

THE MOLE

Brighton

September 25th 1969

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BRIGHTON BELLES No.1

STEADman

MISS ELECTION 1964
(MISS H. WILSON)



COMPS

In the last Mole we reported the fanatical opposition of the Brighton Council Education Committee to begin Comprehensive education.... when at Elm Grove the school library consists of only two walls of books, and most of the classrooms at Moulsecoomb are up to 220 s.q. ft. below proscribed size - "our tried and trusted system" as Councillor Theobald has praised it.

Typically, no teachers at Brighton Sec. Mod. Schools were represented on this committee. But when the Council voted recently to "shelve" a half-hearted comprehensivisation plan, 16 teachers from Longhill County Secondary (inc. the headmaster) decided to hit back: in a statement they said: "As teachers we are tempted to ask just why we bother to plan at all. We resent the fact that the decision appears to have been taken on grounds other than educational."

..... "reactionary forces on the council are permitted to disguise and misrepresent the true facts about innate ability."

..... "we are increasingly disturbed at the numbers who continue to slip through the net and fail to reach their educational potential before they leave at fifteen."

this letter is an initial indication of the feeling of the united staff of one school at least."

CASE "G"

As well as its squatting activities the Rents Project, have been actively helping tenants fight the landlords in its Rents Registration Group. The following case, along with others, is soon to be published by the B.R.P. .

"Mrs. B., in bad health, lives on her own in ***** Square. With three other tenants she filled in a Rent Tribunal application form. The owner's husband responded by going to the Tribunal to withdraw the applications, explaining that his tenants hadn't really meant it. When this failed he wrote withdrawals for the tenants and somehow got them to sign. He then sent them along with the uncompleted lessor's forms to the Tribunal, thereby flagrantly breaking the law. Meanwhile, threatening phone calls were made to Registration Group members, and Mrs B' made it plain to the Tribunal that she had not withdrawn her application, but the Tribunal's letter curiously failed to arrive.

At the hearing the rent was reduced from £2/10/0 to £1/15/0 - still high considering the landlord's admission that the whole house is no better than a hovel, and Mrs B's small room about the worst. However the landlord has great plans for improving the property for greater profit, and throw out all the present tenants. Because of our activities he's decidedly fed up with us and he thinks the tenants should go to the gas oven as they are a drag on society.

He says all this quite calmly. Is he well qualified to have a landlord's powers? Can he calmly improve his property and his profits at the expense of his tenants? Or keep it as a pigsty as another way of getting them out? These are not the questions that society or the Rents Tribunal appear to want to ask.

FOOTNOTE.

Several tenants have just received notice to quit. One is in hospital so; the landlord has quite illegally removed his belongings from the room. The law does not give proper protection, so the Rents Project must step in and show the tenants how to fight back.

MAYOR'S GRANT TO BE STOPPED ?

Mrs Catherine Vale and Alderman Frank Masefield Baker have two things in common: They are councillors of long standing, and they dislike students. Mrs Vale has recently inspired a unique resolution which sets up the Council as a Star Chamber on local students. This spring the Brighton Rents Project launched a campaign for homeless families. Students participated in the meetings, petitions, and demonstrations, instead of responding positively, the Council expressed resentment, mixed with particular expressions of outrage reserved for the students who dared to take part.

VIOLENCE

A climax came in late May, with a large demonstration by the BRP to the Town Hall to celebrate the inauguration of Baker as Mayor of Brighton broken up by police and assault charges made. Mrs Vale then stated: 'If it is proved that anyone involved in assaulting the police during yesterday's scenes at the Council is a Brighton student I shall ask the Brighton Committee to stop his grant.' In the hysterical atmosphere deliberately created by Brighton's own yellow press, by insistence on 'student violence', Mrs Vale sponsored a motion (her third attempt) requiring the education committee to stop the grants of students found 'unfit' to get them, before the students charged had appeared in court. The motion was passed. It still stands. Here is what it sets out to do:-

"The Council notes with growing concern and deplors the recent outbursts of student misbehaviour, and requires the Education Committee to make the fullest use of its powers to terminate or suspend awards where students have shown themselves by misconduct outside the academic field to be unfitted to hold them." It also recommends other authorities to act accordingly.

