 'happenings'). Obviously, the new society would not be attained immediately; equally obviously, the new counter-cultural man (and *man* it was, the counter-culture, being generally unconcerned to create a new counter-cultural *person*) would take some time to develop.[19]

The absence of a profit motive in underground publications[20] at times had quite drastic consequences; for example, *Frendz* staff were not paid for four weeks at one stage, and the editors' call for financial help admitting 'We can't go on like this',[21] raised doubts regarding the validity – at that moment at least – of the fun aspect of working in the underground. Three years after the publication of *Play Power*, Richard Neville echoed the doubts of others about the efficacy of fun or play as a panacea; *Oz* had become a duty rather than a pleasure.[22] Felix Dennis, writing one of the 'obituaries' in the last issue of *Oz*, suggested a love-hate relationship in which the element of play was notice-ably absent:

> For many of us 'working' at *Oz* was the focal point of our daily existence. A hideous form of marriage between humans and an inanimate concept. . . . We treated it like a baby and it kicked us in the teeth. We shat on it, spat on it and wasted it. And now it's an adolescent and leaving home, none of us can believe it.[23]

None the less, play received considerable attention within the underground press, suggesting, perhaps, a sense of duty to

publicise one of the counter-culture's basic tenets, and the hope that such an attractive concept might assist in gaining ever increasing numbers of 'players'. Early in its career, *Friends* published a poem which contained a fantastic vision of what the alternative society might be: life would be peaceful, free, above all colourful and bright, joyful and playful, internationalist, and perhaps most importantly, 'the concept of work [would be] forgotten'.[24] Elsewhere, in a more serious article, the values upon which the underground was based were described as 'in material terms an utter disgust with forced labour and an attempt to use clandestine leisure in an experimental and adventurous way, denying the passive and isolated consumption characteristic of all alienated leisure'.[25]

Friends, more than the other underground publications consulted, consciously expressed the existence of what might be termed the 'play ethic', providing it with psychological and often erotic dimensions. Many of its articles seemed to be vibrant with the 'message' of play, which was that 'until our most fantastic demands are met, fantasy will be at war with society'. Society would attempt to suppress it, but fantasy would return, relentless, 'sabotaging the smooth functioning of bureaucracies, waylaying the typist on the way to the water-cooler, kidnapping the executive between office and home' until ultimately its victory would be inevitable.[26]

Surprisingly, given Richard Neville's association with *Oz*, that journal did not concern itself greatly with articulating or consciously promoting the politics of play. *Oz* was, however, by far the most humorous of the underground publications consulted, consistently refusing to take 'the revolution' quite so seriously as the others. For example, at the end of a long and somewhat laboured article on revolution, *Oz*'s editors inserted the following: 'If the revolution means prose like this, let's LOSE!'[27] Visually, *Oz* gave the impression that the production of the paper had been fun, and its comparative lack of personal attacks on the staff of other underground publications suggests that *Oz* staff had imbibed the essence of play rather more successfully than their 'rivals'. Play, in *Oz*, was something visible, or to be experienced, rather than just dutifully presented.

Various underground activities, notably rock concerts and 'light-shows' (rock concerts where strobes and pulsating coloured lights and slides were used to recreate the LSD experience), were

clearly play activities, receiving strong promotion within the underground press. Otherwise, play mostly featured in these publications in a passive way in that much was written on the subject, but there were only occasional attempts to lead the playing.[28] John Hoyland recommended various 'fun' tactics for the summer months, all of which copied the antics of the American Yippies, such as giving away 'free money' at the Bank of England, setting up home in Piccadilly Circus to draw attention to the 20 000 homeless in the 'affluent society', applying for a job with MI5, and so on. Players were exhorted to make their actions as 'big, bizarre and imaginative' as possible. Another such attempt was a joint venture by *IT* and *Oz* to organise a 'National Drop-Out Day' in 1969. The day was designed to enable people not just to sit around doing nothing, 'but rather to stay away from work, university, even your job in the underground'.[29] In a later edition, *IT* also gave advice to readers on how to 'drop out at the government's expense', on National Assistance.[30] It was thought that the attitudes towards unemployment needed to be changed in accordance with the play ethic, and that trade union leaders especially should be the targets of anti-work 'propaganda', which must demonstrate that, in a country which was becoming increasingly de-industrialised, work was not a necessary function for the future. Equally important, children needed to be educated in such a way as to counter expectations inculcated by 'straight' society and its education system, that they would or should be working for a living, and be taught ways of 'living constructively and more or less at leisure on the national credit'.[31]

Marcuse had been less Utopian in his predictions about the role of work in the post-revolutionary society, believing that labour as such could not be abolished. Inevitably, some control, mastery and transformation of nature, as well as some 'modification of existence through labour' would continue to be required. However, Marcuse did accept that 'the convergence of labour and play does not diverge too far from the possibilities'.[32] In line with the perceived need to educate people away from an acceptance of the sanctity of labour, articles began to appear in the underground press about the 'duties' of 'freaks' towards the workers' struggles. One such article pointed out that by rejecting the 'work scene', 'freaks' tended to 'throw out the whole idea of work and the workers with it', which was a contradictory

situation, considering the dependence of 'freaks' on the goods and services provided by the working class. 'Freaks' wanting to help the workers should therefore get jobs and join 'the struggles for workers' freedoms and lifestyles together and work for a complete transformation of society, material and cultural'.[33] Having jobs, 'freaks' would learn from the workers how to fight the system from within as well as from without, how the system was structured, and perhaps most importantly, why the Labour Party and TUC were 'almost as boring and conservative as the other lot, and to detect the mind-blowing things going on *behind* those monolithic disguises'. In this idealised brotherhood of workers and 'freaks', the workers would learn 'the *subjective* dimension of revolution; the importance of imagination, self-development and flexible-mindedness, human openness'.[34] A similar argument was advanced by Hoyland, in a retrospective evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the counter-culture: the counter-culture had correctly, he believed, attacked the boredom of work, but its 'parasitical' dependence upon the surplus produced by the workers had made it impossible to develop a social programme for the majority of people.

Not all readers were appreciative of this renewed interest in the working class, as a letter to *Friends* indicated, likening the paper to 'an avant-garde Workers Press – fugging boring'. Furthermore, the writer suggested, and perhaps with some validity, it seemed that 'most of the underground press [had] forgotten how to laugh'. To redeem this situation 'filth, de-bauchery, rock and roll and dope' should again become the 'vehicle of revolution', and 'the main content of underground publications'.[35]

By 1973 the economic problems besetting the 'affluent society' were making it increasingly difficult for 'freaks' to live off the system in a state of playful bliss. Defections back into the work 'scene' also contributed to the weakening of the play ethic. Nor did the fact that such defections were reported in the under-ground press, and in language which made those involved appear as traitors, seemingly act as a deterrent.[36]

Perhaps in any case the majority of readers were not fully committed to the cult of play. A readers' survey conducted by *IT* during 1971 suggested that it had been taken for granted that most readers would not have been engaged in play as a full-time alternative to work. Questions included: occupation, annual

income, number of times per week that readers attended films and/or the theatre, monthly expenditure on clothes, books, records, cigarettes, ownership or intended purchase of stereo or other sound equipment, ownership or intended purchase of car, truck, van, motor bike, and so on.[37] Clearly, many of these items would have involved considerable expenditure; even those sharing living costs in communal households might have been hard pressed to afford them on the dole. The results of the survey were not published in any subsequent edition of *IT*; hence it is impossible to know whether the categories suggested by the survey were in tune with readers' expenditure and interests. It seems obvious, however, that most readers were assumed to be workers and (as workers) fairly heavy consumers and to this extent somewhat debarred from the self-motivated freedom supposedly involved in play.

With hindsight, the concept of play may not have been a premature one, given the rapid advances of technology during the 1960s and 1970s and the contraction of the British economy after 1973. In spite of its sincerity and commitment, the counter-culture had not been able to create the alternative society in the short period during which it flourished, and by the time economics began to dictate a new reality in the early 1970s, it seemed that the time for play had passed.

DRUGS

Drugs, especially the new psychedelic drugs, helped make the counter-culture what it was, setting the users off from 'straight' society, converting rebels into outlaws.[38] Of course, drug-taking itself was nothing new, but the counter-culture used drugs for a novel purpose in that they 'demystified' the process of mind-exploration. Drugs were no longer the property of authors seeking artistic inspiration – of essayists like de Quincey or novelists like Aldous Huxley – but were, or were presented as, an aid to self-understanding,[39] to be experienced and enjoyed by ordinary people.

Furthermore, to a considerable extent the *type* of drug was new. Whereas marijuana (or pot or hash) had been the drug of Blues musicians and the Beats and still remained perhaps the most widely used and popular of drugs, it was now joined by

other more 'mind-bending' properties – the psychedelics. These, always in theory and sometimes in fact, provided greater insights into and explanations of the consciousness. Whereas previously LSD (or 'acid') had been used by only a few experimenters in (fairly) closely monitored research, LSD was in the 1960s – due partly to the ease with which it could be produced – readily available and widely used. The 'high priest' of psychedelic drugs, Timothy Leary, emphasised in his writings that the use of psychedelic drugs would bring about a major change both in personal consciousness and in western society and politics in general.

There were two features of drug-taking which reached to the very heart of the counter-culture. On the one hand, it emphasised the users' separateness from a society which was regarded with contempt, for the illegality of drugs made users outlaws, a concept which was in itself bound to be attractive. On the other hand, drugs, with their role as consciousness expanders reflected the importance attached by the counter-culture to the concept of 'self' as central, the belief that no social or political liberation could take place unless its primary concern was the freedom of each individual to determine his/her own desires free from external pressures.

Richard Neville's somewhat simplistic equation, that 'once you have blown your mind, the Bastille will blow up itself',[40] does none the less demonstrate the underlying importance of drugs, and expresses the spirit of 'fun' within the counter-culture, at least in its earlier stages. A reading of the underground press, however, indicates a more serious approach to drugs, and an awareness of the necessity of handling such substances with care and responsibility. Early in its career *IT* published an editorial ('the editor's final word on psychedelics'), which suggested that drugs were necessary to 'open the door on the mystical experience', but useless as a means of achieving permanent enlightenment; there should be no reliance upon external agents to achieve this state.[41] *IT* contained numerous references to drugs and their various dangers, including comments from such experts as the maverick psychiatrist R. D. Laing, and Beat guru William Burroughs, and in 1972 published a 35-page '*IT* Book of Drugs'. The drugs examined ranged from tobacco and alcohol to hallucinogens, 'speed' (methedrine, and the rest), barbiturates and opium. The book sought to place

drug-taking in its cultural context and, rather interestingly given the generally ahistorical outlook of the counter-culture, sought to illustrate the use of drugs through the ages. The warning was again sounded that, while drugs have their uses, they can be the subject of abuse; the book generally favoured the use of hallucinogenic drugs, with care.

Another section examined the problem of heroin addiction, emphasising the need to treat the addict as a person. A large part of the problem was attributed to the 'black romance' *IT* considered was attached to drug-taking, and the journal argued that those who felt the urge to use heroin should at least not 'mainline' (inject) it.[42]

At the same time, *IT* appeared to endorse the importance of acid to the burgeoning counter-culture, paying a rather fulsome tribute to Timothy Leary who, on 20 September 1966, at the New York Village Theatre had 'handed down "the word", and premiered a new religion'.[43]

It was *Oz*, however, which in an early edition printed the most closely argued appraisal of drugs. All drugs, *Oz* stated, were dangerous, the chief danger lying not so much in the drugs themselves as in the way in which they were used. The drug scene, which involved dealing and 'being flamboyant and furtive simultaneously', trying to be 'hip', and avoiding run-ins with the police, was regarded as far more dangerous than the drugs themselves. As it was obvious that many *Oz* readers were going to take drugs, *Oz* felt a duty to help them minimise the risks involved. To this end it offered advice on the use of LSD, including the correct preparations for the 'trip', and discussions of health aspects (such as not eating for at least four hours beforehand), as well as information on side-effects, and ways to end a 'bum trip'. The religious aspect of drug-taking was not neglected in this article, which explained that one should 'drop the acid' with 'a certain amount of ritual, since the psychedelic experience really is a religious experience' in that it returns one to 'wholeness'. The least 'beautiful' aspect of acid was dealing, acid being (for reasons unexplained) the 'dirtiest of all the drug industries'. Readers were strongly urged to abstain from 'speed' (methedrine, etc.), which 'kills', and from dealing, which was characterised as 'habit-forming, messy, unpleasant, dangerous and a drag'. Finally, readers were asked not to abuse their bodies with drugs, and not to use needles. Dope should not be the 'only

thing you do, or the most important thing in your life. That's the quick way to be bored with having fun, which is a drag.'[44]

Indeed, *Oz* appeared appreciably more inclined to take the 'black romance' out of drug-taking than was *IT*. While *Oz* contained a number of articles about growing and harvesting (and often, cooking with) such drugs as pot and hash, these were balanced by examinations of the dangers involved in using hallucinogens such as 'magic mushrooms', and a listing of antidotes, which was likely to have an essentially cautionary effect.[45] And, somewhat curiously, *Oz* also printed a 'Parents' Guide to Drug Abuse' which illustrated the physical and behavioural 'give-aways' of drug-taking.[46]

As will be seen, *Friends* and *IT* had ambivalent, and some-times romantic, views concerning dealers, but *Oz* took a more pragmatic view of this 'profession'. Dealing was 'just an ordinary profitable activity that can be used in any way you like. It is an existence best approached without illusions'.[47]

Admittedly, towards the end of its career, in an article which attempted to evaluate the role of 'freaks' in the revolutionary struggle, *Oz* slipped back into the philosophy of the early counter-culture, stating that drug-taking was in itself a revolu-tionary activity in 'the most immediate and personal way'.[48] But too much should not be made of this apparent lapse, since it reflects, more than anything else, the state of confusion into which the underground press and the community it served had fallen, and perhaps a certain nostalgia for the earlier certainties of the counter-culture, when the role of drugs had been significant in developing the alternative consciousness.

Frendz, on the other hand, did not concern itself with the implications of drug-taking until rather later. In 1971, reporting that the American underground was beginning to question its attitude towards the uncontrolled use of drugs, *Frendz* stated that evidence had shown that 'speed' indeed could kill, and that heroin was not only destructive of the individual but also of the community, as the experience of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury had shown. *Frendz* concluded, rather tiredly, that 'drugs are stepping stones to an altered consciousness – they show what is possible; but we must still do the work'.[49] Concerned about the myths surrounding drug-taking, and specifically the myth of the 'dealer as greengrocer', or even 'priest' ('righteous . . . the bringer of highs, the man with the keys

for the new consciousness'), *Frendz* sought to place dealing in perspective. It acknowledged that in some cases in the early days of the counter-culture, *Oz*, *IT* and the counter-cultural venues such as Arts Labs were wholly or partly supported by the sale of dope, and that communes, silk-screen presses and 'other trips' had been set up with money gained from dealing. However, the 'average dealer' had not been so beneficent, and was 'at best an old-style adventurist entrepreneur in the tradition of a smuggler', whose main motive was profit. Of greater concern, however, was that the high rise in drug consumption over the previous few years had linked dealing with the West's 'economic imperialism' and exploitation of the Third World countries: dope was a product of the Third World, but its sale had benefited the landlord and done little to enrich the peasant.[50]

This was a significant and welcome contrast to the attitude expressed eighteen months earlier by *IT* towards exploitation of the Third World by the counter-culture. In an article betraying both self-interest and self-importance, *IT* had reported on the continuing 'dope crisis' in London, the major cause of which was attributed to the Arab guerrilla movement's manipulation of the drug market to increase its funds. *IT* (conscious of its own considerable involvement in dealing) lamented that it was 'tragic that revolutionary movements fighting in the Middle East are in the course of furthering their own activities depriving revolutionary brothers [sic] here of *their* major source of income'.[51]

Some time later, however, *IT* appears to have entertained the idea of a significantly different road to revolution. Reprinting an article from the US underground on cocaine and its increasing 'hipness', *IT* commented – perhaps too late as far as the counter-culture was concerned – that not drugs but education was necessary to make people aware of the causes of their dissatisfaction. 'The need to escape into artificial paradise is self-defeating in the end. What is needed is a social, economic and psychological revolution to eradicate the causes of chronic drug abuse'.[52] Patently the times – and tunes – were changing.

FESTIVALS AND CONCERTS

'Drug culture' was not the only central feature of the counter-culture which came to incur some of its gurus' and guardians'

displeasure: writing on the death of rock idol Jimi Hendrix, Germaine Greer was moved to condemn rock concerts such as that held recently at the Isle of Wight as 'just a hype. The people don't come to listen, but to adulate'.[53] But it took a long time for this blanket condemnation to take hold – and arguably it never became the majority opinion – which is perhaps understandable given the other, more positive functions which festivals fulfilled.

As a letter-writer to *IT* commented, rock concerts and festivals drew large crowds not for the music itself, but for the sake of being there; the music provided the excuse for getting together rather than the reason for it.[54] Festivals were an important means of developing and maintaining a commitment to the alternative lifestyle. They provided entertainment, an illusion of togetherness (even if not the reality), a kind of ritual where the believers could worship, fetish-style almost, the new conscious-ness. Festivals were a 'shared experience among a generation'.[55] As one veteran of festivals put it: whereas the parents of those who flocked to them 'had a war to reminisce about ... we have the battle scars of the Isle of Wight, Weeley, Bath [and so on]'.[56] Much in the same way, folk and jazz festivals had also been an important, pleasurable and solidifying experience for their adherents.

Festivals also provided a means of escaping, for a time at least: Mick Farren, long-time writer for *IT* and a pop-star of sorts himself, wrote of the Glastonbury Fair that 'We didn't find God, but it was nice to relax for a few days and forget the problems of the city',[57] (and the problems of working for an underground newspaper which had lost direction?).

Those attending festivals appear to have suffered physical discomfort, even at times deprivation (of food, shelter, and so on), but generally managed to find the emotional sustenance they had sought. Drugs consumption was apparently always high at the festivals, and 'Release' (an underground drug advice service) was often in attendance to treat those experiencing 'bum trips', as well as offering help for those who were from time to time arrested. In the absence of drugs some substitute 'sacra-ment' was apparently essential. For example, at Birkenshaw festival, where drugs were in short supply, 'a number of cases of alcoholic overload resulted'.[58]

The most publicised British festival was held on the Isle of Wight in 1970, attended by 200 000 people at least. It was

organised by rock entrepreneur Nikki Farr, whose chief concern, following the example of the fantastically successful rock concert held at Woodstock in America, seems to have been to ensure that a film was made of the event. Eight film crews worked on the festival under the supervision of 'heavy' American producer Murray Lerner.[59] The festival was a 'rip-off' in every conceivable way: apart from a £3 admission charge, food concessions had been sold by the organisers at a high price which was passed on to the customers, many of whom ran out of money before the end of the five-day festival. There were too many 'stars', and the concerts were too long, resulting in hostility on the part of those performers who were thus forced to wait for hours backstage.[60] But the presence of 'anarchists' at the festival, notably leaders of the French student movement in 1968, Danny Cohn-Bendit and Jean-Jacques Lebel, signified, some thought, the 'political significance that these events have acquired', and the demands of the crowd for a 'free festival' were actually achieved after two days, when the fences separating those who had paid from those who had not were breached forcibly.[61]

In spite of this, *IT*'s music writer Mick Farren perceived the festival on the Isle of Wight as a practical demonstration of the way the wealth of the underground was distributed at the time, with its VIP enclosure surrounded by fences protected by guards, while 'kids were walking into the medical tent in a state of collapse because they hadn't eaten for two days'. This festival illustrated 'a culture which, although paying lip-serving to the concepts of love and equality, manifests an inequality of rank and money as brutal as that of Czarist Russia'.[62]

Yet earlier attempts to organise festivals without the 'benefit' of professionals had shown the problems involved in such an undertaking. 'Phun City' had been one such effort, 'the first festival for heads by heads, held on 20 acres of Woodland in Sussex'.[63] This festival was not free, but 'freaks' were to do all the necessary jobs, for which they would be paid. There were many free facilities as well as cost-price 'basic macro-food'. The area was partially enclosed in polythene to provide cover for sleeping. In addition to musical entertainment, free 'events' were provided by a number of underground newspapers, as well as the Trotskyist *Black Dwarf*. Financially, 'Phun City' had proved a 'fuck up' (but 'as an event it [was] beautiful') with losses

estimated at £6000, freely admitted by the organisers as being due to their naïvety as businessmen.[64] The losses were not entirely due to their naïvety, of which they seemed rather proud; bad weather had resulted in only 3000 attending, instead of an anticipated crowd of 20 000.

