

1968

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MARCEL DUCHAMP



1887-1968

1968

So, you've read the book, been to the meeting, seen the T.V. programme, heard the radio series, now here's the comic!

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WITH:-

INNER CITY RIOTS!

BIG COUNTRIES INVADING LITTLE ONES!

WAR AND FAMINE IN AFRICA!

HIPPIES LIVING IN A DREAM WORLD!

HOMOSEXUALS, WOMEN AND BLACKS FIGHTING HOMOPHOBIA, SEXISM AND RACISM!

POVERTY ON CRUMBLING COUNCIL ESTATES!

WEIRDOES STORMING LIVE T.V.!

TRAVELLERS BEATEN UP BY THE POLICE!

YES, IT'S

1968

PROGRESS?
WHO NEEDS IT?!
YOU?.....

RAY BELLISARIO took all the photographs in this issue when he visited Federal-held areas of Biafra recently. Here, he writes the story behind the pictures

IN OCCUPIED BIAFRA

The Land Rover thundered along. If we drove into a blast-hole it did not matter: the driver, without regard for the comfort of his passengers, was in a hurry, and that is all that concerned him.

As for pedestrians, gingerly trying to pick their way round the deep gorges in the road and the continuous assembly of abandoned and wrecked armoured vehicles, weapons, and private cars—if they got in the way of our speedy chariot, it was just too bad.

Human life in Nigeria today is not rated very high. In times of war civilians are unimportant, and no one seemed to sense this more than our bold charioteer, who two months before was an out-of-work labourer in Lagos. Now he was a corporal in the Federal Army.

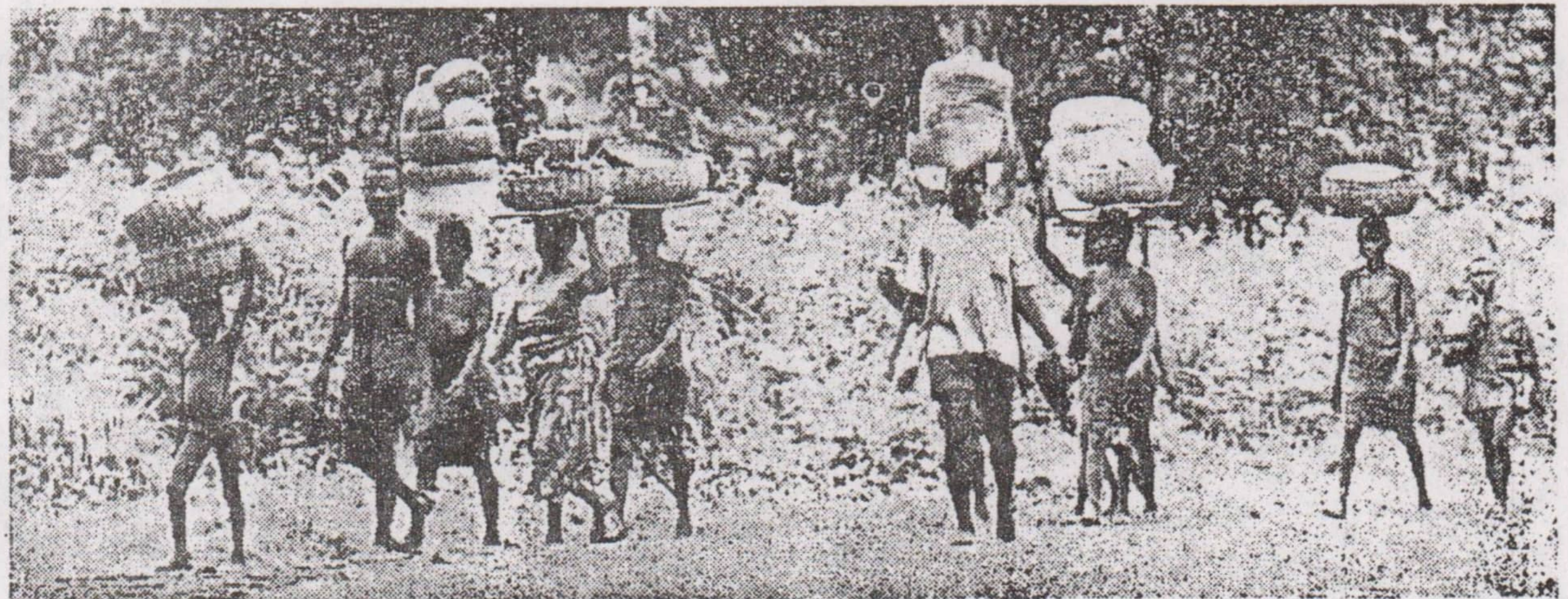
The pedestrians were Easterners—not just Ibos, but people from the many tribes in the Biafran area. The women, children, and the aged were now coming out of the bush where they had spent weeks, even months, since war came their way.

According to reports given me by the tribesmen, thousands more went into the safety of the bush than ever came out. Apparently some refused to emerge for fear of being killed by the advancing Federal soldiers, but most just died, from starvation and disease, in the stinking mouldy undergrowth of their unwelcoming shelter.

Usually the dead were left to rot, unburied. Mothers, now plodding deliriously to their fate, were often childless—the little bodies of the young had not stood the test of being without nourishment for the days that spread into weeks.

Ransacked villages

When the people returned to their villages they inevitably found their homes had been ransacked or razed to the ground. Their only possessions now were the few odd items that they had managed to hang on to during their flight. There was no alternative for them but to seek refuge with the armed forces and accept whatever kindness the Federals offered.



For some people of the non-Ibo tribes, the advancement into Biafra of the Nigerian Army brought security—even capture was welcomed—but the others, particularly the Ibos, feared reprisals and possible death in the acts of genocide that the Biafran leaders said would be carried out by the approaching Hausas and other tribes of the Federal Forces.

Foreign medical teams say that on entering deserted Ibo villages they have found bodies in such positions as would indicate mass shootings, but I never saw any such evidence myself. This was not surprising—I was in a party of visiting press-men, and we hardly expected to be shown proof that genocide was taking place.

What we were shown were people "re-instated" into their heavily depleted village communities. Their homes had been patched up and they were encouraged to return to the fields to bring in the much-needed crops to help ease the famine, but understandably there was a general apathy towards trying to resume normal life. Certainly things were not always as normal as we had previously been led to believe.

Onitsha, taken months ago, was almost completely devoid of civilian life, and now was only occupied by a battalion of soldiers. It had become a garrison town. There was, however, a "show" refugee camp within this garrison consisting of four streets.

Here, the refugees, we were told, lived a perfectly ordinary life and were fully repatriated in their own environment. When I asked some of them if they were settled and happy, however, they told me they did not belong to that part of the country and were not allowed to go beyond the barbed-wire perimeter of the camp.

Too scared to talk

But most were too scared to talk, and turned their backs. The fear of us, or indeed of anyone friendly with their enemy, registered in their faces. Only one man spoke to us officially. He was the Elder, selected by the local Army Commander to be his people's spokesman.

During the conducted tour of Onitsha, we were very closely guarded by soldiers, and were shown the market that had been re-opened for the local people. But the stalls were empty and the Commander admitted that there was nothing available for anyone to sell.

The town was very heavily guarded with infantrymen at the ready in trenches and buildings along every street. Asked if guerrillas operated in the area, the Commander said, "The rebels are many miles from here. They haven't been seen for months round these parts." Gun-fire kept me awake all that night.

My purpose in going to the battle-front was to see what aid was getting through to the repatriated areas. I was taken to the only medical team in operation at the time. It was a group of four Red Cross workers. What I saw was quite horrifying.

I was greeted by a small boy, shrivelled up, with open sores on his hands, feet, and body. He was squatting on the ground, and when he tried to rise he stumbled and fell. He could move only with assistance. His weakened bones prevented him from straightening his limbs.

On the steps of the building the team was using, a group of young mothers cradled their children, rocking them gently. This was all they could do. Some of the infants were obviously dying and in great pain. Little bones were covered only by tightly stretched skin on tiny arms and legs.

Some infants were covered from head to toe in horrid pulpy sores—the mark

of Kwashiorkor. The eyes of the mothers showed there was little hope for these young victims of the war.

Inside the building, more Kwashiorkor and other terrible illnesses caused by malnutrition were displayed on yet more little bodies. And when food was given to the young, and old, they derived no benefit. Because of dysentery it went straight through them.

Instinct led the young children's mouths to their mother's breasts, but they had dried up long ago. The emaciated paps were only useful as something to hold on to or play with.

The relief team worked frantically in their losing battle. Desperate parents appealed to them for help, waving their precious white ration cards.

Though there were hundreds of children in the makeshift hospital, there was very little crying from the young ones. In their short lives they had already learned that tears were not going to bring them help. Their eyes were as dry as their parched mouths.

Both sides to blame

Federal officials later showed me thriving markets in other parts of captured Biafra, and certainly life was flourishing again, even though there was a distinct absence of young and fighting fit men. Also there were still the grotesquely enlarged stomachs of the hungry ones.

About the only people to be really living it up in the fighting zones are the Federal soldiers. They eat well and, in their glory, they obviously live well—unlike their Biafran counterparts, who are underfed and insufficiently armed. Captured rebel soldiers told stories of their side being in an impossible situation.

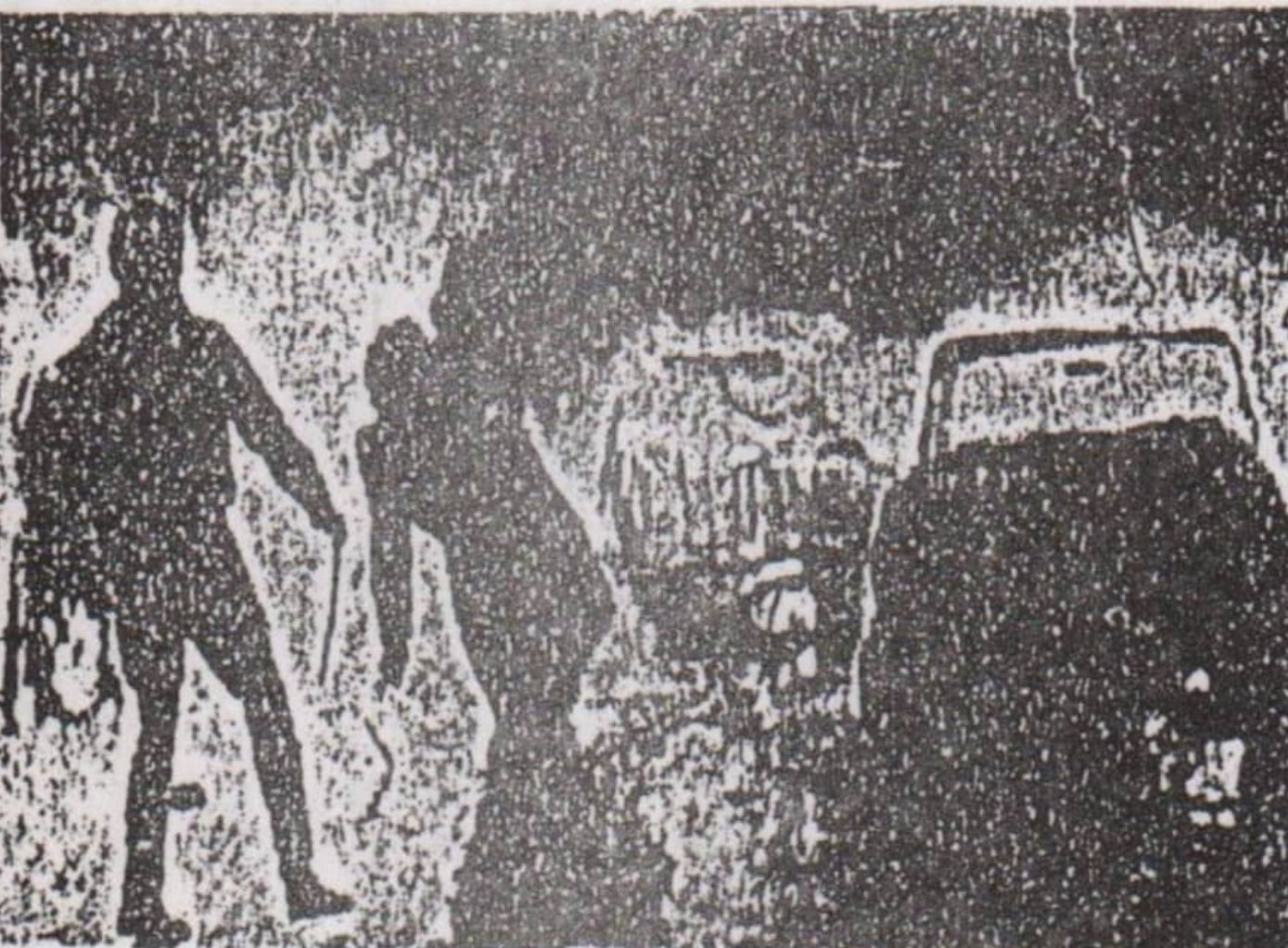
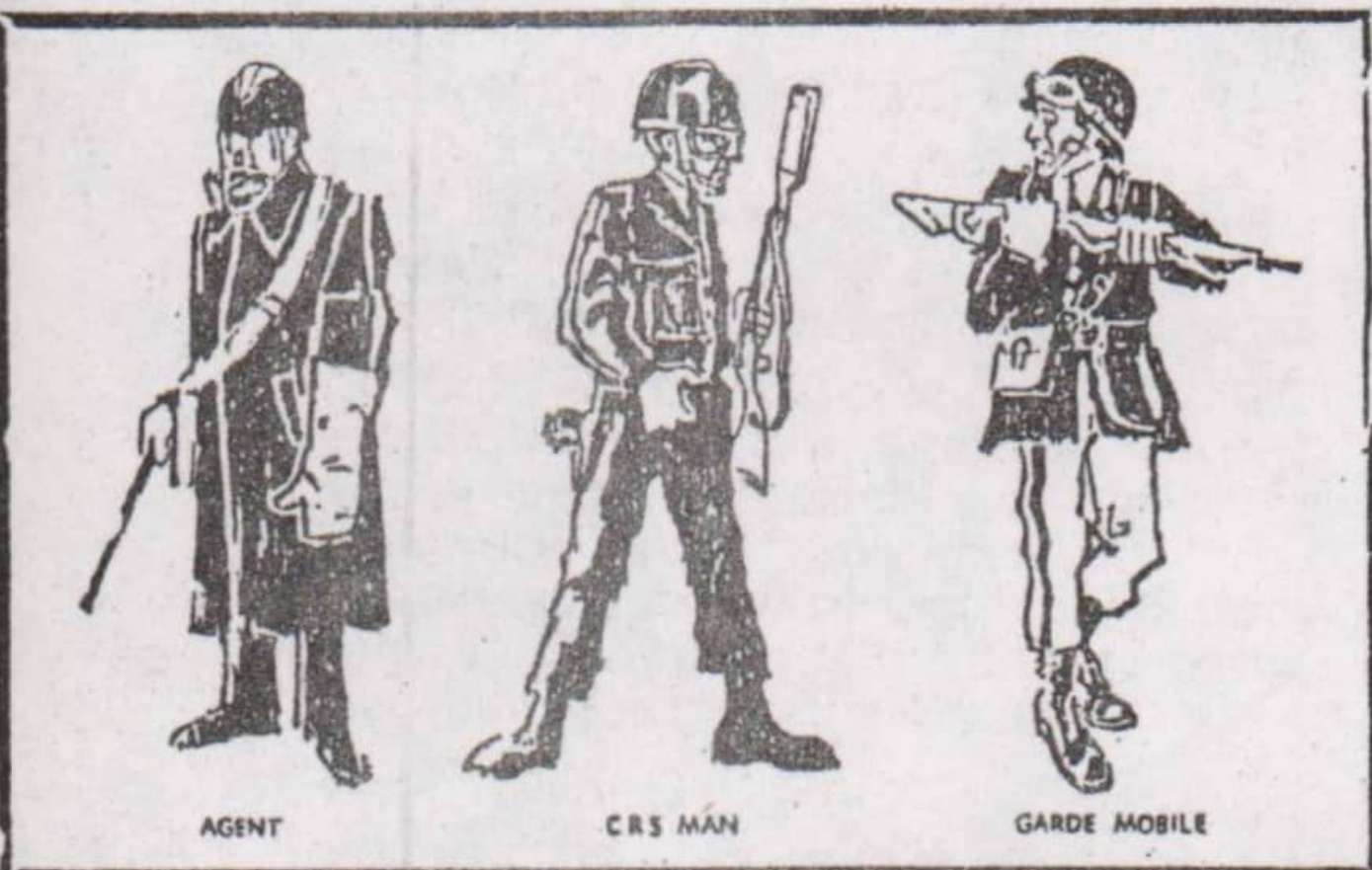
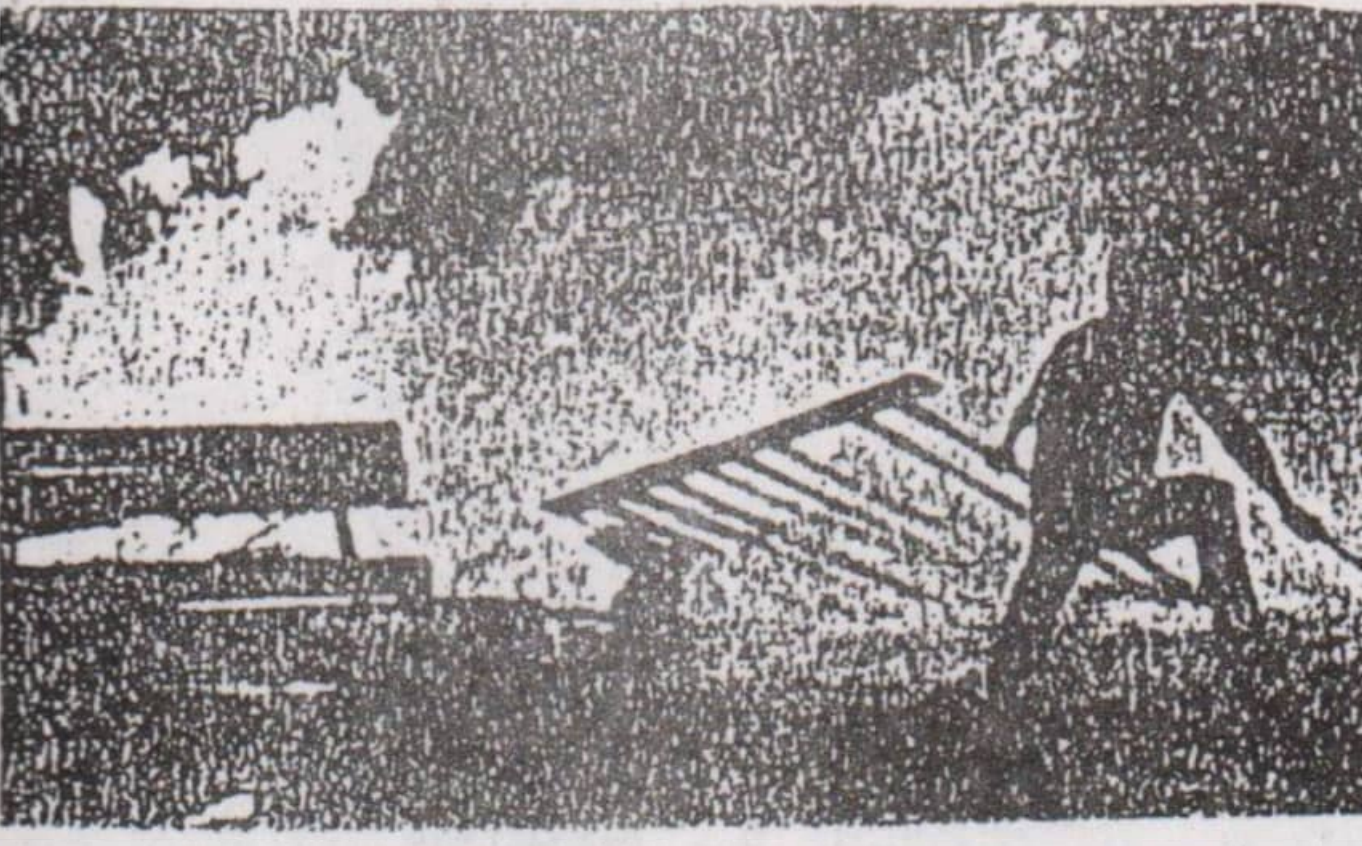
The unnecessary suffering is evident everywhere. Both sides in this vile civil war are to blame for subjecting the innocent to the horror of such a conflict. An Efik chief, whom I have met since in London quite independently of Federal propagandists, told me that over 300 people of his tribe, one of the minority groups in Biafra not supporting the Ibos, were ordered to stand in trenches while retreating Biafran soldiers shot them down.

No, in Nigeria today human life is not rated very high. Especially when it is someone else's.

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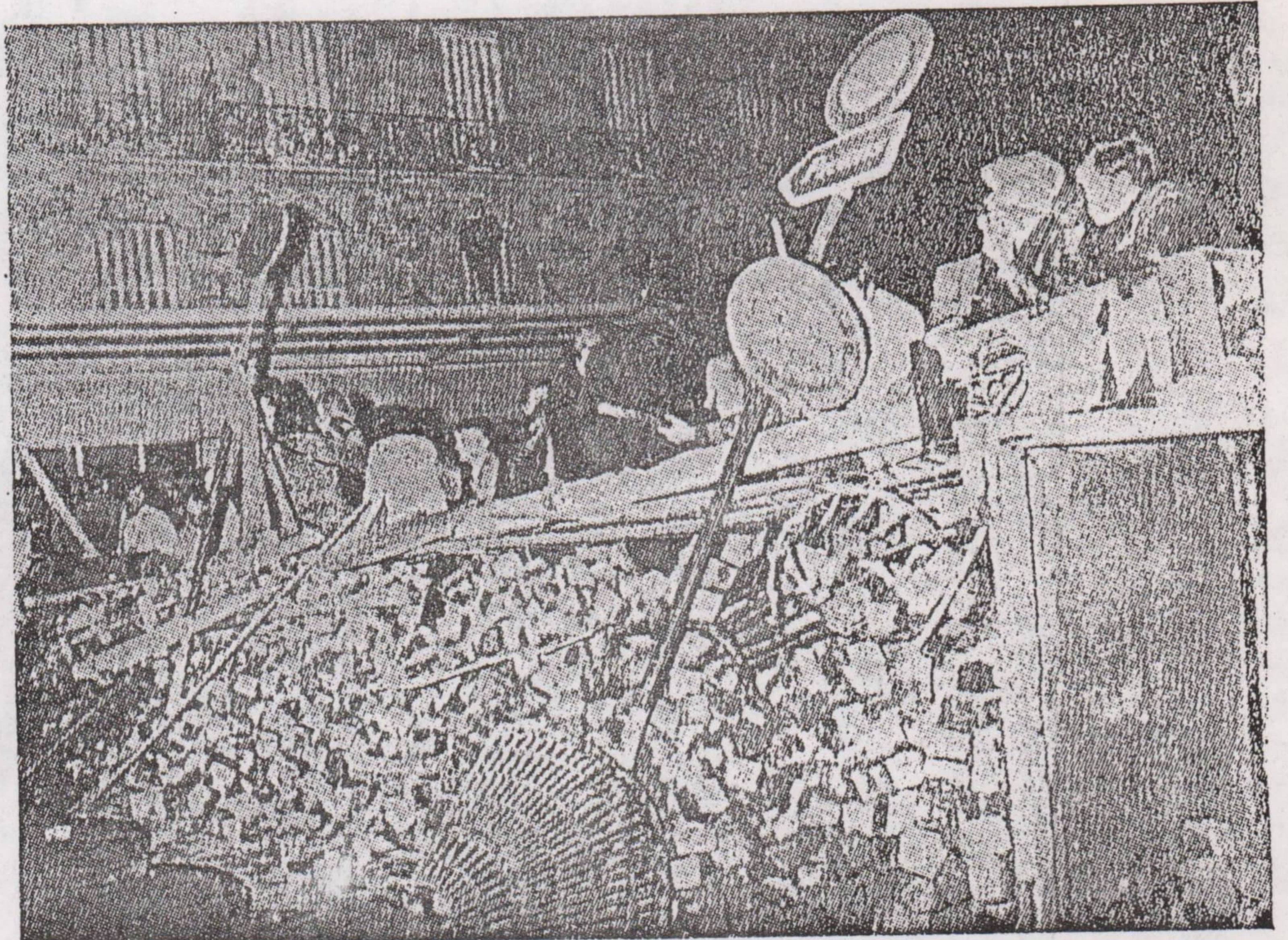
Peace News

May 24 1968 1s (US 25 cents)



What can De Gaulle say now?

La Commune —c'est Moi!



Even more poignantly than the barricades and tear-gas, they may remember the laboratory cleaner who stood on a seat in the Odeon to say: "This is the first time I've ever had a chance to speak. I am with the students so that my little girl can have what I couldn't."
—Nesta Roberts, *The Guardian*.

A young National Service man in the street, asked if he would fire on students or workers, replied: "Never. I think their methods are a bit rough but I am a worker's son myself."
—News Team, *The Times*.

For any historical parallels to what has happened in France during the last two weeks we have to go back beyond Cuba, beyond Hungary, beyond post-French Algeria, to Barcelona at the start of the Spanish Civil War, to Moscow during the early days of the Russian Revolution, and to the Paris Commune of 1871. The student-revolt which sparked off the whole crisis seems in particular to have taken on many features of resemblance to the 1871 Commune. When one reads of the direct take-over of the Sorbonne by students, the exuberant "cultural fair" in the courtyard, the non-stop day and night discussion sessions, the festooning of the University with Marxist and anarchist flags, the resurgence of old Proudhonian slogans like "Universal Suffrage Is The Most Obvious Form Of Dictatorship," and the tethering of an ass next to a notice reading "Please Feed Our Rector," then one is hard put not to recall that the Paris Commune in 1871 was also an historical moment when neither aesthetic nor political theory could adequately encompass the overall social situation.

The proletarians of the Belleville District in Paris at that time, as Murry Bookchin describes it, refused to confine their insurrection to the private subjective world delineated by symbolist poems or the public objective world outlined by Marxist economics. They turned their insurrection into an all-out festival of public joy, play, and fraternal solidarity—the Commune was awash on a sea of alcohol and for months everyone in the Belleville District was magnificently drunk. It

was, in its intoxicating beginnings, the mass-release of social libido, the break-down of all the repressive internalised mechanisms that serve to maintain the status quo of propertied society.

Similarly, the students in Paris 1968 seem—for the time being, at any rate—to have re-invented for themselves the notion of anarchist federation and some kind of Luxemburgian notion of spontaneous insurrection from below. The Revolution Mark II gets nearer home every week—from Czechoslovakia and Berkeley and Tokyo to West Berlin to Rome to Paris and fanning out to Madrid. They'll never build the Channel Tunnel now!

More soberly, we can also draw definite parallels between the Paris Commune and the extraordinary display of worker-power and solidarity that followed in the wake of concession-granting to the French students. For anarchists and libertarian socialists alike, probably the closest historical likeness to an authentic socialist society is the Paris Commune, by reason of its embodiment of the concept of self-government by workers. To be sure, a thoroughgoing notion of decentralisation, with strong emphasis on communal autonomy and sovereignty, is and always has been the outstanding property and hall-mark of anarchism—but it should also be remembered that part of the theory of early socialism was popular initiative from below, the delegation of responsibility by the working-people themselves, and control over the persons to whom that responsibility was delegated. In this conception of society as non-authoritarian socialism, the principle of the election of politicians is entirely irrelevant: but the principle of direct delegation and answerability in all the affairs of the society, as opposed to carte blanche powers, is fundamental.