WADES

The news that two young workers at Wades had been sacked for refusing to work with a poisonous detergent; and the appearance of a leaflet about Wades around the Hollingbury estate attracted the concern of an A.E.F. shop-steward in C.V.A. who, along with two young apprentices at C.V.A., leafleted Wades, urging the workers there to join the A.E.F. Support came from the other shop stewards at C.V.A., who threatened to black work from Wades if the management refused to recognise the union. The campaign proved successful almost before it had begun. Faced with the threat of losing 40% of their business and probable pressure from C.V.A., management at Wades gave in without a fight. Within a day of their recognising the union, more than 50 workers (half the work force) joined the A.E.F.

Oxfam

To all those whose good intentions took them, with Jimmy Savile, on last Saturday's Oxfam Charity Walk; the following may be of interest:

"There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to every one who is striking at the root. And it may be that he who bestows the largest amount of time and money on the needy is doing the most by his mode of life to produce that misery which he strives in vain to relieve."

(Henry David Thoreau, 1817-1862.)

As Mrs Vale said: "We must show them that violence and attacks on police are wrong". But on August 20 the student facing two charges of assaulting the police (the only one on such a charge) was acquitted on both charges. The Argus failed to report this at the time. Mrs Vale has yet to retract her allegations about violent students and the May demonstration. Instead of responding to proven needs the Council prefers to pass spurious notions in a fog of rhetoric, with Mrs Vale at the van, and Ald Baker at the helm.



Frank Masefield Baker was eulogised at his inaugural ceremony as a 'fast driver'. One Councillor chortled, "every lamp post between here and Rottingdean is in mortal danger when Frank gets on the road". It is as well that Mr Baker gets driven around in a £10,000 Rolls - even so it is notorious for its record of motoring offenses. He is it seems; 'a loyalist to the backbone: a gentleman farmer, and a hunting man'. A specimen of his social philosophy is contained in his remarks to a banquet in his honour, referring to the 'May' events: 'If we only teach our children to take part in sport, to be able to win or lose fairly, then we should not have the same exhibition we had in the Council chamber'.

Just the chap Brighton needed to 'play the game'. A fair deal for all by an 'honest, squirelike figure'. On the 16th of September Young Liberals were ejected from the civic reception for the National Liberal Assembly by Baker's mace bearer for refusing to stand for the queen.

BLOOD

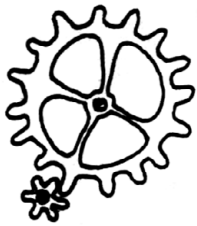
But this sort of bullying behaviour is nothing new.

In an election fracas at the Dome in May 1959, Baker was seen to hit Mrs Coultard, wife of defeated Labour cand. George Coultard. In the midst of the inevitable heckling, Mrs Coultard had tried to stop a Tory supporter blowing a trumpet, 'but Cllr Baker pushed me away. I went giddy and I don't remember anything more'. The Argus pontificated: 'Politics bring out the worst in us.... the victorious Rottingdean Councillor is involved in a fight and blood streams down his face. If only the political fervour of the few were spread more evenly among the many.... And if only those acting for political parties acted less like hooligans.' In July 1959 Mr Baker was ordered to pay damages of £20 with costs.

Mr Baker is also tenant farmer of the council to whom he pays rent. One year there was a mix-up in the town clerk's offices. Notices concerning a rent increase to a Colonel Filkin and Mr Baker were put in the wrong envelopes. Legally they did not have to pay the increase. But Colonel Filkin paid up despite the mistake; while Mr Baker did not pay. And because of the legal nicety he was under no legal obligation to pay. But hardly the action of a gentleman farmer. The Labour group was seriously debating whether to oppose the nomination of Frank Baker as Mayor due to this history. This is an unparalleled step.

If students are not worthy of their grants, if the homeless are not worthy of houses, Mr Frank Masefield Baker is not worthy of his 'grant' - his office and his Rolls.

BIG COG OR LITTLE COG?



NEW STUDENTS GUIDE TO BRIGHTON EDUCATION

There is not just one establishment of higher education in Brighton; there are five - the University, the Colleges of Education, Art and Technology and the Technical College. They form part of the 'Binary System'. On the one hand is the University, relatively autonomous, richly endowed and loosely controlled by the University Grants Committee. On the other are the Colleges - strictly controlled by the local authorities and administered financially by councillors, laymen and local industrialists.