Although some lessons were heeded as a result of such fiascos, it seems that the lessons were, characteristically, learned too late. In 1972, *IT* suggested that before the next festival, a 'people's committee' should be 'contemplated', to eliminate all the problems of previous festivals. This committee should possibly be 'a coagulation of welfare groups, underground press, Music Liberation Front and other individuals to protect the rights of constituents'.[65]

For 'constituents', of course, one could easily read 'consumers', and it was not overly difficult for the critics to point out that festivals reflected a new kind of consumerism. Indeed, it could be argued that many of those 'in' the counter-culture were there chiefly as consumers, spectators more than participants, perhaps ultimately spectators more than anything. And ironically for the British counter-culture, which was trying to reject what it saw as straight society's acceptance of the 'American way of life' – including American 'consumerism' – it became imbued itself to a large extent with what might be termed the 'American view of the alternative future'. This fact did not escape all of those who worked on underground newspapers.

The best-known and most appealing symbol of this alternative future had been the Woodstock festival held in New York State in August 1969. Reviewing the film of Woodstock,[66] *Friends* newspaper emphasised the positive lessons it had offered 'Amerika'. More important than the 'great pop performances', the 'grass' and the 'sensuousness' of the event, was the fact that

> It was peaceful, it was controlled, it was cool. If Amerika still hasn't learned that its young can look after themselves without authority dictating every move, then they alone are to blame for a score of blazing campuses . . .[67]

Ultimately, Woodstock was, *Friends* believed, 'a living proof to all that the apocalypse needn't happen. . . . It is up to the rest of the World to take notice and act',[68] although whether the writer believed that festivals such as Woodstock were alone sufficient to avoid the apocalypse remained unclear.

If Woodstock was the festival which was identified with the early, heady days of the counter-culture, with its theme of love and peace, Altamont four months later was to be the festival remembered for its violence. Although Altamont hardly stemmed the flow of festivals in Britain, it almost certainly affected the attitude of the British counter-culture to what might be termed the festival idea. Analysts of Altamont are almost unanimous in regarding it as the 'loss of innocence' of the Woodstock generation, a cliché which seems unusually apt, if somewhat limited in scope.

Briefly, the events of Altamont were as follows. At the end of their United States tour, the British rock group the Rolling Stones decided to put on a free concert. Mistaking the American Hell's Angels for those of Britain (who had been successfully employed at the Stones' Hyde Park concert to take care of security), Californian Hell's Angels were hired as security police at Altamont, their payment being $500 worth of beer. Four people died at Altamont; one, a young black male, was knifed to death by Hell's Angels, who apparently thought he was aiming a gun at Mick Jagger. The murder took place at the end of a day which was punctuated by violence on the part of the Hell's Angels.[69] The knifing took place as Mick Jagger began to sing 'Sympathy with the Devil', itself a song of violence.[70] There were, apparently, different shades of violence for some in the counter-culture: a writer for *IT* differentiated the Rolling Stones' violence as 'therapeutic and removed to the realm of art', while that of the Hell's Angels was 'a naked gash of gushing blood'.[71] Others, however, believed that the Rolling Stones should take responsibility for the events at Altamont, and criticised their misplaced idealism in using the Hell's Angels simply because experiments with them in this role in England had proved successful.

One underground press writer welcomed the violence at Altamont, believing that because of it 'the whole fucking trip, the entire gargantuan hippies media myth, is over'.[72] Rather than trying to attribute blame, he added, it must be faced that Altamont 'was *our* responsibility, as was Woodstock, as was People's Park...'. 'We don't *have* to prove how together we are and how nice and peaceably we can run a shebang to anybody, including the straight press, except ourselves.'[73] Altamont simply demonstrated the underground's 'lack of "togetherness" ',

and the problems and questions it raised could only be resolved by people examining themselves ('Look to your heads'). The writer of this article also applauded the fact that underground music was 'dead'. This was answered a few issues later by Mick Farren, who conveniently shrugged off the question of responsibility at Altamont ('The Hell's Angels I look upon as friends'). None the less, the significance of Altamont was unconsciously acknowledged by Farren, who asked, 'If indeed it was the end of the underground music, the end of Flower Power, then what in God's name do we do?'[74]

Whatever else Altamont was, it signified more than the end of a decade. Inevitably linked with Woodstock, which had seemed to promise so much, Altamont gained an inflated significance. Perhaps the simplest statement of this significance came from Tuli Kupferberg: 'Woodstock is the potential but Altamont is the reality.'[75]

An American student who 'participated' in Altamont wondered whether perhaps after Altamont, Woodstock should have been viewed 'as the beginning of the decline and fall'.[76] Another wrote of Altamont as 'a last gasp from a dying decade, a synopsis as well as a reflection, a short-hand good-bye'.[77] Yet another 'participant', possibly even more disillusioned than those above, wrote that Altamont was 'the decade coming to a close with a bummer of Miltonic proportion, a paradise lost'.[78]

Altamont had occurred only four months after Woodstock. It seemed that 'The myths became shorter and shorter-lived as history accelerates. Now we have an instinctive distrust of massive rock festivals, for we fear that the terror of Altamont may be the wave of the future.'[79] For many people, Altamont had changed everything.

What, then, was the 'wave of the future' for the counter-culture? It still had music, and it will be seen that the role assigned to music became more important than in the past.

But, there was also, and significantly, a feeling that history was indeed accelerating, and that the counter-culture was being swept along with it, helpless to change or even affect it. A new note of viciousness crept into the underground press, a deepened sense of hopelessness and despair, and an accompanying willingness at times to countenance violence and terrorism. Ends and means became confused and at times indistinguishable, thus reflecting the confusion on this question which Bakunin's

thoughts had also expressed. Perhaps in this sense more than any other, the counter-culturalists had become most truly the heirs of Bakunin by this time.

Yet those who viewed Altamont and the closing of the 1960s decade in such apocalyptic terms, were being prematurely pessimistic. The doom-sayers within the counter-culture seem to have committed the same error as those pundits who analysed it from without, which was to regard the counter-culture as a self-contained phenomenon or movement, which unlike all previous movements, was destined to instant and continuing 'success'. The reality was, however, that the counter-culture was a movement which was still young, and as such it contained 'merely' the potential for the creation of an alternative society.[80]

It seems fairly clear that the type of alternative society at which the counter-culture was aiming was anarchist, in the sense of rejecting society as a whole, along with its traditional guardians and institutions. Those 'in' the counter-culture well fit Max Stirner's description of anarchists as 'vagabonds of the intellect ... [who] refuse to treat as intangible truths things that give respite and consolation to thousands and instead leap over the barriers of tradition to indulge without restraint the fantasies of their impudent critique'.[81] The counter-culture concept of the new society was anarchist not merely in the anti-statist sense, but was based on the idea of freedom; a social, political and cultural negation of *all* power.

In accordance with the essentially anarchist critique of society, and the belief in the liberation of the individual as a prerequisite to the liberation of society as a whole, – that is, revolutionary change – the counter-culture, after Altamont, turned its attention to more serious attempts at creating alternative, and ultimately counter, institutions. The participant at the Altamont rock festival who later perceptively described festivals as 'instant institutions' which deflected attention from the real task of the counter-culture (the creation of viable counter institutions) anticipated the next move which the counter-culture was to make in England.

The old idea of building communities based on revolutionary community control was resurrected. The anarchist tradition, which had been given a fresh impetus by the events of May 1968 in Paris, was to be tested again.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

The idea of building communities, based on revolutionary community control was in fact a logical extension of the idea of revolution by exemplary lifestyle inherent in the counter-culture from its beginning, albeit expressed from time to time in differing ways. The concept of revolutionary community control enabled the counter-culture to sidestep the thorny question of the role of the State in a revolution, although, as we shall see, revolution itself was a question which received considerable attention within the underground press. Revolutionary community control suggested that it might be possible to change society not by the traditional – and generally considered fraudulent – revolutionary practice, but by contracting relationships which were fundamentally different from those existing within 'straight' society. In other words, the revolution could take place while people continued to develop a different lifestyle which reflected the embryonic alternative society.

From the early days of the counter-culture its only viable 'institution' had been the underground press, whose functions in both serving the counter-culture as a communications and advisory medium, and in promoting the ideas current in the counter-culture, have been examined elsewhere. Interest in the concept of community was expressed within the underground press from its inception. The pioneer of the British underground publications, *IT*, editorialised, just six months after it first went to press, on the need to build a community in London. It was noted that London had no 'geographic community', whereas Los Angeles and San Francisco had 'specific communities' whose 'views, thoughts [and] philosophies' were represented by various local underground papers. London also had no café society such as that in Paris, nor 'the regional living of New York', all of which had meant that 'interaction of active groups in London was little until recently'. *IT* was thus designed to 'connect (not unite) these various individuals and groups hoping that out of such exchanges of ideas, views and money might grow an active "revolutionary" re-evaluating "avant-garde" '.[82] Indeed, *IT* worked very hard at developing the underground community, with an almost messianic view that 'everybody under 30 years of age in this country today must be offered the Underground option'. In order to help readers to help themselves and others,

IT's editors, taking advantage of the opportunity to indulge their penchant for self-appraisal, exhorted readers to communicate: '*IT* exists for YOU. *IT* exists to enable YOU to speak to the rest of the Underground – US to US', and promised that in forthcoming issues details of 'communal schemes and plans to organise the underground on a vaster and more practical basis' would be published. The community would not be able to grow 'unless we all contribute ideas, suggestions, criticisms'.[83]

This editorial seemed to anticipate the turbulence which was to characterise 1968 – for 'straight' society as well as for the underground – and was written with a sense of urgency: 'The chances are that unless we – the Underground – now establish much greater solidarity than we have had in the past we will lose our last chance', and hinted at the already widening gap between the underground and the rest of society in a way that was to prove prophetic: 'public opinion at street corner level will swat us one by one'.[84] For the first time the question was self-consciously asked in this editorial, whether the underground did 'really hold within [itself] the living germs of a real and worthy new society'.[85] It was a question which the underground – or parts of it at least – was to take some years to actually try to answer.

Oz editors did not seem to have what might be termed the collective psychological urge of *IT* editors to engage in almost continuous self-doubting and evaluation. Nor did *Oz* consciously work so hard to build the concept and reality of community, preferring to write of such matters within a more theoretical framework but eschewing *IT*'s didactic manner. Perhaps a fundamental difference between *IT* and *Oz* was the latter's penchant for mockery, not only of 'straight' society but of itself and of the underground.

After five editions, *Oz* writer David Widgery was already mocking the self-importance of 'hippies' who 'in England represented about as powerful a challenge to the power of the State as the people who put foreign coins in their gas meters'. Hippies were confusing alienation from society with influence over it, he thought, and 'ending in formal demonstrations of their own impotence', choosing between

  life as style, style as value, value as fact; the ethic of the
  Beautiful Person attacking the modern state where it likes, not

where it hurts. The alarm bells ring for nobody but ourselves; if you eat health foods, you must expect to look like a banana.[86]

Oz was mindful of the fact that pre-existing revolutionary practices were irrelevant to the contemporary urban situation, and asserted that

> at least the Young see that what we are offered as social change from above is just a little more rouge on a very old whore's face. The Old Left is ... like a kipper, two faced and gutless, if the hippies don't want to go that way, the this-sidedness of psychedelics must flower a thousand Communications Companies and Underground Press and Hippy Tele-printers, more Diggers (who are English anyhow) ...[87]

This theme was followed up in an article in the next edition which offered a 'Blueprint for a Beautiful Community', noting that England was on the verge of its most exciting cultural revolution for many years, owing largely to the influence of American 'social and cultural guerrillas', as well as 'numerous film makers, writers and rock groups'. In order to co-ordinate these various influences London required, urgently, a community which could be strengthened and structured as a first necessity by 'Digger action to ensure that it isn't turned into a high-priced boutique-filled tourist area too fast. Lots of free things, all-night coffee houses and delicatessens. New underground newspapers – the more the better', as well as other publications devoted exclusively to the experimental and avant-garde. Also needed was an 'underground movie theatre' operating as a co-operative to show members' work, as well as that of the United States and European underground. A major question with which the new community would have to grapple was that of its relationship with the larger community around it, which was not necessarily going to be sympathetic. *Oz* felt that ideally the 'dropout society' should not have to concern itself with 'such bring-down matters' but acknowledged the unreality of this approach, suggesting that the nascent community ought to have a spokesman to liaise with the police and other representatives of straight society, thus enabling the community to live in peace but at the same time avoid the pitfalls involved in relying on leaders.[88]

It was probably only a matter of time before the idea of community was expanded into that of revolutionary community control. Propagation of this theme first appeared in *Friends* in an article written by Dick Pountain, who gave his regular column the title of 'Poison Pen' in an apparent attempt to 'revolutionise' (quasi-Marxist style) his readers. Pountain sought to inject theory into *Friends* at a time when it was content with ready-made slogans supporting left-wing and Marxist politics and groups. Introducing the ideas of revolutionary community control, Pountain pointed out that whenever revolution was discussed, 'freaks' consistently pointed to the paradoxical question of 'the workers'[89] and their (the 'freaks') distrust of the workers' putative representatives – the Old Left and the trade unions. It was therefore timely, he believed, to examine the history of the working-class movement since the First World War: the revolutionary workers' movements which had arisen after the War had all been crushed by the rise of German Fascism and by the Second World War which had seen 'workers sent to kill each other again'. The so-called fraudulent 'affluent society' had been made possible in the wake of the Second World War by a 'demoralised working-class and the total complicity of their trade unions and Labour Party'. The results of the 'crippling effect' of living through such an experience on their parents' generation was 'only too obvious', which explained the fact that for the first time in history the 'generation gap' was so wide that it would no longer be dismissed as an adolescent, passing phase, but was now 'potentially a revolutionary force'.[90]

Pountain concluded that it was thus vital for the counter-culture to realise that it was only 'one subculture among several' in England, all of which had different class origins (skinheads and greasers from working-class backgrounds; 'freaks' and student revolutionaries drawn from the middle class). The hostility between these various subcultures was an 'unconscious and distorted reflection of the class struggle their parents had ceased to fight'.[91]

The purpose of this curious blend of rhetoric and fantasy was to convince readers that there could be no revolution until the workers seized their factories, and the people (who were apparently separate from the workers) seized their communities. All of this raised the question of where 'freaks' fitted into this revolutionary scheme; obviously not by the futile gestures of

'going down to the factories', so 'the answer *must* be in community control'. Most 'freaks' did not do normal work, but they did live in communities, usually in the same 'ghettos' that the unskilled workers were forced to live in, like north-west London's Notting Hill, and the traditionally working-class East End, although their relations with the working-class community were 'strained or openly hostile'.[92]

The alternative society – by this time often called 'the freak revolution' – could not be achieved unless a coalition was forged with these working-class subcultures in order to achieve community control. It was admitted that this task would not be easy ('we may lose some teeth first'). The recognition that it could be a long-term undertaking seems an indication of the seriousness with which a section of the counter-culture was, by this time, contemplating the work involved in the creation of the new society, about which so much had been written in the earlier, vaguer and perhaps more innocent years of the counter-culture.

The subject was returned to in the following edition's 'Poison Pen' article, which in many ways resembled a classical tract on the evils of capitalism and its consequent alienation of the individual, most specifically the worker. The popular revolutionary image of 'dancing in the streets' which had become a 'battle cry for "hip revolutionaries" over the last two years' was attacked as a beautiful image which was totally irrelevant to the mass of the oppressed working class who had no time for such an activity. The workers' time was stolen in working to survive, their space was organised into living, working and shopping areas by so-called 'progressive' city planners, and their leisure was 'doled out to them as safe hygienic "entertainment"'. In addition, the workers had no control over their protests and complaints which were 'performed *for* them by Trade Union Officials, Labour MPs, "benevolent" social workers and welfare agencies'. This would all be changed by revolutionary community control, which meant

> total control of *all* the space, facilities and services of the 'community' by the working-class and their allies.... The streets, schools, shops, houses, 'entertainment' and 'culture' centres, cops, utilities, everything.[93]

Some of these sectors would be abolished, while others would be

totally transformed. Local bureaucracies and state agencies would be 'smashed' rather than reformed or refined. Each factory, street, school, university and village would have its own Council, 'consisting of *all* its people armed to defend the revolution'. The Councils would communicate and co-ordinate through meetings of elected delegates (who were to be instantly recallable), and by the 'transformation and *use* of the communication media which at present only indoctrinate and/or "entertain" '. Even the much maligned computers could be used in the service of the revolution.[94]

The people would find time to create this 'face to face democracy' by the reorganisation of work: by eliminating 'whole areas of useless activity' and by exploiting modern technology to its full potential, working hours would be slashed to a few hours per week. Such experiments had been tried before, Pountain wrote, but they had been 'hidden, distorted [or] betrayed' by the 'official and "left wing" historians' of this century, in conspiracy. Previous such experiments included the Paris Commune 'of 1870' [sic], the Spanish revolution of 1936, the Kronstadt Soviet, the German Revolution of 1918, the Hungarian revolution of 1956, and 'even Paris 1968 had its lessons'. Without realising the debts the idea owed to anarchism, he claimed that the 'anarchists have just furthered the confusion by refusing to face the problem of the new society'.[95]

With an optimism reminiscent of the early counter-culture, Pountain asserted in the following edition that despite the non-existence of a movement for community control in England, or the United States or Europe at the time of writing, in ten years' time there would 'probably' be a 'strong and aggressive movement capable of seizing and defending "liberated zones" in the major cities'.[96] What was to be the fate of the rural areas was, characteristically for what was essentially an urban-based movement, left unexplored, as was the manner in which such 'liberated zones' would be 'seized'.

A major role for the underground in promoting a movement for revolutionary community control would be to form a 'network of activities and organizations', whose purpose was to liberate people from 'straight' society, and to enable them to survive and fight outside it, 'to defend them against the various attempts to grab them back'. Such an underground would at a minimum have to provide housing, legal aid, medical care,

'bread' and communications, 'not to mention a good time', and would consist of all groups such as skinhead street gangs, greasers, 'delinquent' school kids, college drop-outs as well as 'freaks'. The underground would be allied with appropriate working-class groups as a part of a 'network of local groups, organisations, newspapers, etc., who should co-operate without surrendering their independence'. It was absurd to 'hanker after' nation-wide organisations (and 'dangerous'), as national organisations could only function by setting up hierarchies and bureaucracies.[97]

Not all readers of *Friends*, however, were prepared to accept Pountain's formula for a new society, or his analysis of the natural allies of the counter-culture. An outraged letter in the following edition answered the writer's own rhetorical question about the nature of the working class: the working class was 'nothing but a ghost from the past, a remnant of a system which degraded the individual by classification and turned him into a cipher'. The solution, then, in the correspondent's opinion, was anarchy which, he pointed out, was the unacknowledged basis of Pountain's philosophy, but had been 'dragged through the mud of democracy, authoritarianism, and armed vigilance'. The Paris Commune and the 1936 Spanish revolution were not, in fact, attempts to create Pountain's kind of world, but were 'anarchist communist in inspiration'.[98] Undaunted by such criticism, revolutionary community control continued to be publicised in *Friends*, as 'our key project over the next ten years'. The language became increasingly polemical, particularly when describing the basis of community control (workers' control of industry), and the 'correct' organisational form of community control, that is, soviets (as they were 'before the bolsheviks poisoned the word').[99]

Illustrative of one of the contradictions of the underground and the underground press was that, despite the avowed intent of forwarding the task of building a strong community, leading ultimately to community control, *Friends* was criticised towards the end of its career for not containing sufficient community news. Instead it was in danger, one letter suggested, of 'becoming an avant-garde Workers Press',[100] a criticism which, on the face of it, seemed at times valid. Indeed, many of Pountain's formulations, at least, read rather like the Trotskyist dogma found in *Black Dwarf*. The writer of the letter also lamented the loss of humour in *Frendz* and the underground generally.

Nevertheless, acceptance of the idea of community control seems to have been fairly widespread within the underground or counter-culture by 1971, at least judging from the underground press although, as the letters suggest, the press may perhaps have been leading its readers on this subject. It is also possible that once *Friends* had begun to expound the necessity for community control, the other underground publications felt impelled to 'get into the act' by featuring their own articles on the topic, both from the point of view of not appearing to be lagging behind, and also because of the competition which existed between the underground papers. This competition was for readers as well as for the reputation of being the most original and/or interesting, and by 1971 when the papers generally were partially resembling the more orthodox left-wing press, of being the purveyors of the 'true path' to the revolution.