At one time this principle was the prime emphasis of large sections of the trade-union movement in our own country. It is not, from anything I know, the guiding principle of any society anywhere in the West today, not even in Cuba or Yugoslavia. Yet last week in France it seemed as if an embryo of this kind of society was in the

continued →

making. Schools were being occupied and run by children and teen-agers with the full support of their disgruntled teachers. Journalists and technicians were insisting that the communications-media tell the truth and be freed from Government censorship and regimentation. Signs went up outside shipyards, reading "We Are Occupying Our Plant." Workers sat-in at their factories and took control. There was—there seems to be almost no doubt about this—the skeleton forming for some kind of direct worker-democracy, popular control and participation.

If we need more contemporary models than 1871 for what was happening, we can think of the underground tradition of peasant-communalism which in Russia between 1917 and 1921 gave life to an anti-statist resistance movement of social-revolutionary populism that was a real and dangerous threat to Bolshevism. Or we can think of the libertarian peasant collectives under conditions of Civil War in the Spanish Revolution from 1936 onward—the internal strength of these collectives, their capacity for initiative, their independence from bureaucratic authority, accompanied by all the failings that reflect the limitations of the practical wisdom of an average village or town. These are the models for the kind of Permanent Revolution that radicals need to fight for today. Was it the beginning of the Permanent Revolution that we were witnessing in France last week?

The answer seems likely to be no. The Bolsheviks crushed the populist worker-movement in Russia, the Communists betrayed the popular social revolution in Spain during the Civil War, and now the Communist Party in France seems to be, trying to use the student-worker revolt as the pretext for a classical authori-

tarian seizure of State power—the very type of manoeuvre which always sells the Permanent Revolution straight down the drain. When student-demonstrations began at Nanterre at the end of March, *Humanite*, the newspaper of the French Communist Party, attacked the students as "little bands of Trotskyites, Maoists, and Anarchists led by papa's boys belonging to the upper-middle classes" and continued to hold itself very much aloof from the on-going action. After the massive display of student-solidarity had caused the Government to yield considerably, the Party muscled in and changed its tune, seeking its opportunity to pre-empt and manipulate the rising tide of popular protest.

This interpretation is backed up by Patrick Seale in last Sunday's *Observer*, and also by last Monday's issue of *Humanite*, which carried a warning on its front page that leaflets calling for "insurrectional strike" had been found in the Paris suburbs and, calling for vigilance, added, "It goes without saying that such appeals do not come from trade-union or democratic organisations. They are the work of provocateurs trying to give the Government a pretext for repression." And to cap it off, it was reported as we went to press this week that the Communist Party was calling openly for the resignation of De Gaulle and his Administration and the setting up of a Socialist State. The French CP's notion of the "Socialist State" is, methinks, somewhat different to any radical concept of the Permanent Revolution.

What is likely to happen? It is hard to say. De Gaulle might go right out of his mind and decide to use force, in which case the country will be torn to pieces and there will almost certainly be an authoritarian and

fascistic take-over or putsch, initiated either by the Army or the Communist Party. This in turn would very likely entail an almighty crack-down: we have to remember how the Russian Bolsheviks liquidated dissidents by the hundreds and thousands, how the Russian Revolution was followed by the Purge and turned into state-capitalism, how the fall of the Paris Commune was followed by mass-shootings, ruthless trials, and the exile of thousands to penal colonies, and how the glorious dawn of the French Revolution itself was followed by the bloody night of the Terror.

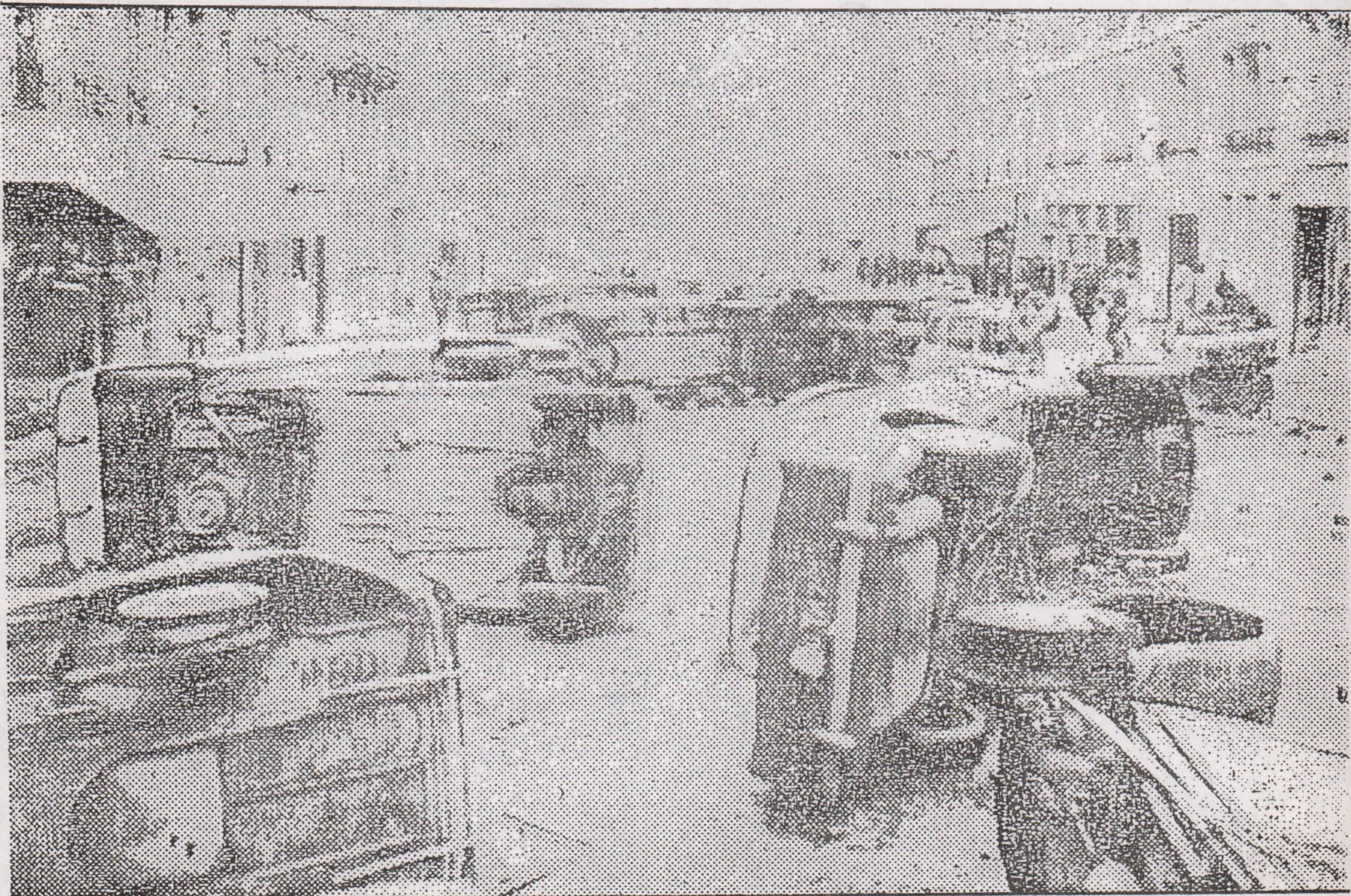
Alternatively, victories for students and workers may be forthcoming: collapse of the regime, thorough political reform, all-round wage-rises, governmental guarantees against unemployment, radical restructuring of the universities, wholesale overhauling of primary and secondary education, and so forth. Or hopefully, if the interpretation of the situation offered in this article is at all incorrect, then current events might foreshadow the entire transformation of politics and social life in France—and then the Permanent Revolution will really have some strong chance to get under way. We must watch carefully for any convincing evidence of this. It could manifest itself in many different ways—like, for example, the widespread establishing of a non-statist principle of ownership, such as a principle of ownership by independent worker-collectives and consumer-associations; or the growth of strong trade-union control over the major economic institutions; or any popular movement for political decentralism and federalism.

Whatever the case, there are two lessons that all of us in this country, but especially the radical opposition,



can draw from the French experience. The first is that, throughout our industrialised societies in the West, the most important libertarian and populist counter-force for the creation of any decent world is what Paul Goodman calls "Youth International." The second is that social action on our terms is possible—we can count for something, we can kick and growl and change things. In the middle of the 20th Century it is not news that economic equality and social solidarity can be achieved in society: the news we want to hear is that this is being fought for, in such a way as to allow the intelligence and will of ordinary people to be effective in their own society. From Paris last week I think we heard that news. It may turn out to have been only a news-flash, short-lived and evanescent, but while it lasted it sounded good.

ROGER BARNARD



The barricades of Paris, modern-style . . . cars turned over by the rioting students

Herbert Marcuse

THE PARIS REBELLION



Professor Herbert Marcuse was in Paris for six days when the current French crisis began. On May 23 he spoke informally about his impressions to several hundred students and faculty members in the University of California at San Diego. Marcuse is author of two very important books, *Eros and Civilization* and *One-Dimensional Man*, and is probably the leading philosopher of the New Left—though we ourselves don't agree with him on violence and think his notions about Chairman Mao are rather short-sighted.—Eds.

The movement started quite innocently—as a movement for the reform of the university. The whole thing was apparently sparked by a demonstration in Nanterre, the new branch of the University of Paris, and ensuing disciplinary measures against students who had participated in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam. That was followed by demonstrations in Paris itself, in the Sorbonne, and the demands were the usual ones: radical reform of the totally out-dated and medieval structure of the university.

In order to give more weight to these demands, the students demonstrated in the court-yard of the Sorbonne. For a reason nobody actually understands—the demonstration was perfectly peaceful—the Rector of the university, apparently on the suggestion of the Minister of the Interior, asked for the police to clear the court-yard. The police appeared and invaded the Sorbonne for the first time in the history of this university.

This was indeed an historical novelty. European universities are immune against the police. The police are not supposed to enter the universities; that is one of the age-old traditions which is actually adhered to in France and other countries. It was the first time in history that the police intervened and by force cleared the court-yard, with several hundred

students injured. There followed larger and larger demonstrations, beginning in very remote parts of Paris and all converging on the Latin Quarter.

The barricades

The Sorbonne in the meantime had been closed and the entire region round the Sorbonne occupied by the police and blocked. The students now demanded that their university be opened again to them and that the Latin Quarter, which they considered as their own quarter, be cleared of the police and become again their quarter. They converged on the Sorbonne and, since the news had come out that the police would again by force clear the region, the barricades were built. This was a really spontaneous event.

What happened is that the students simply took the numerous automobiles which were parked not only on the streets but, as usual in Paris, on the sidewalks too and, without the slightest regard for private property, overturned the cars and put them straight across the streets. Not on the wide boulevards, which would have been impossible, but in the narrower old streets in the rear of the Sorbonne. On top of the cars they put all kinds of wooden stuff, garbage, cartons, garbage cans—whatever they could find. Then they tore out the street signs—"One Way," "Stop," or whatever—and, with the street signs, they loosened up the good old cobblestones of Paris, which had already served in the Revolution of 1848 and 1870, and used them as weapons against the police. They also armed themselves with the lids of the garbage cans and with steel chains, and they put on top of the barricades whatever they could find.

Gas-grenades

So they built them up to a height of about three-and-a-half to four metres,

and the slogan was not to attack the police but to confront them on the barricades. Everything went all right till about 2.30 in the morning, when the police finally got the order to clear the streets and to remove the barricades. What happened is that the police used gas grenades, tear-gas, allegedly also gas with a chlorine base (they deny it but the evidence seems to corroborate it). I myself have seen the students with their faces all red—inflamed wrinkles, the eyes all inflamed. They used this gas with the result, of course, that the barricades had to be evacuated.

The gas forced the students to leave the barricades and flee, whereupon the police apparently shot incendiary grenades and put the barricades on fire. I would like to point out that during this time—and this is the

greatest difference between the events in Paris and here—the population of the quarter was definitely and decisively in sympathy with the students. And they threw all kinds of stuff out of the apartment windows on the police. The police shot back gas grenades into the apartments.

The students tried to flee, and now it turned out that their own barricades became obstacles to them: because they had barricaded the street at two ends and just couldn't find a way out. The police had an easy game. There were altogether about 800 injured that night, and out of the 800 about 350 to 400 police. But this did by no means finish the demonstrations and the protest. Their young leader, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who organised the barricades and was with them all the time till six in the morning, when



the street battle was lost, said, "Now there is only one thing to be done: the General Strike." The following Monday the strike order was followed 100%.

At this point, I would like to suggest to you why I believe this event is of such great importance. In the first place, it should once and for all heal whoever still suffers from the inferiority complex of the intellectual. There isn't the slightest doubt that, in this case, the students showed the workers what could be done and that the workers followed the slogan and the example set by the students. The students were literally the avant-garde—not of a revolution, because it isn't a revolution, but of an action which indeed turned spontaneously into mass-action. And that is in my view the decisive point.

What we have witnessed in Paris during these weeks is the sudden resurgence and return of a tradition, and this time a revolutionary tradition, which has been dormant in Europe since the early Twenties. We have seen the spontaneous enlargement and intensification of demonstrations from the building of barricades to the occupation of buildings: first the university buildings, then theatres, then factories, air-ports, television stations—occupation, of course, no longer by the students but by the workers and employees of these institutions and enterprises.

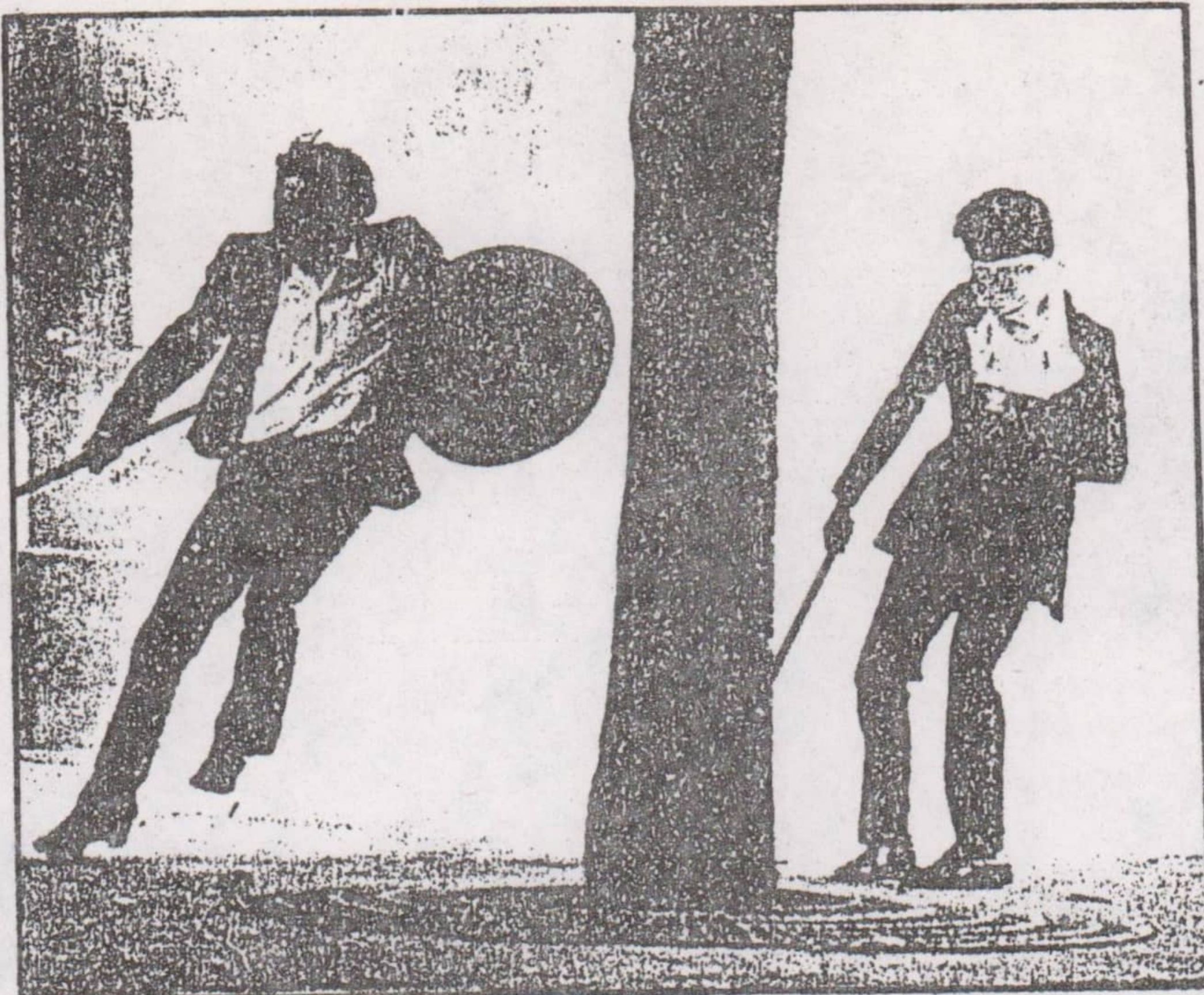
The protest movement was at first violently condemned by the Communist-controlled trade unions and by the Communist daily *L'Humanite*. They were not only suspicious of the students but also they vilified them—they suddenly remembered the class struggle, which the Communist Party has for decades put on ice, and denounced the students simply as bourgeois children. They didn't want to have anything to do with children—an attitude viable if we keep in mind that the student opposition from the beginning was not only directed against the capitalist society of France beyond the university but also against the Stalinist construction of socialism.

And that is a very important point. The student opposition was very definitely directed against the Communist Party in France, which was considered and is considered, strange as it may seem in America, as part and parcel of the Establishment. It is a Party which is not yet a Government Party but which would like nothing better than to become a Government Party as quickly as possible. That has indeed been the policy of the Communist Party in France for years now.

Student isolation

When we ask how it came about that the student movement turned into a mass-movement, the answer is very hard to find. As I said, the movement was first confined to the university and the demands were at first academic—demands for reform of the university. But then came a recognition that the university is, after all, only a part of the larger society, of the Establishment, and that unless the movement is extended beyond the university and hits at the more vulnerable spots of the society as a whole, it would remain isolated. Therefore, a long time before the eruption of these events, there was a systematic attempt to win over workers against trade-union prohibition to join the protest movement. The students were sent into the factories, into the plants in Paris and in the Paris suburbs. There they talked with the workers and, apparently found sympathy and adherents, mainly among the younger workers.

So when the students really went out on the street and started occupying buildings, these workers followed their example and joined their own demands for higher wages and better working conditions with the academic demands of the students. The two came together again in a rather spontaneous and by no means coordinated manner, and in this way the student movement actually became a larger social movement, a larger political movement. At this turn of events, when already hundreds of



Herbert Marcuse

THE PARIS REBELLION

thousands of the workers were on strike and had occupied the factories of Paris and the suburbs, the Communist-controlled union (CGT) decided to endorse the movement and make it an official strike. This is the policy they have followed for decades. As soon as they see that a movement threatens to get out of hand and no longer remain under the control of the Communist Party, they quickly endorse it and in this way take it over.

As to the political demands of this young opposition movement, they may be summarised as being against the authoritarian regime in France and for the politicalisation of the university: that is to say, for establishing a visible and effective link between what is taught in the classroom and what is going on outside the classroom: to bridge the gap between a medieval and out-dated mode of teaching and curriculum and to meet the reality, the terrible miserable reality, which is outside the classroom.

They demanded complete freedom of speech and expression, with one very interesting qualification. Cohn-Bendit has declared on several occasions that it would mean an abuse of the freedom of speech and expression to tolerate the protagonists of American foreign policy and of the defenders of the war in Vietnam. So the right to freedom of speech was not to be interpreted as tolerating those people who, by their policy and by their propaganda, are working to bring down the last remnants of liberty still existing in this society—those people who are turning the world, or rather a large part of the world, into a neo-colonial dominion. This was very clearly stated.

The movement is, again spontaneously, very decidedly a socialist demonstration and a socialist movement—but one, as I want to stress again, which rejects from the beginning the repressive construction of socialism which has been prevalent in the socialist countries up to this very day. That may explain the allegedly Maoist tendencies among the students. The Communist press denounced the students as Trotskyists, revisionists, and Maoists; Maoists in the sense that Mao is in one way or another a symbol for the construction of a socialist society which avoids the Stalinist bureaucratic repression characteristic of the socialist construction of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc.

Values rejected

This brings out another very essential aspect of the student movement, and I think that here there is some common ground between the American movement and the French movement. It is a total protest not only against specific evils and against specific shortcomings but also at the same time a protest against the entire system of values, against the entire system of objectives, against the entire system of performances required and practised in the established society. In other words, it is a refusal to continue to accept and abide by the culture of the established society. They reject not only the economic conditions, not only the political institutions, but also the entire system of values which they feel is rotten at the core. And from this perspective I think one can indeed speak of a cultural revolution, in the sense that the protest is directed against the entire cultural establishment, including the morality of the existing society.

If you now ask how we can explain that in France the student movement found spontaneous help and sympathy on the part of the population and found very definite support among the working class, organised as well as unorganised, whereas in America the exact opposite is the case, the answer that comes to mind is two-fold. First, France is not yet an affluent society. The living conditions of the majority of the population are still far below the level of the American standard-of-living, which of course makes for a much looser identification with the Establishment than prevails in this country.

Second, the political tradition of the French working-class movement is still alive to a considerable degree. And I might add a rather metaphysical explanation: namely, the difference between the prospects of a radical movement in France and in America may also be summed up by remembering that France, after all, went through four revolutions within 100 years. This apparently establishes such a revolutionary tradition which can be sparked and brought to life and renewed when the occasion arises.

Following his speech, Professor Marcuse answered questions from the audience, amplifying his discussion of the French movement.

I think one thing we can say safely is that the traditional idea of the revolution and the traditional strategy of the revolution are out. They are out-dated: they are simply surpassed by the development of our society. I said before, and I'd like to repeat, because I think in this situation nothing is more seriously required than a sober mind, that the idea that one day or one night a mass-organisation or mass-party or masses of whatever kind will march on Washington and occupy the Pentagon and the White House and set up a Government is utterly fantastic and simply in no way corresponds to the reality of things. If there ever were such masses and this happened, within 24 hours another White House would be set up in Texas or in North Dakota and the whole thing would quickly come to an end.

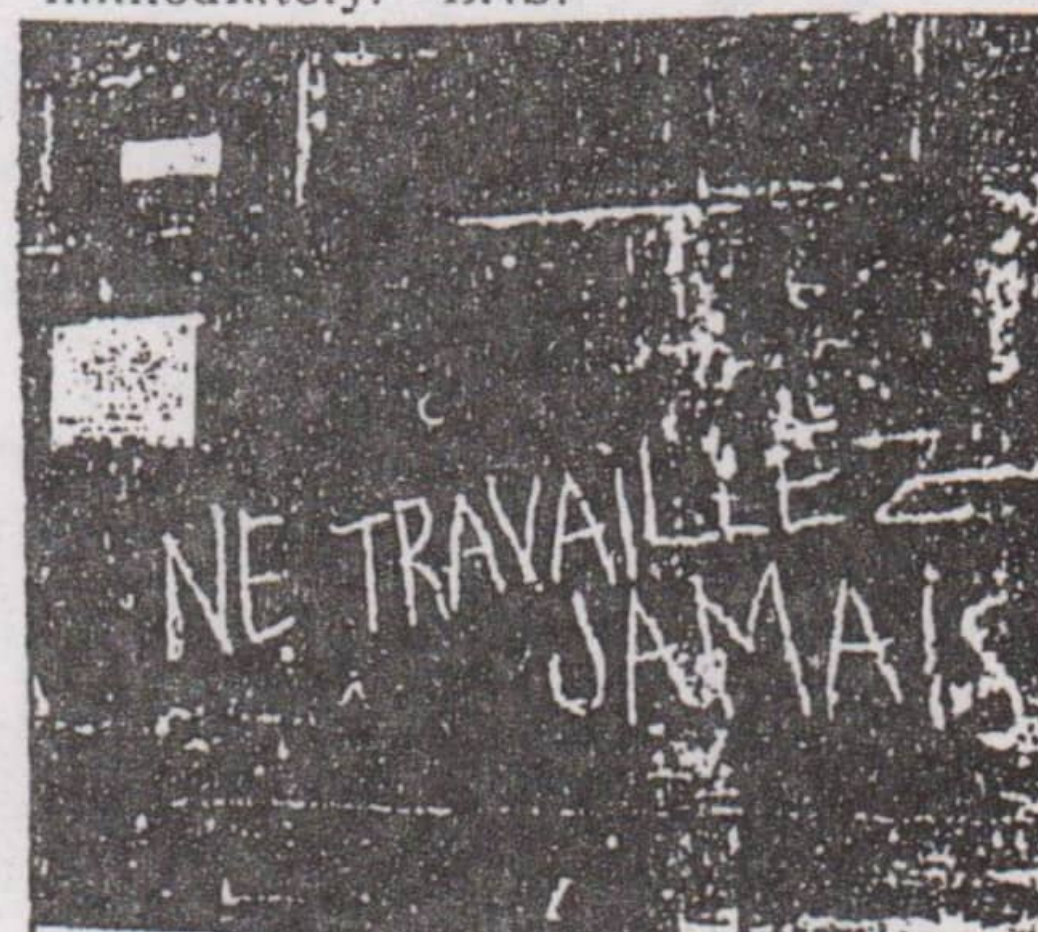
So we have to forget this idea of the revolution—and that is why I believe that what is taking place in France today is so significant and may well be decisive. This is exactly why I stress the spontaneous nature of this movement and the spontaneous way in which it spread. Now I say spontaneous, and I stick to this concept, but you know that there is no spontaneity which doesn't have to be helped on a little in order to be really spontaneous, and that was exactly the case in France and that was why I mentioned the preparatory work of the students in factories, in discussion with labourers and so on: but nevertheless, compared with traditional organisation of the opposition, this has been a spontaneous movement which, for as long as it could, didn't care about existing organisation, party as well as trade union, and simply went ahead.

Occupy factories

In other words, for one reason or another the time had come when hundreds of thousands and, as we see now, millions of people didn't want it any more. They didn't want to get up in the morning and go to their job and go through the same routine and listen to the same orders and comply with the same working conditions and perform the same performances. They simply had enough of it—and so, if they didn't stay home or didn't take a walk, they tried something else.