Nationally, the Universities spend £581 per head on academic facilities. The Colleges of Education can only afford £249. In Brighton the gap is almost certainly larger. But the gulf between the two is more than financial - it is a division between theoretical and applied knowledge, between abstract and practical subjects, it is a division between different economic and social groupings, between different cultures. The gulf between students and the other 89% of their age group is even wider.

REINFORCED

You may be one of the privileged few who have gained access to Asa Briggs' reinforced concrete estate up the Lewes Road. Notice how it is neatly isolated from the rest of the town. It is, however, an estate without walls - to get in you just have to be born in the right family, street and town - and go to the right school. You are likely to be middle class and regarded as the most socially articulate of your own age group - which is not surprising considering the monopoly of environment you had since birth. Sussex students are not 'clever' - they have just been lucky. And even if you came from a Grammar School you had 70% more spent on your education than a Secondary Modern School child. Whilst the Public Schools, with classes of 10 or less, contain only 5% of the school population, they monopolise 35% of all university places. The figure at Sussex (including direct grant schools) is 52%. Sussex is not 'classless' - nor is it particularly 'liberal': the new

QUEEN'S RAIN

IN SUSSEX UNIVERSITY'S SURVEYOR'S STORE: twelve large coloured umbrellas. Their cost: £7/10/- each. Their purpose: to protect our gracious QUEEN from the vagaries of Her British Weather upon the occasion of her fondly remembered visit to open the Library in 1964. The University Administration was surprisingly successful in arranging for rain on that very day. However, the Royal ENTOURAGE were similarly vigilant and had brought their own weather protection gear. So, unused and unwanted these umbrellas lie year after year awaiting the Second Coming.

'liberal outlook' so diligently recited to every new student and so conspicuously propagated in the news media is no more than a facade masking the realities of the first of the 'new' technocratic universities. The accent is on 'efficiency'. Courses are hurried and crammed. Human 'wastage' must be eliminated. Consequently a Health Centre exists to cool you out and fit you back in if you feel like dropping out of the degree race. The prospectus drools about a 'Community of Knowledge'. It is no more than a slogan. Choice of courses is strictly limited within a given range. Students are expected to be passive consumers of books. Neither is Sussex particularly democratic; according to the Robbins Report the power of the Vice Chancellor is immense. The much publicised system of student 'participation' is no more than 'representation' on only 13 out of 70 or more committees - and never of course exceeds 50% in any one.

Your role is uncritical intellectual production - play the essay game and you can't go wrong. You are probably destined to become one of the 'directing' intellectuals of the dominant class. Some will be allowed to glimpse this reality - that is why sociologists are often the first to revolt.

Your motto, believe it or not, is 'Be still and Know.' For three years you will be as one writer put it) "ceasing to be in order to know." Last year, some students decided to "be" and help the homeless of Brighton. There was a backlash. Local councillors accused students of having "outsized social consciences", and those involved were condemned by their 'liberal' Vice Chancellor, Asa Briggs.

OBSELETE

If you are at the College of Technology you don't have to bother about any phoney liberal mystique. As Anthony Crosland, the former Minister of Education put it, "Colleges other than Universities will be held under tight social control." And we all know what that means. A recent Federation of British Industry pamphlet stated "One of the best ways industrialists can help themselves is by serving on College boards." And don't expect to be taught to question the social purposes which your vocation serves (otherwise excessive arms expenditure would stop; advertisements and built-in obsolescence would be obsolete). Nor is the chaotic College of Art much better, caught in the contradiction between an authoritarian internal organisation and the need for art and design to be a shared creative task, and subject to the tyranny of the dip. a.d.

UoS Hides Vital Details

A recent publication emanating from Essex House, the University's administration centre, was the annual statistical report of the Admissions Office. In it were graphs, tables and diagrams of University entrants by sex, age, region, faculty and A-level performance - in fact everything but the two most interesting factors - type of school last attended and parent's occupation. "This information" this report states "was not recorded during 1967/68." - except of course on every Universities Admissions Council form on every applicant and Sussex University's 'socio-economic research' questionnaires on every student.

And who was responsible for this masterpiece of statistical obfuscation? The probing social analysis was none other than George Kilob, ex-National Secretary of the 'Red Guard' Young Liberals, and now Sussex Univ's assistant admissions officer.

with its compulsory general studies, or history of art. Situated in the centre of town, the art college in many ways reflects the competitiveness of its capitalist environment. The latter's concern with the 'image', public relations, the 'glossy' fashion and obsession with flash success stories are reproduced in miniature.