Surprisingly, given its tendency to be more theoretical than either *IT* or *Friends/Frendz*, *Oz*, while supporting the idea of community control, did not bother to elucidate how this was to be achieved. Rather, it tended to sloganise the issue:

> Power to the community.... We want real community power controlled by real community assemblies. We don't need pigs [police] and the few socially useful things they do, we can elect brothers and sisters to do them.... We have to organise our vigilantes...[101]

The article concluded with the slogan, popular at the time with the three papers, 'Power to the Angry Side', a reference to the Angry Brigade, whose exploits were often gleefully publicised, and which used the underground press as a means of issuing communiqués from time to time. Elsewhere, *Oz* suggested that the 'real substance of the counter-culture' lay in its

> attempts to transform social relations, create community, gain control of everyday life from below and overcome alienation through projects such as free clinics, communes, women's groups and food co-ops.[102]

Similarly, *IT* wrote of its awareness of the need for community control, but seemed to regard contemporary beginnings – of 'freak ghettos ... beginning to organise their survival on a

community level', and of alternative communities being 'planned' outside the cities – as manifestations of the achievement of community control.[103]

In a New Year review of 1971, *IT* listed among the positive aspects of the past year that it had been a

> good year for all the community services. Help and information centres, newspapers and White Panther Chapters sprang up everywhere, indicating a new concern among freaks to relate to their immediate environment in a positive way.[104]

Further indication of this 'new concern' had been reported earlier in 1971, when seven of London's most active underground service organisations had agreed to set up a body, the 'Alternative Community Trust', to help them function effectively, and to reduce time wasted in trying to 'hassle for bread', which would now be done collectively. It was hoped that the Alternative Community Trust would demonstrate that co-ordinated activity was the 'only way we will ever bring about the much desired Alternative Community'.[105]

The precise outlines of alternative communities, and the ways in which they might function, may have been somewhat unclear, at times even obscure. What was clear, however, was that the counter-culturalists were attempting to devise alternative (even if not new) ways of living, free from all the traditional constraints of the nuclear family and middle-class values. Such attempts were expressions of the new reality which, it was hoped, others would perceive and follow.

In one sense, the propagation of the concept of community control was itself a revolutionary act, suggesting as it did ways in which people could at least begin to take control of their own lives: the first step towards a wider revolution.

Richard Flacks, an American sociologist committed to the values and ideals of the counter-culture, has suggested that if there is an answer to the [existential] fear that the individual is nothing and is destined to remain nothing, this answer lies in the establishment of community, as a mutual support system enabling people to devise a sensible life before the revolution.[106] Extracts from the underground press have illustrated the development of the idea of community through to the concept of revolutionary community control as the key project for the counter-culture,

enabling people to exercise direct control over their lives in both the personal and organisational spheres. Not unusually, such an ideal was often conceptualised in Utopian terms and expressed in idealistic language:

> Community control pre-supposes the emergence of an alchemical unity between us all: the mystical project without the must and made collective. The very minimum demand is for *a new kind of human activity* based on the almost total leisure now made possible by mechanisation and automation – a new culture corresponding to human desires; not simply masking their frustration. [107]

Technology-as-liberator was a common theme in the underground press, notwithstanding that branch of the counter-culture which sought a return to the idealised pre-industrial revolution golden age. That the counter-culture, with its emphasis on play rather than work, anticipated the fruits of what has become known as the 'new technology' is clear. The practical details of how technology might best be employed to serve the psychological and material needs of those made compulsorily 'leisured' were unexplored; perhaps it was expected that these questions would be resolved as a natural process after the revolution. The revolutionary, new society which would result was envisaged as 'an endless passion, an endless adventure, an endless banquet'. [108]

Traditionally, one of the fundamental problems confronting libertarians seeking to embrace the theory and practice of revolution, is the tendency of most revolutionary parties to insist on the necessity of deferring personal liberation until after the revolution has been achieved or indeed consolidated. The counter-culturalists clearly appreciated this dialectic, and countered it by insisting that the process of 'making' the revolution should be fun and that the personal liberation should be concurrent. Revolution was 'ultimately for kicks, for the sheer gas of it, or for nothing at all'. [109] Such emphasis on fun had its drawbacks, however, as one writer observed in his review of the 1960s:

> It was our carnival of the age. . . . Never was the fountain of youth con sold so hard and I got hypnotised by it. So busy gaping at the spectacle that I forgot to participate. [110]

As we shall see later, the fun element of revolution was overtaken by violence after 1968, but fun may nevertheless have contributed to the weakness of counter-cultural revolution, owing largely to their refusal to countenance any kind of structure or organisation. As anarchists, albeit often unconsciously, counter-culturalists seemed intent on maintaining the purity of spontaneity, and for too long they failed to accept the necessity for some degree of organisation, a necessity which had been accepted a century earlier by Bakunin. Bakunin's dispute with Marx on the question of organisation had been over the *nature* of organisation, but not over its necessity. Defining the Dionysian character of the counter-culture, Lauren Langman has noted as one of its essential features the 'Mardi Gras atmosphere of festivity [which] is extended to all life'.[111] It was this feature which enabled us to glimpse a continuity in the revolutionary tradition, the very expression 'festival' recalling the great revolutionary festivals of the French Revolution and the First Republic. Similar festivals were witnessed in Paris during the brief period of the Commune, and in Cuba after the victory of the Fidelistas. But the counter-culture, in keeping with its revolutionary nature, staged *its* revolutionary festivals while actually trying to make the revolution.

THE CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION

From the outset the counter-culture's interest in the idea of revolution had been rather vague, and could loosely be characterised as a 'peace and love' revolution. This interest evolved to a more consciously Marxist concept of revolution after 1968 and ended with violent and often vicious methods and ideas being countenanced.

As we have seen, it was believed initially that the revolution would occur almost naturally, as a result of individuals altering their consciousness and lifestyle, usually with the aid of drugs, music and other individual, personal experiences. For a movement which claimed to have rejected all facets of existing society, including left-wing or revolutionary parties, such a belief clearly had appeal, and the very naïvety of this view was, if recognised, also most probably appealing. At the same time, the simple equation – personal liberation equals social liberation – implied,

for a time at least, that the tortuous question of political organisation could be ignored and that fun could be emphasised. Actions, not theories, provided the necessary glimpses of the revolution; thus the occupation by students at Hornsey College of Art in 1968, for example, was thought to have shown:

> a microcosm of society [which had] changed totally, the people who took over had to change the inner organization, to change its relationships to the outside world, and to change themselves. Revolution of thought and feeling is the only permanent revolution. A structure can only work so long as it grows out of feeling. The only magic wand was our imagination. Anyone, anywhere, can create this revolution.[112]

Revealingly, this article was headed 'Imagination Must Take Over', a reference to a slogan of the Paris revolutionaries of May 1968, and suggests that counter-culturalists in England may have felt rather left out of the excitement. The article also contained a curious reference to 'British revolutions' in a manner which seemed to suggest that there had been several such phenomena in British history. Such revolutions, it was claimed, were 'serious, orderly, moral affairs, admirable in their fairness and tenacity. What they tend to lack is a similar confidence in imagination'.[113]

Another article in the same edition stated that 'whether we like it or not', the revolution would occur within ten years. Revolution had 'nothing to do with blood, overthrowing systems, occupying places', but was brought about by 'positive and purposeful thought and action to make the present system obsolete'.[114]

But by 1969 it was becoming clear that revolution was not a natural process which must occur inevitably because people willed it to. Within the underground press, revolution began to receive more concrete and serious consideration. It was no longer merely a private, personal experience which occurred within people's heads and then with some luck and by a sort of magical process, within society at large. Rather it was becoming apparent, to some counter-culturalists at least, that the process of revolution could take a very long time indeed and required considerable thought and understanding as well as a concrete, recognisable form.

The revolution began to be called 'socialist', indicating a significant change; the move back to more orthodox ideas about

revolution had begun. *IT* began the 1969 New Year with the declaration that to achieve 'love and socialism', a 'new understanding' was required which must encompass a coherent awareness of 'straight' society and its system of production, without which 'we remain its servants'. This move towards a somewhat more Marxian framework involved criticism of the 'hippie' movement which had become, *IT* considered, 'the "right wing" of the youth revolt', combining an 'ideological "refusal"' with the 'pseudo-acceptance of the most fantastic superstitions'. At best a false search for 'freedom' in a world dedicated to repression (all of which was quite a contrast to *IT*'s earlier view that nothing short of the 'most fantastic thing we can imagine' should be demanded). The 'new understanding' must therefore be 'directed to the world, not above, below or beyond it'. The youth scene was 'polarising between those who want media blow-out and those who want to blow out the media',[115] the latter presumably being on the correct path to revolution. The counter-culture's project was envisaged as the 'classical Marxist project ... not the study of History from some remote scholarly vantage point, but the conscious domination of History by the men who make it' (recalling Marx's Thesis Eleven). This would, it was argued, achieve the counter-culture's ultimate aim: the abolition of politics.

Developing this theme in a later edition, *IT* stated that 'new revolutionaries' were seriously learning from past failures and striving to 'push beyond the existing frontiers of revolution', to create a (new) theory of revolution in harmony with the new decade which was to be 'above all a decade of revolution'.[116]

The emphasis had thus shifted to the necessity of creating flexible organisations which would serve the political aims of the counter-culture to redress its failure, so far, to inform and educate, a failure which had resulted from its lack of organisation. Complementing the need for organisation was the need for a 'truly Marxist (counter or Libertarian if you prefer!) *theory of revolution*'. Reflecting the apparent feeling that the really exciting revolutionary events and ideas were occurring outside Britain, it was suggested that British revolutionaries should learn how to organise from the German SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), 'probably the most effective student organization in the world'. The participation of the working class was acknowledged as essential to the success of the revolution. As a

consequence, 'genuine revolutionaries' must support workers' struggles, even if these appeared mundane at times. With characteristic self-importance and lack of regard for the lessons of history, the article concluded that the new revolutionaries 'will be the first generation in history to consciously plan and map out its own future, and create a society of its own'.[117]

Oz, likewise, drawing lessons from the events of May 1968 in France, wrote of the 'urgent needs' confronting potential revolutionaries. On the one hand the 'political Left, with its vast experience in agitation' was duty-bound to 'prove that organization, analysis, and programmes are capable of being effective in bringing about a revolutionary state, one which will not deteriorate into quasi-Stalinism as has befallen so many of the socialist countries'.[118] The other need was for revolutionaries and those who were simply 'counter-authoritarian', to understand existing forms of repression within society.

The one revolution in which *Oz* retained some faith was the Cuban, which it believed to be 'the hostage of the future', having promised from the start 'more than a revised edition of the socialism of the means and the capitalism of the heart'. To ensure that the Cuban revolution maintained its true path, *Oz* advised, with stunning arrogance, that 'a few brigades of ideological dissenters from Europe, the young who have discovered the way of the future through moral dissent' should be invited to Cuba to help build the revolutionary society.[119] It was apparently a more attractive task for revolutionary purists from England and Europe to guide Cuban revolutionaries, who had already at least begun to achieve their aims, than it was to set about the hard and at times boring work of making the revolution at home.

For the counter-culture, 1968 was the high point on the revolutionary horizon, the year when it had appeared that it all might happen, especially with the revolutionary events in Paris, where students had appeared set to topple the de Gaulle régime. And although 1968 did not, in fact, lead to greater revolutionary events for the counter-culture, it did represent a watershed for the peaceful 'love' revolution, a fact which was expressed most succinctly by *IT*:

> 1968 ended the politics of conscience. . . . Conscience means a bullet! They're shooting the good guys. . . . 1968 means the end of mysticism. The summer of love is buried.[120]

Revolutionary violence had been condoned by Marcuse as early as 1965 when he wrote that if revolutionaries use violence they do not start a new chain of violence, but try to break the established one, adding that 'no third person, and least of all the educator and the intellectual has the right to preach them abstention'.[121] The underground press after 1968 seemed not only willing to condone violence, but at times actually to yearn for it. Terrorism became shrouded in a sort of romantic mystique and the terrorist featured as the new revolutionary hero. Terrorism was, as *IT* observed, no longer a pejorative term, but 'on the contrary it represents the focal point of attraction. Today to be a terrorist is a quality that ennobles any honourable man'.[122]

Specifically, British terrorism was particularly commendable, the exploits of the Angry Brigade receiving wide publicity and support in underground publications. The bombing of the home of Robert Carr, architect of the Heath Government's Industrial Relations Bill, by the 'heroic Angry Brigade' was praised by *IT* both for the act itself and for indicating that English revolutionaries were following the example set by their counterparts in Ireland, Wales and elsewhere, 'by physically disrupting and destroying the activities of the oppressors, and finally making the voice of protest heard'.[123] Another article demonstrated the ease with which the end result of terrorism was condoned, when it was stated that 'had the bomb succeeded ... in killing Carr, his death would not have been a loss to humanity'.[124]

IT was used regularly by the Angry Brigade as a means of issuing communiqués,[125] and there were numerous other approving articles dealing with individual bomb attacks. Consistent with the pleasure felt by *IT* about the problems encountered by 'British imperialism' in Northern Ireland, delight was expressed that there had been '163 bomb explosions which have caused positive damage in Ulster this year. Power to the terrorists'.[126]

Frendz similarly applauded the Angry Brigade for 'bringing ... back home' the violence of British Imperialism in Northern Ireland, exhorting readers to 'support the Angry side' at home and abroad,[127] whilst the slightly more historically oriented *Oz*, for its part, praised the Russian (terroristic) Nihilist movement of the 1860s from which the United States Weathermen – equally praiseworthy – had drawn their inspiration.[128]

It seems that in this instance the underground press was not

leading its readers, as had appeared to be the case with ideas on revolutionary community control. The contents of letters columns of these publications suggest that terrorism was not only accepted but was generally approved. Readers who may have objected to the praise of terrorism seemingly did not feel sufficiently moved to protest against the views being expressed by underground writers on this subject. Given the variety of critical letters printed, and the apparent absence of censorship by underground editors, it seems unlikely that contrary views on terrorism were suppressed.

Not surprisingly, given the rapidly changing values in the counter-culture, many articles and letters at this time continued to highlight the diversity and often confused views within underground publications, owing partly to the lack of editorial policy and partly to the absence of a clear vision of what the revolution, the alternative society or the means of attaining them should be. Thus there were letters such as the one which saw the 'coming' of the revolution and its now inescapable violence as inevitable, due to the repression at large in society: 'the peaceful revolution we hoped for is not possible'. It was, however, still necessary to guard against imitating 'the worst aspects of the system', while at the same time fighting its violence and brutality with the same weapons. Clearly, remnants of the earlier desire for the peaceful revolution were intact, as the writer concluded that, in spite of the new reality that violence would be necessary, the counter-culture must 'not let ourselves become accustomed to that violence'.[129]

Conversely, some letters expressed concern regarding the underground press's adoption of left-wing politics as a means of attaining the revolutionary society.[130] Lingering doubts about the new, violent reality, as well as nostalgia for the peaceful revolution, were expressed by long-time *IT* staff member, Mick Farren, who criticised the tendency within the underground to dismiss 'hippy idealism' as childish and impractical and to advocate 'solid, sensible adult political solutions' in its stead. Farren regarded the retreat from 'a yippie, illogical revolution to solid Marxist Leninist good sense [as] possibly another symptom that social change toward a free human environment ... is losing ground'.[131] None the less, however appealing his pleas for a reversion to the original vision of the counter-culture, they now seemed to be made in a void.

Another regular contributor to *IT*, Jonathan Green, began to search hopelessly for a completely new direction, rejecting both the 'hippy' revolution and the 'Angry Brigade methods or traditional Left or New Left politics'. He regarded the achievement of the counter-culture as having been to 'break down the neat conformism that parents and school have offered us as the ideal way of life'. Education, Green believed, was the 'ideal way, possibly the only way', to attain the revolution. If the majority were educated away from the 'establishment view' then the alternative society would develop naturally.[132] But this idea apparently seemed so insignificant or unexciting as to provoke no response from readers.

Complementing the variety of post-1968 opinions on the forms of the revolution were a number of views on how the revolution should be brought about. Violence, as we have seen, seemed to have been widely accepted as an inevitable, if not desirable, ingredient; and the question of organisation began to receive more serious attention. The role of the working class and the Old and New Left was also considered more carefully, as well as the idea of 'freaks' taking jobs within the working class in order to perform the role of vanguard. The duty of the underground press as a revolutionary organ also received considerable attention. Again, there was no clear analysis of suitable tactics or strategy and from 1970 onwards the counter-culture, and its press, appeared to be in almost total disarray.

The one theme which did remain constant, however, was the importance of rock music. Whereas earlier in the counter-culture music, especially concerts, had played an important unifying and consolidating role, as well as offering a means of expanding consciousness and providing an experience of collectively experienced 'fun', after 1968 music came to be regarded chiefly as a medium through which the revolutionary message might be conveyed.

Rock albums and groups were now evaluated for their revolutionary message. For example, the British group, the Edgar Broughton Band, was praised for its involvement in the revolution.[133] Similarly, reviewing a newly released album by the American group, Jefferson Airplane, *IT*'s music critic pronounced the album 'Volunteers' as 'Campaign Songs of the Revolution' and quoted from one of the tracks for the enjoyment and education of its readers.[134] *Oz*'s review of this album was

euphoric: 'In the States they so nearly have a revolution. Every-thing there is so wired up it's ready to blow.' The fact that Jefferson Airplane, who had 'always' been involved in revolu-tionary activity had 'finally declared themselves 'Volunteers' seemed sufficient to indicate to the reviewer that the revolution was imminent. The 'marvellous thing' about Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead (another revolutionary US band) was their 'commitment', which was a 'source of most of their power'. Characteristic of *Oz*'s feelings of the unimportance of English events and personalities, compared with those overseas, the writer deplored the absence of such commitment amongst British groups, with 'half the Beatles retiring into photogenic old-age or the Stones caught in the dazzle of swinging London'.[135]

Some British groups warranted praise from *Oz*, however, notably rock group Third World War, with their 'fierce, raucous rock; the politics of revolution, of Molotovs, of skinheads'.[136]

Friends, similarly to *Oz*, while less inclined to regard England as a revolutionary backwater, proudly, if implausibly, asserted the revolutionary importance of the Rolling Stones, as 'the anarchist band': 'they do things no-one else would dare, they —— out our secret thoughts, they really tell it like it is'.[137]

Rock groups were expected to keep pace with the changed attitudes about the nature of revolution. British group, Hawk-wind, who claimed to be 'in it for the revolution' were criticised for their 'hip anachronism'. Their revolution was 'more rooted in the love and peace of hallucinogenic sixty-seven, than in the blood and guts of somewhat more hardened seventy'. It was too late for Hawkwind's 'love, peace and flowers'; but despite their incorrect 'over-optimism' in clinging to such ideals, they re-ceived some praise for seeking to use their power as a rock group to promote the idea of community bands.[138]

Traditionally, rock music had criticised everyday routine life by implication, and at times 'the system' specifically. Rock expressed the quest for a new cultural identity, a new social reality which could be shared by a generation. It is likely, however, that many of the people who listened to and bought the records of the revolutionary rock groups were attracted to the sounds produced rather than identifying with the sentiments expressed.[139] But those who were more receptive to – or searching for – revolutionary 'messages' in rock, were likely to draw comfort from what they were hearing.

Regardless of whether the lyrics were heard or heeded by the majority of listeners, what probably could not escape many of them was that revolutionary rock had moved beyond being simply an expression of a generation's insecurities and confusions and a vaguely expressed anti-system stance. Revolutionary rock had become – both in its lyrics and in the sounds it produced – a challenge, a call to arms, offering a more than usually ecstatic release from the problems of life in 'straight' society, and also, one suspects, a release from the problems of routine counter-cultural life.

Revolutionary rock did not begin the trend towards violent revolution and the apparent willingness to disregard the troublesome dichotomy between means and ends. Rather, like acid rock before it, which did not begin the popularity of acid and other drugs but merely confirmed such popularity, revolutionary rock reflected and formalised a trend which had been developing since 1968.

Those who regarded rock as the medium for developing and spreading revolutionary fervour and action failed to account for the fact that rock was confined within the capitalist system to which they were opposed. The author of a book on rock music perceived this dilemma, and accepted that rock could not of itself break down the rigid division between meaningless work and the 'passive consumption of "leisure" imposed by our society', since it was 'rooted in that very division itself'. What rock could achieve was to 'hold in suspension within itself qualities which could take a real part in social existence after a drastic [re]organization of life'.[140]

Clearly, Marcuse's point that

> the poems and songs of protest and liberation are always too late or too early: memory or dream. Their time is not the present; they preserve their truth in their hope, in their refusal of the actual[141]

had not been heeded, or if grasped, was not accepted.