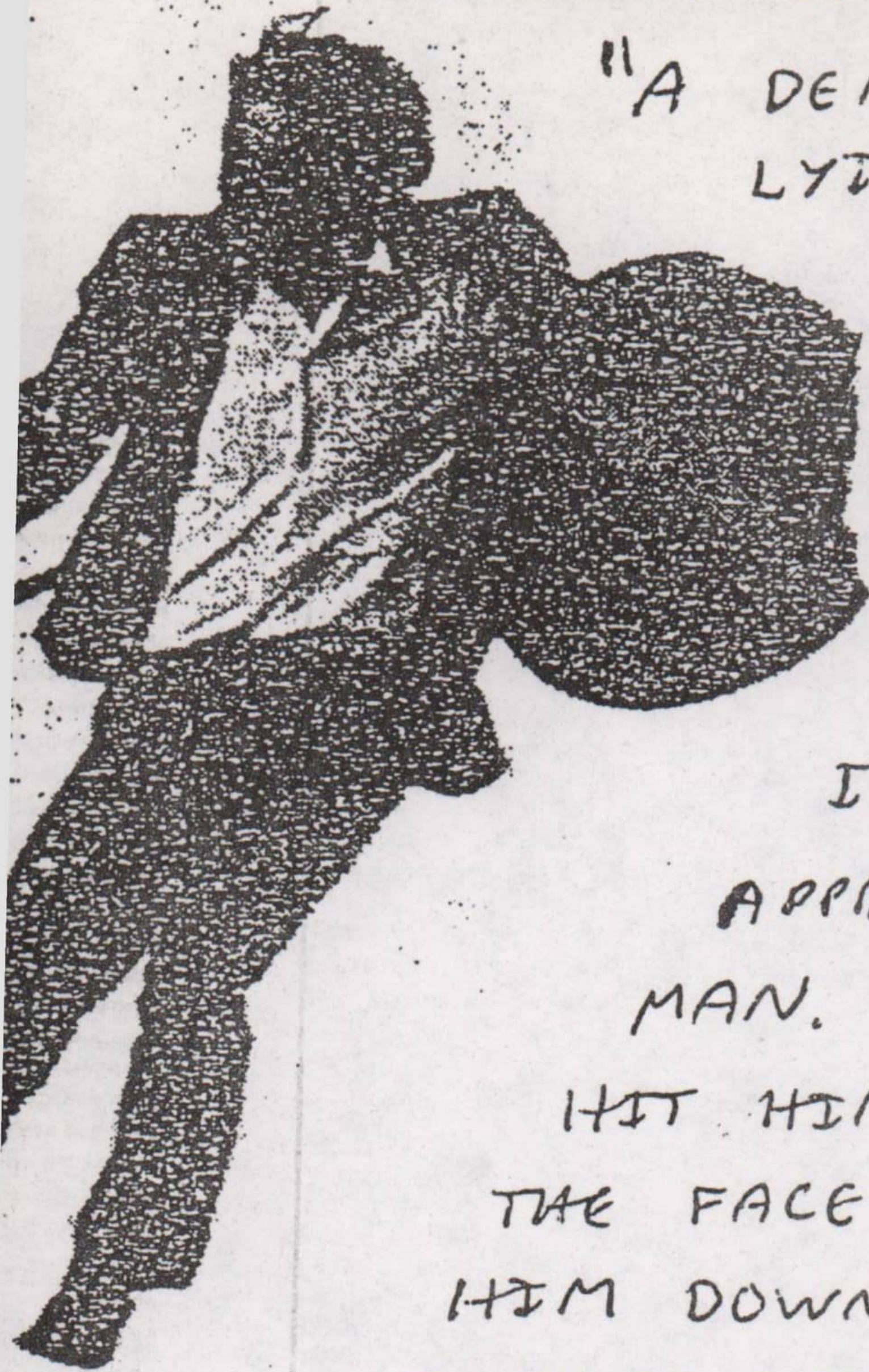
They occupied the factories and the shops and they stayed there—but by no means as wild anarchists. For example, only yesterday came a report that they took meticulous care of the machines and saw to it that nothing was destroyed and nothing was damaged. They did not let in any outsiders. In this act they demonstrated that they consider this business in one way or the other their own and they are going to demonstrate that they know it is their own or ought to be their own and that is why they occupied it.

I think this is one of the expressions of the total character of the protest because, as you know, the traditional working-class strategy does not officially endorse occupation of factories—and, in this tradition too, private property retained a certain sanctity. When this has happened, it has usually been against trade-union policy and to a great extent spontaneous. So this spontaneous character by which change announces itself is, I think, the new element which surpasses all traditional organisation and grips the population directly and immediately.—LNS.

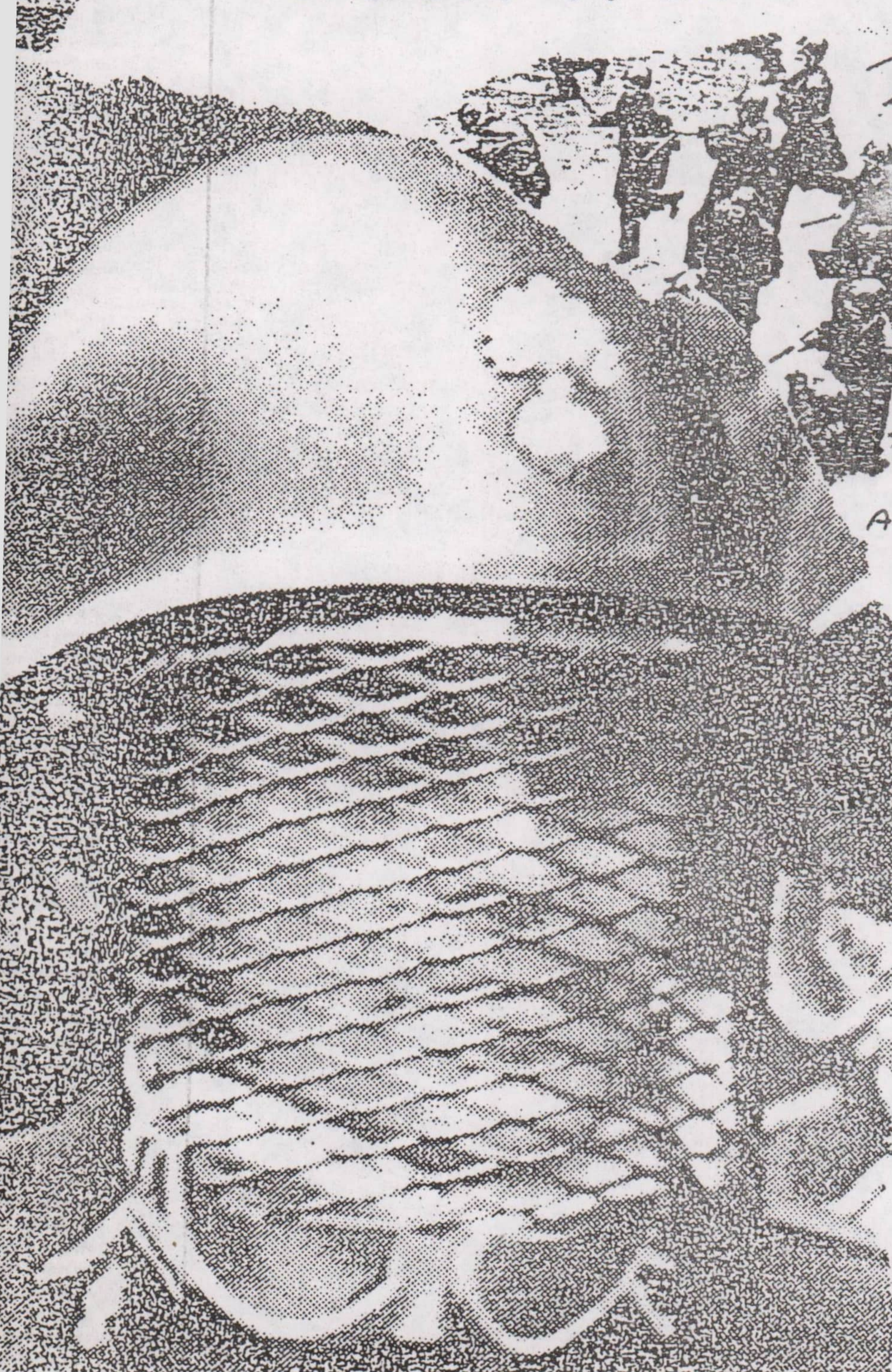
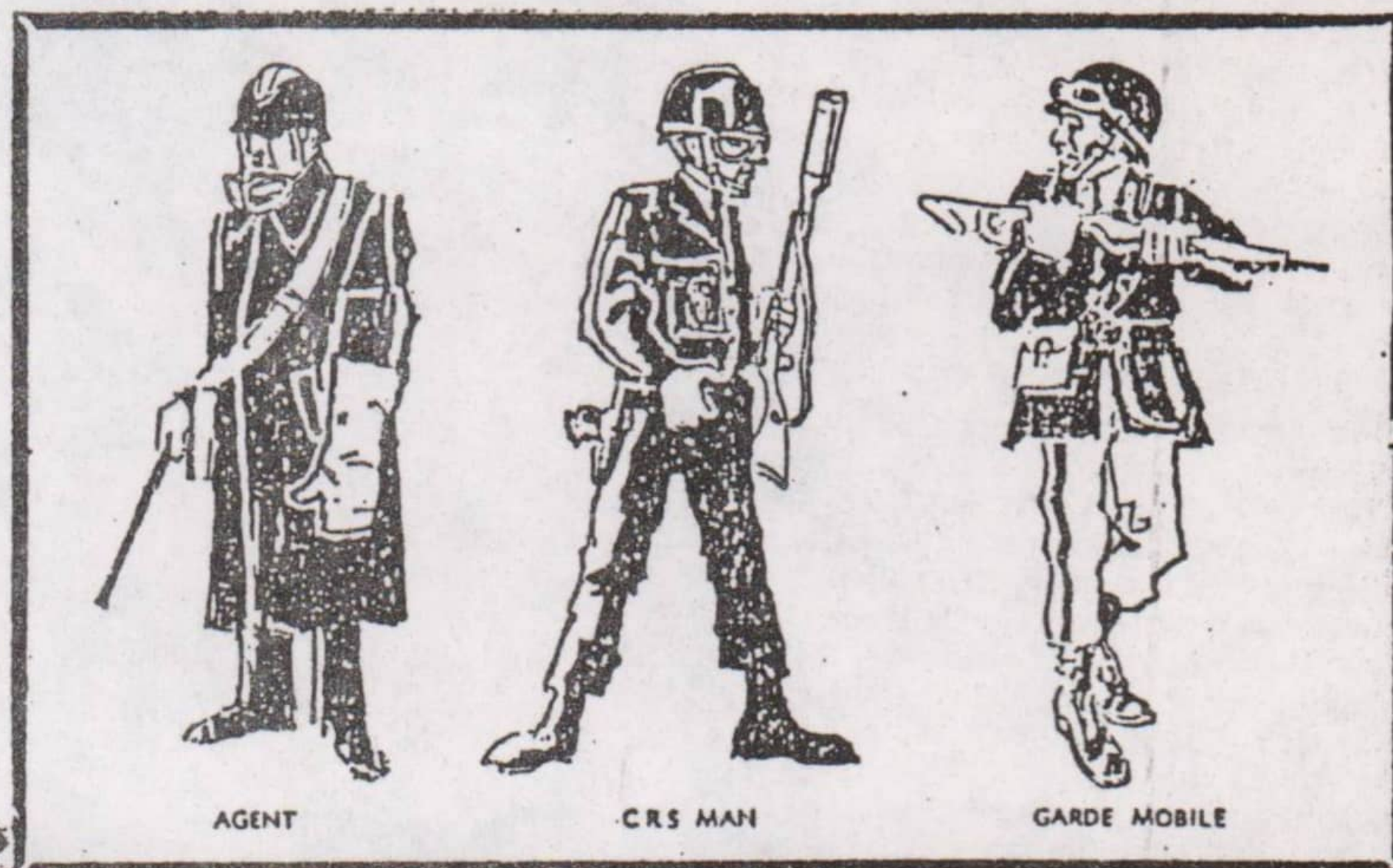


PARIS - MAY '68

FROM: " LE LIVRE NOIR DES JOURNÉES DE MAI
(ÉDITIONS DU SEUIL)

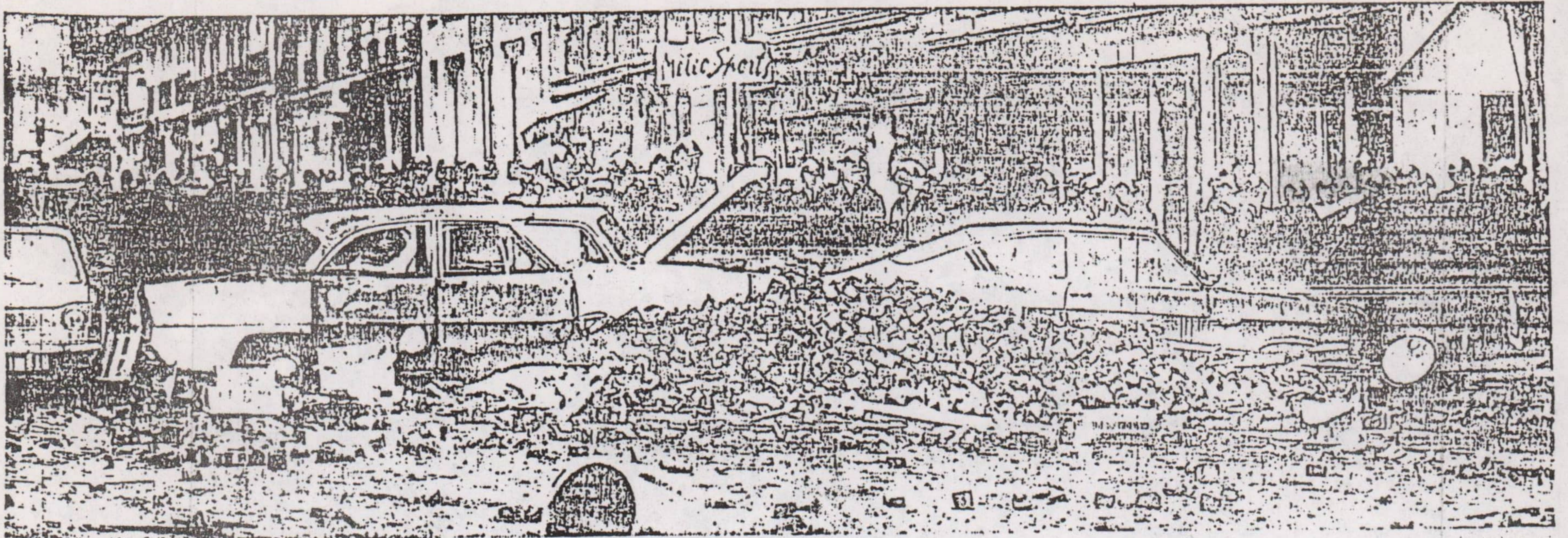


"A DEMONSTRATOR, APPARENTLY UNCONSCIOUS, WAS LYING ON THE BARRICADE. A C.R.S. MAN WAS HITTING HIM REPEATEDLY WITH A BATON WHILE THE BARRICADE WAS BEGINNING TO BURN. A RED CROSS MAN WEARING SIGNS ON HIS CAP, HIS CHEST AND HIS BACK SO THAT HE WAS EASILY IDENTIFIABLE EVEN FROM A DISTANCE APPROACHED TO TRY TO REMOVE THE WOUNDED MAN. THE C.R.S. MAN HIT HIM STRAIGHT IN THE FACE AND KNOCKED HIM DOWN, THEN WENT BACK TO WORK ON THE STILL MOTIONLESS DEMONSTRATOR."



"TO GET TO THE CELLS YOU STILL HAD TO PASS BETWEEN THE STATION DESK AND A ROW OF C.R.S. AND GARDES MOBILES WHO STRUCK VERY METHODICALLY AND WITH SPECIAL BRUTALITY. I WAS HIT ON THE HEAD, THE STOMACH AND THE LEGS. BUT I STAYED UPRIGHT, BECAUSE A YOUNG MAN AHEAD OF ME FELL UNDER THE BLOWS AND WAS ABSOLUTELY SMASHED WITH KICKS. THEN I WAS PUSHED INTO A CELL ABOUT TWO AND A HALF METRES BY FOUR WITH ABOUT SIXTY TO EIGHTY PEOPLE IN IT. . . . A GIRL ASKED TO GO OUT BECAUSE SHE FELT ILL; THE C.R.S. LET HER OUT, THEN WE SAW THEM HITTING HER WITH BATONS. AFTER THAT WE DIDN'T DARE TO ASK FOR HELP WHEN SOMEONE FAINTED."





Torn-up cobblestones and wrecked cars litter a street in Paris after the pitched battle between students and riot police. Picture by G. H. Warburst of The Times

Sorbonne students man the barricades

From CHARLES HARGROVE—Paris, May 12

Students worked at it with extraordinary intensity. One group

was a tougher proposition. Tear gas grenades crashed upon it, and incendiaries too (the Luxembourg television team categorically refused to be in a roundup later yesterday morning), which set fire to the street in its midst. There was a se. Then people on the upper of apartment houses on the side of the street from the as began throwing flower stones, and anything that to hand on to the police d below, causing them to rather sheepishly. retribution was swift. The de throwers were aimed at larkened windows, and the s pointed out, as shot upon

their mopping up operations as flat dwellers showered water on the students to give them some relief from the tear gas. I heard later that they had given refuge in hallways and flats themselves to the students who scattered before the police. These boys and girls may not have known what they were fighting for, but they certainly fought with the energy of despair. A few hours later I returned to the scene of battle. The approaches to the Sorbonne were a spectacle of desolation. The roads were up in many places, bus stop signs torn down, shop windows shattered. In the Rue Gay-Lussac, where the fighting had lasted until after five, some 40

I was an eye-witness of the battle of the Latin Quarter in the early hours of Saturday morning. It might have been in the days of the Paris Commune. The barricades of paving stones topped by red flags, and enveloped in dense clouds of smoke, the occasional burst of a red signal flare against the dark sky; the flame shooting up from the burning vehicles; the occasional loud explosion; the lines of helmeted black uniformed police praetorians charging slowly, the shouting, waving, singing student insurgents, the strains of the "Marseillaise" and the

again with contingents of the C.R.S., the special force, effectively sealed approaches to the Sorbonne set across the street. Within a perimeter, there was a mess, broken only by the sound of a revving engine or the crackle of a short-issuing situation report of a helmet and the black police macintosh occasionally caught in a. At the top of the Michel, opposite the Gardens, battle lines

Insurrection as Festival!

The original thing about this "juvenile commune" is its dimension of permanent game. Not the rowdy school-boy game, which very quickly ran its course, but the festival game culminating in that great euphoric parade across Paris—and, in a more intimate way, the guerrilla game, the planetary game, in the sense that at last events allowed people to mime seriously (all great games are serious mime) the barricades of French history and Che's guerrillas. This game, certainly, is masked by ideology; but at the same time you can admit to a friend that you're having a ball.

There were also games in the strategic sense of the word, with problems of terrain, of offensive, of coordination. Real risks, including the risk of death, identify it as a real game. And that is where the game-dimension gets reversed into its opposite—the deadly serious. Because it is also with total seriousness—that is, with faith in their solidarity and their action—that young people fought, that they wanted to instruct their world and the world.

You can see the transition, from the playful to the serious to the tragic, all on Friday night. Barricades rose in ecstasy, were built in joy. An entire generation strove to gobble up epic and bloody real history, history of revolutions, of just and heroic causes still burning in Vietnam and in Latin America, a history of which they had been deprived. The rites of passage, in the ancient forest, consisted of a confrontation with evil and terrifying spirits. The French police played this role, and in so doing provided a true initiation into adult life—that is, into the cruelty and bestiality of the world.

But it went even further than that for thousands of young people: for them this week has been an initiation into social life, a true socialisation. Thus the great festival of youthful solidarity, the great game that is the Revolution—these have been for each individual participant an entrance examination into society.

Edgar Morin, *Le Monde*, May 23.



Paris students protest



Angry 1968: Paris students protest

MOB SETS FIRE TO STOCK EXCHANGE

A RAMPAGING mob of Paris students set fire to the Paris Stock Exchange last night within minutes of President de Gaulle's speech. With cold determination they systematically ransacked the entire building. They hauled down the French flag and replaced it with the black flag of

anarchy and the red flag of revolution. In Lyons, a police officer was killed—the first reported death in the crisis. PETER STEPHENS reports from the scene: I stood outside the Stock Exchange as students, after tearing down the heavy outside railings, smashed every pane of glass, every

lampshade, desk and chair. There was not a single policeman or guard in sight as they tore the building apart to the delighted cries of those who were unable to get in. They smashed, with crowbars, the Roll of Honour to the dead of the last war. Then they piled up news-

papers and wooden crates from the piles of uncollected garbage—and put it to the torch. The blaze spread throughout the ground floor before the fire brigade arrived and put it out. Outside, hundreds of mobile guards, gripping rifles by the muzzles, charged at the students.

who had put up barricades of planks and paving stones across the roads around the Stock Exchange. Battles raged in streets all around the Stock Exchange. Vicious street fighting erupted in several other sectors of Paris. In the Place de Ro-

thousands sang "Goodbye De Gaulle, Goodbye" in Nantes, 250 miles south-west of Paris, more than 1,000 demonstrators were forced back by tear gas when they attempted to storm police headquarters.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT talks to JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Imagination In Power

Daniel Cohn-Bendit and his allies are werewolves splitting the Progressive Movement against Capitalism.

—Pravda, May 30

This interview was first published in *Le Nouvel Observateur* on May 20, at the height of the revolt in France. A different translation, by Ben Brewster, is included in a collection of documents called *The Student Revolt*, recently published in paper-back by Panther Books (6s) and by Jonathan Cape in hard-back (18s). Our translation here has been shortened from the original for purposes of space.—Eds.

SARTRE: In a revolutionary situation, it can happen that a movement like yours continues without stopping, but it can also happen that its spirit falters. In this case one must try to go as far as possible before it stops. Supposing that the present movement comes to an early end, what will, in your opinion, be its irreversible effect?

COHN-BENDIT: The workers will have a certain number of their material demands satisfied, and the moderate students and professors will get some important university reforms. These will not be the radical reforms that we hope for, but we will, nevertheless, have some influence. We will make some precise propositions, and a few of them will no doubt be accepted because no one will dare refuse us everything. This will, of course, be an improvement. But nothing fundamental will have changed and we will continue to challenge the system as a whole.

In any case, I do not believe that a revolution is possible, just like that, from one day to the next. I believe that we can achieve only a succession of more or less important improvements, but these improvements can only be imposed by revolutionary action. It is in this way that the student movement—by bringing about, after all, an important reform of the universities, even if it temporarily loses its energy—will be important as an example to the young workers, by using the traditional means of industrial action: the strike, taking over the streets, and the places of work.

We have overcome the first obstacle, the myth that "you can do nothing against this regime." We have proved that this is not true. And the workers were swallowed up by the tide. Per-



haps this time it will not go all the way, but later there will be other explosions. One important thing is that the efficacy of revolutionary methods has been demonstrated. The union of workers and students can only be forged in the dynamics of action if each of the movements can maintain its momentum and when they move towards a common objective. At the moment the workers, naturally and understandably, distrust us.

SARTRE: This distrust is not natural, it is acquired. It didn't exist at the beginning of the 19th Century. It appeared only after the massacres of June 1848. Before that Republicans—the intellectuals and the petit bourgeoisie—and the workers marched together. After that, such a union was no longer possible, not even in the Communist Party, which has always been most careful to keep workers and intellectuals apart.

COHN-BENDIT: Something has nevertheless happened during this crisis. The workers at Billancourt did not let the students into the factory, but the fact that the students went there is in itself new and important. There were in fact three stages. First, total distrust not only in the workers' press but also from the workers themselves. They said, "What have these Daddy's boys come to annoy us for?" Then

after the street fights, after the struggles against the police, this feeling disappeared and there was an effective solidarity. We are now in the third stage. The peasants and workers have themselves directly entered the struggle but they say to us, "Hold on, we want to lead our fight by ourselves!"

That's normal. The union of the two movements, students and workers, will only be formed at a later stage, if they both maintain their momentum. After 50 years of distrust, I don't believe that what we call a "dialogue" is possible. It is not only a question of talking, and it is normal that the workers do not receive us with open arms. Contact will only be established if we fight together. For example, unified revolutionary action groups can be created in which workers and students discuss their problems together and act together. This will work in some places, but there will be others where it won't.

PERPETUAL PROCESS

SARTRE: The problem is always the same, amelioration or revolution. Your violent actions, as you pointed out, are used in a positive way by the reformers. Thanks to you, the university will be reformed, but it will be done *within* the structures of bourgeois society.

COHN-BENDIT: That's right, but I believe that this is the only way to move forward. Let's take the example of exams. They will take place. There is no doubt about that. But they won't be the same as before. A new formula will be found, and if they take place just once in a new way, an irreversible process of reform will have been set in motion. I don't know how far it will go. I know it will be slow, but it is the only possible strategy.

I personally have no metaphysical interest in how to make "the revolution." I think, as I have said, that we

are moving towards a perpetual process of change in the society, provoked at each stage by revolutionary action. Radical change in the structures of our society will only be possible if there is an abrupt and serious economic crisis which coincides with a powerful workers' movement and strong student action. This is not the case today. The best one can hope for is to make the Government fall. But there is no point in dreaming about the destruction of bourgeois society.

That, of course, does not mean that there is nothing to be done. On the contrary, it is a step-by-step fight which starts in the context of a worldwide confrontation. The discussion about the possibility of having a revolution in an advanced capitalist society and about how to go about provoking one does not really interest me. Each to his own theory. Some say that the revolutions in the underdeveloped countries will bring about the fall of capitalism. Others say that the underdeveloped countries will advance as a result of the revolutions in the capitalist countries. All these analyses are in my opinion in some way true, but they are without great importance.

Look at what has just happened. A lot of people have for a long time been trying to find some way to make the students explode. In the end no one found it: it happened as a result of an objective situation. The authorities helped, of course, by sending the police into the Sorbonne, but this monumental blunder was not the only cause of the movement. Some months earlier, the police had already gone into Nanterre, and that provoked no chain reaction. This time there was one which nobody was able to stop.

continued opposite

Geoffrey Minish
QUARTIER LATIN

—for Anne

Sometimes I think the only thing that matters
is a girl's hair
blowing about her face

PARIS, JUNE 1

PHOTOS: FRENCH STUDENTS—LNS
SARTRE—LEON HERSCHTRITT
COHN-BENDIT—PRESS ASSOCIATION



Which suggests an analysis of what perhaps the role of an active minority can be. What has taken place in the last two weeks constitutes, in my opinion, a refutation of the famous "revolutionary vanguard" theory, the vanguard being the leaders and the directing force of a mass movement. At Nanterre and in Paris there was a simple objective situation, born of what is vaguely referred to as "the student unrest" and of a will to action among the many young people who were disgusted by the inaction of the ruling classes.

ACTIVE MINORITY

This active minority was able—because it was more steeped in theory and better prepared—to light the fuse and leap into action. But that's all. The others could follow or not. In fact they did. But after that none of the "vanguards," whether it be the UEC (Union of Communist Students) or the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth) or the Marxist-Leninists, were able to play a significant role in the action. They were swallowed up in the movement.

Of course, militants could be found playing an important part in the various co-ordination committees, but none of these "vanguards" was able to direct the movement. And that is crucial, because it demonstrates that the "revolutionary vanguards" theory must be abandoned and that the simpler and more honest theory, that of an active minority which creates a constant ferment and which pushes for action but which does not direct, should take its place.

SARTRE: Many people do not understand why you don't try to put forward a programme or try to structure your movement. You are reproached with trying "to destroy everything" without knowing—or in any case without saying—what you are going to put in its place.