Notwithstanding the enjoyment which was received from various rock groups committed to revolution, revolution itself had become a serious matter, something to be 'worked' at; the wheel had turned full circle. As one writer expressed it:

> The revolution began with a dove, with a CND sign on its breast. It became a peacock, fanning out a psychedelic

rainbow of bells, beads and Beatles. But for many it eventually became a hawk, whose outlook was that of stormy Weathermen, the Angry Brigade, or even the IRA.[142]

What had once been anathema to the counter-culture – revolution without the joy and fun of making, and more especially, living it – had become accepted, albeit often reluctantly, as the new reality.

5 The Decline of the Counter-Culture

> In five years, the Alternative society has less than a hundred acres and we've still hardly begun to work together.
>
> *Communes*, no. 33 (June 1970)

> ... if flower-power has gone to seed then germination must soon begin. And what King Weeds they'll be.
>
> *Frendz*, no. 32 [61] (August(?) 1972)

COMMUNES AND INDIVIDUALS

In attempting to analyse the decline of the counter-culture, a decline which was brought about by a multitude of external and internal factors, one might most usefully begin by examining the fortunes of the British commune movement of the 1960s which, at least in theory, had the potential to provide viable institutions for the alternative society.

Of course, the theory and practice of communal living has deep roots in British history, dating at least from the seventeenth century when Gerrard Winstanley propagated the idea of the communal tilling of common land, and the nineteenth century was particularly productive of experiments and projects. Robert Owen, for example, had put forward the idea that communities such as New Lanark would effect the salvation of society, whilst the anarchist Prince Peter Kropotkin in *Fields, Factories and Workshops* had envisaged communal living as a cell for the formation of a new society in the midst of the old, recognising at the same time that a fundamental or decisive transformation of society was only possibly through revolution. Elisée Reclus, on the other hand, had regarded it as necessary to remain within the mainstream of society rather than selfishly withdrawing from it, and has argued that significant social change was required before it was even possible to create anarchist communities, by which time he believed the necessity for such communities would

have disappeared.[1] He did, however, accept the validity of institutions which arose from the felt needs of the people,[2] and in consequence might have given a qualified approval to the British commune movement of the 1960s.

Still, it seems unnecessary for the purposes of this study to examine in detail the earlier history of communal efforts; the aim here is to examine the commune movement which was a part of the counter-cultural movement in Britain.[3] Apart from the simple fact that members of the commune movement in Britain during the 1960s were seeking an avenue for rejection of the dominant society, the movement itself may be regarded as a part of the counter-culture because of the inter-relationship between it and the underground press within and through which the movement received attention and sometimes found new members. This was most notable in the more rurally oriented underground publications such as *Gandalf's Garden*, but also in the more mainstream, London-based publications such as *Oz* and *IT*. Similarly, the involvement of BIT workers such as Nicholas Albery, who became a secretary of the Commune Movement, provides a more tangible link between these two aspects of the counter-culture. By 1970 most 'head shops' in London featured copies of the Commune Movement journal, *Communes*, alongside underground publications.[4]

As has been noted by historians of nineteenth-century communes, communal living is not about achieving a sudden change in the nature of society, but is a gradual process with revolutionary potential, being the first essential step towards the wider, more fundamental revolution, in that communal living involves individuals taking firmer control (and perhaps responsibility) over their own lives.[5] One of the unfortunate aspects of the Commune Movement under investigation was that its members seemed to fail to comprehend the process as gradual, and expected immediate success in the attainment of the ultimate goal of achieving the alternative society. Inherent in communal living is the tension between individual and group values and ideals, and the resolution of such conflict as a long-term process was one of the other problems with which the Commune Movement of the 1960s could not cope. Possibly these problems were partly due to the apparent lack of an historical perspective within the Commune Movement, and its disinclination to learn from previous communal efforts.

As far as can be established from the literary sources, the British Commune Movement of the 1960s – in the sense of a self-conscious British Commune Movement – grew out of the Vegan Communities Movement which itself had evolved from the Agriculture and Hand-Industries Mutual Support Association, and its journal, *Ahimsa Progress*, established in October 1964.[6]

In mid-1965 it was reported in *Ahimsa Progress* that members Betty and Anthony Kelly were resigning from the Association and founding a separate Association called the Vegan Communities Movement, which was primarily directed towards creating mutual support communities 'either radical, based on progressive thinking, or less radical and more attuned with our past traditions – but dedicated to mutual support nevertheless'.[7] Their journal would be called *Ahimsa Communities*, and the Constitution of the VCM would be 'democratic, even anarchistic'.[8]

Early editions of *Ahimsa Communities* included articles on the urgent need for people to become vegetarian because of population and resources problems facing the world;[9] on the necessity to both 'visualize the future', and to 'live in the present';[10] on problems inherent in achieving community, such as giving up 'capitalist-conditioned notions of security', perhaps by establishing schemes for donations by members over a 15-year period,[11] on the dissolution of AHIMSA (due mainly to personality problems and its 'autocratic' nature),[12] and on progress in the search for a suitable community site.[13] In October 1965 it was reported that a potentially suitable community site had in fact been found, but that following a meeting of potential community members the likelihood of the early formation of the community was slight, due to two unresolved problems. These were the question of the desirability of remaining in Britain or beginning a community overseas, and the concept of group marriage within the community.[14] Despite the lack of resolution of these problems, it was reported in December 1965 that the Kellys and another member, Pat Blackmore, were now living as an 'embryo community', pooling resources and 'committed to sexual as well as economic and social interdependence'. An invitation was extended to like-minded members to join them.[15]

The group marriage question was to remain a matter of

primary concern within the Journal, leading to a questionnaire on the subject. The absence of responses to this questionnaire led to the assumption that 'all members and readers are reasonably satisfied with the viability of this social innovation'.[16] Apparently not, however, as dissension between the VCM and the Vegan Society over this question ultimately led to the expulsion of Tony Kelly.[17] Group marriage was a problem which refused to go away, and assumed almost soap-opera proportions when Tony Kelly requested, some time later, somebody 'with love [to] fertilize Pat (Blackmore) as [his] own sperm was not doing its required job'.[18] The result of this request was not ever published. Yet again, after the Kellys and Pat Blackmore had ceased publishing *Communes*, a survey of the membership by the new editors included a section for views on the question of group marriage.[19] The apparent desire to formalise what might otherwise have been a quite natural way of allowing sexuality to be expressed remains an enigma.

Reviewing the fortunes of the VCM in 1965, Tony Kelly reported success in achieving the aim of attracting 'the radical anarchistic elements', and that membership of a conscious network of communes had spread to Germany, Eire and Australia, with journal subscribers in Canada and Sweden; he also reported a 'surprisingly good financial situation', donations accounting for about one-fifth of the Movement's total income.[20] It was also reported that Pat Blackmore and Tony and Betty Kelly had formed the basis for a community which would be called 'Selene' and were to begin actively searching for a site in the coming spring. In October 1966 it was reported that negotiations were in hand for the purchase of a site for the Selene community in South Wales, and an invitation was again extended to members wishing to join the venture.[21] The land was finally purchased in December 1966, and was envisaged as 'only the first of the VCM efforts', the necessity thereafter being to concentrate on forming other communities to cater for the different needs within the vegan ethic.[22] A Selene Community Constitution was adopted, which included as basic the notion of each member accepting responsibility for the general well-being of others, including children.[23] The Constitution was accepted on a two-month trial period, to allow for unforeseen faults to become obvious and to encourage suggestions for its improvement. It was explained that the Constitution had evolved slowly

over several years, but had been precipitated in the past couple of months by the realities of living closely together, and was regarded by Selene members as not so much a 'theory projected hopefully into the future', but rather as serving 'very real and pressing needs'. The basic impulse behind the Constitution reflected – in most simplistic terms – 'the basic ethic [of] anarchism' about which Tony Kelly had written earlier.

Progress reports on the Selene project indicated that, largely due to lack of motivation, progress with environmental improvements had been 'dismally slow', but more importantly, some changes in the Constitution had become necessary because of the 'startling fact' that despite Selene's anarchistic intentions, a hierarchical structure had developed, with Tony Kelly as the most dominant figure.[24] The fact of the hierarchy, and of the male figure as dominant, were both reflections of the dominant society they rejected. The anarchist element was to remain, none the less, it being stressed in the following edition that, in line with the decision to pursue a much wider advertising policy (partly in response to obstruction from the vegan and vegetarian societies in refusing to accept advertisements from the VCM), readers must be reminded that 'we are an anarchist movement'.[25]

In August 1968 *Ahimsa Communities* (Journal of the Vegan Communities Movement) metamorphosed into *Communes*, Journal of the Commune Movement, it being announced that the (now four) members of the Selene Community had decided that the vegan ethic was 'suspect'.[26] Throwing off the vegan ethic was regarded as a liberating experience; it was claimed that 'the scope for expansion is now virtually unlimited', and (in something of an anti-climax?) since the last issue eight new members had joined the Movement, as well as eight new journal subscribers (although whether these were the same people was not made clear).

On this positive note it was subsequently announced that Selene had purchased a new, more suitable property (also in Wales, 'Bryn Villa'), Selene members had become carnivores (which 'should prove helpful in our social relations'), and present membership stood at twenty-nine. It was also felt that the objectives of the Selene Community must now be expanded on more 'organised' anarchistic lines, and particularly that it was time to establish a Federation Fund, to enable the creation of other communities.[27]

Appeals for contributions to the Federation Fund were met with silence, however, and the perhaps inevitable problem – that Selene was dominating the Journal – was explained in terms of the Selene members 'doing nearly all the Movement's work as well as building a community'.[28] It was noted that, apart from Selene, there were about 25 members 'apparently' committed to the community concept in varying degrees. With respect to Selene, help in building the community was welcomed, as were visitors, with the exception of 'bouncing extroverts and un-moderate addicts of the Virginian weed'. Fees for visitors were set at ten shillings a day for adults and three shillings and seven pence for children, depending on appetite. Anything over seven shillings was to go to the Federation Fund.[29] Tony Kelly had some thousands of pounds in mind for the Fund, these monies to be made available as a grant or loan, or as security, for the formation of other communities similar to Selene.[30]

By the end of 1969, however, it was clear that Selene had more problems than just undesirable visitors. Reviewing the year at Selene, Tony Kelly admitted that 'failure' was the most honest and realistic description.[31]

During 1970 *Communes* began more coherently to reflect and serve the interests of the Movement, with propagandist articles – often beautifully illustrated with scenes of the arcadian style of life – on how communes might be organised as alternatives to the negatively perceived nuclear family.[32] Articles on the problems inherent in exclusively town- or country-based com-munities also followed,[33] as well as reports on the establishment of new communes,[34] and renewed appeals for contributions to the Federation Fund.[35] An article on 'Communes or the State' was also included. In this article communal living was presented as a radical solution to overcrowding and pollution, in which the Commune Movement was the vanguard in the sense of 'doing the experiments and providing the alternatives for those needing to escape'.[36]

At the end of 1970 the Federation Fund held £200 and membership of the Commune Movement was 286,[37] but the seemingly ever-present problems of any social movement for change were becoming extreme: the first issue of *Communes* for 1971 was a short one and contained the warning that: 'How long Selene is prepared to continue producing this Journal depends on what signs of commitment are received in the next few

months.'[38] Dissatisfaction with the prevailing apathy was voiced
again in the remark that the people at Selene felt that over the
years the community had been 'used [by Movement members]
for their vicarious dreams of communalism', and that a renewed
injection of people and enthusiasm was necessary in order to
avoid the community – and more importantly the Movement
itself – being 'overtaken with stagnation'.[39]

In August 1971 Selene ceased to produce the journal; a
reorganisation committee was formed (on Selene's impetus), and
the journal was henceforth to be produced by the three
secretaries of the Commune Movement in co-operation with a
journal co-ordinator, all of whom were confessedly inexperi-
enced, readers being requested to accept for the time being 'a
drop in aesthetic standards'.[40]

One of the first tasks of the new team producing *Communes*
was a survey of the membership: of the 380 members surveyed,
132 responded, perhaps indicative itself of the less than total
commitment of members, given that the journal was supposed to
serve and further the Commune Movement.[41]

From this point it seems that the journal *Communes* may have
ceased to exist. Subsequent editions in the Harvester Collection
varied in title: namely, *Commune Movement, Vegetarian Sub
Group*, and *Directory of Communes* (published by BIT), none of
which bore dates. Articles published ostensibly under the
umbrella *Commune Movement* became more polemical and
political in nature, in many ways reflecting the tone of articles in
the underground press by 1972.

Turning full circle, a *Vegetarian Sub Group* apparently came
into being, stating that the Commune Movement had been
based originally on the vegan ethic and asking to hear from
people interested in forming a vegetarian commune within the
federation. The *Directory of Communes*, published by BIT, dated
1972, followed, listing communes by region and containing the
warning that no commune listed might be visited without prior
notice (and self-addressed envelope for reply): 'Communes are
not crash pads'. The final note in the *Directory of Communes* was
to the effect that 'ideas about communes and interest in them has
grown tremendously, but growth of communes has been very
slow'.

In January 1973 the *Commune Movement Newsletter* was pub-
lished, stating that an examination of the Commune Movement's

finances at the end of 1972 had shown that it could no longer afford to publish *Communes* in its present form. On a hopeful rather than realistic note, it seems, it was concluded that

> the loss of the Journal does not mean the end of the Commune Movement – within the movement the newsletter can take the place of the Journal to some extent. Let's use it to the full – and build the Commune Movement back to the strength when a journal becomes possible.[42]

The journal *Communes* did not ever become a reality again, perhaps because of the lack of appreciation of the fact that it seems to have existed primarily because of the commitment of the Selene community who produced it for six years in the face of apparently minimal response from the members of the Commune Movement whom it was supposed to be serving. As stated by the *Commune Movement Newsletter*, the idea of community was strong and attractive, but the reality of at times harsh living conditions, and mundane labour such as hedging and trenching, had a dispiriting effect. And the question of personal relationships within small communities (even of like-minded people), with unwelcome straights and 'plastic hippies' as the major contact with the wider world, remained as difficult as ever.

ARTS LABS: OPENING UP AND CLOSING DOWN

The Arts Labs were, like the Commune Movement, a specific movement within the counter-culture, and carried the potential of developing into an alternative institutional expression for artistic endeavours of its members. First established in 1966, the Arts Labs' functions have been defined as: 'A participatory creative and community environment within which there is enough latitude to include every type of spectacle and experience that a particular group can conceive of or organize'.[43] A rather lengthy account of the origins of the Arts Labs was included in the same issue of the *Arts Labs Newsletter*, tracing them from poetry readings and jazz and experimental music shows in 1959, through 'other CND oriented organizations', up to the 'first true Arts Lab in 1966'. This was the 'Spontaneous Underground' held at the Marquee Club at Brighton every Sunday afternoon.

The distinction between stage and audience broke down immediately as people sat all over it, talking, having their hair cut, and so on. A group called the Pink Floyd gave their earliest public performances there and amazed everyone by their extraordinary technique of electronic feedback.... Donovan showed one Sunday and was backed by 12 sitar players. He wore red Egyptian eye make-up but couldn't remember it all the next day.

Andrew Rigby has offered a more useful description of the Arts Labs' purpose:

Firstly, to provide centres for the experimental arts; secondly, to become communities of creative young people in complete control of their physical and social environment. Third, to use the situation thus established as a base for work both in and for the larger [underground] community, and to provide a realistic alternative to the commercialised arts.[44]

The *Arts Lab Newsletter* was published by BIT from November 1969, initially at one shilling per issue, approximately monthly; a rather conventional-looking publication with few illustrations, presented in a somewhat botched duplicated style. Arts Labs were expected to type their own stencil and send this to BIT for duplicating and inclusion in the *Newsletter*. Cross-fertilisation between the Arts Labs movement and the underground press was more apparent than in the Commune Movement. For example, J. Henry Moore of *IT* was a co-director of the London Arts Lab, and other familiar names included Jon Goodchild of *Friends/Frendz*, John Hopkins and Jim Haynes of *IT*, and artist and *Bomb Culture* author Jeff Nuttall, who also produced some cartoons for early issues of *IT*. The *Arts Labs Newsletter* was also more consciously underground in its tone than was *Communes*, and included information, by regions, on activities of Arts Labs, on pop groups prepared to perform at Arts Labs for expenses only,[45] as well as articles on the alternative vision, including one highly reminiscent of *IT*'s diatribes against the parental generation and society at large:

Away with Society.... Away with false Art, false Literature, false Science.... We do not need this Genocide.... Away with false Leaders, Governors, Teachers, Parents that behave like

spiritual Vampires trying to eat your Soul, Cannabilistic
Bastards they are. They act unnaturally and Nature will
reward us for defying them.[46]

Not, however, that all articles were of the diatribe variety. The
announced closure of the Arts Lab at Brighton ('The Brighton
Combination') and of the London Drury Lane Lab prompted a
quite reasoned examination of the problems besetting the Arts
Labs. It was argued that 'even when the going was good', the
underground (which included the Labs) were 'never really
together': a lot was *said* about a communications system, but
only recently was the newsletter established: 'We all *believed* in
it, the whole scene going, and believing thought it must be real.'
Now the Arts Lab Movement as such was 'dead', and with it the
'vague do-your-own-thing philosophy'. More people and groups
were realising that a new definition of art could *only* come
through direct action in the community, and certainly not
through 'obscure experiments watched by a handful of
students'.[47]

Despite the closure of some key Arts Labs, and complaints of
apathy or limited co-operation from Labs which did not send in
material for inclusion in the *Newsletter*, or which sent in copy
only rather than the specified stencils, the *Newsletter* in the first
issue of its second volume was able to boast an impressive
circulation. Every one of the scores of Arts Labs in Britain, and
interested individuals and people doing similar work in
Australia, France, USA, Germany and Italy, as well as
organisations such as the Arts Council of Great Britain, the
Victoria and Albert Museum, the Library of University College,
London, the Department of Cultural Affairs, New York, and the
Contemporary Culture Centre, Philadelphia, were on the
mailing list.[48] Nevertheless, the problem of apathy remained,
leaving for some involved in the Arts Lab Movement the small
hope that, providing the current Arts Labs people could keep
going for long enough, they would find support from younger
and more active 'heads' emerging from the schools, who it was
thought, were 'more active in their belief in an alternative
society'.[49]

Time, however, was not on the side of the Arts Lab movement
and, as is the nature of time, it could not wait to see whether the
younger school-age 'heads' would achieve the redemption of the

movement. After a lapse of six months or so in publication, the *Newsletter* reappeared, with an obituary of the Arts Labs movement and a statement by its editor that unless sufficient, immediate interest – in the form of contributions and subscriptions – was forthcoming this would be the final issue.

From the perspective of the researcher the obituary was a fortunate inclusion, as it appears that the *Newsletter* folded and the Arts Lab movement as a movement folded not long after. Asking whether the failure of the *Newsletter* was due to editorial incompetence, or due to BIT (giving preference to producing its journal BITMAN), the editor suggested the fault lay primarily in contributors' lack of commitment to providing the *Newsletter* with stencils or even information. This was, as we have seen, a long-standing problem, but most likely mirrored the wider problem of the directionless state of the Arts Lab movement and the counter-culture itself. Whatever the causes, the editor concluded somewhat sourly that he felt the time was right for the *Newsletter* to die.[50]

> the time is indeed right – just as the Notting Hill Police are heading for the top of the league in the new national sport of Black-Kid-Kicking, as the cartels which control Fleet Street are neck and neck in the challenge for the Gutter Award, as Educationalists and Courts healthily compete in the fashionable arts of censorship and suppression; yes, the time is right, for the Arts Lab Newsletter to die.

To add to this depressed obituary, a notice to the effect that the London New Arts Lab had collapsed before even signing the lease for its premises, seemed an apt final commentary on the state of disarray into which the Arts Labs had fallen.