COHN-BENDIT: Of course! If we founded a party and announced, "These are our people, here are our objectives, and this is how we intend to achieve them," then everyone would be reassured—above all, Pompidou. They would then know with whom they were dealing and how to combat them. They would no longer be face to face with "anarchy" or "disorder" or "uncontrollable ecstasy." But the strength of our movement is just that. It is based on an "uncontrollable" spontaneity

' something which astonishes, something which jolts, something which repudiates all that has made our society what it is today, has come out of your movement '—SARTRE

which creates a spirit without trying to channel or utilise the action it has set in motion for its own purposes.

There are, for us today, two obvious paths. First, we gather together five people with a good political background and we ask them to draw up a programme, to define precise, immediate, and seemingly well-founded demands. Then we would say, "Here is the student movement's position. Do with it what you want." That is the wrong path.

Conversely, the second consists in trying to explain the situation, not to all the students, not even to all the demonstrators, but to a large number of them. In doing this one must avoid creating an organisation or defining a programme, because this would mean an inevitable paralysis. The movement's only hope lies in this disorder which allows people to talk freely and which can lead to a certain form of "auto-organisation."

For example, at the moment, we must forget about large and spectacular meetings and start to form work and action groups. That is what we are trying to do at Nanterre. And since in Paris now the word has suddenly been liberated, people must first be allowed to speak. They say confused, vague, often uninteresting things, things which have already been repeated one hundred times. But this allows them, after they have had their say, to ask the question, "And now what?"

And that is very important. The largest possible number of students must ask the question, "And now what?" Only after this can we begin to talk about programmes and structure. Those who ask, "What are you going to do about the exams?" are really using diversionary tactics. They are trying to sabotage the movement, to interrupt its dynamism. The exams will take place. We will make proposals. But we need a little time. We must talk, think, find new formulas. And we will find them—but not today.

BOURGEOIS UNIVERSITY

SARTRE: The student movement, as you have said, is now riding the crest of the wave. But the holidays are approaching. Things will slow down and there will no doubt be a retreat. The Government will take advantage of this to put through some reforms. They will invite students to participate in drawing them up, and many will accept, explaining that "We only want reform" or "It is only reform, but it's better than nothing and we got it by force."

In other words, you will have a transformation of the university, but the changes could well be only superficial: improved equipment, better buildings and university restaurants. These things will not alter the system fundamentally. They are demands that the authorities can accept without calling the regime into question.

Do you think you can obtain genuinely revolutionary "improvements" in a bourgeois university? For example, the creation of a university which contradicts and subverts the principal function of the university in the present regime, which is to produce well-integrated administrators?

COHN-BENDIT: First of all, purely material demands can have a revolutionary content. The university restaurants are such an issue. We ask that university restaurants be abolished and become instead youth restaurants where any young person, whether student or not, can eat for 1 franc 40. No one can refuse that.

There is no good reason why young workers shouldn't also be able to have supper for 1 franc 40. The same goes for the university hostels (*Cités Universitaires*). We ask that they become residences for all young people. There are many young workers and apprentices who no longer wish to live with their parents but who can't move out because a room costs 300 francs a month.

CRACKS IN THE SYSTEM

As regards the possibility of getting university education changed into a kind of "anti-education" which instead of furnishing the system with well-integrated administrators will produce revolutionaries, this seems to me rather idealistic. Bourgeois education, even when reformed, will manufacture bourgeois administrators, and they will get caught up in the functioning of the system. At best, they will become members of the right-thinking Left, but objectively they will remain the cogs which ensure the society's continuous operation.

But we aim to succeed in establishing a "parallel education" in technique and ideology. We must ourselves re-establish the university on an entirely new basis, even if it only lasts a few weeks. We will appeal to the Left and extreme Left professors to work with us in seminars and—after renouncing their professional status—to aid us by putting their knowledge at our disposal for the research we will undertake.

We can start seminars in all the faculties on the problems of working-class movements, the utilisation of technology in the service of man, the possibilities of automation. This will not be a theoretical discussion—there is not a single sociology book today which doesn't start with the sentence, "Technology must be used for the good of man"—it will deal with concrete problems.

Of course, this kind of education will obviously be directed against the system, and it won't last long. The regime will react quickly and the movement will be stopped. The important thing is not to work out a way of reforming capitalist society but rather to create an experience which is a complete break with the society, an experience which will not last but which will indicate a possibility. You catch a glimpse of something, and then it's gone. But that at least proves it can exist.

In our society we don't expect a socialist university, because we know that the function of the university will remain the same until the whole system is changed. But we believe that there can be moments when the cohesion of the system cracks, and that these moments can be used to open a breach. The defence of student interests is very problematical. What are their "interests?" They do not constitute a class. Workers and peasants form a social class and have

objective interests. Their demands are clear and are addressed to the bosses, the representatives of the bourgeoisie. But the students? Who are their "oppressors" if not the whole system?

SARTRE: In fact students are not a class. They are defined by their age and their relationship to knowledge. A student by definition must, in any society, even in the one we dream about, one day stop being a student.

COHN-BENDIT: That is exactly what must be changed. In the present system one says, "There are those who work and those who study," and we are stuck with the division of labour, however rational it seems. But one can imagine another system in which everyone produces—the task is minimal, thanks to technical progress—and where everyone has, at the same time, the opportunity of productive labour and simultaneous study.

Now there will obviously be special cases. Not everyone can do advanced maths or medicine and work at the same time. There is no need to institute uniform rules. But the basic principle must be changed. The distinction between worker and student must be eliminated. This is, of course, not going to happen tomorrow. But something has started and it will of necessity continue.

RICH IMAGINATION

SARTRE: Your movement is interesting because it puts imagination in power. Your imagination is, like everybody else's imagination, limited—but you have more ideas than your elders. We have been formed in such a way that we have very precise ideas about what is and what is not possible. A professor will say, "Abolish exams? Never. They can be improved but never abolished." Why? Because for half his life he has had to take exams.

The working class has often developed new ways to fight, but always as a function of its particular situation. In 1936 they invented the occupation of the factories, because it was the only means they had to consolidate and exploit their electoral victory. You have a much richer imagination, and the slogans written on the walls of the Sorbonne prove it. Something which astonishes, something which jolts, something which repudiates all that has made our society what it is today, has come out of your movement. I call it extending the range of possibilities. Don't give it up.

MAY 20, 1968

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the important thing is to create an experience which is a complete break with the society, an experience which will not last but which will indicate a possibility'—COHN-BENDIT

Troops ready to deal with trouble in Chicago

From Our Special Correspondent
Chicago, Aug. 22

With the disturbing prospect that the Democratic Party convention next week could be thrown into chaos by an uneasy coalition of Vietnam war protesters, hippies and black militants, this city has taken on much of the aspect of a community under siege.

At the request of Mr. Richard Daley, the Mayor, Governor Samuel Shapiro has ordered the activation of 5,649 National Guard troops by Saturday, to maintain law and order "in connexion with the threatened mob disorders that may occur as a result of demonstrations in the city."

It is also reported that 7,500 regular troops of the 1st Armoured Division, stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, have undergone a three-day riot-training exercise and are being kept ready for use in Chicago. The troops are part of the same formation as were brought into the city during riots last April.

In Lincoln Park, some miles to the north of the amphitheatre where the convention will be held, groups from the Youth International party (Yippies) who have been camping out in the park, are actively training in karate, non-violent self-defence, and the snake dance, a street demonstration tactic learnt from Japanese student militants.

The Yippies have spoken of holding their own convention and of running a 220lb. pig for President "on a platform of garbage". In their publication *The Rat* they have marked all likely targets for demonstrations on a map, including the Illinois Institute of Technology, described as a centre for research in chemical and biological war, and the Federal Building, which is said to be the Chicago headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam is more serious in its intent. Its coordinator, Mr. Rennie Davis, explains that his aim is to focus attention on the war and he forecasts that some

100,000 demonstrators will converge on the amphitheatre on nomination night, next Wednesday.

What frightens the city authorities more than the threats of the New Left is the explosive potential of Chicago's black ghettos. If large-scale civil disorders should break out, the amphitheatre could not be worse situated. The hall is in a crowded and run-down section of the city, with smelly slaughterhouses and meat packing plants to the rear and, in front a huddle of narrow streets leading into the south side ghetto, Chicago's main Negro slum.

For Mr. Daley, who is the most powerful Democrat in Illinois and also one of the most skilful and durable politicians in the nation, a violent outburst next week would come as a severe blot on a formidable record. The mayor fought steadily for months to keep the convention in Chicago, at a time when many in the Democratic national committee were urging that it should be moved to Miami or some other less tense city. He

must now justify his determination by exerting all his skill and authority to maintain law and order.

In addition to obtaining the state National Guard and securing pledges of federal aid if needed, Mr. Daley has put all of the city's 12,000-strong police force on 12-hour shifts from the weekend. Extra police and plain clothes-men have been assigned to the convention. Hotels are already under guard by both city police and private security services, and as much inessential police work as possible is being postponed until after the convention.

The amphitheatre itself has been fortified like a military stockade at the mayor's order. Wire fences have been put up around the hall, checkpoints set up, and streets sealed off. The exact security arrangements are a close secret, carefully guarded by the mayor and Mr. John Criswell, who supervises arrangements for the Democratic national committee, but it is known that all sewer manholes have been sealed and every seat

and rafter in the amphitheatre carefully searched. In the roof of the hall, police with high-powered rifles will patrol catwalks and scan the floor for signs of danger.

Such precautions would seem absurd in a democracy in normal times, but passions among the two alienated segments of society—the youth opposed to the Vietnam war and the negroes in the ghettos—are now running so high that nobody here mocks the mayor's precautions.

Three other unwelcome factors have not improved the situation. Chicago this week is suffering under one of its recurrent summer heatwaves, with temperatures every day in the mid-nineties, and a humidity to match. Most of the city's taxicabs are on strike, as are all the telephone workers.

So far the mayor's famed ability to balance opposing forces has failed to solve these labour disputes. The convention will certainly be held as planned, but there are many on the staffs of the candidates who are questioning the wisdom of locating it here.

YIPPIES MEET NATIONAL DEATH PARTY.

JOIN US IN CHICAGO IN AUGUST FOR AN INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF YOUTH, MUSIC AND THEATRE. RISE UP AND ABANDON THE CREEPING MEATBALL! COME ALL YOU REBELS, YOUTH SPIRITS, ROCK MINSTRELS, TRUTH-SEEKERS, PEACOCK-FREAKS, BARRICADE-JUMPERS, LOVERS AND ARTISTS!

It is summer. It is the last week of Death Party meets to bless Johnson. We of us dancing in the streets, throbbing harmony. We are making love in the printing news-a mock conv-birth of

August, and the National are there! There are 500,000 ing with amplifiers and parks. We are reading, singing, papers, groping, and making ention, and celebrating the FREE AMERICA in our own time. A new spirit explodes in the land. Things are bursting in music, poetry, dancing, newspapers, movies, celebration, magic, politics, theatre, and lifestyles. All these new tribes will gather in Chicago. We will be completely free. Everything will be completely free.



Bring blankets, tents, draftcards, body-paint, Mr. Leary's cow, food to share, music, eager skin, and happiness. The threats of LBJ, Mayor Daley, and Edgar J. Freako will not stop us. We are coming! We are coming from all over the world!

The world of the American spirit is being torn asunder by the forces of violence, decay and the napalm cancer-fiend. We demand the POLITICS OF ECSTASY! We are the delicate spores of the new fierceness that will change America. We will create our own reality, we are FREE AMERICA! and we will not accept the false theatre of the DEATH CONVENTION.

WE WILL BE IN CHICAGO. BEGIN PREPARATIONS NOW!

CHICAGO IS YOURS!

DO IT!

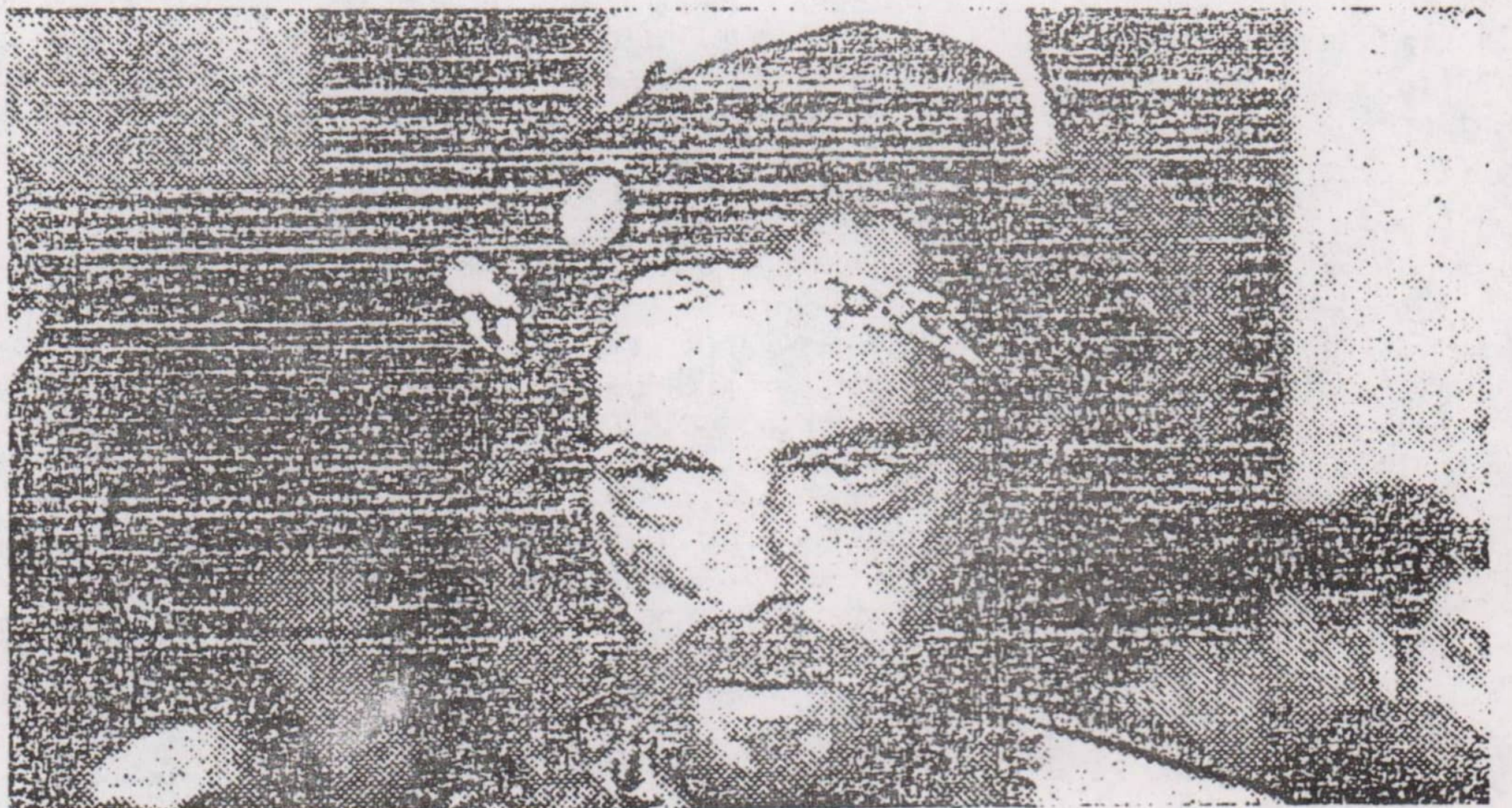
"I arrived wearing a Black Panther beret with Panther and Yippie buttons, Egyptian earrings, a Mexican bandolier with live 303 British Enfield bullets around my chest black silk Viet Cong pyjamas, jangling ankle bracelets, beads and a headband. I had cow bells and jingle bells around my neck, wrists and ankles so that every time I moved I sounded like an orchestra. My face, naked hairy chest and bare feet were painted with psychedelic designs and peace symbols. Over my shoulder I carried a toy M-16 rifle the kind the Viet Cong use after stealing them from the Americans."
JERRY RUBIN: 'Do It!' p.203.

The scene that followed was one of the more memorable moments in the halls of Congress, preserved for all posterity by every major newspaper in the USA. Pictures of Rubin playing tug-of-war over his toy gun with uniformed police dotted the nation's wire services. It was finally agreed that Rubin could enter the Committee Room, but only if he disarmed himself of the real bullets. He was allowed to keep his toy M-16, which he used to great advantage, punctuating the meeting with shouts of rat-a-tat-tat! No-one really worried though because all knew that he had been forced to leave his real bullets at the door. The absurdity of the establishment began to manifest itself but just as Rubin was about to testify and really go into his act, Chairman Richard Ichord gavelled the meeting to a two-month recess.

When the Committee reconvened, there was Jerry Rubin dressed as Santa Claus. Rubin, or Santa Claus, was barred from appearing, and the chairman ruled that before he would be called again to testify, he would have to undergo competent psychiatric examination. What would Rubin have to do to prove that he was nuts, and that oddball was better than normal? Being barred from Congress, however, was not for naught. A short month later, the House Un-American activities Committee would propose to Congress a new law intended to outlaw insults to Congress through 'cultural means'. Rubin was absolutely exhilarated:

"What are cultural means? Dig it?"

Freaky clothes! That's my law! I wrote that law. I'm a legislator. Once upon a time congressmen could get laws through Congress. Now the average citizen can write laws. That should be everyone's goal. Write your own law. Do something so crazy that they got to pass new laws to outlaw it. They don't have enough laws now to stop what's going down. Make them outlaw you. Make yourself illegal!"
'DO IT!' p.208.



Protester ejected from Congress

From IAN McDONALD—Washington, Oct. 1

Police ejected Mr. Jerry Rubin, the leader of the Youth International Party (Yippies), from a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee today which was investigating disorders in Chicago during the Democratic Convention.



TWENTY YEARS ON, THERE ARE QUITE A FEW LESBIANS, GAY MEN, RESIDENTS OF NORTHERN IRELAND, PEOPLE IN DISPUTE WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS, COMMONWEALTH CITIZENS, TRAVELLERS, etc., etc. WHO MAY NOT GO ALONG WITH THIS. BUT THEN, TWENTY YEARS ON MR. RUBIN IS A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN, EXTOLLING THE VIRTUES OF THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM. DO WHAT?!

Report says Chicago police ran riot

From DAVID SPANIER

Washington, Dec. 1

"The weight of violence was overwhelmingly on the side of the police." This is the unequivocal judgment of a report on the disorders in Chicago during the Democratic Party's national convention, released by the National Commission on Violence today.

"To read dispassionately the hundreds of statements describing at first hand the events of Sunday and Monday nights (August 25 and 26) is to become convinced of the presence of what can only be called a police riot", the report says.

If any one man can be said to be the subject of criticism, by implication if not directly, it is Mr. Richard Daley, the mayor of Chicago. The report says that the violence arose from threats to the city—both serious and absurd—and from the city's massive response, and that the likelihood of violence was further increased by Mr. Daley's widely publicized order after the earlier rioting in Chicago this year to "Shoot to kill arsonists and shoot to maim looters".

The report says: "The police were generally credited with restraint in handling the first riots—but Mayor Daley rebuked the superintendent of police". The shooting order, although later modified, "undoubtedly had an effect".

The report, filed with the Commission on Violence, was released by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the chairman of the commission, because of public interest in it but without approval or disapproval of its findings, as it had only just been received.

It was prepared under contract by 90 full-time investigators under the direction of a Chicago lawyer, Mr. Daniel Walker, and is based on 20,000 pages of eyewitness statements, 180 hours of film, and more than 12,000 still photographs.

The city's police, according to the report, were working under "exceedingly provocative circumstances" in coping with thousands of anti-war demonstrators. The provocation took the form of obscene epithets, stones, sticks, bathroom tiles and even human excrement hurled at the police by protesters. But the report adds: "The nature of the response was unrestrained and indiscriminate police violence on many, many

occasions, particularly at night."

The police, it goes on, had been conditioned to expect that violence against the demonstrators would be condoned by city officials.

The clearing of demonstrators from a park on the north side of the city, in accordance with an 11 p.m. curfew, caused a police confrontation with the dissenters and led directly to intense violence during the nights of the convention, the report finds.

"But it was the police who forced them out of the park and into the neighbourhood. And on the part of the police there was enough wild-club swinging, enough cries of hatred, enough gratuitous beating to make the conclusion inescapable that individual policemen, and lots of them, committed violent acts far in excess of the requisite force for crowd dispersal or arrest."

The report goes on to say that a minority of the city's force of 12,000 men was responsible for the violence. Yet "there has been no public condemnation of these violators of sound police procedures and common decency by either their commanding officers or city officials".

The report adds that "if no action is taken against them the

effect can only be to discourage the majority of policemen who acted responsibly".

Mayor Daley in a statement in Chicago today said the report was "an excellent study overall" but criticized the summary as misleading. He made no reference to the report's description of the violence turning into a "police riot" and refused to take any press questions.

He said: "My only basic criticism is the summary, which if used alone, would mislead the public and be a disservice to those who prepared the report."

The report had found that the majority of Chicago police behaved responsibly, Mayor Daley said. "I am proud of them and so, I am sure, are the people of Chicago." Disciplinary action had been taken against 10 policemen for failure to wear their stars or nameplates during the disorders. In addition four face dismissal proceedings for use of excessive force.

On finishing his statement, the mayor turned and walked out of the conference room in city hall with a reporter shouting after him: "What about the police riot, Mayor?" He ignored the shout, and disappeared into his private office.

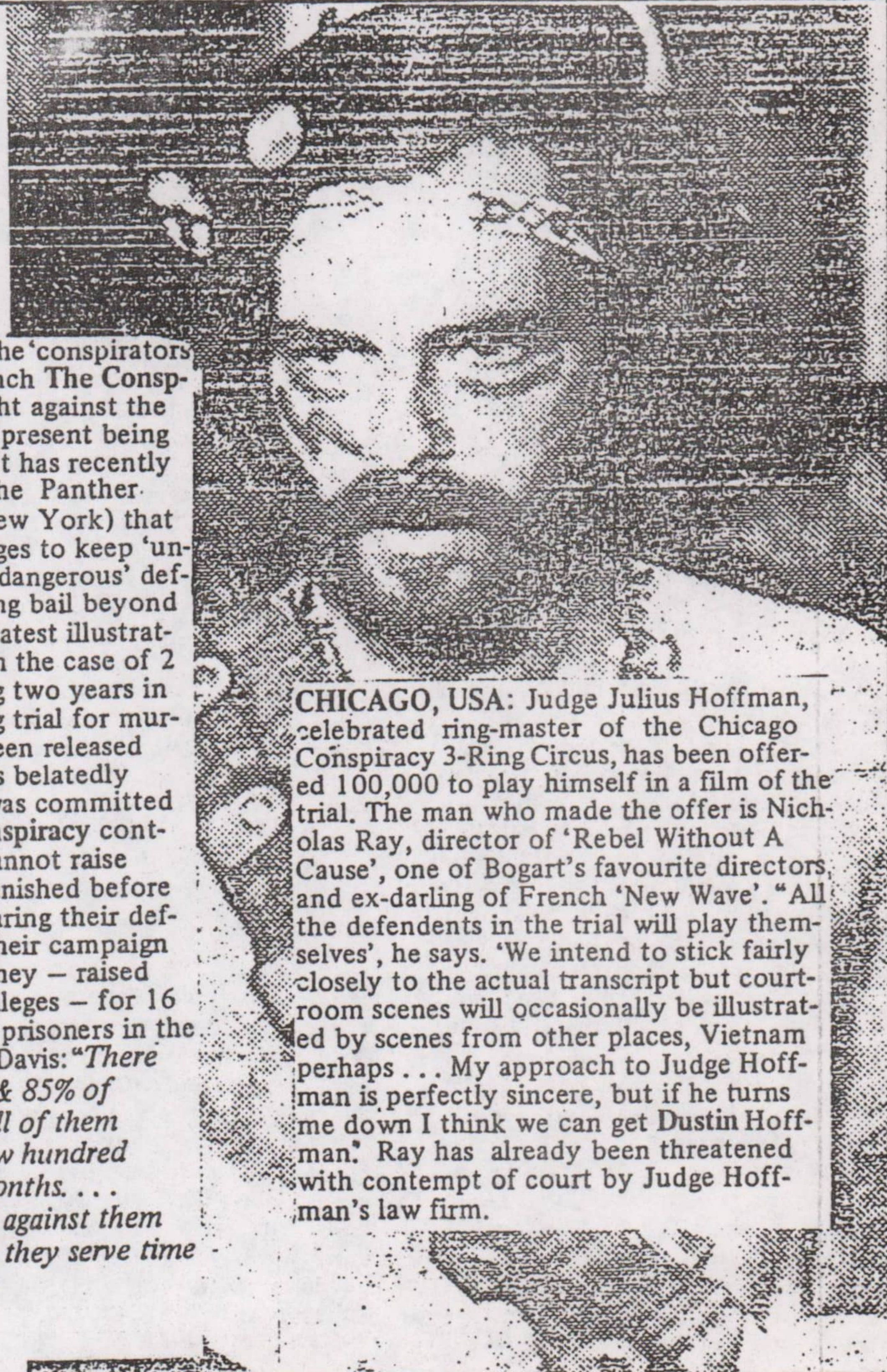
IT/77 April 9-24 1970

THE CONSPIRACY

CHICAGO: Seven of the Conspiracy ["We stand for the most incendiary ideas in history"] Eight have been released from jail pending appeals against their 'crossing-state-lines-with-intent-to-ignite-a-riot' & contempt-of-court convictions. A 5 judge panel in Chicago unanimously decided to grant bail, countering Judge Hoffman's original denial of bail, as well as his contention that Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman & Jerry Rubin are 'dangerous men' who should not be at large. Bail was set at \$155,000.

The release followed two weeks of intense, widespread & often dramatic expressions of support for the Conspiracy. A branch of the Bank of America was burned to the ground in Santa Barbara, Calif. A police station in San Francisco was blown up and one policeman died. Hundreds were arrested and later released following a confrontation with Washington D.C. policemen outside Attorney General Mitchell's apartment building. Fifteen thousand people massed in Boston. Tear gas grenades were lobbed by demonstrators at the Federal Building in Seattle. Thousands marched on the New York City federal courts and pelted cops with rocks, bottles & chunks of ice. Berkeley saw some of the heaviest street-fighting in recent years.

One of the first actions of the 'conspirators as free men has been to launch The Conspiracy, an organisation to fight against the detention-by-bail system at present being used by the US authorities. It has recently become obvious (eg. in the Panther Bomb Conspiracy trial in New York) that it is now customary for judges to keep 'undesirable and/or politically dangerous' defendants in custody by setting bail beyond their ability to pay it. The latest illustration of this strategy has been the case of 2 negroes who, after spending two years in a New York prison awaiting trial for murder & robbery, have now been released because the prosecution has belatedly discovered that the crime was committed by somebody else. The Conspiracy contend that defendants who cannot raise their bail sums are being punished before trial and hampered in preparing their defence, and the first step in their campaign has been to put up bail money — raised by lectures in schools & colleges — for 16 men who were their fellow prisoners in the Chicago nick. Said Rennie Davis: "There are 2,000 men in this gaol & 85% of them are black. Virtually all of them are in gaol for want of a few hundred dollars & are kept in for months. . . . Charges have been brought against them because they are black and they serve time before they come to trial".



CHICAGO, USA: Judge Julius Hoffman, celebrated ring-master of the Chicago Conspiracy 3-Ring Circus, has been offered 100,000 to play himself in a film of the trial. The man who made the offer is Nicholas Ray, director of 'Rebel Without A Cause', one of Bogart's favourite directors, and ex-darling of French 'New Wave'. "All the defendants in the trial will play themselves", he says. "We intend to stick fairly closely to the actual transcript but courtroom scenes will occasionally be illustrated by scenes from other places, Vietnam perhaps. . . . My approach to Judge Hoffman is perfectly sincere, but if he turns me down I think we can get Dustin Hoffman." Ray has already been threatened with contempt of court by Judge Hoffman's law firm.

PRAGUE—"Russian soldiers were impressed—and disconcerted—by the resistance". Photo by Bild Sonntag.

Czech intellectual attacks our press

Dr Julius Tomin, a Czechoslovak philosopher who had engaged in long gruelling arguments with Russian soldiers after the August invasion of his country, explained his view of the Czechoslovak situation at various meetings in Scotland recently. He complained bitterly of the misinterpretation, common to the Soviet and Western press, of "liberalisation" as a move towards counter-revolution.

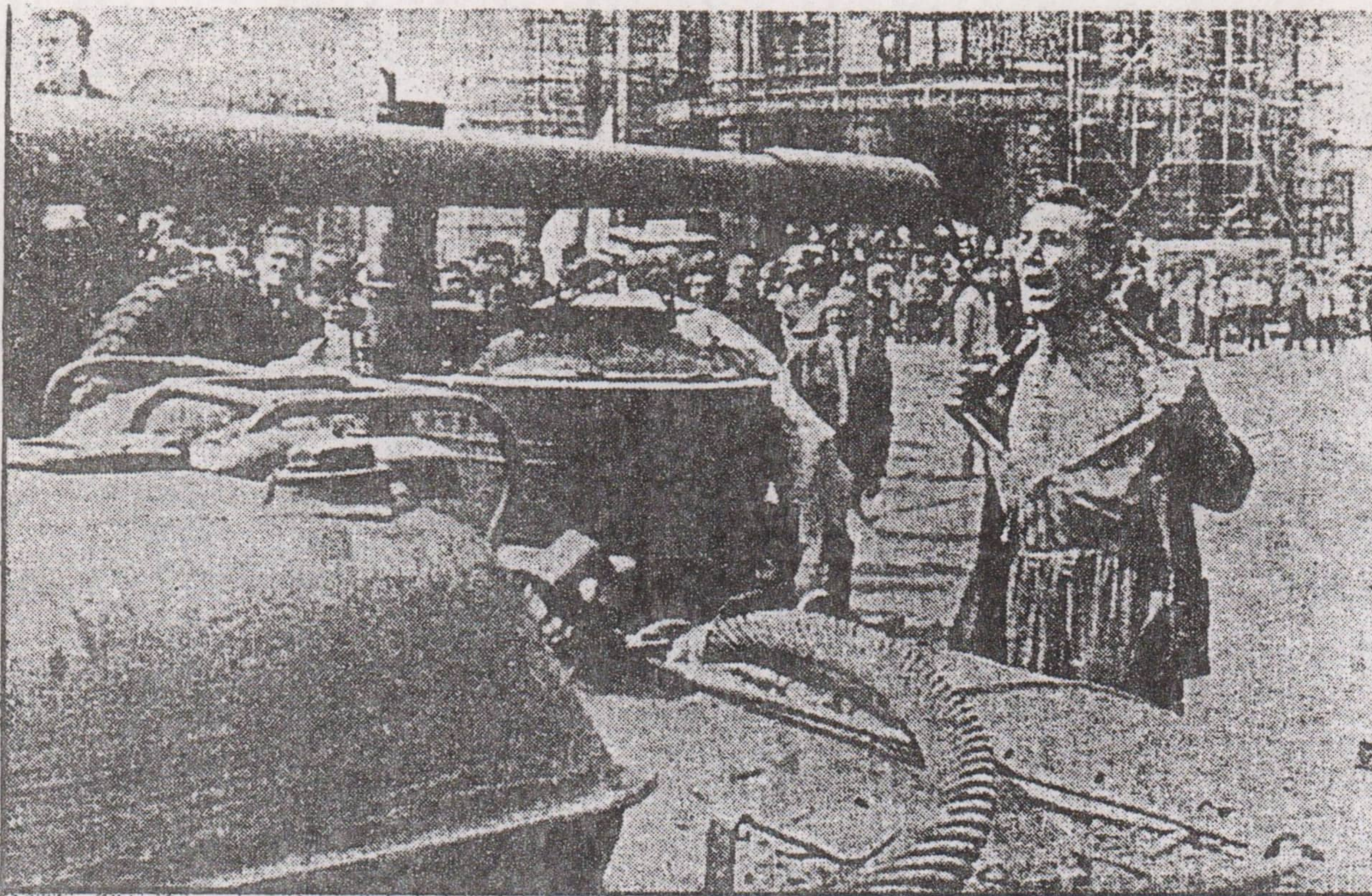
The economic basis for a capitalist revival, he insisted, simply did not exist any more in his country. A 20-year policy of favouring the workers at the expense of the old business and professional classes meant that the human resources of the nation were much more fully mobilised than they had ever been under capitalism. And this trend could not be reversed if some people held reactionary views, these had no root in reality. What we were witnessing was the development of a new type of society.

Describing Czechoslovak reactions to the invasion, he insisted that the Russian soldiers had been obviously impressed—and disconcerted—by the sheer massiveness of the resistance. There had been no collaboration with the invaders. The Russian commander in Brno, for example, had issued ultimatum after ultimatum ordering posters to be taken down by a certain time, or else—but they never were taken down.

The compulsory learning of Russian in schools since 1945 was turned to good account. Everyone could express opposition to the invaders in their own language. It was clear from Dr Tomin's account that many Russian soldiers were willing to talk to the local people, even in open and deliberate defiance to their own superior officers, and that this kind of contact tended to undermine the confidence of the invaders in the rightness of their own position. They had been sent into Czechoslovakia to rescue the masses from a counter-revolutionary plot, and they were distressed to find that their "kindness" was so little appreciated.

In the 1950s, Dr Tomin was deeply interested in Tolstoy, Gandhi, and the philosophy of non-violence. He had refused military service and spent 18 months in prison as a result. He no longer felt able to accept Gandhism, however—mainly, one gathered, because he thought that it should not have left India in its present state. There was a narrowness in it which left him unsatisfied. Gandhi could never have exploited such characteristic expressions of Czechoslovak resistance as the posters which urged lovers to exasperate the sexual frustration of Russian soldiers by embracing fondly in public places!

GEOFFREY CARNALL



Riot stops Davis Cup match

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT
STOCKHOLM, MAY 3

A group of young left-wing demonstrators today succeeded in well prepared plans to sabotage the Davis Cup match between Sweden and Rhodesia.

A few minutes before the first game should have started at Baastad, a quiet sea-side resort in south Sweden, they spoiled the tennis court by pelting it with eggs, stones, and plastic bags of

Swedish police drag away one of the anti-Rhodesia demonstrators who pelted the tennis court at Baastad with eggs, stones and oil yesterday and prevented Sweden's Davis Cup match with Rhodesia from taking place.

EV'RYBODY'S TALKIN' 'BOU

NEW YORK
LONDON
PARIS
MUNICH
...

ICH WOLLTE
MICH NICHT
DIENSTVER
PFLICHTEN

NOTSTAN

emonstrators marching through West Berlin yesterday.
he sign on the dummy says "I did not want
to be drafted."

Student unrest in Yugoslavia



Belgrade—Police clash with students at Novi Beograd, June 3.

- 7 1 The Good, The Bad And The Ugly *Hugo*
- 2 Lily The Pink *The Scaffold* (Columbia)
- 3 Eloise *Barry Ryan* (MGM)
- 4 This Old Heart Of Mine *The Isley Brothers*
- 5 Breaking Down The Walls Of Heartache
(Direction)
- 6 One, Two, Three O'Leary *Des O'Connor* (C)
- 7 Ain't Got No - I Got Life/Do What You Got
(RCA)
- 8 May I Have The Next Dream With You *Ma
Minor*
- 9 I'm A Tiger *Lulu* (Columbia)
- 0 Eleanor *The Turtles* (London)
- 1 All Along The Watchtower *Jimi Hendrix* (C)
- 2 Harper Valley P.T.A. *Jeannie C. Riley* (Pol)
- 3 The Urban Spaceman *The Bonzo Dog Doc*
- 4 Build Me Up Buttercup *The Foundations* (C)

THE TIMES MONDAY JULY 24 1967

the law against marijuana is immoral in principle and unworkable in practice

The signatories to this petition suggest to the Home Secretary that he implement a five point programme of cannabis law reform:

- 1 THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD PERMIT AND ENCOURAGE RESEARCH INTO ALL ASPECTS OF CANNABIS USE, INCLUDING ITS MEDICAL APPLICATIONS.
- 2 ALLOWING THE SMOKING OF CANNABIS ON PRIVATE PREMISES SHOULD NO LONGER CONSTITUTE AN OFFENCE.
- 3 CANNABIS SHOULD BE TAKEN OFF THE DANGEROUS DRUGS LIST AND CONTROLLED, RATHER THAN PROHIBITED, BY A NEW *AD HOC* INSTRUMENT.
- 4 POSSESSION OF CANNABIS SHOULD EITHER BE LEGALLY PERMITTED OR AT MOST BE CONSIDERED A MISDEMEANOUR, PUNISHABLE BY A FINE OF NOT MORE THAN £10 FOR A FIRST OFFENCE AND NOT MORE THAN £25 FOR ANY SUBSEQUENT OFFENCE.
- 5 ALL PERSONS NOW IMPRISONED FOR POSSESSION OF CANNABIS OR FOR ALLOWING CANNABIS TO BE SMOKED ON PRIVATE PREMISES SHOULD HAVE THEIR SENTENCES COMMUTED.

Jonathan Aitken
Tariq Ali
David Bailey
Humphry Berkeley
Anthony Blond
Derek Boshier
Sidney Briskin
Peter Brook
Dr. David Cooper
Dr. Francis Crick,
F.R.S.
David Dumbleby
Tom Driberg, M.P.
Dr. Ian Dunbar
Brian Epstein
Dr. Aaron Esterson
Peter Fryer
John Farnival
Tony Garnett
Clive Goodwin
Graham Greene
dsh
Richard Hamilton
George Harrison,
M.B.E.
Michael Hastings
Dr. J. M. Heaton
David Hockney
Jeremy Hornsby
Dr. S. Hutt
Francis Huxley
Dr. Brian Inglis
The Revd. Dr. Victor
E. S. Kenna, O.B.E.
George Kiloh
Herbert Kretzmer

Dr. R. D. Laing
Dr. Calvin Mark Lee
John Lennon, M.B.E.
Dr. D. M. Lewis
Paul McCartney,
M.B.E.
David McEwen
Alasdair MacIntyre
Dr. O. D. Macrae-
Gibson
Tom Maschler
Michael Abdul Malik
George Melly
Dr. Jonathan Miller
Adrian Mitchell
Dr. Ann Mully
P. H. Nowell-Smith
Dr. Christopher Pallis
John Piper
Patrick Procktor
John Pudney
Alastair Reid
L. Jeffrey Selznick
Nathan Silver
Tony Smythe
Michael Schofield
Dr. David Stafford-
Clark
Richard Starkey,
M.B.E.
Dr. Anthony Storr
Kenneth Tynan
Dr. W. Grey Walter
Brian Walden, M.P.
Michael White
Pat Williams



Bonzo Dog Band
Vivian Stanshall
Legs Larry
Denis Cowan
Neil Innes
Rodney Slater
Roger Ruskin Spear

The "boys" got together about four years ago at The Royal College of Art. Fate played the straight man; apart from the Curator of Fish who "sat-in" now and then. The group was called Bonzo Dog Band at first, and policy was simply to play as loudly and as badly as possible. It was considered smart to grow a big beard and drink pints of hydrogen peroxide. Normally several of the cranks would set-up in a pub and ask for "requests". Nobody could play their instruments, nobody knew the words or the tune (or wanted to) and in any case that wasn't the idea. The "requests" were destroyed. It was great fun. Quite surprisingly people actually liked it and the audience played to larger and larger boys. Regarded as avant-garde and progressive the band found itself, not hated as hoped for, but something of a legend. Soon they had played at nearly every London art-school, and their manager, a happy-go-lucky Dick Van Dyke character, started getting work in the provinces. He had a tobaccoists... (Look, why are you reading this muck? You know it's going to be the same old pretentious drivel)... they were working six nights a week... (I bet you've got long hair and beads and stuff)... of the original chaos and cacophony... (What's your bag?)... rudeness and riot, some kind of... (Do you play blues harp? I think I dug you down the Earth once)... McCartney a bunch of fives. What a night that... (Can you dig Stevie, Man? Where, Man? Over there, Man, Oh Yeah, Man)... as props, bits of badly designed furniture, vulgar magazines, posters, paintings and sometimes even the smelly contents of... (Spaced out, Man. Done his brain in)... a release from the pressures of study... (out of his box, Man)... theatrical outlet for self-expression... (Can't handle it, Man)... in the nude. Creating noise-machines for stage was... (Keep on trucking) The "boys" were also blah, bore, gas etc. (Keep on trucking) Quack, quack. A story thing by Vivian Stanshall.

- 6 Cinderella Rockafella *Esther and Abi Ofarim* (Phillips)
- 7 If I Were A Carpenter *The Four Tops* (Tamla Motown)
- 8 Legend of Xanadu *Dave Dee, Dozy, Beaky, Mick and Tich* (Fontana)
- 9 Step Inside Love *Cilla Black* (Parlophone)
- 10 Rosie Don Partridge (Columbia)
- 11 If I Only Had Time *John Rowles* (MCA)
- 12 Love Is Blue *Paul Mauriat* (Phillips)
- 13 Jennifer Juniper *Donovan* (Pye)
- 14 Me, The Peaceful Heart *Lulu* (Columbia)
- 15 Captain Of Your Ship *Reperata and The Delrons* (Bell)
- 16 Ain't Nuthin' But A Houseparty *The Showstoppers* (Beacon)
- 17 Fire Brigade *The Move* (Regal Zonophone)
- 18 Simon Says *The 1910 Fruitgum Co.* (Pye)
- 19 Valleri *The Monkees* (RCA)
- 20 Can't Take My Eyes Off You *Andy Williams* (CBS)
- 23 Jennifer Eccles *The Hollies* (Parlophone)
- 27 I Can't Let Maggie Go *The Honey Bus* (Deram)
- 24 Cry Like A Baby *The Box Tops* (Bell)
- 31 Something Here In My Heart *The Paper Dolls* (Pye)
 - Lazy Sunday *The Small Faces* (Immediate)
 - White Horses *Jacky* (Phillips)
 - Hello How Are You *The Easybeats* (UA)
- 42 Rock Around The Clock *Bill Haley* (MCA)

MAY 1968

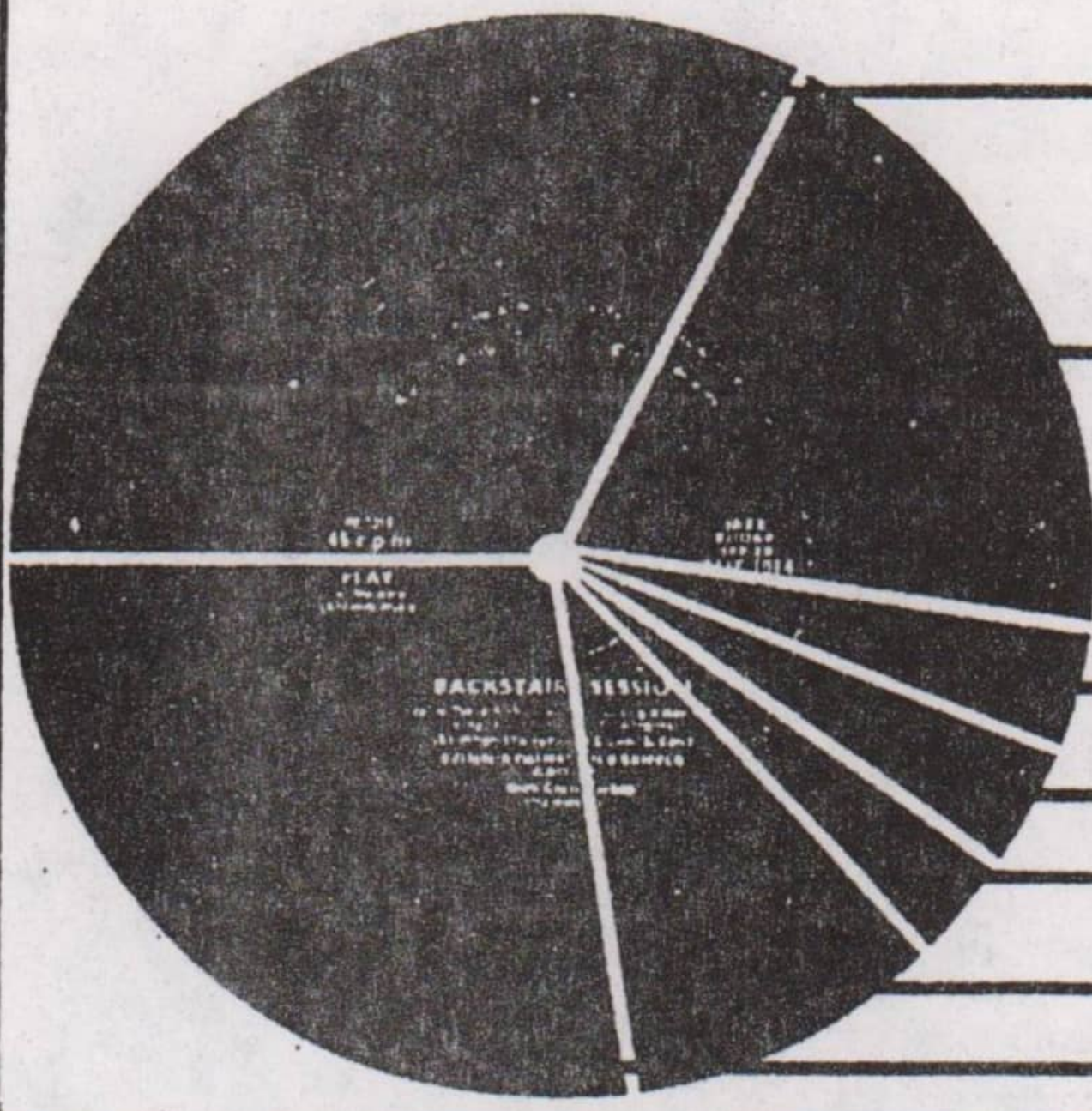
- 4 Wonderful World *Louis Armstrong* (HMV)
- 2 Simon Says *The 1910 Fruitgum Co.* (Pye)
- 3 Lazy Sunday *The Small Faces* (Immediate)
- 4 If I Only Had Time *John Rowles* (MCA)
- 5 Can't Take My Eyes Off You *Andy Williams* (CBS)
- 6 Congratulations *Cliff Richard* (Columbia)
- 7 Man Without Love *Engelbert Humperdinck* (Decca)
- 8 Jennifer Eccles *The Hollies* (Parlophone)
- 9 I Can't Let Maggie Go *The Honey Bus* (Deram)
- 10 Delilah *Tom Jones* (Decca)
- 11 Something Here In My Heart *The Paper Dolls* (Pye)
- 12 I Don't Want Our Loving To Die *The Herd* (Fontana)
- 13 Ain't Nuthin' But A Houseparty *The Showstoppers* (Beacon)
- 14 White Horses *Jacky* (Phillips)
- 15 Cry Like A Baby *The Box Tops* (Bell)
- 16 Young Girl *The Union Gap* (CBS)
- 17 Captain Of Your Ship *Reperata and The Delrons* (Bell)
- 18 Valleri *The Monkees* (RCA)
- 19 Somewhere In The Country *Gene Pitney* (Stateside)
- 20 Honey Bobby *Goldsboro* (UA)
- 24 Rainbow Valley *The Love Affair* (CBS)
- 22 Little Green Apples *Roger Miller* (Phillips)
- 40 Sleepy Joe *Herman's Hermits* (Columbia)

13 20 27
11 16 -
9 11 17

JUNE 1968

- 1 Young Girl *The Union Gap* (CBS)
- 2 Honey Bobby *Goldsboro* (UA)
- 3 Man Without Love *Engelbert Humperdinck* (Decca)
- 4 Wonderful World *Louis Armstrong* (HMV)
- 6 Lazy Sunday *The Small Faces* (Immediate)

The 8s 1d which you pay for a 45 is split up very roughly as follows:



2s 7d Record company for production costs, advertising, etc.

1s 10d Purchase tax

3d Composer

3d Music publisher

2d Performer

10d Record wholesaler

2s 2d Record shop

17 19 -
7 3 1
- - -
- - -
20 - -
9 5 3
18 11 9
19 - 20
22 14 12
23 15 13
41 25 14
26 23 15
- 40 18
- 32 19

- 17 Pretend *Des O'Connor* (Columbia)
- 8 Lovin' Things *The Marmalade* (CBS)
- 7 Blue Eyes *Don Partridge* (Columbia)
- 8 Yesterday Has Gone *Cupid's Inspiration* (NEMS)
- 9 My Name Is *Jack Manfred Mann* (Fontana)
- 10 Young Girl *The Union Gap* (CBS)
- 11 Yummy Yummy *The Ohio Express* (CBS)
- 12 Hush Not A Word To Mary *John Rowles* (MCA)
- 13 This Wheel's On Fire *Julie Driscoll, Brian Auger and The Trinity* (Marmalade)
- 14 Money Money *Tommy James and The Shondells* (Embar)
- 15 One More Dance *Esther and Abi Ofarim* (Phillips)
- 16 Honey Bobby *Goldsboro* (UA)
- 17 Do You Know The Way To San Jose *Dionne Warwick* (Pye)
- 18 Boys *Lulu* (Columbia)
- 19 MacArthur Park *Richard Harris* (RCA)
- 20 D. W. Washburn *The Monkees* (RCA)
- 30 Fire *The Crazy World of Arthur Brown* (Track)

Progressive Rock (also called Acid Rock, Underground or Just Rock). The main difference between Progressive Rock and Beat Music was the high degree of musicianship the progressive displayed. Bands like the Jimi Hendrix Experience and Cream were made up of real pop virtuosos, some of them classically trained. Another difference was the role of the LP - which was often of major importance to progressive bands. They found the 2½ minute single too limiting and needed longer album cuts or live appearance to get their style across.

US Top Ten Hits	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69
USA made	96	114	68	74	94	90	93	95
UK made	2	1	32	36	30	22	16	11

1967 America regains influence, but Britain continues to occupy a major position in world pop.

- 46 This Guy's In Love *Herb Alpert* (A & M)
- Mrs Robinson *Simon and Garfunkel* (CBS)
- 31 Gotta See Jane R. *Dean Taylor* (Tamla Motown)
- 33 Where Will You Be *Sue Nicholas* (Pye)
- I Close My Eyes And Count To Ten *Dusty Springfield* (Phillips)
- 48 Last Night In Soho *Dave Dee* (Fontana)
- Universal *The Small Faces* (Immediate)

AUGUST 1968

- 3 Money Money *Tommy James and The Shondells* (Major Minor)
- 21 Pretend *Des O'Connor* (Columbia)
- 3 Fire *The Crazy World of Arthur Brown* (Track)
- 4 MacArthur Park *Richard Harris* (RCA)
- 5 Mrs Robinson *Simon and Garfunkel* (CBS)
- 6 Baby Come Back *The Equals* (President)
- 7 I Close My Eyes And Count To Ten *Dusty Springfield* (Phillips)
- 8 Last Night In Soho *Dave Dee* (Fontana)
- 9 Son Of Hickory Hollers Tramp *O. C. Smith* (CBS)
- 10 Yummy Yummy *The Ohio Express* (Pye)
- 11 This Guy's In Love *Herb Alpert* (A & M)
- 12 Help Yourself *Tom Jones* (Decca)
- 13 Yesterday Has Gone *Cupid's Inspiration* (NEMS)
- 14 Dance To The Music *Sly and The Family Stone* (CBS)
- 16 Sunshine Girl *Herman's Hermits* (Columbia)
- 16 Universal *The Small Faces* (Immediate)
- 17 Gotta See Jane R. *Dean Taylor* (Tamla Motown)
- 18 Keep On *Bruce Channel* (Bell)
- 19 Days *The Kinks* (Pye)
- 20 Here Comes The Judge *Pigmeat Markham* (Chess)
- 26 Do It Again *The Beach Boys* (Capitol)
- I Gotta Get A Message To You *The Bee Gees* (Polydor)
- 44 High In The Sky *Amen Corner* (Deram)
- 37 On The Road Again *Canned Heat* (Liberty)
- Say A Little Prayer *Aretha Franklin* (Atlantic)
- Hold Me Tight *Johnny Nash* (Regal Zonophone)
- Dream A Little Dream Of Me *Mama Cass* (RCA)
- 46 Hard To Handle *Olis Redding* (Atlantic)

SEPTEMBER 1968

- 7 I Gotta Get A Message To You *The Bee Gees* (Polydor)
- 2 This Guy's In Love *Herb Alpert* (A & M)
- 3 Help Yourself *Tom Jones* (Decca)
- 4 Do It Again *The Beach Boys* (Capitol)
- 5 Say A Little Prayer *Aretha Franklin* (Atlantic)
- 6 High In The Sky *Amen Corner* (Deram)
- 7 Hold Me Tight *Johnny Nash* (Regal Zonophone)
- 8 Dance To The Music *Sly and The Family Stone* (CBS)
- 9 Money Money *Tommy James and The Shondells* (Major Minor)
- 10 Fire *The Crazy World of Arthur Brown* (Track)
- 11 Keep On *Bruce Channel* (Bell)
- 12 Dream A Little Dream Of Me *Mama Cass* (RCA)
- 13 Sunshine Girl *Herman's Hermits* (Columbia)
- 14 I Pretend *Des O'Connor* (Columbia)

- 15 Lady Will Power *The Union Gap* (CBS)
- 16 Little Arrows *Leapy Lee* (MCA)
- 17 On The Road Again *Canned Heat* (Liberty)
- 18 Days *The Kinks* (Pye)
- 19 Hard To Handle *Olis Redding* (Atlantic)
- 20 Yesterday's Dream *The Four Tops* (Tamla Motown)
- 27 Hey Jude *The Beatles* (Apple)
- Those Were The Days *Mary Hopkin* (Apple)
- 25 Jezebel *The Casuals* (Decca)
- 29 Classical Gas *Mason Williams* (Warner Bros.)
- 33 Ice In The Sun *Status Quo* (Pye)
- Hello, I Love You *The Doors* (Elektra)
- Red Balloon *The Dave Clark Five* (Columbia)
- 31 I Live For The Sun *Vanity Fare* (Page One)

OCTOBER 1968

- 8 Those Were The Days *Mary Hopkin* (Apple)
- 2 Hey Jude *The Beatles* (Apple)
- 3 Jezebel *The Casuals* (Decca)
- 4 Little Arrows *Leapy Lee* (MCA)
- 6 Hold Me Tight *Johnny Nash* (Regal Zonophone)
- 6 I Gotta Get A Message To You *The Bee Gees* (Polydor)
- 7 Lady Will Power *The Union Gap* (CBS)
- 8 Say A Little Prayer *Aretha Franklin* (Atlantic)
- 9 Red Balloon *The Dave Clark Five* (Columbia)
- 10 High In The Sky *Amen Corner* (Deram)
- 11 Ice In The Sun *Status Quo* (Pye)
- 12 Do It Again *The Beach Boys* (Capitol)
- 13 Classical Gas *Mason Williams* (Warner Bros.)
- 14 On The Road Again *Canned Heat* (Liberty)
- 15 Dream A Little Dream Of Me *Mama Cass* (RCA)
- 16 Hello, I Love You *The Doors* (Elektra)
- 17 A Day Without Love *The Love Affair* (CBS)
- 18 My Little Lady *The Tremeloes* (CBS)
- 19 Help Yourself *Tom Jones* (Decca)
- 20 Hard To Handle *Olis Redding* (Atlantic)
- 22 Les Bicyclettes De Belsize *Engelbert Humperdinck*
- 23 Light My Fire *Jose Feliciano* (RCA)
- 43 Wreck Of The Armoire *Dave Dee, Dozy, Beaky, Mick and Tich* (Fontana)
- 47 The Good, The Bad And The Ugly *Hugo Montenegro* (Warner Bros.)
- 33 Listen To Me *The Hollies* (Parlophone)
- 34 Only One Woman *The Marbles* (Polydor)
- 42 With A Little Help From My Friends *Joe Cocker* (Regal Zonophone)

Records Published in UK (in 000's)

Year	45s	LPs
1961	54,787	19,386
1962	55,239	20,361
1963	61,342	22,267
1964	72,841	27,829
1965	61,809	31,462
1966	51,196	33,275
1967	51,576	37,949
1968	49,161	49,184
1969	46,618	59,565

NOVEMBER 1968

- 1 Those Were The Days *Mary Hopkin* (Apple)
- 2 With A Little Help From My Friends *Joe Cocker* (Regal Zonophone)
- 3 The Good, The Bad And The Ugly *Hugo Montenegro* (RCA)
- 4 Little Arrows *Leapy Lee* (MCA)
- 6 Only One Woman *The Marbles* (Polydor)

Magical revolutionary tour

Lindsay Anderson's new film

So the Beatles have bypassed the system, made their film, and had it shown: and the television critics have rushed in gleefully and torn it to shreds. The Beatles ought not to be surprised. If your job forces you to spend most of your time taking seriously the daily inanity of television (*Coronation Street*, *Panorama*, *Gas and Gaiters*, *Twenty-Four Hours*) you are hardly likely to respond to any attempt at originality.