It seems from the above that whilst many Arts Labs had flourished, especially some of the regional ones such as Birmingham,[51] and may for a time have appeared to fulfil their self-appointed role as alternative structures for alternative creative endeavours, more was necessary. The lack of a strong structural base, in the form of the specific communications network offered by the *Arts Lab Newsletter* until 1969, was possibly one of the elements in the eventual breakdown of the movement. Arguably, had the *Newsletter* existed simultaneously from the creation of the first Arts Labs from 1966 onwards, more

cohesion could have been a significant factor in keeping the movement in touch with itself and in strengthening its efforts to create a truly viable alternative structure for the arts. Alternatively, had the underground press itself more consciously promoted the Arts Labs, rather than merely advertising their events, that is, genuinely served the community in this manner, the chances of the Labs might have been higher. Whether such cohesion would have been sufficient to prevent the Arts Labs from being used by consumers, rather than participated in, must remain unclear.

Even had this necessary cohesion and strength been achieved, however, it must remain questionable whether the Arts Lab Movement, like the Commune Movement, could have achieved its specific and specialised aims within the context of the wider counter-cultural movement which itself did not succeed in achieving unity of purpose or action, and which ultimately disintegrated. It is to this disintegration, as witnessed through the pages of the underground press, that we now must turn.

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS: CEASING PUBLICATION

It has been emphasised in earlier chapters that the underground press was the principal medium through which the counter-culture's values and ideals were projected and expressed; that the underground press was the only viable institution created by the counter-culture, and that it provides the most coherent documentary record of the value-system and fortunes of the movement. Thus the decline of the counter-culture was carefully recorded by its press. Many underground press writers perceived some of the fundamental causes of this decline. Clearly, though, mere articulation of problems was not sufficient; unless analysis was accompanied by proposals to counter the decline and the will to act upon such proposals, decline and disintegration were certain to continue.

One of the most obvious problems which confronted the underground press was that of finance. As observed elsewhere, record companies through their advertisements furnished a major source of income, and this in itself probably served as a major inhibition to challenging the economic structure of capitalist society. Moreover, having to worry about finance was

hardly a part of the supposedly 'fun' revolution, yet finance was a subject of periodic attention in even the most successful counter-cultural papers.

Admittedly, early in 1969 *IT* was able to announce, with some satisfaction, that over 40 000 people bought the publication, with perhaps a total of 150 000 people actually reading it,[52] which was financially all to the good. *IT* staff now had it 'comparatively easy – people take holidays with pay and in some ways we have the beginnings of a working life-style suited to the conditions of the age of leisure',[53] and contributions of over 500 words could be paid for, if necessary. Not to be outdone in the popularity stakes, *Oz* a little later reported that as over 40 000 copies of the previous edition had been sold, the print run for the current *Oz* had been increased to 50 000, 'making us easily the largest selling underground publication outside America'.[54] At the beginning of 1971, reporting on the collapse of *Idiot International* and the dormant state of *Black Dwarf*, as well as the by then parlous state of *IT*'s finances and *Friends*' struggle for survival, *Oz* suggested its own finances were still healthy, with 50 000 sales per month.[55]

Curiously, however, whilst *Frendz* notified readers of its dire economic situation in May 1971, indicating that a minimum of £980 was required to print each issue, and that its staff had not been paid for the past four weeks, and concluding with an urgent request for donations to keep the publication alive,[56] it was apparently not finances which ultimately led to its collapse. Indeed, whilst still reporting money problems, some donations had been forthcoming,[57] but by March 1972 *Frendz* was 'broke' and unable to pay for contributions. People were asked to send donations to the Contributors Fund, *Frendz*, with the guarantee 'that the money won't be used for anything else', and a surely slightly pathetic request for a typewriter was also made. Approximately £500 was required to pay off debts to suppliers and contributors, most of which were run up during the first three months of *Frendz*.[58] In spite of all this, it seems that *Frendz* finally folded due to other, unidentified, factors: the last issue of *Frendz* reported 'over-whelming' support from people ('happily everything goes well') and promised further issues, which did not, in fact, appear.

It seems fair to suggest that having to worry about finances, as well as having to countenance receiving revenue from exploitative

record companies which arguably had more to gain from the underground than the reverse, would have been a 'drag', detracting attention from more pleasant, fun aspects of the counter-cultural experience. Such worries were apparently very real and quite important, but it is probable that the decline of the underground press, and the counter-culture it reflected, were due to different and more weighty reasons.

The major problem was almost certainly disunity and lack of clear direction. This was well summed up in a letter from a 'middle-aged Protester' (by his own admission, a protester since the later 1930s!) who supported the underground but warned that the underground movement had not changed society at all, and had only succeeded in arousing 'mass hostility, and probably a consequent regression of humanist advance in all fields of everyday life – pursued and fought for by people not of your generation'. *IT* and the underground had, he continued, debased sex and degraded women to the level of 'Gang possessions'. More importantly, the underground had 'split up into factions ... [and] failed to make any worthwhile progress as a generation, to consolidate gains, and force out more'.[59] Not only had the underground factionalised, but, it was suggested, it had actually divided people rather than bringing them together.[60]

One of the things which seemed clear to those in the underground press 'scene' was the need to work more closely together: as one writer put it, if the alternative society was to be a real alternative, 'we must redefine our relationships with each other'. Behind-the-scenes power and personality struggles would have to cease.[61] To this end, Britain's underground papers eventually came together, in mid-1970, even if 'it took a trip to Manchester to make it happen'[62] (to inaugurate the opening of the New Arts Lab in Manchester, at which an underground newspaper conference was held). Though the London-based papers tended to dominate the conference, and did most of the talking and decision-making, an agreement on 'presenting a united distributing front and in setting up a pool of reporters and writers around Britain and the world' did eventually emerge.[63] It seems, however, from continued reports of distribution problems and London-centred news, that such an agreement may not have come to much in reality, and the larger problem confronting the underground – lack of direction – seems not to have been

discussed, even if on a positive note it could be said 'we did at least half-agree to co-operate. But it's taken us four years and a journey to Manchester just to get to that stage'.[64]

Lacking unity, the underground press turned upon itself, to the extent that 'criticizing underground trendiness [became] ... the new underground trend'.[65] In greater desperation, however, the underground press turned its attention to perceived potential allies among the working class, leading to illusions that events such as the miners' strike of 1972 might represent the 'spectre of revolution ... in the streets of Britain'.[66]

Yet *IT* had observed that the underground and the Left in England were 'almost comically disunited', militant Marxist publications being quite virulently opposed to 'freaks'.[67] It was suggested, however, that if the British Left could 'overcome its nostalgia for Victorian economics, German rhetoric and the General Strike', it could 'enrol the freaks instead of alienating them'.[68] As a step towards such *rapprochement*, *IT* published in the same issue the 'New Left Crib Sheet'[69] whose comments about the various groupings discussed were so sarcastic as to make it unlikely that the antagonism between the underground and the Left would be diminished, if indeed such an outcome was seriously intended.

The groping towards other perceived natural allies such as the sub-cultures of skinheads and bikers – including the allocation of the 'skinhead page' of *IT* in 1969–70 (later incorporated into the Music *IT* section), and the emphasis – especially in *Frendz* and to a lesser extent in *Oz* – on the resuscitation of the notion of revolutionary community control, were other manifestations of the underground searching for a purpose. These notions were not universally accepted, as was made clear by some criticisms or misgivings expressed by readers and in some cases regular underground contributors over the apparent abandonment of the earlier counter-cultural idealism. Some regarded these moves towards a hard-line political commitment as representing 'a trend in the underground media that has lately made it fashionable to dismiss hippie idealism as childish and impractical, and suggest a concentration on solid, sensible adult political solutions'.[70] Small wonder that, with the feeling of the 'heat' being turned on the underground with 'busts' and trials for obscenity, as well as the almost frenzied search for something new upon which to anchor hopes, the underground turned with

such apparent ease to the glamour of violence as expressed by
the British Angry Brigade, the IRA, the German Baader–
Meinhof group and United States Weathermen. For the Angry
Brigade, which actually used the underground press –
particularly *IT* – as a vehicle for publication of communiqués on
a number of occasions during 1970,[71] this was no doubt useful.

Reflecting upon the problems confronting the counter-culture,
Friends suggested in 1970 that the underground 'disturbingly
resembles the old society in every respect apart from *style*'.[72] The
counter-culture had, it was argued, become a monster.

> Having found it impossible to retreat into our heads, the next
> attempt was to retreat into an 'alternative society', which was
> to grow within and alongside the old. It grew alright; it now
> has its own media, its own production and consumption
> outlets ... its own social services, its own exploiters and
> exploited, and even its own cops (remember the Hyde Park
> concerts and Altamont? i.e. the Hell's Angels as 'keepers of
> order').

To the greatest possible extent, it could be argued that the
resemblance to straight society was most evident in relation to
the underground's attitudes towards and treatment of women,
and more specifically the renewed women's liberation move-
ment. It is not without significance that *Oz* in its final issue
'What Went Wrong?' article concluded that 'What finally
knackered the underground was its complete inability to deal
with women's liberation'.[73]

Already notorious for the '*IT* Girl' introduced in 1967, *IT* seemed
to remain committed to sexism, with advertisements such as
that featuring a photograph of a nude woman with the caption:

> Hi there! We wish to welcome into our folds Miss Brenda
> ('You got the money, I got the space') Anderson, 37–24–36,
> our new advertising manageress. Says 21 year old Brenda, 'I'd
> love to handle your insert. Call me at ...'.[74]

Apart from straightforward and positive reviews of Germaine
Greer's *The Female Eunuch*,[75] and listings of addresses of
Women's Liberation Groups in England,[76] as well as a survey of
women readers asking questions such as 'Do you feel that

women are fairly represented in the press? Are you conscious of the lack of women writers in the papers? Do you have any thoughts about women's lib. at all?'[77] (the results of which were not published), *IT* did not grapple with the issues raised by women's liberation.

Friends/Frendz had it both ways on the question of women. Reviewing *The Female Eunuch*, it was suggested that 'most people, including even chicks (sorry Germaine) ... would consider themselves fairly emancipated; the idea of Women's Liberation is a joke, and a rather bad one at that'.[78] Some months later *Frendz* reported positively on the seizure by 500 women of the Harvard Graduate School of Design and its proclamation as an all-female centre: 'A nice way to end 200 years of Harvard's male chauvinist tradition', but detracted from the positive account by heading the report 'Pussy Power'.[79] Still having it both ways, *Friends* in the previous issue had noted the 'decisive' role of women in the Paris Commune of 1871,[80] and in the following months a 'women's issue' of *Frendz* was published, put together mostly by women but not exclusively relating to women's issues, and containing the suggestion that 'Women's struggle has to be linked to the struggles of all groups to change the system',[81] a point which seemed to remain misapprehended by the male section of the underground.

Even if rather late in the day, *Oz* did seem to understand the necessity to move beyond tokenism with regard to women and their struggle.[82] 'The underground can no longer go on evading the issue' (of women's liberation), having observed at the beginning of the article that most underground and Left men resembled the rowdy male Communards who caused the closure of the women's clubs during the time of the Paris Commune. A (male) letter-writer to *Oz* reflected this view suggesting that to date *Oz* had been 'a sort of "Underground *Playboy*" ', and that some pictures and articles were still insulting to women and gays.[83] In spite of *Oz*'s poor record of 'sexploitation' of women, the magazine did welcome the forthcoming publication of *Spare Rib*, an alternative women's news magazine ('*Oz* warmly wishes them well, and urges readers to check it out').[84] Indeed, it was recorded that two of the staff of *Spare Rib* had been closely associated with *Oz*. In a backhanded manner, *Oz* congratulated itself on having 'goaded' one of the women into the venture, noting that she had 'written bitterly of *Oz* brutishness'.[85]

Indeed, it was not until the launching of *Spare Rib* in June 1972 that women were acknowledged for their capacity to produce a magazine of this kind. Nor were women catered for as participants in the alternative scene until this and subsequent feminist or feminist-oriented publications appeared. As *Spare Rib* founding editor and erstwhile secretary to *Oz* editors, Marsha Rowe, was to observe some years later, *Spare Rib* 'was begun because of the impetus of the women's liberation movement, but was also a daughter of the underground press. It was a product of the counter-culture and a reaction against it'.[86]

In its search for unity within its ranks and unity of purpose, as well as for natural allies, the underground and the counter-culture it reflected failed to take serious account of the significance of its women and more specifically of the ideological and organisational strength of the women's movement which owed much to its experiences both within the capitalist society and the counter-cultural challenge to it. The question of women's liberation was not only grasped too late and inadequately, but more importantly, women were apparently never considered as suitable candidates in the search for allies. In a very real sense it was in this respect perhaps more than any other that the underground reflected the contradictions both within itself and in the structures and ideology of capitalist society, the lack of equal opportunity in all its forms arguably being one of the chief ways in which capitalism maintains its hegemony. Even if the counter-cultural revolution had been 'won', it would, judging from the evidence presented in the underground press, have been a revolution achieved by and on behalf of men.

In terms of *realpolitik*, the counter-culture's identification of the necessity to somehow join forces with the working class, albeit hazily expressed and often in romantic terms, was both 'correct' and (once again) too late. Clearly the working class is vital for any revolutionary change, as the underground press finally did understand. The problems involved in linking up with the working class and the political left, not the least in overcoming mutual suspicions and at times hostility, were seemingly too great, and the counter-culture was not unique in history in its failure to achieve such unity.

Although it is going too far to suggest, as did one *Oz* writer, that the 'underground in general is so ahistorical it doesn't remember what happened to it yesterday',[87] an inadequate

understanding of the historical process was evident and was arguably a major cause of failure. Attention was paid in the underground press only to those historical events which in essence could be at least partially romanticised and thereby identified with symbolically, such as seventeenth-century Diggers, the Chartists, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Spanish Civil War, and the more problematic revolutions in Russia and Cuba. The background to these events and their dynamics were not examined, nor was the thorny and unattractive aspect of political compromise, which was implied but not sufficiently understood, it seems, in the discussions on the necessity or desirability of forging links with the Left and working class. In the end, it seems, the counter-culture was incapable of making the imaginative leap necessary to tangibly forge such links, in spite of all its rhetoric (largely borrowed from the French revolutionaries of 1968) about 'imagination seizing power'.

Similarly, the counter-culture's relationship with the dominant society was perceived primarily in oppositional terms, with little attempt actually to impact upon it in terms of forcing changes or gaining small areas of counter-cultural space. Constant churning out of what was regarded at the time as porn produced in the end repression in the form of 'busts' and trials, after which what was once regarded as shocking rapidly and easily became incorporated by the system. This is not the stuff of which revolution is made. The formation of services such as Release (for drug advice and treatment), BIT Information Service, and the Alternative Community Trust did serve the counter-cultural community, but were not able to overcome the larger problems of the community. The social legislation of the 1960s and 1970s which ushered in the 'permissive society' was largely ignored by the underground press, not being 'their' revolution, but merely irrelevant reforms (a little more paint on the old whore's face, as *Oz* had put it).

Contributing factors to the decline of the counter-culture and its failure to take only partially realised remedial steps may have been that it was a movement that, in general, seemed to prefer to talk to the already converted rather than actively seek out new followers, and also the burnout of key figures in the underground press and specific movements such as the Commune Movement. This process began quite soon for one *Friends* contributor who wrote early in 1970 of 'Now [being] the winter of our discontent',

of having 'grown up and wisd up in the '60s'.[88] Long-time
writer for the underground press, Jonathan Green, writing of the
demise of *Oz*, praised it for 'blowing the collective mind [which]
was immensely more receptive than it is today. That is, of
course, assuming that the collective mind even exists'. Describ-
ing *Oz* and other underground papers as a 'vital force', Green
suggested that by the end of the 1960s 'both the culture and the
press it had spawned were showing distinct signs of diminishing
impetus, the people who had formed it were getting older, their
enthusiasms were waning'.[89] In similar vein, Richard Neville
wrote of 'reading *Oz* now more out of duty than pleasure',
concluding that in the new realities of 1973,

> It seems so shallow to occasionally pick up the gauntlet of the
> State with a flourish of plagiarised slogans or to fight a
> journalists' revolution upon a barricade of underground press
> cards.[90]

CONCLUSION

It has been suggested that the counter-culture was 'ideologically
unique in the scope of its radicalism', in that it rejected

> the very forms of thought and existence which have been
> created by advanced industrial societies. It was the most
> fundamental and original kind of challenge to industrial
> capitalism, and potentially the most subversive; potentially
> also the most hopeless of adolescent fantasies.[91]

The question which arises is whether the breathtakingly
ambitious aim the counter-culture set itself was possible of
attainment. Probably it was not. When one considers the endur-
ance of capitalist society in the face of forces more potent than
the counter-culture, the challenge of the counter-culture – no
matter how attractive and fundamentally different from that of
the organised Left, for example – was almost predestined to be
defeated. In its own – extraordinarily ambitious – terms, the
counter-culture was a failure and was bound to fail.

Moreover, the more tangible legacies of the counter-culture do
not add up to much. The more relaxed attitudes towards

alternative expressions of sexuality, towards communal living, towards drugs – at least the 'softer' drugs – towards a variety of forms of self-presentation through dress, may well have come about anyway, given the elasticity of capitalist society and its ability to co-opt and legitimise what was once regarded as outrageous.

The rock industry has continued to flourish, probably aided by the innovative sounds and trappings introduced during the period of the counter-culture. (Kiss was in many ways the natural child of The Who and Alice Cooper.) Perhaps the rock industry benefited more than anything or anybody else, but few would now describe rock as 'serving the people', except in the eminently capitalist sense of providing its devotees with the ultimate consumer good.

Obviously, the counter-culture was an important social movement of the type defined by the sociologists Daniel Foss and Ralph Larkin.[92] Despite what some of its adherents and underground press chroniclers may have felt and claimed during its more balmy days, the counter-culture was in many ways more rebellious than revolutionary. But it would be wrong to disparage its revolutionary potential. In expressing an intense rejection of modern industrialised, capitalist society, it expressed also an intense hope for the future, and for a time it suggested to many young participants that a future of their own making was actually within their grasp. The fully-fledged counter-culture was, after all, of brief duration, and perhaps too great expectations were raised: that this movement would succeed where others had failed. Moreover, if 'success' is regarded in terms distinct from 'winning', and the counter-culture is regarded as contributing to the development of an already rich corpus of ideas and experiences within the anarchist tradition, then the movement can certainly be accounted a success. The counter-culture strengthened the revival of anarchism begun by the mainly young CND activists in Britain in the later 1950s and in so doing it could be of critical historical importance in the long run.

The counter-culture may be 'part of history', but it may someday inspire and guide a more successful wave of anarchist refusal.

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1: Towards a definition

1. Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London, 1983) p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 87.
3. A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckholn, *Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York, 1952).
4. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1973) p. 102.
5. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1976) p. 17.
6. Ibid., pp. 16, 311.
7. Ibid., p. 313.
8. Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1973).
9. E. P. Thompson, 'The Long Revolution', *New Left Review*, no. 9 (May–June 1961) p. 32.
10. Ibid., p. 33.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. E. P. Thompson, 'The Long Revolution – II', *New Left Review*, no. 10 (July–August 1961) p. 36.
14. Ibid., p. 39. It might be added that Thompson was somewhat Utopian in his projections here.
15. R. Johnson, 'Three Problematics: Elements of a Theory of Working-Class Culture', in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson (eds), *Working-Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory* (London, 1979) p. 234.
16. Hans Medick, 'Plebeian Culture in the Transition to Capitalism', in R., Samuel and G. Stedman Jones (eds), *Culture, Ideology and Politics* (London, 1982) p. 84.
17. Ibid.
18. Zev Barbu, 'Popular Culture: a Sociological Approach', in C. W. E. Bigsby (ed.), *Approaches to Popular Culture* (London, 1976) p. 56.
19. E. P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory* (London, 1981). Jorge Larrain's work, *The Concept of Ideology* (London, 1982), which in effect seems to be an attempt to treat the concept of ideology in much the same manner as Williams sought to examine culture, marks a significant continuation of the Althusserian approach within England.
20. S. Hall, 'In Defence of Theory', in R. Samuel (ed.), *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981) pp. 378–85.
21. S. Hall, 'Notes on Deconstructing "The Popular"', in ibid., p. 232.
22. Ibid., p. 233.
23. Ibid., p. 239.
24. J. Milton Yinger, 'Contraculture and Subculture', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 25, no. 5 (October 1960) p. 629.

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 625.
27. Ibid., p. 629, n.10.
28. James L. Spates, 'Counterculture and Dominant Culture Values: a Cross-National Analysis of the Underground Press and Dominant Culture Magazines', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 41, no. 5 (October 1976) p. 869.
29. Richard Flacks, *Youth and Social Change* (Chicago, Ill., 1971) p. 17.
30. Ibid., pp. 3–4.
31. Lauren Langman, 'Dionysus – Child of Tomorrow: Notes on Post-industrial Youth', *Youth and Society*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1971–2) p. 81.
32. Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor, *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life* (Harmondsworth, Midd, 1976) p. 148.
33. Fred Davis, 'Why All of Us May be Hippies Someday', *Trans-action*, vol. 5, no. 2 (December 1967) p. 12.
34. Kevin D. Kelly, *Youth, Humanism and Technology* (New York, 1972) pp. 161, 165.
35. Amply discussed, for example, in the review by Clive James, 'Under the Counter', *New Society*, 12 March 1970, pp. 449–50.
36. Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter-Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (London, 1970) p. 42.
37. Ibid., p. 1.
38. Ibid. Whereas the sometime 'guru' of the counter-culture, Herbert Marcuse, had argued earlier that the educator and the intellectual had no right to intervene, even if the disaffiliated young embarked upon violence to achieve their ends. Herbert Marcuse, 'Repressive Tolerance', in R. P. Wolff, Barrington Moore Jr and H. Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Reason* (Boston, Mass., 1965) p. 116.
39. B. Martin, *A Sociology of Contemporary Social Change* (Oxford, 1981) pp. 15–16.
40. D. A. Foss and R. W. Larkin, 'From "The Gates of Eden" to "Day of the Locust": an Analysis of the Dissident Youth Movement of the 1960s and its Heirs of the Early 1970s – the Post-movement Groups', *Theory and Society*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Spring 1976) p. 45.
41. Ibid., p. 46.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., p. 47.
44. Kenneth Westhues, quoted in Frank Musgrove, *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter-Culture and the Open Society* (London, 1974) p. 9.
45. H. Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1973) ch. 2.

Notes to Chapter 2: The Precursors of the Counter-Culture

1. This is argued quite cogently, for example, in F. Musgrove, *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter-Culture and the Open Society* (London, 1974), and H. Bloom, *The Ringers in the Tower* (Chicago, Ill., 1971).

2. Reviewing De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater, IT*, no. 115 (21 October–7 November 1971) p. 21, wrote: 'The fact that the book was written in 1821 makes it even more amazing that the book reflects some of the pre-occupations and attitudes of the modern underground.... De Quincey's deep sense of fellowship with common humanity enables his personality to cross the time barrier.'

3. R. N. Stromberg, *After Everything: Western Intellectual History since 1945* (New York, 1975) p. 34.

4. T. Maschler (ed.), *Declaration* (London, 1957) pp. 7, 22.

5. E. P. Thompson, 'The New Left', *New Reasoner* (Summer 1959) p. 7.

6. For example, Denis Potter in *The Glittering Coffin* (London, 1960) p. 49, wrote that the young people in his predominantly working-class home town were 'gleefully conscious' of the gap which divided them from their parents. They were 'more anarchistic and individualistic', and less prepared than their parents to accept trade union morality, as well as being unsure of the culture to which they belonged. See also A. Marwick, 'Youth in Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. v, no. 1 (1970) p. 37.

7. K. Leech, *Youthquake* (London, 1973) p. 1.

8. John B. Mays, *The Young Pretenders: A Study of Teenage Culture in Contemporary Society*, 2nd edn (New York, 1967).

9. P. Rock and S. Cohen, 'The Teddy Boy', in V. Bogdanor and R. Skidelsky (eds), *The Age of Affluence, 1951–1964* (London, 1970) p. 289.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. G. Melly, *Revolt into Style: The Pop Arts in Britain* (London, 1970) pp. 35–6.

13. Rock and Cohen, op. cit., p. 134.

14. *Daily Sketch*, 23 March 1954, quoted in Rock and Cohen, op. cit., p. 294.

15. Ibid., p. 307.

16. Potter, op. cit., p. 61; Alex McGlashen, 'Sex on these Islands', in A. Koestler (ed.), *Suicide of a Nation?* (New York, 1964) p. 206.

17. S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London, 1972) p. 18.

18. D. Widgery, *The Left in Britain, 1956–1968* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1976) p. 45.

19. Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer* (London, 1959) p. 3.

20. Ibid., p. 9. Of the 2¾ million male teenagers, 2 200 000 were in work; and of the 2¼ million females, 2 million had jobs.

21. Ibid., pp. 9–10.

22. Alan Sillitoe, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (London, 1962) p. 64. Supporting Melly's comments about Teddy Boys' lack of interest in hygiene, Arthur donned his best Ted suit over soiled underclothes, having washed the dirt of a day's work in the factory from his face and hands.

23. Rock and Cohen, op. cit., p. 296. They add that delinquent gangs were not a common feature of British society, and even in 1956 when the Teddy Boy movement was at its height, gangs were insignificant in numbers.

24. Ibid., p. 307.
25. T. Harris, 'The Teenage Criminal' (11 April 1963), in T. Raison (ed.), *Youth in New Society* (London, 1966) p. 129.
26. Rock and Cohen, op. cit., p. 308, and J. B. Mays, op. cit., p. 27.
27. For example, Mays, op. cit., p. 22.
28. T. R. Fyvel, quoted in ibid., p. 25.
29. Leech, op. cit., p. 1; Abrams, op. cit., pp. 1 and 19.
30. Melly, op. cit., p. 33.
31. Rock and Cohen, op. cit., p. 310.
32. A. Bicat, 'Fifties Children: Sixties People', in Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 324.
33. Melly, op. cit., p. 39.
34. Ibid., p. 36.
35. Ibid., p. 37.
36. Ibid., p. 47.
37. Colin MacInnes, 'Young England, Half English', *Encounter* (December 1957) p. 4.
38. Melly, op. cit., p. 49. Mays, op. cit., p. 351, supports the view of the model of a new world provided by such figures, suggesting the working-class youth experienced success vicariously, through the overnight transformation of working-class youths into successful artists and performers (for example, Terence Sharp, ex-tug-boat worker receiving £100 000 film contract for 'Billy Budd').
39. Abrams, op. cit., pp. 13–14.
40. D. Q. P. Houwer Muloch, 'Teddy Boys and Teddy girls', *International Child Welfare Review*, vol. xv, no. 4 (1961), and J. Nuttall, *Bomb Culture* (London, 1968) p. 26.
41. A useful and sympathetic attempt to sketch a methodological framework for research into the relationship between girls and sub-cultures may be found in the contribution of Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber, 'Girls and Subcultures', in S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds), *Resistance through Rituals* (London, 1976). The authors present evidence to suggest that girls were present, 'but in marginal or at least highly patterned ways' in Teddy Boy subculture (p. 213).
42. Abrams, op. cit., p. 19.
43. Ibid.
44. E. P. and M. Eppel, 'Adolescent Values', in Raison, op. cit., p. 16.
45. Rock and Cohen, op. cit., pp. 308–9.
46. Melly, op. cit., p. 148. It is interesting that symbolism was to remain the obsession amongst working-class youth (and middle-class youth, later) until around 1967 when the skinheads appeared, making almost a fetish out of the symbolic use of work clothes as *their* fashion.
47. Ibid., p. 34.
48. D. Hebdige, 'The Meaning of Mod', in Hall and Jefferson, op. cit., p. 93, states that 'Mod' referred to several distinct styles, being an umbrella item used to cover everything which contributed to the (recently launched) myth of 'swinging London'.
49. Melly, op. cit., p. 150. There were Mod girls, 'cool' like the boys, extremely fussy with detail in clothing and devoted to style. Mod girls

affected white, mask-like faces, heavily made up. Their hair was cropped and their appearance was 'sexless [and] flat' (Cohen, op. cit., p. 193). Whilst it seems that girls were irrelevant to Mods, there is evidence to suggest that Mods were the least 'male chauvinist' of the postwar teenage groups of this period; see McRobbie and Garber, in Hall and Jefferson, op. cit., pp. 217–18.

50. G. Mungham and G. Pearson, *Working-Class Youth Cultures* (London, 1976) p. 152; A. MacGuire, in Raison, op. cit., p. 122.

51. Indeed, so much so that the Oxford Dictionary definition of Mod reads: '1960s teenager of group notable for sophistication and tidiness'. Nuttall, op. cit., p. 35, states they wore 'the muted stripes, short collarless jackets, pointed shoes, narrow dress, cropped hair, mock-collegiate' look of Italian fashion.

52. Melly, op. cit., p. 150; MacGuire in Raison, op. cit., p. 112.

53. Mungham and Pearson, op. cit., p. 153. Similarly Laing, *The Sound of Our Time* (London, 1969) p. 150, suggests that the Mods 'looked alright but there was something in the way they moved which adults couldn't make out'.

54. Hebdige, op. cit., pp. 92, 94.

55. Melly, op. cit., pp. 150–1.

56. Leech, op. cit., p. 3.

57. Melly, op. cit., p. 150, offers a different reason: that this implied homosexuality was simply an expression of narcissism, Mods preferring to use each other as looking-glasses. (He also offers a worthwhile discussion of a short-lived period of overt homosexuality as a response by the original Mods to their commercialisation (p. 152). A discussion of the ultimate fate of the term 'Mod', which was taken over by working-class criminal gangs, is also included.)

58. Hebdige, op. cit., pp. 89, 100.

59. Amphetamines: 'purple hearts', dexedrine, benzedrine, ethedrine, methedine, etc.

60. Hebdige, op. cit., p. 90.

61. Nik Cohen, *Pop from the Beginning* (London, 1969) p. 143.

62. Quoted in ibid., p. 167.

63. Melly, op. cit., p. 152. Female Rockers 'looked like men in drag' (ibid.).

64. Cohen, op. cit., p. 185.

65. This led Melly (op. cit., p. 33) to suggest that Marlon Brando (especially in the film *The Wild One*, presumably) was the real 'father' of the Rocker: 'He was the link between the dangerous motor-biking nomads of America and their British working-class imitations.'

66. Ibid., p. 152.

67. Nuttall, op. cit., p. 35.

68. MacGuire, in Raison, op. cit., pp. 121–2.

69. Leech, op. cit., p. 2.

70. MacGuire, in Raison, op. cit., p. 109; Leech, ibid., p. 4. See also Cohen, op. cit., p. 71, for a different analysis of this.

71. The most notable being Cohen's *Folk Devils*, which attempted to trace 'The Creation of the Mods and Rockers', but which omitted to present a

picture of either, explained by Cohen as being due to his greater interest in the audience, rather than the actors (pp. 25, 27).

72. Cohen, ibid., p. 158.
73. Ibid., p. 34.
74. Ibid., p. 165.
75. Ibid., p. 140. An extreme example of this was a dance hall in South London where a white painted line on the floor separated the Mods and Rockers (Leech, op. cit., p. 4).
76. Nuttall, op. cit., p. 37.
77. J. Clarke, S. Hall, T. Jefferson and B. Roberts, 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class', in Hall and Jefferson, op. cit., p. 9. Cohen, op. cit., p. 192, states that the symbolism of the Mods and Rockers was of more importance than what they actually did and that they touched 'delicate and ambivalent nerves' through which postwar social change in Britain was experienced.
78. J. Osborne, *Look Back in Anger* (London, 1957) p. 15.
79. Ibid.
80. As his socially superior wife said, 'I don't think one "comes down" from Jimmy's university. According to him, it's not even red brick, but white tile.' Graduates left, rather than 'came down'. Ibid., p. 42.
81. Ibid., p. 83.
82. Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 254.
83. J. Wain, *Hurry on Down* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1961) p. 25.
84. Ibid., p. 52. This was a difficult task, as Charles realised, acknowledging earlier in the novel (p. 39) that his accent immediately identified him, or as he expressed it, would 'give him away'.
85. Ibid., p. 250.
86. Ibid., p. 248.
87. J. Braine, *Room at the Top* (London, 1972).
88. K. Allsop, *The Angry Decade* (London, 1964) p. 213.
89. K. Amis, *That Uncertain Feeling* (London, 1962) p. 143.
90. John Osborne, 'They Call it Cricket', in Maschler, op. cit., p. 70.
91. C. Wilson, 'Beyond the Outside', ibid., *passim*.
92. D. Lessing, 'A Small Personal Voice', ibid., p. 17.
93. J. Osborne, 'They Call it Cricket', ibid., p. 74.
94. J. Wain, 'Along the Tightrope', ibid., p. 103.
95. K. Tynan, 'Theatre and Living', ibid., p. 111–12.
96. Allsop, op. cit., p. 137.
97. K. Amis, 'Socialism and the Intellectuals', in G. Feldman and M. Gartenberg (eds), *The Beat Generation and the Angry Young Men* (New York, 1958) pp. 330, 315.
98. Lessing, op. cit., p. 22, although she regarded the Angry Young Men to be ultimately 'an injection of vitality', expressing something new.
99. Osborne, 'They Call it Cricket', in Maschler, op. cit., p. 17. This was not the only time Osborne lamented the 'American Age' – for example, 'Sex and Failure' in Feldman and Gartenberg, op. cit. Osborne saw the 'American Age' as cultural hegemony.
100. Jean (22 years old) in J. Osborne, *The Entertainer* (London, 1958) p. 78, after the funeral of her brother, a National Service soldier who

was killed by the Egyptians in the 'imperialist' invasion of the Suez Canal.

101.   Osborne, in Maschler, op. cit., p. 68. The Lord Chamberlain had another six years of pre-censoring plays, before this role was taken from him by an amendment to the Obscene Publications Act in 1964.

102.   Widgery, op. cit., p. 45.

103.   C. Driver, *The Disarmers* (London, 1964) p. 12. Bertrand Russell in his *Autobiography*, vol. III: 1944–67 (London, 1969) p. 103, recalled the unexpectedly large attendance of 5000 people at the public launching of CND in the following month where 'overflow' meetings had to be held to cope with the crowd. See also Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 225.

104.   Most notably John Osborne, John Braine, Kingsley Amis, Doris Lessing, most of whom later formed the literary/artistic element of the Committee of 100: Nuttall, op. cit., pp. 44, 53.

105.   G. Paloczi-Horvath, *Youth Up in Arms* (London, 1971) p. 160.

106.   Nuttall, op. cit., p. 20.

107.   Ibid., p. 20.

108.   Ibid., p. 42.

109.   Thompson, op. cit., p. 1.

110.   Widgery, op. cit., p. 100. The most notable opposition to nuclear weapons had occurred, he argued, between 1947 and the first Russian explosion of an H-bomb in 1953, with communist-led peace movements campaigning against the bomb and obtaining over one million British signatures for the Stockholm peace appeal.

111.   Russell, op. cit., p. 97.

112.   Driver, op. cit., p. 39; also Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 223.

113.   F. Parkin, *Middle-Class Radicalism* (Manchester, 1968) p. 56.

114.   Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 13.

115.   Parkin, op. cit., p. 144.

116.   Ibid., p. 39. Some motives for joining CND may not always have been born of such moral concern for humanity, as one 20-year-old student indicated in the *New Statesman*, 25 March 1961, p. 470: 'I did join CND but that was because the chances of sex were higher.'

117.   Nuttall, op. cit., p. 48.

118.   Leech, op. cit., p. 10.

119.   Driver, op. cit., p. 59.

120.   Nuttall, op. cit., p. 47. Parkin, op. cit., p. 159, also noted that, for the young, the marches contrasted favourably with the 'bureaucratized and authoritarian methods of the [existing] youth organizations and political parties'.

121.   Parkin, op. cit., p. 165, n. 1; CND officials were apparently troubled about this fact.

122.   Russell, op. cit., p. 110.

123.   Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 250.

124.   Ibid., p. 250.

125.   Adam Roberts, 'The Uncertain Anarchists', *New Society*, 27 May 1965, p. 17.

126.   Paloczi-Horvath, op. cit., p. 162.

127. Ibid., also Russell, op. cit., p. 113. The latter provides interesting accounts of discussions between Russell and the American, Ralph Schoenman, whose idea it was to form the Committee of 100; and also with Canon Collins of CND prior to the formation of the Committee. It should be noted that while no longer officially associated with CND, Russell continued to actively support it after the breakaway.

128. Paloczi-Horvath, op. cit., p. 163. For example, during Easter 1961, 30 000 people marched against the bomb in Copenhagen, and there were marches in the US, Canada, West Germany, Italy, Norway, Holland and New Zealand. It is likely that such activities contributed to the mood of rebellion in Western European societies in the mid-1960s, out of which the counter-culture emerged.

129. Quoted in ibid., p. 163.

130. Roberts, op. cit., p. 17.

131. Widgery. op. cit., p. 104. He has also suggested that the meetings of Women Against the Bomb, which excluded male reporters, were first signs of the revival of radical feminism.

132. Ibid., p. 111.

133. A. Marwick, *The Explosion of British Society, 1915–1970* (London, 1971) p. 175.

134. Allsop, op. cit., p. 16.

135. For example, the title of Bogdanor and Skildesky's book on Britain in the period 1951–64.

136. Paloczi-Horvath, op. cit., p. 85.

137. Cohen, op. cit., pp. 191ff, deals with the sociology of moral panics.

138. Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 259.

139. *The Entertainer* and *Look Back in Anger* being the most obvious examples of this.

140. A. J. P. Taylor, 'Look Back at the Fifties. (i) backwards to Utopia', *New Statesman*, 2 January 1960, p. 5.

141. A. Sampson, *Macmillan: A Study of Ambiguity* (London, 1967) p. 115.

142. Ibid., p. 157. Some of this popularity may, however, have been a legacy of Macmillan's years as Minister for Housing in Churchill's government, in which capacity his achievements far outstripped those of the previous Labour Government.

143. Ibid., p. 6.

144. Ibid., p. 96, 102. (In the 1955 election Macmillan was one of the Tories' 'star performers'.)

145. Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 208. Malcolm Muggeridge recorded his impression of the speech thus: Macmillan in his person seemed 'to embody the national decay he supposed himself to be confronting. He exuded a flavour of mothballs' (M. Muggeridge, 'England, Whose England?', in Koestler, op. cit., p. 29.

146. Speech of 20 July 1959, quoted in Sampson, op. cit., p. 158.

147. Ibid., p. 166.

148. Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 56, give figures of the actual increases in these terms; also Marwick, op. cit., p. 138.

149. Ibid., p. 56.

150. Ibid., p. 57.

151.   Ibid., p. 59.
152.   A. Sampson, *Anatomy of Britain* (London, 1962) p. 100.
153.   Bogdanor and Skidelsky, op. cit., p. 56. A. Sampson, *The New Anatomy of Britain* (London, 1971) p. 125, has noted that education spending rose from 3.2 per cent of GNP in 1954 to 6.4 per cent in 1970, and that for the first time more was being spent on education than on defence.
154.   Sampson, *New Anatomy of Britain*, p. 125.
155.   Marwick, op. cit., pp. 148–9.
156.   Sampson, *The New Anatomy of Britain*, p. 199.
157.   Ibid., p. 206. As Richard Hoggart observed in 1960: 'It's terribly difficult to get out of the Oxford–Cambridge feeling: like class itself in Britain, it's the last thing we let go after our clothes, I think.' Quoted in ibid., p. 197.
158.   Potter, op. cit., p. 13.
159.   H. Thomas (ed.), *The Establishment: A Symposium* (New York, 1959) p. 15.
160.   Ibid., p. 19.
161.   Ibid., p. 20. In a rather amusing attempt to upstage Fairlie, Thomas recalled using the term in conversation in August 1954 while passing the Royal Academy, adding that in 1953 the term was not in use.
162.   G. Goldie, *Facing the Nation: Television and Politics, 1936–76* (London, 1972) p. 220. The first edition of *TW3* had an audience of 3.5 million; during winter 1962–3 the audience increased to around 8–10 million.
163.   Ibid., p. 225.
164.   D. Frost and N. Sherrin (eds), *That Was The Week That Was* (London, 1963) p. 48.
165.   Nuttall, op. cit., p. 115.
166.   The first series, titled 'Crazy People', went on air on 28 May 1951; retitled the *Goon Show* 22 January 1960.
167.   Spike Milligan, *The Goon Show Scripts* (London, 1972) page unnumbered.
168.   Melly, op. cit., p. 63. Curiously, the jargon for the swinging London clubs in 1965 was 'hippy joints' (p. 94).
169.   Ibid., p. 95. (Annabel's address was appropriate – the basement of a William Kent house in Berkeley Square.)
170.   Ibid., p. 98.
171.   Ibid., p. 99.
172.   Ibid., p. 175.

Notes to Chapter 3: Proclaiming the Counter-Culture

1.   The launch-party was advertised in *IT*, no. 1 (October 1966) pp. 10 and 12 as follows: 'Trip Blow-Out Rave. All-Nite. 15 October 11 p.m. . . . Lovers of the World Unite. Costumes, Popstars. Breakfast. Tickets 5/- . . .'. The party was also reported, enthusiastically, in *New Society*, 27 October 1966, p. 637.