Maurice Wiggin, in the *Sunday Times*, was at least honest. He wasn't, he wrote, going to waste his time switching over from Gilbert and Sullivan: though he saw enough of the film to be willing to write off *Magical Mystery Tour* as "home movies".

Let's face it: television is a pretty square world. Experiments that are taken for granted by hundreds of thousands of young people who respond to the Pink Floyd, the Hendrix Experience, Ten Years After, not to speak of the Beatles themselves, are normally completely outside the expectations of any television critic. The cultural establishment hasn't yet tumbled to a revolution that's happened under their noses.

Anybody who's experienced with young people the excitement of listening to Adrian Mitchell, Adrian Henri, Spike Hawkins, or Roger McGough (currently high in the charts with *Thank U Very Much*) must have realised that many of the old dividing barriers between culture and entertainment have disappeared. And for this, the Beatles are largely responsible.

Their film wasn't a masterpiece: but why should it be? It was easily the most interesting thing on television over the holidays, except for the silent comedies on Christmas Eve. There was still too much of the influence of their previous director, Dick Lester (all that jazzy cutting that belongs to the world of the ad man), and there was a bit too much reliance on the personalities of the Beatles themselves. And there were things, like the Victor Spinetti sequence from *O What A Lovely War*, that had been lifted without any regard for the context.

But for all that, there was an imaginative daring that made most British films look clodhopping. Take the *Blue Jay Way* sequence. It begins with an old comic gag, but played in a curiously relaxed and casual way. All the trippers crawl into a tiny tent. You watch them disappear. Suddenly, you are inside. It's a vast hall with a stage. In a swirling mist, George Harrison sings "There's a fog upon LA, and my friends have lost their way . . . Please don't be long, please don't you be very long . . ." The song is mysterious and sad: but suddenly the gag returns. Everybody crawls out of the tent, and the bus turns and flattens it.

The sequence moves easily from gag to song and back again to gag: just as, at the end of the *Walrus* sequence, a bit of umpah-umpah vulgarity almost takes on the quality of a sequence from *Vigo*, the figures slow and ritualised as they dance behind the bus (this must be great in colour: so far we've only seen the black and white).

Again, the filming of the stripper, in the final sequence, is quite remarkable. Most film-makers would have taken up a moral attitude. There would have been either a snigger, or a moral judgment, or most likely a combination of both. With the Beatles, you simply feel that they liked the girl, they enjoyed watching her take her clothes off, and they wanted to share their enjoyment with other people. It's not surprising that people used to the innuendo boys (Bob Monkhouse & Co) should find such open enjoyment shocking.

The trouble is that the Beatles, from the position of total freedom that they've won for themselves, have challenged every assumption that the British film industry is based on. They've made their own film, as they wanted to make it, arranged their own distribution, and ignored all the technical rules, as the French New Wave did years ago.

Moreover, they understand instinctively that film is about what is happening on the screen. When people used to throw custard pies, you never asked *why* they were being thrown, or what the psychological motivation of the characters was. You laughed a bit at the first one, a lot at the second, and you rolled about when the screen was full of hurtling pies because you were responding directly to what you saw. Audiences still accept the slapstick convention: but as soon as a film moves beyond slapstick in its mood, they begin to ask what it's about, instead of responding to what they see.

George Melly, in the most cogent criticism that I've read of the Beatles' film (last Sunday's *Observer*), argues that whereas the surrealists were trying to change reality, the Beatles are only playing with it. In a sense, this is true. One of the essential differences between *Vigo* and the Beatles is that *Vigo* was an anarchist who wanted his films to drive people towards revolutionary solutions. The Beatles' anarchy is one of acceptance: they ask only to be allowed to be themselves.

And yet, in a society where everybody, from the Prime Minister and the Queen upwards, seems intent on playing out roles, this in itself could be a revolutionary demand. The surrealists talked about changing reality. The Beatles have walked into the Denmark Street racket and kicked the whole thing to pieces. They've changed the situation in practical terms for anybody who wants to write poetry or songs, and they've done it by insisting on being themselves.

And now they're threatening one of the most totalitarian sectors of British industry: films. On television the other night, Paul McCartney admitted that they'd made a mistake. Lots of people don't like their songs when they first hear them, but enjoy them after a dozen or more times. But most people only get the opportunity of seeing a film once.

I don't think that even after a dozen viewings the Beatles' film would rival *Vigo*. But it might be as pleasurable as *Sergeant Pepper*: and I'm still playing that fairly regularly months after having bought it. I won't get the chance to play the film.



Lindsay Anderson with two of the rebel schoolboys in his film "If . . .".

SEX AND FREEDOM

"The film is, I think, deeply anarchistic. People persistently misunderstand the term anarchistic, and think it means wildly chucking bombs about, but anarchy is a social and political philosophy which puts the highest possible on responsibility. The notion of somebody who wants to change the world is not the notion of an irresponsible person."

"It seems to me", I said "that sex and violence have similar implications in the film. I am thinking particularly of the scene in the roadside cafe when Mick meets this girl with whom he is suddenly rolling naked on the floor. The scene has something of the same impact as the revolution at the end."

"Well, yes. It is traditionally a kind of anarchist tenet, I think, that the impulse of freedom naturally finds expression in emotional relationships as well as in action. Perhaps the film suggests

the link between sex and freedom, the relationship between sex and anarchy, if you like the emotional and liberating quality there is, or should be, in sex."

"There are some who will say that the film could be an incitement to violence", I said. "I've already heard it suggested that if students hadn't already revolted, this picture might have set them off."

"I can't see why it should", said Anderson. "The work is not a propagandist one. It doesn't preach. It never makes any kind of explicit case. It gives you a situation and shows what happens in this particular instance when certain forces on the one side are set against certain forces on the other, without any mutual understanding."

"If . . ." will have its premier at the London Film Festival on December 5, and opens a run at the Plaza Cinema on the 19th.

Not quite as far as thought can reach

Casino:
2001: A Space Odyssey
By John Russell Taylor,
Film Critic

The film is divided into two main sections, with a prologue and epilogue in which the significance of the body of the film may—or may not—be found. The prologue is called "The Dawn of Man", and shows, at somewhat excessive length, a group of apemen discovering a new arrival on the scene—a mysterious black basalt column dropped seemingly from the sky—and shortly afterwards working out for themselves how to make weapons out of bone.

Then comes the first part of the main film. A similar column is found, around the end of this century, by men on the moon. It is clearly fashioned by some sort of intelligence, and it beams radio signals towards Jupiter when the sun is in the right position. In the second part we follow the journey of a group of astronauts towards Jupiter to find out what exactly this all means, and particularly the battle of one of them with a megalomaniac computer which has developed a yen to take over the expedition.

Then comes the epilogue, which takes the craft to Jupiter and "beyond the infinite". It would probably be wrong to give away

exactly how the film ends, but I must confess to finding the ending disappointingly glib and derivative after what has gone before. It may just be the insuperable difficulty of ending a story which by its nature must take us further and farther beyond the range of human thought (*Planet of the Apes* ran into the same problem). Up to then, though, the film is often staggering to look at—Mr. Kubrick designed and photographed all his own special photographic effects—and ingeniously scripted: in particular the relations between the humans and the power-crazed computer are observed with a nice wit.

Perhaps there is rather too

much footage devoted to the slow manoeuvring of the film-maker's giant toys (things happen so slowly in space), which however well done is not exactly dazzling in its novelty. And perhaps it is unwise for a film to comport itself like a plot-piece, with a puzzle, a quest and a battle for power, and then provide so little which can be interpreted as plot-solution. Still, for all its faults it is just about the most intelligent and consistently enjoyable film Cinerama has yet given us.



Martin Luther King The time is winding up

This article, from Look Magazine, was the last that Dr King ever wrote. He completed it a few days before his assassination in Memphis.

Non-violent protests return this spring, perhaps for the last time. Whites are welcomed. Even the militant Black Power groups have agreed to join in. But if the non-violent protests fail, holocaust could follow.

Despite two consecutive summers of violence, not a single basic cause of riots has been corrected. All of the misery that stoked the flames of rage and rebellion remains undiminished.

With unemployment, intolerable housing, and discriminatory education a scourge in Negro ghettos, Congress and the Administration still tinker with trivial half-hearted measures. Yet only a few years ago there was discernible, if limited, progress through non-violence. Each year a wholesome vibrant Negro self-confidence was taking shape.

Non-violent direct action enabled the Negro to take to the streets in active protest, but it muzzled the guns of the oppressor because even he could not shoot down in daylight unarmed men, women and children. This is the reason there was less loss of life in 10 years of Southern protest than in 10 days of Northern riots.

We need to put pressure on Congress to get things done. We will do this with First Amendment activity. If Congress is unresponsive, we'll have to escalate in order to keep the issue alive and before it. This action may take on disruptive dimensions, but not violent in the sense of destroying life or property: it will be militant non-violence.

We really feel that riots tend to intensify the fears of the white majority while relieving its guilt, and so open the door to greater repression. We've seen no changes in Watts—no structural changes have taken place as the result of riots.

We are not going to tolerate violence. And we are making it very clear that the demonstra-

tors who are not prepared to be non-violent should not participate in this. For the past six weeks, we've had workshops on non-violence with the people who will be going to Washington. Demonstrations have served as unifying forces in the movement: they have brought blacks and whites together in very practical situations, where philosophically they may have been arguing about Black Power.

It's a strange thing how demonstrations tend to solve problems. Anytime we've had demonstrations in a community, people have found a way to slough off their self-hatred, and they have a channel to express their longings and a way to fight non-violently—to get at the power structure, to know you're doing something, so you don't have to be violent to do it.

Outlet for anger

We need this movement. We need it to bring about a new kind of togetherness between blacks and whites. We need it to bring allies together and to bring the coalition of conscience together. I think we have come to the point where there is no longer a choice now between non-violence and riots. It must be militant massive non-violence, or riots.

The discontent is so deep, the anger so ingrained, the despair, the restlessness so wide, that something has to be brought into being to serve as a channel through which these deep emotional feelings, these deep angry feelings, can be funnelled.

There has to be an outlet, and I see this campaign as a way to transmute the inchoate rage of the ghetto into a constructive and creative channel. It becomes an outlet for anger.

Even if I didn't deal with the moral dimensions and question of violence versus non-violence, from a practical point of view I don't see riots working. But I am convinced that if rioting continues it will strengthen the Right wing of the country, and we'll end up with a kind of Right-wing take-over in the cities and a Fascist development, which will be terribly injurious to the whole nation.

I don't think America can stand another summer of Detroit-like riots without a development that could destroy the soul of the nation, and even the democratic possibilities of the nation.

I'm committed to non-violence absolutely. I'm just not going to kill anybody, whether it's in Vietnam or here. I'm not going to burn down any building. If non-violent protest fails this

summer I will continue to preach it and teach it.

I plan to stand by non-violence because I have found it to be a philosophy of life that regulates not only my dealings in the struggle for racial justice but also my dealings with people, with my own self.

But I'm frank enough to admit that if our non-violent campaign doesn't generate some progress, people are just going to engage in more violent activity, and the discussion of guerrilla warfare will be more extensive.

Fatal disease

Black Americans have been patient people and perhaps they could continue patient with but a modicum of hope: but everywhere "time is winding up", in the words of one of our spirituals. "Corruption in the land, people take your stand: time is winding up."

Despite years of national progress, the plight of the poor is worsening. Jobs are on the decline as a result of technological change, schools North and South are proving themselves more and more inadequate. Medical care is virtually out of reach of millions of black and white poor. In Mississippi, children are actually starving, while large landowners have placed their land in the soil bank and receive millions of dollars annually not to plant food and cotton.

White America has allowed itself to be indifferent to race prejudice and economic denial. It has treated them as superficial blemishes, but now awakes to the horrifying reality of a potentially fatal disease. The urban outbreaks are "a fire bell in the night" clamorously warning that the seams of our entire social order are weakening under strains of neglect.

The American people are infected with racism—that is the peril. Paradoxically, they are also infected with democratic ideals—that is the hope. While doing wrong, they have the potential to do right. But they do not have a millennium to make changes.

The future they are asked to inaugurate is not so unpalatable that it justifies the evils that beset the nation. To end poverty, to extirpate prejudice, to free a tormented conscience, to make a tomorrow of justice, fair play, and creativity—all these are worthy of the American ideal.

We have, through massive non-violent action, an opportunity to avoid a national disaster and create a new spirit of class and racial harmony. All of us are on trial in this troubled hour, but time still permits us to meet the future with a clear conscience.



Hatred is increased by being reciprocated and can on the other hand be transformed by love. Hatred which is completely vanquished by love passes into love: and love is thereupon greater than if hatred had not preceded it.

—Spinoza

RACE REACTIONS

Immigrants unite

Enoch Powell's unleashing of populist racism has had one positive consequence: immigrant organisations have been encouraged to come together in self defence.

The launching on Sunday of a Black Peoples' Alliance has been the most publicised, and is probably the most important of these developments, involving as it does such disparate organisations as the Indian Workers Association, the National Federation of Pakistani Associations in Britain, and the West Indian Standing Conference. In spite of press coverage building this up as an irresponsible bunch of racists, this kind of alliance, thinking in terms of industrial action where appropriate, is probably essential to counter the inbuilt racism on both sides of industry.

Less attention has been paid to the decision of Indian immigrants in Birmingham to set up a central committee of Indian organisations "to fight for our rights". Dr Dhani Prem, who called the meeting, is quoted in Tuesday's *Guardian* as saying "We decided that we would fight only by essential democratic methods of protest and passive resistance. We will not associate ourselves with any organisation or any body of people who advocate violence."

A working party to press for improvements in the Race Relations Bill—in particular the setting up of a Racial Equality Commission with largely elected membership from immigrant organisations—was formed at a meeting in London convened in advance of Enoch Powell's speech by Rev Wilfred Wood of Hammersmith Community Relations Committee, and attended by representatives of 20 immigrant organisations.

Anti-Powell march start of long haul

Apart from the expected high emotional level, nothing very remarkable emerged from the anti-Powell march which wound along the very familiar route from Speaker's Corner to Whitehall last Sunday afternoon. Considered as some kind of vocal reaction to the spoken injustices of the previous ten days, this demonstration had neither the power of a Selma nor the desperation of a Newark. Significant also was the very small percentage of Blacks—a feature which should be of priority concern to the organisers, since the march followed the Easter March tribute to Martin Luther King.

The notice I carried said: "Castrate All Wogs, Jews, Nigs, and Spades—Back Powell". It was most revealing to see people read it and react—in deadly seriousness. It was clear that this was no longer a ludicrous view but one which many people really hold. The little girl from Southampton Communist Party who angrily wrenched the poster from me told me later that any number of people she had argued with that afternoon could have carried it with passionate conviction of its truth!

Two things stand out starkly from the imbroglio of the past fortnight and from Sunday's march. First, the racial situation is far more serious in this country than the vast majority of radicals had previously realised, indicating that widespread neo-fascism is no longer latent but fact. Second, we have nobody but ourselves to rely on in the impending conflict. Working-class solidarity is a myth at the present time. The potential in this situation is for nothing more than resistance by the minority—and, judging from Sunday's stroll in Whitehall, to reach even this level is going to be a very long haul.

'Labour's Enoch' at Nottingham

Ten years ago Nottingham (together with Nottingham Hill) hit the headlines with the first major race violence in modern Britain. On Sunday local anti-racist and anti-war groups will be marking the occasion by demonstrating at the Nottingham Labour Party's May Day rally, in Nottingham Market Square at 3 pm.

One of their aims will be to show what they think of Roy Hattersley, MP for Sparkbrook, Birmingham, a junior minister with the Ministry of Labour, and described by one organiser as "Labour's Enoch Powell". He will be addressing the rally.

They will also be trying to point out the Vietnam war's racial undertones (eg LBJ's "Bring home a coonskin" remark).

The local Anti Colour Bar Campaign, Indian Workers, plus CND and the VSC had pledged support for the demonstration by Monday. University student groups were also expected to take active part.

Redbridge: brutal gypsy eviction

In a quasi-military operation on Monday 100 Essex police helped 40 council workmen to evict 35 traveller families from a site in Redbridge. The labour was divided—the council workmen took care of the towing-away, and of forcing open the vans, so that the police could drag the occupants out.

All but 15 of the families had planned to leave the site in Forest Road, on the edge of a council-owned recreation ground by the end of the week, to go to Epsom. However, although Redbridge Council has in principle agreed to provide a site for 16 vans in a field next to the recreation ground, it refused to give way.

Some of the families involved—most of those who wished to stay past the end of the week—had moved to the site in March from one at Woodford Bridge Road, with council approval, after they had prepared to make a stand. Since then they had been joined by others, most of whom had been camping alongside Woodford Avenue, also in Redbridge. Others who had been camping on Hornchurch disused airfield also came to the Forest Road site, when they were turned out. (The longer-term residents at Hornchurch were given a place to stay by Havering Council, which has taken a relatively responsible attitude.)

Redbridge Council's inflexibility can largely be put down to the reaction of some local residents. A disused hut on the Forest Road site was taken over for use as a temporary pre-school for travellers' children—but two weeks ago it was burnt down, apparently by local residents.

Grattan Puxon, secretary of the Gypsy Council, was among those who barricaded themselves in on Monday.

"We knew they were coming, they had had loudspeaker vans round giving warning—a number of people left on the Sunday as a result.

"It started at 7.30 am, when the 50 council workers turned up, with tractors, mechanical diggers and so on—10 vehicles in all. There were four coachloads of police.

"Between 7.30 and 9 am we were packing up, and forming the caravans into a tight sort of semicircle, Western style—the council and the police thought we were getting

ready to move off. Then at 9 o'clock a wagon that was to be abandoned was tipped over in front to block any attempt to tow away vans, and it was announced that we weren't moving.

"Then everybody began locking themselves into the caravans or driving cabs. The council people threatened to tear off the doors with crowbars, but we insisted on seeing the Town Clerk."

The police withdrew while a sort of parley was held, but the Town Clerk—Mr K. F. B. Nicholls—refused to make any concessions.

Then things started in earnest. "The police surrounded the caravans in a double row, and the council people with the crowbars began breaking in. I was told they were from the Welfare Department [the Town Clerk later told a social worker that the Welfare Department was not involved]. Most of the workmen took no significant part in the eviction beyond driving the vehicles—they said to me that they would not use force themselves against women and children."

The police were less inhibited, in spite of the fact that the only official role they have in such evictions is to keep the peace.

"I was in the first van, we were having a cup of tea, when the door was broken open. I was carried out and dumped. In the next van a man, his wife and children had locked themselves in the driving cab. As the police hauled her out she was screaming. They dumped her in the mud."

On Tuesday Mr Nicholls declined to make any suggestions as to where he wished the travellers his men had evicted to go. "All I can say is we wanted them off this site." Asked if he would prefer them to camp by the roadside, or to camp on land belonging to other councils he resolutely No Commented. Nor did he have anything to say about the fact that a dozen or so of the children had been attending local schools. "If they trespass on our council property again, then certainly they will be evicted," he said.

It had been impossible to allow the families who wished to stay to use the site destined for use by travellers until planning permission had been obtained. However in Havering, faced with a similar situation, the local council has gone ahead and set up a site in advance of getting planning permission, with the tacit approval of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

THE TIMES TUESDAY AUGUST 20 1968

Third of estate's families in poverty

By a Staff Reporter

More than a third of the families interviewed on a Nottingham council estate of 650 houses were living in poverty, a survey published today says. It discloses that 37 per cent of the families had incomes of less than £14 a week, and 57 per cent had less than £20.

The survey was based on a sample of about 12 per cent.

The main conclusion of the survey, by students from the Department of Adult Education at Nottingham University, is that family poverty is a major social problem, even in areas that might seem quite prosperous to the casual observer.

One of the most disturbing factors discovered by the survey was the predominance of children under 15 years old. More than two-fifths of the people in poverty on the estate were children.

Although there was no doubt that there was a relationship between the size of a family and the risk of poverty, the high proportion of children "does not result because the poor are feckless

breeders producing large numbers of children", the report says. Half the families in poverty had three children.

Discussing possessions, the report says that more and more consumer goods that were yesterday's "luxuries" had become today's "necessities".

"It seems very plain that there are numbers of people who would endure malnutrition rather than sacrifice the television set, or even the family car", the report says.

"It is quite pointless to moralize about such matters: new needs have been created, partly by inchoate social pressures, partly by deliberate manipulation through advertising, and partly as a result of the changing demands of the labour market itself."

As needs developed and became more compelling, the possibility was increasing that, for many, life might be more easily sustained without adequate nourishment than without social approval and acceptance.

The survey shows that 90 per cent of the poor people on the

estate had a television set, and 85 per cent a radio. Sixty per cent had a washing machine, 40 per cent a vacuum cleaner, 20 per cent a record player, 10 per cent a refrigerator, and 5 per cent a car or motor cycle.

However, the survey points out, not only might the predominance of retired people on the estate allow for the gradual acquisition of such assets, but frequently old people explained that their television set or washing machine was a gift from a son or daughter.

Assessing their own situation, more than half the people thought themselves comfortably off, including 30 per cent of the objectively poor. Just over 36 per cent considered themselves "a bit hard pressed".

Asked how much more money they needed, 77 per cent of all the people and 90 per cent of the poor said less than £5. To be wealthy, 27 per cent thought in terms of a weekly wage of up to £25, 40 per cent £25-£50, nearly 17 per cent more than £50, and 15 per cent did not know.

Just over 44 per cent thought

that they got a fair wage for the work they did: 24 per cent thought that their employer made a lot of money out of them, and 41 per cent thought they made a little. Most of the men were skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled manual workers. Rents of most of the houses were £1 16s. 1d. a week, inclusive of rates and water charges of about 11s. a week.

Asked: "If you have to fix a minimum wage for a full working week what would it be?" Over £15 a week was specified by 57 per cent, and 45 per cent of the poor quoted a figure above that amount. A figure of more than £18 was given by 35 per cent of both poor and not poor.

"These results, together with the surprising fact that the minimum wage requirement is not all that much lower than the sums considered as necessary to be wealthy suggest quite a high level of collective aspiration", the report comments.

The survey found sharp differences between poor and those who were not poor in church membership: 8.7 per cent of non-poor

members attended and 20 per cent of the poor.

"It is tempting to speculate that the need for divine solace is greater among the poor", the authors say, "but the fact that just over half the poor sample are old-age pensioners may explain the relatively high church membership for this group."

Membership of political parties was 2.6 per cent for the whole, 3.5 per cent for the non-poor and nil for the poor.

The estate, built in the mid-1930s, lies on the edge of the city and the houses are mostly three-bedroomed with living room, bathroom and separate lavatory. Each has a small garden at front and rear and about 80 have garages attached.

The *Morale of the Poor*; a survey of poverty on a Nottingham council housing estate. Edited by K. Coates and Richard Silburn. (Department of Adult Education, Nottingham University, 6s.)

Flat victims may refuse to return

By HAROLD JACKSON

A team of specialists has been appointed by the Home Secretary in preparation for the official inquiry to discover why the 22 floors at the south-east corner of Newham council's new block of flats, Ronan Point in East London, collapsed yesterday morning. Three of the tenants are dead, three are missing, and three in hospital.

The team—three Ministry officials and a fire inspector—will report to Mr Callaghan this lunchtime and he will then decide on the type of inquiry called for.

Last night harassed officials of the council were meeting solid resistance from the 80 families evacuated after the disaster to any suggestion that they should return to the flats. In the emergency centre set up at the Halls-ville primary school round the corner, the official concern was with allocating temporary accommodation, told me:

"It's not only the 18 families whose flats are uninhabitable that we shall have to worry about. From what I have heard here today I don't believe that anyone will go back. I think we shall have to face the fact that all of them will want rehousing."

"I wouldn't live there rent-free," said one woman in the playground of the school who had been offered temporary space with neighbours, and it is evident from the comments of other victims that the council has a crisis of confidence on its hands about these system-built high flats.

'No failure'

Mr Geoffrey Davies, the managing director of Taylor Woodrow-Angham, which built the flats, denied strongly that the collapse was through any failure of the building itself. "We have had a look at the block," he said after a 3 1/2 hour tour, "and there is not the slightest indication that there is any structural failure."

All official comment was extremely guarded and omitted all reference to the cause of the explosion, but there seems little doubt that a violent gas explosion occurred in Flat 90, on the eighteenth floor, at 6.45 a.m. A fireman who was the first into the flat said the gas cooker in the kitchen was lying face down on the floor and the gas pipe was shooting flames. The doors of the flat had been blasted out and so had the lift doors on the landing outside. Though there was fire damage in the flat, most of the evidence pointed to damage by the explosion.

Red flash

What then happened was told by Mr William Brown, a painter and decorator, of Clements Avenue.