2. *IT*, no. 2 (31 October–13 November 1966) p. 14. It was noted in conclusion that 'It should be said that throughout the event the police were co-operative.'

3. Bernice Martin's comment that the counter-culture (or 'underground', as she preferred to call it) bore the classic marks of a millenarian movement in the sense of its self-perception of being 'poised on the narrow divide which separates history from its fruition' is aposite to the exhilarating early period of the English counter-culture. B. Martin, *A Sociology of Contemporary Social Change* (Oxford, 1981) p. 118.

4. The term 'ruling generation' is used here in preference to 'ruling class', as it was in terms of generations rather than class that the counter-culturalists in this period seemed to perceive their struggle for the attainment of the alternative society. The war between the generations was to hot up in 1968, but interestingly, after 1968 interest in class conflict and identification of class enemies reappeared, as will be shown.

5. A term which was employed, albeit cautiously by *IT* (no. 10, 13–26 March 1967, p. 3): 'our movement ... is not so much a movement as a ... what? ... It is essentially an inner-directed movement – those involved in it share a common viewpoint, a new way of looking at things – rather than a credo, a dogma, or an ideology.' It was impossible to define this new attitude: 'you either have it or you don't'.

6. D. Bouchier, *Idealism and Revolution: New Ideologies of Liberation in Britain and the United States* (London, 1978) p. 152.

7. Ibid., p. 153.

8. M. Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures* (London, 1980) p. 103, argues this point quite cogently. See also L. Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries* (New York, 1972) pp. 13, 19, where it is argued that only in the pages of the underground press can one find the 'Movement'.

9. K. Leech, *Youthquake* (London, 1973) p. 124, and L. Leamer, ibid., p. 181.

10. R. Neville, *Play Power* (London, 1970) p. 120.

11. *IT*, no. 1 (14–27 October 1966) p. 2.

12. Ibid., p. 8.

13. Neville, op. cit., p. 127.

14. Taken over by its staff in 1968 and re-registered as a workers' co-operative. In 1969 the offices were again taken over by rebel staff with the help of members of the London Street Commune, see below.

15. Neville, op. cit., p. 125. The first of these was *The Village Voice*, started by John Wilcock, who remained in the underground scene. It was to Wilcock that Richard Neville attributed the definitive shift to 'under-ground' by *Oz*, after Wilcock was quest-editor of the sixth issue of that paper. Ibid., p. 139.

16. J. Nuttall, *Bomb Culture* (London, 1968) p. 161.

17. Ibid., p. 165.

18. Ibid.

19. John Spiers (ed.), *The Underground and Alternative Press in Britain: A Bibliographical Guide* (Brighton, Sussex, 1975) p. 41; also Neville, op. cit., p. 136.

20.   Neville, op. cit., p. 138.
21.   Ibid., p. 25.
22.   Probably called *London Oz* to distinguish it from Australian *Oz*, also
       founded by Richard Neville (co-founder Richard Walsh) in 1963.
       London Oz reported (no. 1, p. 3) that Australian *Oz* was 'still thriving
       with a circulation of approximately 40 000', and subscriptions were
       solicited. Australian *Oz* ceased publication in 1969.
23.   To be examined later in this chapter.
24.   The difficulties encountered by *Oz* in retaining the services of printers
       was a result of this boundary-stretching – the journal having some 26
       printers in the period 1967–73.
25.   *Frendz*, no. 29 (21 May 1971) p. 5.
26.   In the Harvester Collection as *Friends*, no. 1. It is interesting to note that
       no reference of the breakaway is to be found in issues of *Rolling Stone*
       around this period, suggesting that perhaps the event did not take place
       amicably.
27.   Aptly termed 'a wonderful wizard' by John Noyce in his introduction to
       the microfilm collection of *Oz*, reel 1 (1967–8).
28.   Neville, op. cit., p. 138.
29.   Arts Labs were experimental centres for the arts, created by the
       underground or counter-cultural community. An examination of their
       role and potential is to be found in ch. 5.
30.   As has been noted, the alternative title, *IT*, was chosen after the London
       Times threatened legal action: Spiers, op. cit., p. 41. Interestingly, *IT*
       itself did not refer to this.
31.   *IT*, no. 1 (12 October 1966) p. 1 editorial and p. 2 'The Editor Speaks'.
32.   Anarchist provocateurs. Detailed descriptions of Provo philosophy and
       activities may be found in Neville, op. cit., pp. 21–4, and Nuttall, op.
       cit., pp. 179–80.
33.   London *Oz*, no. 1 (February 1967) cover.
34.   *IT*, no. 6 (16–29 January 1967) editorial.
35.   Other examples of *Oz*'s fine-tuned witticisms were to be found in
       headings such as 'Department of Malicious Gossip', under which it was
       'reported' that an employee of the *Daily Mail* had been fired for trying to
       improve the paper (*Oz*, no. 1 (February 1967) p. 3). To give *IT* credit,
       though, it should be noted that at least some attempts at 'fun' were
       made: from January 1967 at the top of each page the letters 'I.T.' were
       employed for comic purposes such as 'Insufferable Times', etc.
36.   Reflecting the origins of the editor Richard Neville, the Art Director,
       Martin Sharp, and the benefactor who provided the funds to set up the
       publication, Peter Ledeboer.
37.   For example: Straight society – associated items on censorship and Mrs
       Mary Whitehouse, the farcical institution of the House of Commons,
       sensationalism and immorality of Fleet Street journalism; Drugs –
       attacking the perceived ignorance of most opponents of their use,
       especially on the part of parliamentarians; Black Power – supportive
       article by Colin MacInnes; the Radical Action Adjustment Society
       (RAAS) and its leader, Michael X.
38.   The paucity of any direct reference to England was surprising, given the

near-obsession in later issues of *Friends/Frendz* with revolutionary community control, the implication being that this must be achieved in England. The absence of this category in any of the four issues surveyed in detail shows up the limitations of such surveys; some key interests simply did not feature in the particular issues selected for the sample. This anomaly was also quite striking in the survey of *IT*.

39. For example: Politics – Greek peace march, student politics, Labour defeat in the Greater London Council elections; Vietnam – LBJ in London later in the year, Provo actions against the War, rumours of a planned US invasion of North Vietnam, Committee of 100 sponsored month of activity against British support for the War; Sex – request for readers to write to their MPs urging them to vote for the provisions in the Report Stage and Third Reading of the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill, article on the Street Offences Act and prostitution; Pirate Radio – 'bust' and consequent tactics by Pirate Radios to avoid legal restraints, such as employing non-British personnel, broadcasting from ships in international waters and servicing the ships abroad; Arts Lab – new one to open in London, organised by *IT* personnel Jim Haynes and J. Henry Moore; China – support for Cultural Revolution as an end to old modes of thought and action.

40. Cover design by Martin Sharp. Whilst Sharp obviously cannot be credited solely for the visual excitement offered by *Oz*, doubtless much of its success was due to his creative efforts.

41. *Oz*, no. 7 (October/November 1967) p. 28.

42. The first anniversary issue of *Oz* (no. 9, February 1968) explained these and other matters in considerable detail, and in fact did offer what could be termed a blueprint.

43. *Friends*, no. 7 (29 May 1970) p. 13.

44. Ibid., p. 14.

45. Ibid., p. 15.

46. *IT*, no. 19 (October 1967).

47. *Oz*, no. 9 (February 1968) p. 12.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., pp. 7–8.

50. *Friends*. no. 19 (13 November 1970) pp. 14–15.

51. In fact *IT*, no. 164 (5–19 October 1973) was the last issue in the first series of *IT*. A second series of *IT* appeared for three issues in 1974; and *IT* appeared yet again in 1975, merged with *Maga*. Enquiries of John Spiers, Managing Director of Harvester Press have confirmed this information, and also that the third incarnation of the (merged) *IT* was very different from the original *IT*. John Spiers has informed the writer in a letter (11 November 1981) tht *IT* had appeared yet again since 1975, calling itself a new series, and that none of these later series had been filmed by Harvester as yet. His letter continued: 'Negotiations have been in hand on several occasions only to be disrupted by the transitory nature of the editorial boards', and that it was hoped that permission would soon be received to film these later series of *IT*.

52. But not without a note of sadness, and of nostalgia for the earlier, happier days.

53. *Oz*, no. 48 (Winter 1973) p. 43.

54. Ibid., pp. 20, 32, 33, 49.

55. Did *Oz* feature these ads purely for the money? Did *Oz* readers in large number buy these goods? Was sex advertising a part of *Oz*'s love of shocking society (by 1973 not very shockable, surely), or was it simply a sell-out to the crass commercialisation of sex so deplored by, amongst others, the resurgent women's movement.

56. *Frendz* (n.d.), no. 35, pp. 15, 20.

57. John Spiers, op. cit., p. 37, has suggested that *Frendz* no. 33 was 'the last effective issue', numbers 34 and 35 being primarily advertising issues to recoup losses. Although *Frendz*, no. 35 is the last issue to be microfilmed by Harvester, Spiers's notes inform us that in Spring 1973 the *Frendz* collective announced suspension of publication. One presumes that there was no further issue after December 1972.

58. *Frendz* (n.d.), no. 35, pp. 2, 10, 17.

59. Ibid., p. 23.

60. A long-time writer for *Oz*, David Widgery, suggested that from the start *Oz* had an 'intuitive radicalism'. *Oz*'s personality, he added was 'so contradictory that many feared a serious instability of character.... *Oz* was attempting to promote a cultural uprising'. *Oz*, no. 40 February 1972) p. 62.

61. *Oz*, no. 1 (February 1967) p. 3.

62. *Oz*, no. 3 (1967) p. 15.

63. Ibid., p. 13. Not that such criticisms prevented *Oz* from providing, in the same issue, sample letters to MPs in favour of pirate radio stations, abortion law reform and legislation decriminalising the use of marijuana and LSD (p. 14).

64. *Oz*, no. 6 1967) p. 13.

65. *Oz*, no. 4 (1967) p. 15.

66. 'Russia, You Have Bread, But No Roses', *Oz*, no. 8 (January 1968) pages un-numbered.

67. Ibid.

68. *IT*, no. 7 (30 January–12 February 1967) editorial.

69. *IT*, no. 20 (27 October–9 November 1967) p. 7.

70. *IT*, no. 8 (13–26 February 1967) p. 7. .

71. *IT*, no. 11 (21–28 April 1967) p. 5.

72. *IT*, no. 10 (13–26 March 1967) pp. 3–5. It might be added that 'time' was another concept with which *IT* writers were to grapple frequently, prompting one *Oz* reader to suggest that *IT*'s resources could be better – and less frustratingly – spent (*Oz*, no. 17 (1968) letters).

73. D. Cooper (ed.), *The Dialectics of Liberation* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1971) pp. 11 and 202.

74. *IT*, no. 17 (28 July–13 August 1967) p. 3.

75. *IT*, no. 20 (27 October–9 November 1967) p. 8.

76. *IT*, no. 19 (5–20 October 1967) cover. *IT* also announced in this issue, in somewhat self-congratulatory tones, that over 150 copies of the paper were sent free to 'our friends' in prison in France, Turkey, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Germany, [South] Korea, USA, Spain, Canada, Italy, Kuwait and England. It was noted that Wormwood Scrubs, Pentonville and Holloway Prisons had all refused prisoners' requests

for *IT*, suggesting to *IT* that Roy Henkins was afraid the paper might corrupt prisoners' morals.

77. It was pointed out that *IT* only called itself a 'newspaper' because 'the word had been handed down by history'.
78. *IT*, no. 22 (15–28 December 1967) p. 2, editorial.
79. At the same time asking 'do we really hold within ourselves the living germs of a real and worthy new society?'.
80. *IT*, no. 22 (15–28 December 1967) p. 2, editorial.
81. Ibid.
82. *IT*, no. 28 (15–28 April 1968) cover page.
83. *Oz*, no. 9 (February 1968) pp. 7–8.
84. *IT*, no. 32 (31 May–13 June 1968) cover.
85. 'Alternative Society Now', ibid., pages un-numbered.
86. This does not include the additional half page dealing with Arts Labs news.
87. 'BIT' being written in such a way that it incorporated the *IT* motif.
88. Neville, op. cit., p. 41.
89. Leech, op. cit., pp. 101–2.
90. 'Dutschke', *IT*, no. 32 (31 May–13 June 1968) pages un-numbered.
91. *Oz*, no. 13 (undated: June 1968) p. 6.
92. Ibid., p. 22.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., p. 23.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid., pp. 9, 10, 11 and 18.
97. Ibid., pp. 27–9.
98. Ibid., p. 32.
99. Ibid., pp. 35–7.
100. Ibid., pp. 33–4.
101. Ibid., p. 6.
102. Ibid., p. 32.
103. *IT*, no. 34 (28 June–11 July 1968) pages un-numbered.
104. Neville, op. cit., p. 136, informs that 'Knullar' means 'fuck' in Swedish, a fact which *IT* passed over.
105. 'Cosmocracy', *IT*, no. 34 (28 June–11 July 1968) pages un-numbered.
106. *IT*, no. 66 (10–23 October 1969) p. 10.
107. Ibid.
108. *IT*, no. 67 (6–20 November 1969) p. 2.
109. Ibid., cover.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid., p. 16.
112. The copy of *International Free Press* appears in the Harvester Microfilm Collection between *IT*, nos 66 and 67.
113. *IT*, no. 75 (13–26 March 1970) p. 2.
114. *IT*, no. 96 (26 January–11 February 1971) p. 2, editorial.

Notes to Chapter 4: Living the Counter-Culture

1. See ch. 1.

2.   A. Esler, *Bombs, Beards, and Barricades: 150 Years of Youth in Revolt*
      (New York, 1971) p. 89.
3.   Their politically oriented contemporaries outside the counter-culture
      had their own cults of republicanism or socialism (ibid. p. 89), reflecting
      the contemporary dichotomy between the counter-culture and the New
      Left.
4.   To be a 'member' of the counter-culture is a behavioural phenomenon
      where people live what they believe as a means to social liberation
      through their personal liberation. P. Buckman, *The Limits of Protest*
      (London, 1970) p. 225.
5.   Esler, op. cit., p. 92.
6.   Ibid., p. 7.
7.   D. Kelly, *Youth, Humanism and Technology* (New York, 1972) p. 161.
8.   R. Mills, *Young Outsiders: A Study of Alternative Communities* (London,
      1973) p. 19. The survey was based on interviews with a standardised
      questionnaire on a random sample drawn from the electoral register of
      the London Metropolitan Region (p. 27).
9.   T. Leary, *The Politics of Ecstasy* (London, 1968) p. 291.
10.   R. Neville, *Play Power* (London, 1970) p. 219.
11.   *Frendz*, no. 6 [34] (22 July 1971) p. 4.
12.   Neville, op. cit., p. 222; another positive feature of play was that it should
      be non-competitive.
13.   Jean-Paul Sartre, cited in N. N. Greene, *Jean-Paul Sartre: The Existen-
      tialist Ethic* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966) p. 17.
14.   Neville, op. cit., p. 209.
15.   Ibid., p. 224.
16.   Ibid., p. 213.
17.   Ibid., p. 211.
18.   For example, ibid., p. 213: 'Gone are contracts, time checks, fixed
      holidays, strikes, division of labour and doing things in triplicate.' Also:
      'When underground organizations can afford to pay wages, everyone
      usually gets the same, which isn't much, but without property or status
      fixations, who nees money?'
19.   Whilst some reviews of *Play Power* within the underground press were
      favourable, for example, *Friends*. no. 16 (2 October 1970) p. 22; *IT*,
      no. 73 (12–25 February 1970) p. 6, a number were also highly critical.
      One scathing reviewer (*IT*, no. 74 (27 February–15 March 1970) p. 7)
      considered the book to be 'enchantingly written in the best dilettante hip
      graffiti, and destined to become the "establishment's guide to the
      underground"'. A reviewer in *Oz* wrote that the book was 'written with
      extreme intelligence and self-awareness and wit', but that Neville still
      'blows it', largely due to being 'conservative about drugs, prudish about
      violence and a raving reactionary about women', *Oz*, no. 26 (February/
      March 1970) pp. 44–5.
20.   Neville, op. cit., pp. 120, 155.
21.   *Frendz*, no. 29 (21 May 1971) p. 23. In the penultimate edition of *Oz*
      (no. 47 (April 1973) n.p.) it was revealed that the average weekly
      earnings of *Oz* staff over the previous three years had been £17 per week,
      'and all the overtime you can eat'.

22. *Oz*, no. 46 (January/February 1973) n.p.
23. *Oz*, no. 48 (Winter 1973) n.p.
24. *Friends*, no. 3 (20 February 1970) p. 11.
25. *Friends*, no. 10 (24 July 1970) p. 5.
26. Ibid., p. 27. Elsewhere (*Friends*, no. 13 [14] (28 October 1971) pp. 12, 13), it was asserted that the 'alliance of anarchist improvisation and visionary awareness' which characterised the 'rhapsodic politics' of the counter-culture, was locked in a revolutionary battle with the 'Reality Principle', that is, the 'mad rationality' which was 'straight' society.
27. *Oz*, no. 19 (n.d. 1969) p. 23.
28. One such attempt, by some-time writer for *Black Dwarf*, John Hoyland, indicated the at times extreme eclecticism of the English counter-culture. *IT*, no. 57 (23 May–5 June 1969) p. 3.
29. *IT*, no. 20 (27 October–9 November 1967) p. 8, editorial. Not that *IT* staff may have felt the need to 'drop out' of their jobs which were, it was stated elsewhere with some pride, 'comparatively easy – people take holidays with pay, and in some ways we have the beginnings of a working life-style suited to the conditions of the age of leisure', *IT*, no. 52 (14–27 March 1969) p. 2.
30. *IT*, no. 22 (15–28 December 1967) p. 2, editorial.
31. *IT*, no. 58 (13–28 June 1969) p. 5.
32. H. Marcuse, *Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics and Utopia* (Boston, Mass., 1970) p. 78.
33. *Oz*, no. 32 (January 1971) pp. 7–9.
34. Ibid.
35. *Oz*, no. 46 (1973) n.p.; *Friends*, no. 24 [52] (31 March 1972) p. 2. A letter to *IT* (no. 125 (9–23 March 1972) p. 4) similarly declared that 'the adventure has gone out of the revolution'.
36. For example, *IT*, no. 73 (12–25 February 1970) p. 3, editorial.
37. *IT*, no. 104 (19 May–2 June 1971) p. 23. This survey had the dual aims of learning more about readers to assist in deciding editorial policy, and for presentation to *IT* advertisers.
38. Esler, op. cit., p. 273.
39. Buckman, op. cit., p. 229.
40. Neville, op. cit., p. 18.
41. *IT*, no. 7 (30 January–12 February 1967) p. 3 [by no means the final word].
42. *IT*, no. 8 (13–26 February 1967) p. 3. However, *IT* does not seem to have followed its own advice. Despite warnings regarding drug abuse, there was an underlying suggestion in other articles that the 'black romance' was valid, for *IT* at least.
43. *IT*, no. 1 (12 October 1966) p. 6.
44. *Oz*, no. 6 (n.d., 1967) p. 14.
45. *Oz*, no. 31 (November/December 1970) pp. 10–13.
46. *Oz*, no. 34 (1971) cover.
47. *Oz*, no. 37 (September 1971) n.p.
48. *Oz*, no. 42 (May/June 1972) p. 54.
49. *Frendz*, no. 3 [31] (14 June 1971) p. 6.
50. *Frendz*, no. 28 [57] (26 May 1972) p. 21.