"I was just getting my breakfast in the kitchen, which faces the flats, when I saw a huge red flash near the top of the block. There was a terrific bang, and after that, I could hear people screaming. There was a bit of a pause and then I saw the flats above the explosion start to sag. As they hit the floor below that would collapse, and that went on all down the building. . . . It was all over in five minutes."

Leslie Joyce, aged 18, of Hooper Street, saw the top floors start to collapse and bring down those below. He thought the disaster took about two and a half minutes from start to finish.

I arrived late at the home of the man behind *The Black Dwarf*. It was obviously a solemn occasion. The living room was strewn with hand-picked London militants. The man in the chair was speaking heavy Marx in a German accent. It was Mr (Deadly) Ernest Mandel, editor of Belgium's left wing *Le Gauche*, and a respected socialist economist. In measured tones, he precisely minimized the contribution of 'libertarian elements' in the Paris uprising and spoke of the subsequent influx of recruits to 'the party'; of the seriousness of revolution and the importance of being ideological. He had come to praise Marx, and proceeded to bury him. In the discussion which followed, tense for those involved, three hours were spent arguing over the definition of 'neo-capitalism'. Ken Tynan was the first to leave, in despair. One man's revolution is another man's purgatory.

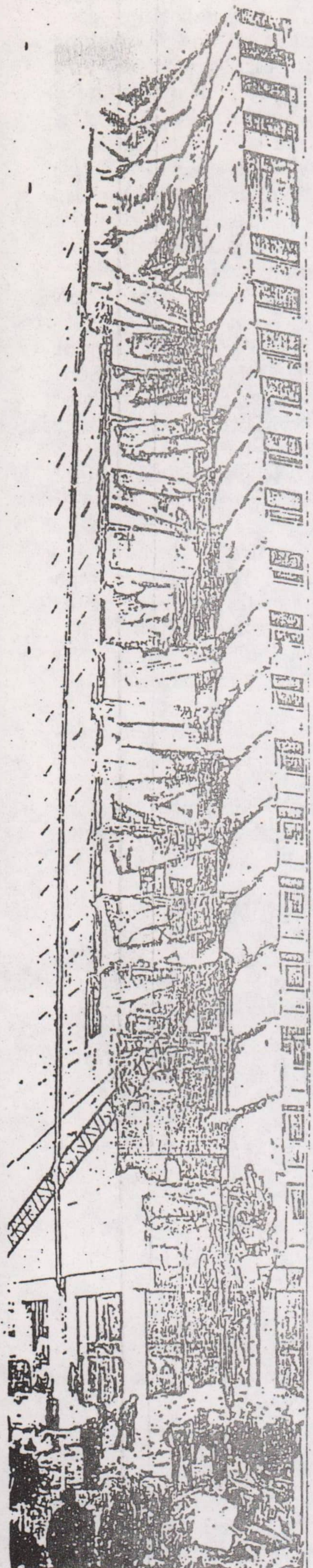
TOWER BLOCKS + MOTORWAYS + UNDERGROUND RAILWAYS + RO-RO FERRIES + OIL RIGS = PROFITS OF DOOM



DROWN IN THE OCEAN



CHANT
 Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
 Krishna Krishna Hare Hare
 Hare Rama Hare Rama
 Rama Rama Hare Hare
 TRANSCENDENTAL SOUND VIBRATION !!
 Arts Lab Wednesday & Friday 7:30pm.



Ronan Point flats, Newham, yesterday (Picture by Peter Johns)

Bottle of milk	1959 8d	1964 9d	1969 10½d
20 Cigarettes	3/11	4/11	6/1
Rail ticket from London to Birmingham	37/6	51/-	61/-
Pint of Beer	1/1	1/4½	1/10
12 Eggs	3/10½	3/10	3/11
Cinema Seat	4/6	5/6	7/-
Price of small family car	£626	£547	£688
Value of pound in pocket	20/-	17/11	14/5

SCENE AROUND

FROM: "GANDALF'S
GARDEN"



PRESENT SCENE IN THE EAST — — — —

Generally speaking, in the big cities (where there are proportionately more corrupt people) bad or mocking vibrations directed towards all "hippies" and all young travelling people, whom they associate with that label. This is due to an increasing number of mis-informed local newspaper articles and the growing number of European-American dealers, hustlers and needle-freaks, also a growing number of people who are flipping out, freaking and going mad thus giving us a bad name in the East. (This unfortunate condition comes about when the person concerned has no bread, smokes too much, is forced to stay in cities (terrible places to stay for too long) to hustle bread and food, and has no sound spiritual base upon which to stand. The crack-up comes when instead of absorbing the Easterners' simple and enquiring questions, "From what country do you come? What is your purpose?" etc., and replying in a positive communicative manner, the person involved gets tired of playing up to their fantasies (a fatal mistake) and consequently develops a paranoid streak, which is the beginning of the end.

All village people are simple and pure and a pleasure to be with, and a lot can be learned from them, especially the mountain folk.

All borders from Europe to Turkey—very hot, general hassling and a refusal to let anyone in who remotely resembles a hippie.

It's impossible to go overland to India via Turkey-Iran after October, as the snowfalls block the mountain passes from Turkey to Iran. The best way is to go down through Iraq to the Persian Gulf, and get a boat to Karachi or Bombay.

Herat, in Afghanistan, still remains one of the most beautiful little towns in the East. Kabul (capital of Afghanistan) is very hot. Lots of people have been busted there, the police are tightening up. The Noor Hotel has been closed. This is due partly to some people trying to smuggle stuff back to Europe and the States on a plane, via Russia. Everyone gets busted in Russia and the Kabul authorities have been asked to tighten up etc.

Pakistan is a very beautiful place if you get off the beaten track, which is, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore. Chitral, in the Hindu-Kush mountains, a name which all grass (charas) connoisseurs cherish deep in their hearts, has, unfortunately been

burned right out because of selfish American dealers buying up too much (and consequently being busted and having to give it all back) and also some people dropping acid and freaking the simple folk of the Bazaar right out of their heads.

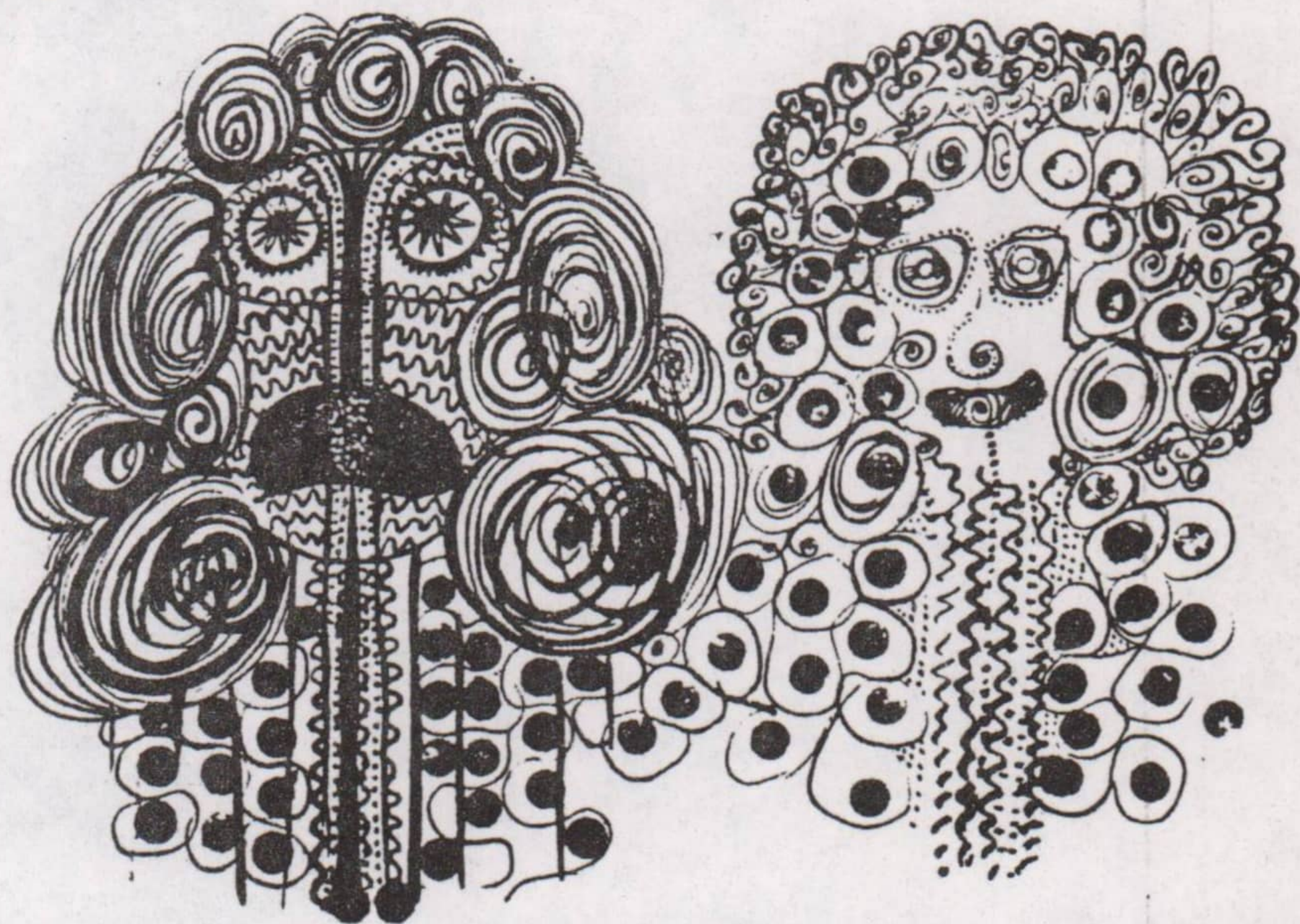
This is very sad, because our little scene of pure minded people got there first and were very successful in communicating good vibrations. We put on a spontaneous tribal music and dance thing at their yearly festival, which was enthusiastically received, only to have the whole scene ruined later on by a few misguided people. It is truly a magical and beautiful place (closed by snow for eight months of the year) but now you will be lucky to get past the road checkpoints, and it is now impossible to smuggle anything out either by road or plane (there is a small airstrip there). Also the neighbouring state of Swat, also in the mountains is a beautiful place to be but they are clamping down heavily on grass and opium carriers (a friend of mine was busted with a small amount of opium (1 kilo) and transferred immediately into Peshawar prison).

In India Delhi is very bad. Lots of "hippies" openly begging on the streets and again lots of people have been busted there. In Benares I heard that lots of people were getting stoned (literally) by religious fanatics, but the spiritual vibrations still remain to be joyously felt.

Kathmandu (the hippy Mecca) is as always packed full of seekers of truth and boasts its own hippy "guru". His name is "Eight finger Eddie", a 40-year-old American, born with only eight fingers, who has been in the East a few years now. His purpose, to "turn people on to the truth". He is a very high cat—he is usually to be found in Kathmandu sitting in one of the cafe meeting places. Laying the trip on everybody, turning lots of people on and freaking a few out. One of his "truths" "If you can't dance, you're not free". He sings and dances all the time.

I can't help thinking that Kathmandu will be finished in a few years, there are other places in the world.

Southern India remains good (India is a big country) and a nice place to go would be Goa which is a small Portuguese speaking state down the coast a long way from Bombay—sandy beaches and palm trees and sea, very beautiful.



Many ashrams in India are refusing "hippies" now (you can stay at most free) because they will insist on smoking and generally bad scenes have been caused in the past which spoilt it for everybody, especially in Delhi.

The people of the East are our friends. We are more like them than we are like the average Westerner, and because they are much closer to the truth, they can be turned on much easier, and also there is so much we can learn from them. We, who are out there should communicate with all people good and bad and so strengthen the bond between us and the East. More people should see us as a spiritual force for good in the world and not "dirty hippies", and "junkies". Some Easterners think we are being sent by the governments of the world to spy on them. We have had to correct a lot of people on this point. Too many people stay too "cool" on their trip out East. Living with the people and with genuine love radiating from heart to heart is the only way.

JIM GRIFFIN



Hippies shock viewers by storming show

From EVELYN IRONS New York, June 26

During a rather dull programme on educational television late last night a gaggle of scruffy hippies in beads and dundreary whiskers suddenly appeared on the screen.

As the discussion programme on the non-commercial Channel 13 was about the underground press and movies in New York, the invasion of some 20 to 30 wild and loud-mouthed boys and a few girls appeared at first to be part of the show. But when one hairy type shouted that it was fine to hear a certain four-letter word on television and uttered it, doubts crept in.

What had happened was that the hippies broke into the studio, swept on stage, took over the programme and ran it as their way of protesting against the way the establishment reported their activities.

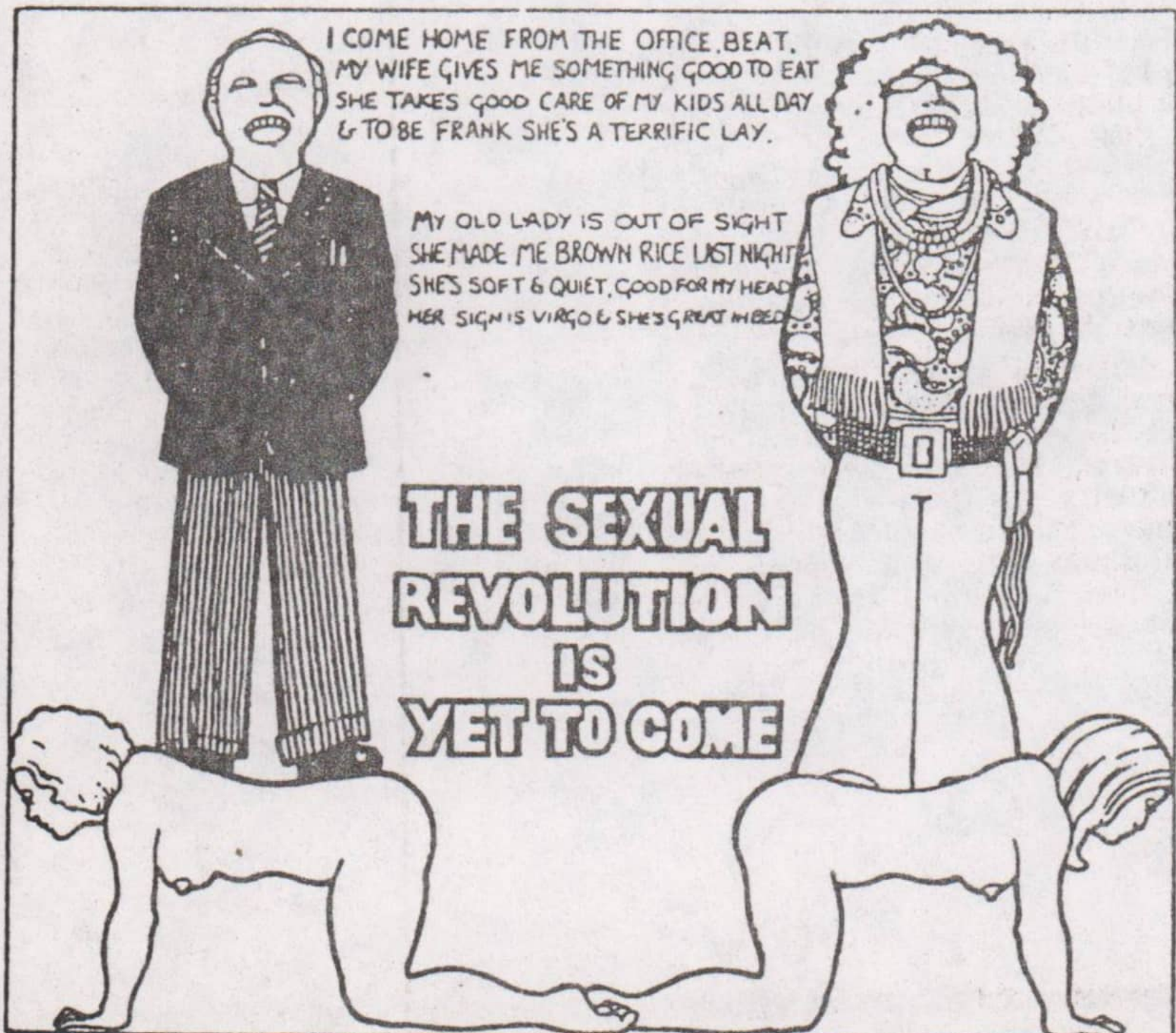
It was difficult at times to make out what the hippies were saying, as they all shouted and screamed at once. But one four-letter word came over twice, loud and clear. It was the one Mr. Kenneth Tynan used to such effect on the air some time ago.

Bawling down the panellists, the hippies expressed violent objections to the way the New York papers and television had reported the Columbia University riots. They denounced Channel 13 as "part of the establishment" and taunted what they called "phony liberals".

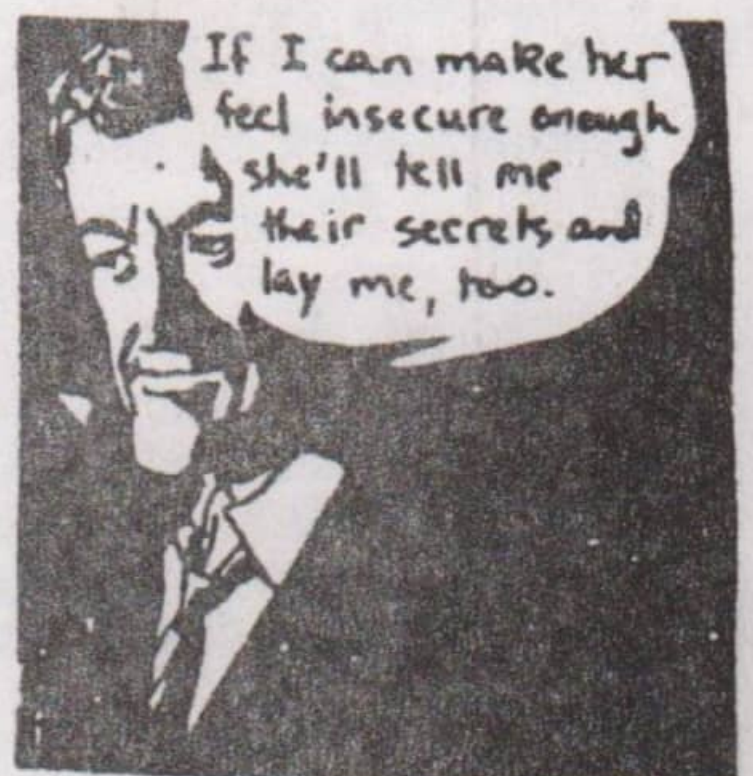
I was one of those watching television when it happened. Viewers telephoned to the studio to protest against the language. The studio sent desperate calls for help, but invaders held the floor for 20 minutes before the police arrived and arrested six men and a girl, most of the others having fled.

During the turmoil, it was alleged, the visitors knocked down a State Guard, slammed a woman producer against a wall, tore the shirt off a studio director and threatened to take over the cameras. Mr. Les Hays, producer of the programme, a regular evening show called Newsfront, said he made the decision to let the invaders force their way in and keep the cameras rolling to avoid more injuries to his staff.

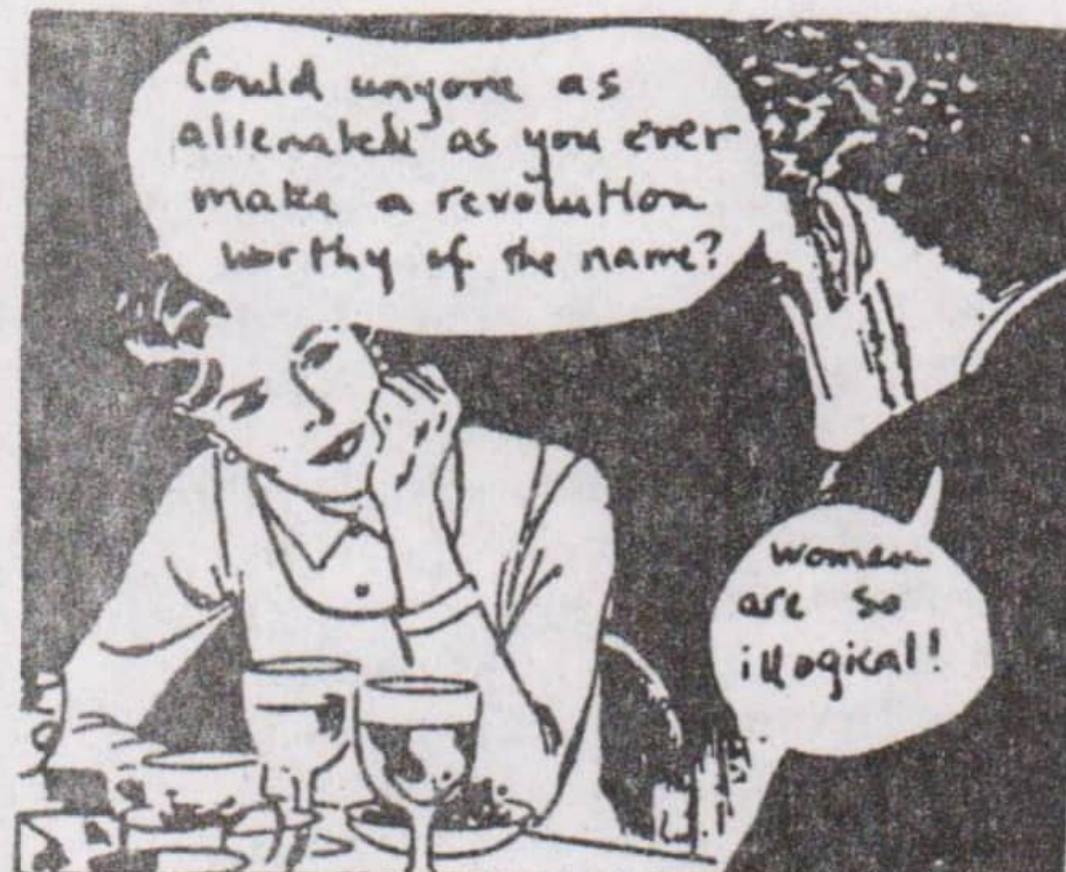
Today police were treated to a repeat performance of the show on videotape.



REX MACHO, S.O.B.



LATER THAT NIGHT...



And Gertie Guerrilla gets it together ---

OBITUARY (19/11/68)

MR MERVYN PEAKE

Artist and writer with a gift
for the grotesque

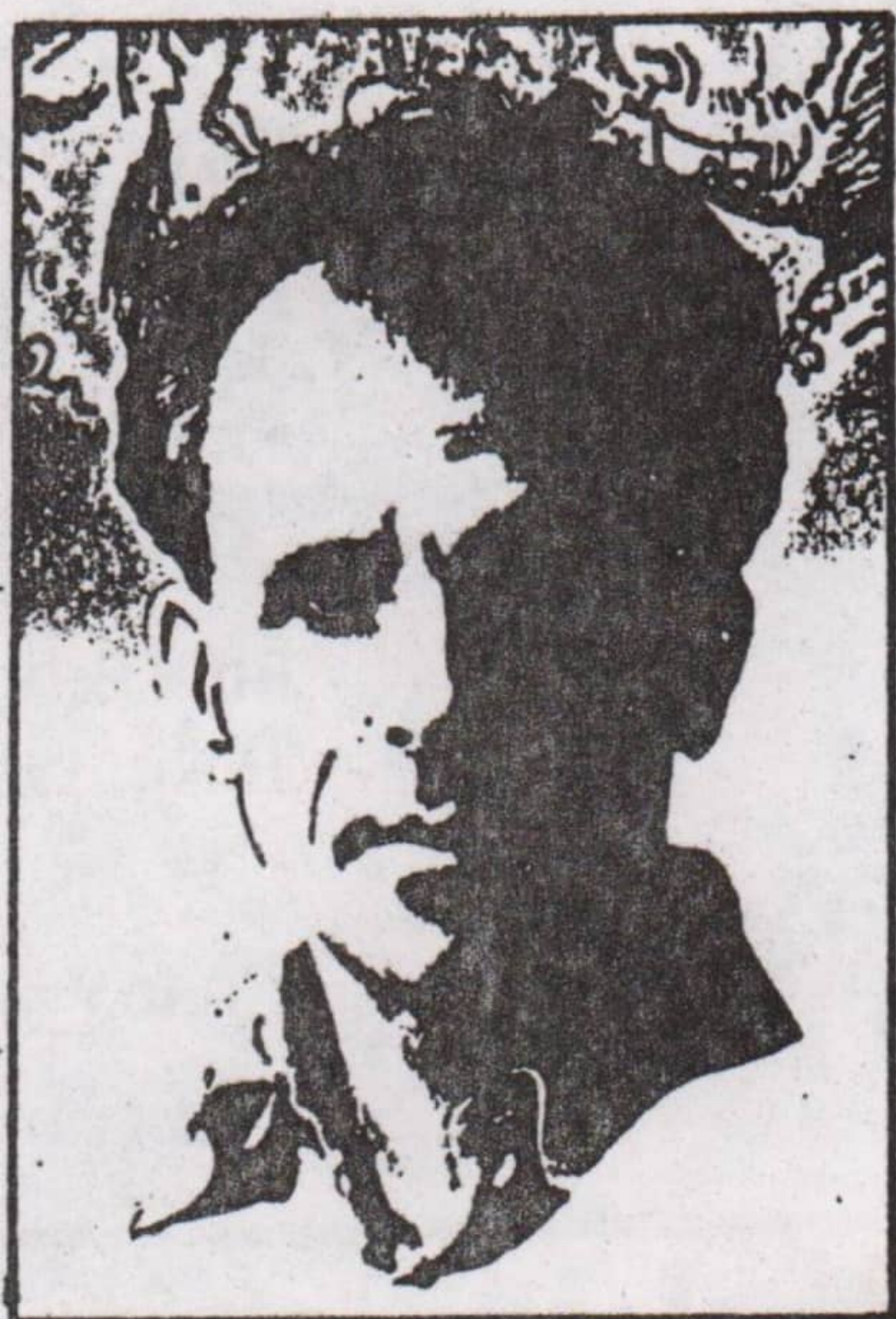
Mr. Mervyn Peake, the artist and writer, died on Sunday after a long illness. He was 57.

He was the author of the remarkable Gormenghast trilogy; Gormenghast, Titus Groan, and Titus Alone, imaginative fantasies which revealed Peake's gift for the sombre, the fearsomely comic, the ghoulish and the pictorially macabre.

Born on July 9, 1911, at Kuling in central China, the son of E. C. Peake, M.D., a medical missionary, he passed his boyhood in China, where, at Tientsin Grammar School, he began his education. In 1922, aged 11, he accompanied his parents to England and was sent to Eltham College, Kent. By the age of 19 it had become clear that he possessed a remarkable gift for drawing and in 1930 he was able to pass into the Royal Academy Schools, where he trained for three years. In 1934 he joined a group of artists resident in Sark and exhibited drawings and paintings in a small gallery on that island. These came to the notice of the Westminster School of Art, and he was offered the job of teaching life drawing there. He took up the post in 1936 and very soon began to have a reputation in London for the exquisite quality of his line drawings. By 1937, some of these were reproduced in the London Mercury, a leading literary journal of that date. The Leicester Galleries also hung some of his work in their annual exhibition called Artists of Fame and Promise.