51. *IT*, no. 90 (22 October–5 November 1970) p. 2.
52. *IT*, no. 135 (n.d., 1972) p. 15. The emphasis of *IT* – and other underground publications – upon 'the revolution' by this period will be examined later in this chapter.
53. *Oz*, no. 30 (October 1970) p. 8.
54. *IT*, no. 63 (29 August–11 September 1969) p. 18. Not that the counter-culture needed excuses to have fun.
55. *IT*, no. 158 (12–26 July 1973) pp. 12–13.
56. Ibid. He also estimated that perhaps half a million people had been to one festival or more in Britain.
57. *IT*, no. 108 (15–29 July 1971) p. 11.
58. *Frendz*, no. 28 [57] (26 May 1972) p. 13.
59. *Friends*, no. 15 (2 October 1970) pp. 2–5.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. *IT*, no. 87 (10–23 September 1970) p. 7. Germaine Greer was also criticised for staying in the backstage enclosure and trading 'small talk with rock business flunkies, and [wondering] why the kids don't liberate themselves'.
63. *IT*, no. 83 (17–30 July 1970) p. 8.
64. *IT*, no. 84 (30 July–13 August 1970) p. 5.
65. *IT*, no. 132 (19 June 1972) p. 30. Unfortunately, the efficiency of the proposed 'people's committees', if used at all, is unknown, as there were no further reports of festivals in the underground press in the period chosen for this study.
66. The film captured the contradictions of festivals. On the one hand, it demonstrated the spectator element, on the other hand, it captured the feeling of peace and tranquillity and togetherness achieved at this particular event. Viewed years later, the film still manages to convey the sense of hope which Woodstock so clearly represented at the time.
67. *Friends*, no. 8 (12 June 1970) p. 28. (*Friends* was never very strong on grammar.)
68. Ibid.
69. J. Eisen (ed.), *Altamont: Death of Innocence in the Woodstock Nation* (New York, 1970).
70. *IT*, no. 72 (28 January–11 February 1970) p. 11.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 13.
73. Ibid.
74. *IT*, no. 73 (12–25 February 1970) p. 17.
75. *IT*, no. 77 (9–24 April 1970) p. 19. Quoted in an article which tried to comprehend the realisation that the entire 'new culture' had turned out to be 'mostly a hype'.
76. Eisen, op. cit., p. 41.
77. Ibid., p. 84.
78. Ibid., p. 71.
79. Ibid., p. 51.
80. The reasons why the counter-culture appears to have failed will be examined in the final chapter.

81. D. Guerin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (New York, 1970) pp. 13–14.

82. *IT*, no. 11 (21–28 April 1967) p. 3. It was also hoped that *IT* could perform the same task on a global scale.

83. *IT*, no. 24 (19 January–1 February 1968). See also *IT*, no. 22 (15–28 December 1967) p. 2, editorial.

84. *IT*, no. 24 (19 January–1 February 1968).

85. Ibid.

86. *Oz*, no. 6 (n.d., 1967) p. 23.

87. Ibid. Widgery contributed to *Oz* at various times throughout its career, and wrote the Underground's 'obituary' in the last edition of *Oz* in 1973. Note the slightly irreverent apeing of Mao Tse-tung.

88. *Oz*, no. 7 (October/November 1967) p. 28.

89. This paradox was, he added, well demonstrated in the contradictory attitudes of the Weathermen with their slogan 'Fight the People', that is, the working class who had been 'bought-off', and the White Panthers' (US) slogan: 'Serve the People', that is, we've got to make the revolution for them; both of which were, Pountain held, absurd.

90. *Friends*, no 21 (January 1971) p. 8.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid. *IT* had perceived the necessity of solidarity with the skinheads in late 1969, when a regular page in each issue had been allocated to skinheads. This continued until March 1970 after which skinhead information was included within the main body of *IT*. *Friends/Frendz* offices were situated in Notting Hill, and the publication frequently featured community news, particularly in relation to blacks in the area.

93. *Friends*, no. 22 (19 January 1971) p. 8. The precondition for such community control was worker-control of industry, a popular demand, particularly amongst Trotskyite groupings at this time.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. *Friends*, no. 23 (2 February 1971) p. 8.

97. Ibid.

98. *Friends*, no. 24 (22 February 1971) p. 2.

99. *Friends*, no. 28 (3 May 1971) p. 13.

100. *Frendz*, no. 24 [52] (31 March 1972) p. 2.

101. *Oz*, no. 37 (September 1971) pp. 8–9.

102. *Oz*, no. 43 (July/August 1972) p. 17.

103. *IT*, no. 100 (25 March–5 April 1971) p. 2, editorial.

104. *IT*, no. 120 (30 December 1971–13 January 1972) p. 5. Other 'good' things about 1971 were: advances made by Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation, good rock albums from Lennon, the Grateful Dead, etc.; also the exploits of the Angry Brigade, and the 'increasingly bogged-down' position of the British Army in Northern Ireland.

105. *IT*, no. 103 (6–20 May 1971) p. 5. The Alternative Community Trust was registered as a legal charitable trust fund, in order that donors to it could claim tax deductions, providing one more example of the dialectic between the alternative society and the society upon which it was forced to depend.

106. R. Flacks, *Youth and Social Change* (Chicago, Ill., 1971) p. 138.
107. *Friends*, no. 28 (3 May 1971) p. 13.
108. Ibid.
109. *Friends*, no. 10 (24 July 1970) p. 5.
110. *Friends*, no. 3 (20 February 1970) p. 5.
111. L. Langman, 'Dionysus – Child of Tomorrow: Notes on Post-industrial Youth', *Youth and Society*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1971–2) p. 86.
112. *IT*, no. 34 (28 June–11 July 1968) n.p.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., n.p.
115. *IT*, no. 47 (1–16 January 1969) p. 3.
116. *IT*, no. 52 (14–27 March 1969) p. 6.
117. Ibid.
118. *Oz*, no. 17 (n.d., 1968) n.p.
119. *Oz*, no. 9 (February 1968) n.p.
120. *IT*, no. 48 (17–30 January 1969) p. 3. The 'good guys' referred to were R. F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. Later, 1968 was a year which engendered nostalgia: in 1973 in an article about the continuing Vietnam War, writer for *IT* longingly recalled the 'heady days' of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign of 1968.
121. H. Marcuse, 'Repressive Tolerance', in R. P. Wolff, *et al., A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston, Mass., 1965) p. 155.
122. *IT*, no. 92 (20 November–3 December 1970) p. 8.
123. *IT*, no. 96 (28 January–10 February 1971) p. 3.
124. Ibid., p. 10.
125. For example, *IT*, no. 101 (8–22 April 1971) p. 13 (also communiqué from the Weathermen, USA, p. 14); *IT*, no. 104 (19 May–2 June 1971) p. 5; *IT*, no. 106 (16–30 June 1971) p. 5; *IT*, no. 110 (12–26 August 1971) p. 3; *IT*, no. 116 (4–18 November 1971) p. 3.
126. *IT*, no. 108 (15–29 July 1971) p. 4. Similarly, the Baader-Meinhof Gang inspired the same kind of vicarious romanticism, see for example *IT*, no. 132 (19 June 1972) pp. 8–9; *IT*, no. 145 (1973) p. 7.
127. *Frendz*, no. 12 [40] (14 October 1971) p. 3.
128. *Oz*, no. 39 (n.d.; [1971]) n.p.
129. *IT*, no. 113 (23 September–7 October 1971) p. 2. A letter to *Friends*, no. 18 (13 November 1970) p. 13, had expressed similar sentiments.
130. For example, *IT*, no. 136 (n.d.; [1972]) p. 2; *Frendz*, vol. 2, no. 29 (21 May 1971) p. 2.
131. *IT*, no. 123 (10–24 February 1972) p. 17.
132. *IT*, no. 134 (n.d.; [1972]) p. 15.
133. *IT*, no. 66 (10–23 October 1969) p. 21. Broughton did not want to assume a leadership role, but hoped that listeners would make up their own minds about the revolutionary message in his lyrics.
134. *IT*, no. 72 (28 January–11 February 1970) p. 14. The lyrics quoted were: 'All your private property is / target of your enemy / And your enemy is We. We are the forces of chaos and anarchy / Everything they say we are we are / And we are very / Proud of ourselves.'
135. *Oz*, no. 27 ('Acid *Oz*') (n.d.; [1970]) p. 35.

136. *Oz*, no. 35 (n.d.; [1971]) p. 44. 'Molotovs' – the cocktail rather than the commissar.
137. *Friends*, no. 18 (13 November 1970) p. 42.
138. Ibid., p. 11.
139. Flacks, op. cit., p. 64, reports that a 'systematic study' had shown that many teenagers did not even hear the lyrics, and that if they did, did not attribute general political or cultural meanings to them.
140. D. Laing, *The Sound of Our Time* (London, 1969) p. 183. Laing concluded that if such an alteration of life included the destruction of prevailing notions of work, leisure and money, it would almost certainly entail the abolition of rock music itself.
141. H. Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1973) p. 40.
142. *IT*, no. 129 (4 May 1972) p. 13.

Notes to Chapter 5: The Decline of the Counter-Culture

1. M. Fleming, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Elisée Reclus and Nineteenth-Century European Socialism* (London, 1979) p. 55.
2. Ibid., p. 128.
3. Some excellent studies of earlier commune movements may be found in W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560–1960* (London, 1961); K. Rexroth, *Communalism: From its Origins to the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974); D. Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1979); and of course, M. Buber's classic work, *Paths in Utopia* (London, 1949).
4. A. Rigby, *Alternative Realities: A Study of Communes and Their Members* (London, 1974) p. 98.
5. Hardy, op. cit., p. 234.
6. *Ahimsa Progress*, vol. 1, no. 4 (18 November 1964) p. 27 (Harvester Press Microfiche Collection). The inaugural meeting elected officers of the Association (3 males, 1 female – the Vice-President) and adopted a Constitution, which included the propagation of the doctrine of Ahimsa; that is, the abstention from killing or injuring living things, and especially from slaughtering all forms of sentient life to use their bodies for food or raw materials. It seems there were approximately one dozen people present. The journal was to be bi-monthly.
7. *Ahimsa Progress*, vol. 2, part 1, no. 5.
8. Ibid.
9. *Ahimsa Communities*, no. 3 (June 1965).
10. Ibid., no. 4 (August 1965).
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. Tribute was paid to AHIMSA, however, as the necessary forerunner of VCM.
13. Ibid. Membership of the VCM at this time was 22.
14. Ibid., no. 5 (October 1965). The following edition (no. 6, December 1965) reported the receipt of two letters – one for and one against – the group marriage concept, debate about which was to continue.

15. Ibid., no. 6 (December 1965).
16. Ibid., no. 11 (October 1966).
17. Ibid., no. 18 (December 1967).
18. *Communes*, no. 37 (March 1971).
19. Ibid., no. 39 (August 1972).
20. *Ahimsa Communities*, no. 7 (February 1966).
21. Ibid., no. 11 (October 1966). A 20-acre site, on poor agricultural land, costing £100, thus leaving surplus capital for development. Members were invited to join 'with or without poly-conjugation [sic] in mind'.
22. Ibid., no. 14 (April 1967).
23. Ibid., no. 16 (August 1967).
24. Ibid., no. 18 (December 1967).
25. Ibid., no. 19 (February 1968). This continued to be stressed; for example, a long-winded article on 'Basics of the Anarchist Commune' by Tony Kelly, ibid., no. 20 (April 1968).
26. Ibid., no. 22 (August 1968). It was also reported that the BBC had recently sent a reporter to Selene and that Tony Kelly had given a recorded talk which included 'the ethics of poly-conjugation and community'.
27. *Communes*, no. 23 (October 1968). The journal was titled '*Communes*, Journal of the Commune Movement. Formerly *Ahimsa Communities*' until the end of 1968, after which it was merely titled '*Communes*. Journal of the Commune Movement'.
28. Ibid., no. 24 (December 1968).
29. Ibid., no. 25 (February 1969).
30. Ibid., no. 26 (April 1969).
31. Ibid., no. 30 (December 1969). The journal was also losing money at this time.
32. For example, ibid., no. 33 (June 1970) which provided a detailed picture of the social, co-operative set-up and philosophy of communal life, including quotations from David Cooper on the family ('the ultimate and most lethal gas chamber in our society').
33. Ibid., no. 33 (June 1970).
34. Ibid. (in Norfolk).
35. Ibid., £70 to date: it was estimated that if all readers contributed one shilling per week the Fund would at this date contain £2000.
36. Ibid., no. 35 (December 1970) article by Tony Kelly.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., no. 36 (January 1971).
39. Ibid., no. 38 (June 1972). Included in this issue were reports of a new community at Sheffield, a new community at Dorinish (donated by John Lennon) – inviting people to join them in their somewhat harsh way of life: a diet of porridge and vegetable stew, and sleeping in a 'rather leaky bell tent'. (This latter community was also reported in *Frendz*, no. 5 [35] (8 July 1971) p. 6.) Membership of the Commune Movement in June 1972 was 430, with 3500 journal subscribers, and 83 copies being sent free or as exchange copies to other groups or individuals.
40. *Communes*, no. 39 (August 1972). There had been a gap of 15 months since the last issue (no. 38) produced by the Selene community.

41. *Communes*, no. 39 (August 1972). Findings of the survey: 102 males; 30 females. Median age: male – 23; female – 25. 29 of the men and 12 of the women were students at some time during the year. Of those not students, 20 were living on state benefits at some time during the year. Fifty-four of the respondents hoped to live on a commune or were already; another 54 'probably' hoped to; 19 were uncertain and 5 probably did not. 85 would prefer a rural commune. Group marriage: 30 were indifferent; 36 thought it desirable; 33 would prefer not to be involved; 11 thought it should be encouraged; 14 thought it should not be encouraged; 9 did not know.

42. *Commune Movement Newsletter* (January 1973).

43. *Arts Labs Newsletter*, no. 7 (April 1970) (Harvester Press microfiche).

44. Rigby, op. cit., p. 89.

45. *Arts Lab Newsletter*, no. 2 (November 1969).

46. *Arts Lab Newsletter*, no. 4 (n.d.).

47. Ibid. Similarly, a letter sent initially to *IT*, but unpublished there, expressed dismay at the level of non-participation of people in Arts Labs, who used the Labs rather as consumers (*Arts Lab Newsletter*, no. 6 (March (?) 1970).

48. *Arts Lab Newsletter*, no. 12 (late 1970).

49. *Arts Lab Newsletter* and Magazine, vol. 2, no. 2 (November 1970).

50. *Arts Lab Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 1 (August 1971).

51. Rigby, op. cit., pp. 89–90.

52. *IT*, no. 50 (14–27 February 1969) cover.

53. *IT*, no. 52 (14–27 March 1969) p. 2.

54. *Oz*, no. 29 (July 1970) p. 19.

55. *Oz*, no. 32 (January 1971) p. 24.

56. *Frendz*, no. 29 (21 May 1971) p. 23.

57. *Frendz*, no. 3 [31] (14 June 1971) p. 3; *Frendz*, no. 4 [32] (23 June 1971) p. 3 (editorial).

58. *Frendz*, no. 23 [51] (17 March 1971) p. 2.

59. *IT*, no. 71 (14–28 January 1970) p. 4. Similarly, a letter from a 'mere lower-paid worker' who had felt that *IT* 'used to talk to lots of people', including himself, criticised *IT* for degenerating into a 'select club of bohemians and publishing material which would at least alienate if not incense the mass of industrial workers without whom society could not be changed'. *IT*, no. 70 (18–31 December 1969) p. 2.

60. *Friends*, no. 10 (24 July 1970) p. 5.

61. *Oz*, no. 24 (n.d.; [1969]) p. 25. Such power struggles, it was suggested, had 'degenerated to a level which would make the occupants of Westminster shudder with envy'.

62. *IT*, no. 82 (3–16 July 1970) p. 18.

63. Ibid.

64. *IT*, no. 82 (3–16 July 1970) p. 18.

65. *IT*, no. 76 (27 March–8 April 1970) p. 9.

66. *Frendz*, no. 22 [50] (3 March 1972) p. 13.

67. *IT*, no. 78 (24 April–7 May 1970) p. 2. At the same time – fuelling the antagonism – suggesting that the current editor of *Black Dwarf* (Tariq Ali) had 'the flashiest car and cosiest Kensington pad around'.

68.   Ibid.
69.   Ibid., p. 24.
70.   *IT*, no. 123 (20–24 February 1972) p. 17.
71.   See above, p. 117.
72.   *Friends*, no. 20 (11 December 1970) p. 8.
73.   *Oz*, no. 48 (Winter 1973) p. 66.
74.   *IT*, no. 89 (8–22 October 1970) p. 2.
75.   *IT*, no. 90 (22 October–5 November 1970) p. 21.
76.   *IT*, no. 95 (31 December 1970–14 January 1971) p. 6.
77.   *IT*, no. 119 (16–30 December 1971) p. 10.
78.   *Friends*, no. 18 (13 November 1970) p. 13.
79.   *Frendz*, no. 29 (21 May 1971) p. 5.
80.   *Friends*, no. 28 (3 May 1971) p. 14.
81.   *Frendz*, vol. 3, no. 30 (4 June 1971) p. 7.
82.   *Oz*, no. 36 (July 1971) p. 25.
83.   *Oz*, no. 39 (n.d.; [1971]) p. 3.
84.   *Oz*, no. 42 (May/June 1972) p. 22.
85.   The woman in question was Marsha Rowe, who was the first 'secretary'
      Oz ever had (in Australia, almost 10 years previously), who had rejoined
      the London team.
86.   M. Rowe (ed.), *Spare Rib Reader* (Harmondsworth, Middx, 1984) p. 13.
87.   *Oz*, no. 26 (February/March 1970) p. 45.
88.   *Friends*, no. 3 (20 February 1970) p. 5.
89.   *IT*, no. 155 (31 May–15 June 1973) p. 5. Green also confessed in *IT*,
      no. 154 (undated) p. 9, that he did not 'actually dig the young. It's all
      down to that old lament about [the] young being aware and the old
      being able.'
90.   *Oz*, no. 46 (January/February 1973) n.p.
91.   D. Bouchier, *Idealism and Revolution* (London, 1978) p. 141.
92.   Discussed in ch. 1.

Discography

We have observed that the major poetry of the counter-culture is to be found in its music. Whilst it must be acknowledged that not all, or even most, of the music of the years in which the counter-culture flourished was revolutionary, a significant section of it was influential for those seeking the revolutionary message through this medium.

It seems appropriate for a study of this kind to include a listing of the major British and American performers or groups whose songs (or poetry) have been listened to specifically to gain an appreciation of their importance and influence.

Joan Baez	US folk and protest singer.
The Beatles	UK
Big Brother and the Holding Company	San Francisco group, lead singer Janis Joplin.
Crazy World of Arthur Brown	UK
Country Joe and the Fish	San Francisco
Cream	UK
The Doors	US. Name taken from Aldous Huxley's novel, *The Doors of Perception.*
Bob Dylan	US. Arguably the single most important poet of the counter-culture, whose folk and folk-into-rock songs chronicle the early 1960s and the counter-culture, as well as being quite personal signposts of his own development.
The Grateful Dead	San Francisco: Haight-Ashbury
Arlo Guthrie	US. Son of Woody, included primarily for his song and film, *Alice's Restaurant.*
Jimi Hendrix Experience	US. Made his name initially in Britain.
Jefferson Airplane	San Francisco. Most important for their 'Volunteers' album, 1969.
Barry McGuire	US. Included for being the singer of the first *rock* protest song, 'Eve of Destruction', 1965.
Mothers of Invention	US
The Nice	UK
Phil Ochs	US
Pink Floyd	UK. First English group to go on stage with a light show, early 1967.

Elvis Presley	US. 1956–60 period.
Procul Harem	UK
Quicksilver Messenger Service	US. One of the first Haight-Ashbury groups.
Rolling Stones	UK. Implicitly anarchist group.
Pete Seeger	US. Folk/protest.
The Soft Machine	UK. Name taken from a William Burroughs novel.
Tyrannosaurus Rex	UK
Velvet Underground	US. Promoted by Andy Warhol, from whose book they took their name.
The Who	UK. *The* Mod group initially, with the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, a major musical influence.

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Glossary

acid	LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide).
acid rock	Music that tried to reproduce the sensory distortions experienced by a person under the influence of LSD.
bust	Arrest or police raid, usually in relation to drug use or dealing.
freak	In English underground usage, a person of the counter-culture.
hash/hashish	The resin prepared from the leaves, seeds and stems of the female cannabis sitava plant.
head shops	Shops which catered for counter-culturalists' needs: clothing, drugs paraphernalia, jewellery, incense, records, underground journals, etc.
joint	Cigarette rolled from marijuana and tobacco.
light show	Rock concert where strobes and pulsating coloured lights and slides were used to recreate the LSD experience.
pot (marijuana)	The finely chopped up leaves, seeds and stems of the female cannabis sitava plants – usually smoked, but also could be eaten in, for example, biscuits. (Also known as 'grass').
scene	Activities or events pertaining to the counter-culture.
speed	Amphetamines, such as methedrine, benzedrine, etc.
straight	Non-counter-cultural person, belonging to 'straight', i.e. dominant, society and accepting its values.
trip	Experience whilst under the influence of LSD. Sometimes used to refer to other drug experiences. Bum trip – bad, often terrifying experiences under LSD.

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