Meanwhile, what was his major talent had been making its appearance, his gift as a writer. A number of his poems were published in periodicals. In 1940, however, he was called up. Quite unfitted for service in the ranks, he suffered a severe nervous breakdown and was invalided out of the army in 1943. He had already planned and started to write what was to be one of his most remarkable productions, a novel entitled Titus Groan. Employed now in the Ministry of Information, he found time to continue this book and in 1946 it was published. The critics were unanimous that it was a unique work of imagination, a view which has been endorsed by the public ever since. It is an immensely long and detailed description of a house and its inhabitants who never could have existed, but are presented with such art that the reader cannot doubt their reality.

Though the publication of Titus Groan in 1946 made Mervyn Peake a literary figure he continued as before his painting and drawing. While teaching at the Westminster School of Art in 1937 he met Maevie Gilmore and married her that year. The Calman Gallery had a one man show of his line drawings the next year and Peter Jones of Sloane Square held a big exhibition of his paintings and drawings in 1944. Shortly after the defeat of Germany, he was sent



by the Ministry of Information to make drawings of the dying victims of Nazi cruelty at Belsen. In much of Peake's work, literary and pictorial, there is an element of the horrific, but except in these Belsen drawings, it is always mellowed and softened by fancy.

About the year 1947, he went again to Sark, now with a family, and began the series of book illustrations, such as those for Treasure Island and Alice in Wonderland, which had wide popular appeal. There also he started the sequel to Titus Groan, called Gormenghast, a tremendous flight in the grotesque which sealed his reputation as an original writer.

Tiring of Sark, he returned to England in 1949 and taught drawing at the Central School of Art. Gormenghast was published in 1950. It won him the Heinemann Award for Literature, which was presented to him by the Royal Society of Literature, of which he was made a Fellow. The award was also for a new book of poems, called The Glassblowers. During the preceding years, he had added greatly to his reputation as a draughtsman by his illustrations for Coleridge's Ancient Mariner and by a superb set of line drawings for Maurice Collis's Quest for Sita which were exhibited at the Leicester Galleries. It was after the publication of Gormenghast that the first signs of Peake's fatal illness began to manifest themselves. He struggled on against a disability which made it increasingly difficult for him to apply himself either to art or literary composition. With Titus Alone he concluded the trilogy begun by Titus Groan, and his play The Wit to Woo was produced at the Court Theatre. But by 1964 his decline had reached a point where he could no longer draw or write. He gradually sank into unconsciousness, oblivious of the high position as writer and artist to which he had attained in England and America.

His wife, two sons and a daughter survive him.



Tony Hancock was a comedian whose talents found their fullest expression in television. When I first heard him he had his own series on radio. Already he lived in his own world. It was solid, and easily recognisable. Its centre was a small suburban house in East Cheam where nothing happened. Hancock's foil, Sid James, revelled in the nothingness. He filled it with saveloys and Guinness and his own substantial vulgarity. But to Hancock the nothingness was a threat. It had to be kept at bay by a desperate insistence on his own existence. So when James and the others visit him in hospital, Hancock struggles to fill the silence by the right kind of chat. You feel that sentences for him are like ropes to a drowning man. Only he never quite captures the ropes—and Sid James, seeing an old friend in another bed, soon drifts away to start up an uninhibited and hilarious conversation.

Or again—on a wet Sunday afternoon James sits happily reading the paper but Hancock tries to talk the emptiness away. He storms at those round him, ogles the neighbours from behind the curtains, and invites James to see faces in the wall-paper (James can't). He is like an adult Jimmy Porter—adult because, while Jimmy Porter invites us to share his anger and hysteria, Hancock's rhetoric is always carefully distanced by a self-puncturing phrase at the end. He knows when he is dramatising himself—he invites us to laugh at his own posturing. And so, when Hancock dreams of the heroic days of the War—and his dreams are very like those which led to Suez—he brings us back with a bump to East Cheam. He even takes East Cheam to Ruritania, with him. When Sid James drinks the poisoned soup intended for Hancock, at an official banquet, Hancock mildly protests. "That's no way to behave, Sidney—rolling about the floor with your face all green?"

When Hancock moved to television the word became flesh and took on another dimension. It remained the same world, but now the desperate egocentricity was there to be seen in the heavy cheeks, twitching mouth, contemptuous lip, and raised eyebrows. The face itself expressed an attitude. It was a mixture of aggres-

sive self-assertiveness and mild bewilderment. But it never asked for pity—the self-regarding pathos of Chaplin or Norman Wisdom wasn't part of the Hancock scene.

I always used to think of Hancock when I watched the amateurish shambblings of the "satire" crowd, with their naive belief that you only had to say you were doing something in order to achieve the right effect. If you insisted that you were imitating a Cabinet Minister or a General, it didn't matter a bit that your performance had no accuracy, observation, or timing: people were supposed to laugh at the "boldness" of the idea, regardless of what you actually showed them. But Hancock worked at what he showed. He knew how long his face could be held in close-up, even when the "expert" producers insisted he was breaking the rules. His language was precise, accurate, and funny because he had learned to control the face through which he spoke.

Why then the sudden decline? Undoubtedly it began when he broke with his script-writers, Galton and Simpson. They had created the world he peopled and, when they were gone, the world went too. Moreover, Hancock himself seems to have been obsessed with going beyond the medium that had made him. He longed to make great comic films and never succeeded. It was as if he himself couldn't accept the validity of television—as if he were trapped by his desire to succeed in a more conventionally acceptable "art" form.

Why he killed himself is his own affair: but his action, like Marilyn Monroe's, has changed what we actually see in the films he has left us. It's impossible to see a Marilyn Monroe film now without being aware of her not only as the girl who made that nude calendar but also as the woman who married Arthur Miller, took acting lessons at the Studio, and ended her own life. Outside events change the meaning of a piece of film. Watching that TV programme on Hancock the other night, one was suddenly conscious of more than the face and the professional skill. To Hancock's other qualities there will now always be added the final desperation.

EXCERPTS FROM THE WITCH
(WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL
TERRORIST CONSPIRACY FROM
HELL) MANIFESTO.

WITCH is an all-woman Everything. It's theater, revolution, magic, terror, joy, garlic, flowers, spells. It's an awareness that witches and gypsies were the original guerrillas and resistance fighters against oppression. Witches were the first Friendly Heads and Dealers, the first birth-control practitioners and abortionists, the first alchemists...WITCH lives and laughs in every woman. She is the free part of each of us, beneath the shy smiles, the acquiescence to absurd male domination... if you are a woman and dare to look within yourself you are a witch...you are free and beautiful...Whatever is repressive, solely male-orientated, greedy, puritanical, authoritarian, those are your targets...you are pledged to free our brothers from oppression and stereotyped sexual roles as well as ourselves. You are a witch by saying out loud, "I am a Witch" three times, and thinking about that. You are a Witch by being female, untamed, angry, joyous and immortal.

"WITCH-Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell- has conducted several (black) mass demonstrations outside New York business institutions. Witches, it is pointed out, have been the original guerrillas and resistance fighters against oppression down through the ages. Historically witches are seen as non-conformist, free, intelligent, joyous, aggressive, creative, scientific and actively rebellious. On Hallowe'en Eve (1968), WITCH haunted the New York Stock Exchange. Nervous commissionaires barred the way while witches in black fairy tale cloaks claimed they had an appointment with the Chief Executor of Wall Street himself-Satan.

('With closed eyes and lowered heads the women incanted the Berber Yell-sacred to Algerian witches- and proclaimed the coming demise of various stocks. A few hours later the market closed 1.5 points down and the following day it dropped five points.' RAT, 6 November, 1968.)



CAPITIS HUMANI FIGURA SECVNDA.

ALCHEMICAL WEDDING
Royal Albert Hall 18 December 1968

THE GAY LIBERATION FRONT
DEMANDS.....

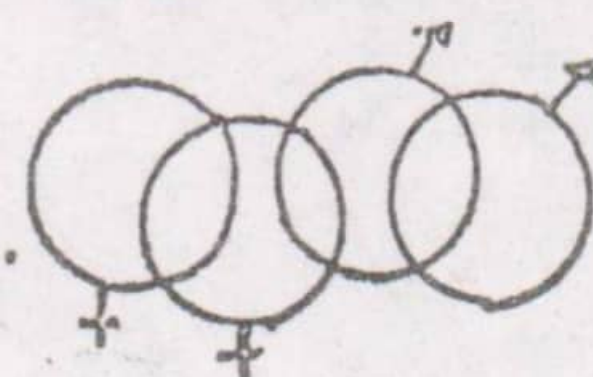
- that all discrimination against gay people, male and female, by the law, by employers, and by society at large, should end.
- that all people who feel attracted to a member of their own sex be taught that such feelings are perfectly normal.
- that sex education in schools stop being exclusively heterosexual.
- that psychiatrists stop treating homosexuality as though it were a problem or sickness, thereby giving gay people senseless guilt complexes.
- that gay people be as legally free to contact other gay people through newspaper ads, on the streets and by any other means they may want as are heterosexuals, and that police harassment should cease right now.
- that employers should no longer be allowed to discriminate against anyone on account of their sexual preferences.
- that the age of consent for gay males be reduced to the same as for straights.
- that gay people be free to hold hands and kiss in public, as are heterosexuals.

PUBLISHED + PAINTED BY GAY LIBERATION FRONT

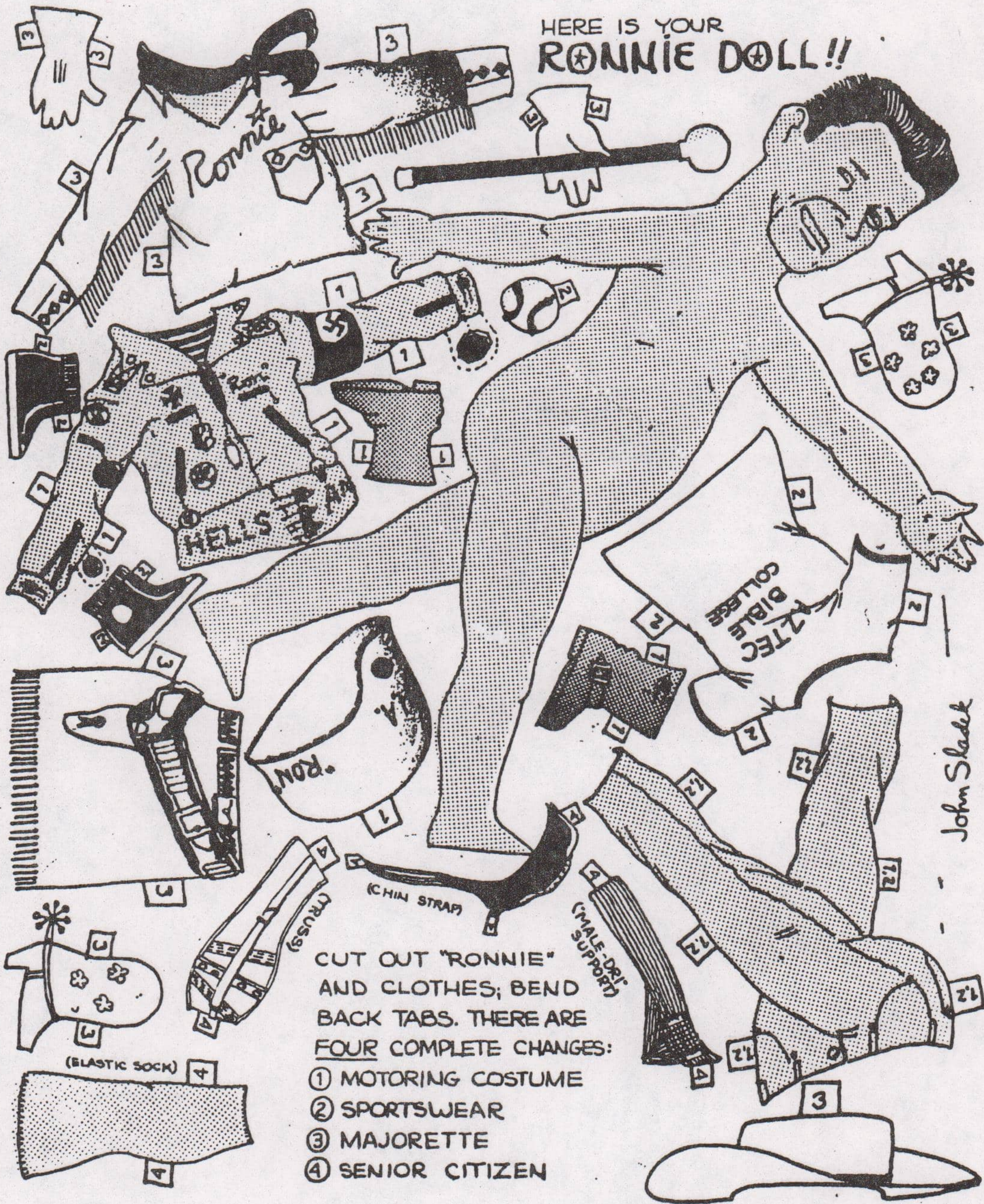
GAY IS GOOD!

ALL POWER TO OPPRESSED PEOPLE!

COME OUT - JOIN
GAY LIBERATION FRONT!
Meetings, Wednesday 7.30pm.
London School of Economics



THIS IS FROM AN ENGLISH MAGAZINE OF POETRY CALLED "RONALD REAGAN", WHICH WAS INVOLVED IN AT LEAST ONE KNOWN OBSCENITY RAID IN THE LATE 'SIXTIES.



GLARING OMISSIONS

YELLOW SUBMARINE: CAPTAIN SCARLET: NAKED WOMEN (the underground/alternative press was 'liberally' sprinkled with semi- or unclad women (including Germaine Greer) right up to the mid-seventies, but, well, do you want us to SPELL IT OUT for you?); **THE ROLLING STONES: COLOUR** (couldn't afford it); **VELVET UNDERGROUND** & all things **WARHOL: ENOCH POWELL'S RIVERS OF BLOOD SPEECH** (the press reports on this read so offensive these days, there's no way we would reprint them.); **WOODSTOCK** (you'd be amazed how many people think Woodstock was in '68); **MAKE YOUR OWN** list, put it in your own paper and send it to us at the address a couple of pages ahead....

Do Not Adjust Your Set:
David Jason, Terry Jones,
Eric Idle and Denise Coffey



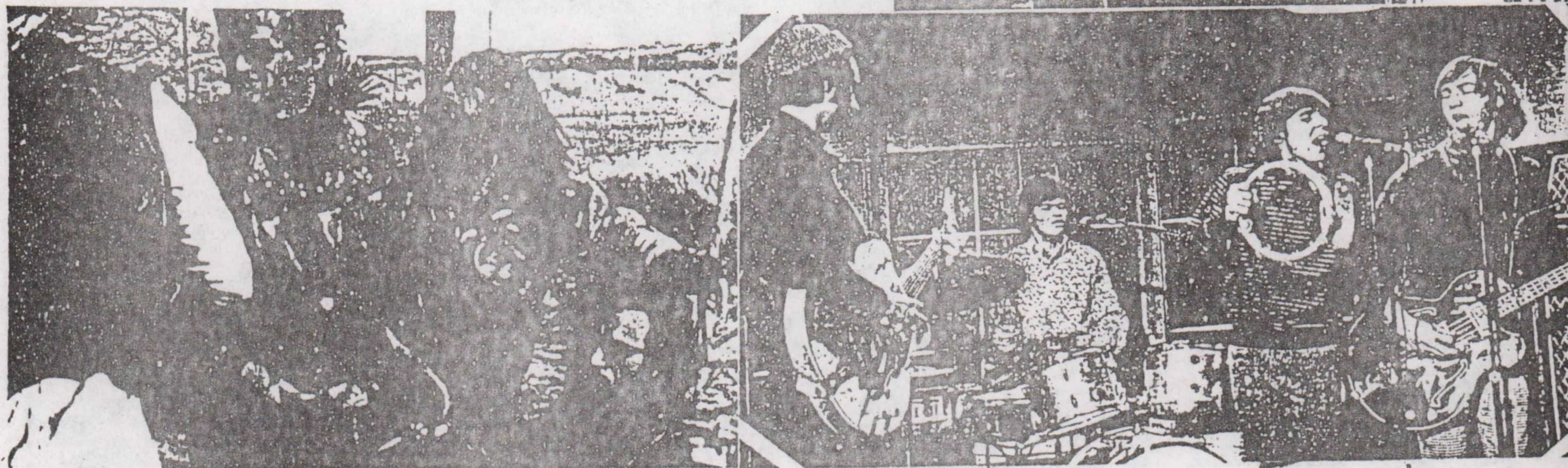
The shows were titled *Do Not Adjust Your Set*, from the standard engineering apology caption: 'There is a fault - do not adjust your set' which could be put up to cover anything from slight interference to total loss of programme. The first series ran for thirteen weeks, starting on 4 January 1968 at 5.25, but it was due to be preceded by a Christmas special, scheduled for Boxing Day 1967. Barclay watched the transmission with mounting horror as the realization dawned that the wrong episode was being transmitted - it was the first of the series proper, and left a gap for a commercial break which the correct show did not have. Then, because it was too long for the slot allocated, it over-ran and was cut abruptly. The only saving grace was that the débâcle made headlines the following morning, which at any rate got the series off to a well-publicized start.

In January 1968, the following story appeared in the *Sunday Times*:

Six undergraduates at a Western Pennsylvania college were totally and permanently blinded by staring at the sun while they were 'high' on L.S.D. The students have been under rehabilitation at the Pennsylvania Welfare Department. They had gone to a grassy clearing in the woods near the college for their L.S.D. session. After taking it they lay on their backs on the grass and gazed at the sun. Six hours later, friends found them blinded.

The story turned out to be a total fabrication, invented by one Dr Yoder of the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind, who said: 'I invented this story because of my concern about the illegal use of L.S.D. and other drugs.'

The fact that it was a hoax received scant publicity.



ADS: '68

LIBERATION ON RECORD

The Dialectics of Liberation Congress was sponsored by the Institute of Phenomenological Studies, London, and was a unique gathering to demystify violence in all its forms, the social systems from which it emanates, and to explore new forms of action. The major portion of the proceed-

ings of the Congress are available in a series of 23 long playing records. The first 17 are now available through IT. Single records cost £1. 10s. (including postage & package); and one set of five (DL 1-5, Anti-psychiatry) is available for £6. 6s.

- DL 1 Gregory Bateson [Conscious Purpose vs. Nature]
- DL 2 Bateson (1) & Speck (5) cont.
- DL 3 David Cooper [Beyond Words]
- DL 4 Ronald Laing [The Obvious]
- DL 5 Ross Speck [The Politics & Psychotherapy of Mini & Micro Groups]
- DL 6 Stokely Carmichael [Black Power - Address to Congress]
- DL 8 John Gerassi [Imperialism & Revolution in America]
- DL 9 Gerassi (8) & Marcuse (11) cont.
- DL 10 Jules Henry [Special & Psychological Preparation for War]
- DL 11 Herbert Marcuse [Liberation from the Affluent Society]

- DL 12 Paul Sweezy [The Future of Capitalism]
- DL 15 Julian Beck [Money, Sex & The Theatre]
- DL 16 Allen Ginsberg [Consciousness & Practical Action]
- DL 17 Paul Goodman [Objective Values]
- DL 19 Simon Vinkenoog [A Revolution in Consciousness] Beck (15) & Goodman (16) cont.
- DL 20 Anti-Institution Seminar [Including Speakers from Provo, Internationalists, Free University of New York, German Students, New Experimental College, Denmark]
- DL 23 Challenge Seminar: Gregory Bateson [Ecological Destruction by Technology. The Discussion includes: Roy Battersby, Francis Huxley, Ronald Laing & Allen Ginsberg.]

*Anti-psychiatry set - five records for £6. 6s.



Please send me the following records (ring appropriate numbers):

DL 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23. Anti-psychiatry set, DL 1-5.

I enclose £..... (payable to IT)

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Read the Black Dwarf

fortnightly newspaper of the Revolutionary Left

1/6d per copy or £1 for six months from Carlisle St. LONDON W1A.4PZ

TIME OUT in London 1-6d



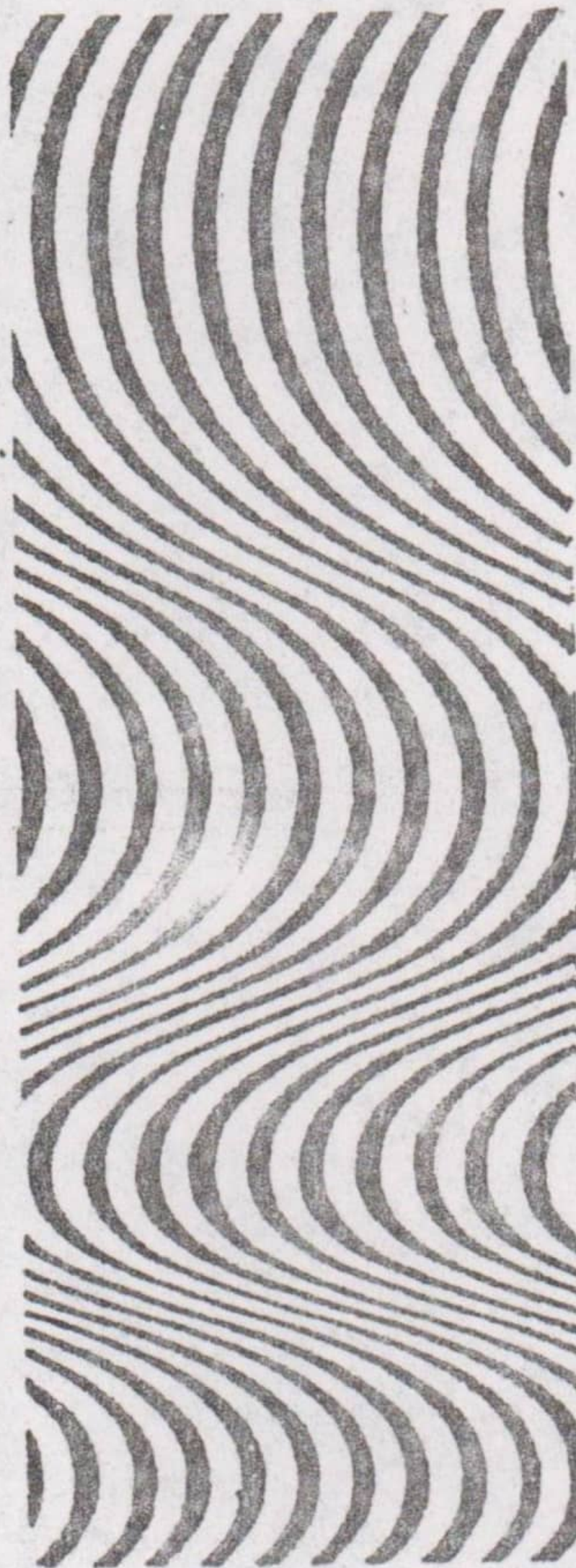
cinema, classic cinemas, late night films, cinema clubs, national film theatre, theatre, theatre clubs & groups, ballet, puppets, black arts, poetry, exhibitions, paintings & sculpture, lectures, records, radio & tv, group dates, blues, events, folk, jazz, electronic music, concerts, demos & meetings, help, childrens' events, books, eating, late food, shops

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Che Guevara
Guerrilla Warfare

Penguin Books

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1066. MANY DEAD, NONE SHOT. REASON? NO GUNS! IF THERE ARE NO GUNS THERE ARE NO SHOOTINGS. SO LET'S BAN GUNS NOW. COMPLETELY. THOSE INTERESTED IN BAN-CAMPAIGN-PETITION CONTACT JOHN-YOKO, LENNON MANSION, ASCOT. PEOPLE DON'T SHOOT PEOPLE, GUNS SHOOT PEOPLE.



SOURCES/FURTHER READING.

The Times
The Guardian } On microfilm at major libraries,
often with copying facilities.
The Times has a comprehensive index.
The Guardian, annoyingly, has not.

Peace News - 8 Elm Ave., Nottingham.

Playpower - Richard Neville. Paladin, 1971.

DO IT! - Jerry Rubin. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1970.

Steal this book! - Abbie Hoffman. No More details found.

BAMN. Outlaw manifestoes & ephemera 1965-70. - David Zane
Mairowitz & Peter Stansill,
Penguin, 1971.

PRANKS! - RE/SEARCH no. 11.

A world away-a memoir of Mervyn Peake - Maeve Gilmore.
Gollancz, 1970.

DADA-Art & Anti-Art - Hans Richter. Thames & Hudson, 1965.

For Beauty Douglas-collected poems 1953-1979 -
Adrian Mitchell. Allison & Busby, 1982.

From Fringe To Flying Circus - Roger Wilmut. Eyre Methuen,
1980.

The Top Twenty Book-British Record Charts 1955-87 -
Blandford & Javelin, 1988.

The NME Book Of Rock - Star Books. (Our edition 1975.)

Old hippies' bookshelves - for all manner of forgotten,
fascinating stuff.

Jumble sales, car boot sales, charity shops - for old pop
music books/papers, Gerry Anderson books, etc.

THANKS TO;

Staff at libraries, bookshops and printshops in Nottingham
and everyone else who, knowingly or unknowingly, provided
valuable material, information and advice.

SPECIAL THANKS to all at Peace News.

EXTRA SPECIAL THANKS to Colin. An old hippy who keeps
the faith with admirable tenacity.

This is the first edition of GREY AREA[®]
Planned future issues include;-

TELEVISION;-inc. PIRATE T.V./EFFECTS OF CATHODE RAYS ON
HUMANS/SLOWSCAN T.V.

NOISE;-inc. MUSIC(peasant to high-tech and back)/
FARTING/ULTRA-INFRA SOUND/DECIBELS.

FOOD;-inc.RECIPES FOR BOILED DOG AND ROAST HUMAN/ORAL
SEX-IS IT VEGAN?/WOMEN,MEN AND COOKING/ORALLY
ADMINISTERED HALLUCINOGENS/POTATOES.

TRAVELLERS;-inc.GYPSIES/'CONVOY'/TRAVELLING SALESPEOPLE/
TRUCKERS/HITCH-HIKERS.

THE BODY;-inc.TATOOES AND OTHER MARKINGS/HAIR/BODY PIERC-
INGS/COSMETIC SURGERY/DIMENSIONS(do youknow
how big or heavy your various internal organs are?)

If you have any information or material relating
to the above themes,particularly approaching them
from an unusual angle or going off at a tangent,
we'd be glad to hear from you. Write to us at;-

BOX 'X'
RAINBOW CENTRE,
180 MANSFIELD ROAD,
NOTTINGHAM.

BEAUTY DOUGLAS

Beauty Douglas is buried in the Children's Graveyard at DIMBAZA. DIMBAZA is one of the so-called 'Black Areas' in South Africa where women & children who are not needed by the white economy are sent. Many children die of malnutrition. One child in three is dead by the age of two. In the film 'Last Grave at Dimbaza' the children's graveyard is shown. Rattles, feeding bottles and necklaces are left on the babies' graves. There are hundreds of graves. The inscription painted in white on one rough, dark wooden cross reads like this:

BEAUTY Douglas was BORN
7.12.68
SHE DIED 19.1.69

HE TENDED TO DISAPPROVE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE POST-WAR NEO-DADAISTS WHO INVOKED HIS NAME, SAYING OF THEM, "I THOUGHT TO DISCOURAGE AESTHETICS. IN NEO-DADA THEY HAVE TAKEN MY READY-MADES AND FOUND AESTHETIC BEAUTY IN THEM."