If you have like many others been persuaded by demagogic headmasters that the university is "not the place for you", and especially if you are female, then you have probably wound up at the College of Education. Take comfort in the fact that only £249 is spent on you compared with £581 for each university student. Yours is a professional training, and as such the authorities think they have the right to control your culture and social life as well as your moral and physical welfare - despite the fact that you will be soon teaching classes of 30 or more. Of course, even then your power will be subjected to governing laymen and inspectors. The right conditioning for this submissive position is ensured by monotonous compulsory lectures, a restricted social life and an authoritarian atmosphere. You will be, as one educationalist put it, "very intensively taught" - a direct result of the obsession of the DES with "productivity" of training colleges. It's no use complaining - the Union remains impotent due to the judicious victimisation of outspoken individuals.

CLASS OF SIXTY NINE

But why are there so many different types of higher education? It is because we live in a highly stratified society which needs different types of people. Some are destined to be technicians of production - these are trained at the College of Technology and the Technical College. Some will become technicians of consumption - market researchers, media men, advertising copywriters and fashion designers. These are trained at the College of Art and the University. Others will be teachers - part of the new intellectual proletariat.

Modern capitalism requires its appropriate educational institutions; our schools and universities merely 'service' the class system. Whilst the working class makes up 68% of the population at large they represent only 25% of the university population. The chances of a middle class grammar school child going to university is one in four; the working class child has one in fifteen to twenty chances.

THUS RUNS THE VICIOUS EDUCATIONAL APARTHEID OF THE BINARY SYSTEM.

PARLIAMENTARY SOCIALISM

moletalk

Once upon a time there was a thing called the Labour Party. It was the party of the working class, and it announced, loudly or softly, depending upon its nerves, that it was a Socialist Party. It didn't believe in revolution, or anything as messy as that, but it was going to bring about Socialism. Perhaps that was too ambitious, but at least it would bring about reforms that benefitted its working-class supporters: reforms that would shift, however slightly, the balance of power and wealth towards the working class.

All that has ended. We know this Government doesn't intend to abolish Capitalism, but it doesn't even reform it. It is propping up the whole stinking system by every means possible.

Propping up means 'rationalisation' 'modernisation' or any other dynamic word you fancy. Propping up means more money to investment, less to consumption. Working class living standards must be attacked, and if the working class objects, it must be policed. So we have cuts in the welfare services - pensions, health, education, housing, etc. - and all the talk of helping the really poor and "selectivity" merely means that the marginally better-off pay for the miserly handouts to those at the bottom of the pile. We have rationalisation: the Govt. subsidises mergers and takeovers that everyday increases the concentration of power and wealth. We have "productivity" deals that mean a temporary wage rise for some, the sack for others, and a permanent cut in working conditions and safety standards. So Arnold Weinstock of the GEC-AEI empire profits while more workers literally die from this "productivity". This affects students too. At all levels of education there is the same emphasis. Productivity and costs. More students squeezed into the same buildings, teachers sacked, classes probably getting bigger.

Very soulful scene.....

And then there's the conference, right here in Brighton. One big sham! The real battles are not in passing resolutions (the Govt, will merely ignore them anyway) but outside: in the factories, on the housing estates, in the streets. In fact all over Europe, faced by similar governmental policies, the working class is fighting back. Strike waves in Germany and France, the risings in Ulster and here in England the political strikes of Feb.27, May 1st, the GLC rent strike, the strikes at Fords and at Port Talbot etc. These are real politics; real beginnings. Our place is outside the Conference, outside the Labour Party, helping to build a genuine Socialist alternative.

Wilson & Co. are not stupid. In power they have no choice but to pursue Tory policies : there are very few crumbs to dish out now. But out of power - and they will probably lose the next election - they may well start to make 'left' noises. Now, while they are kicking their supporters in the teeth, is the time to recognise: it is not just one or two careerists who have betrayed the Labour Party, The whole idea of the Labour Party and of Parliamentary Socialism is a complete betrayal.



PAUL FOOT :

SOON AFTER the armistice of 1918, Dame Margot Asquith, wife of the war-time Prime Minister, wrote a letter to J.H.Thomas, the former railwayman's leader, then an M.P. The letter read:

"Dear Mr Thomas, As you are such a friend of ours I thought you would like this fine telegram from the King to my husband on the great day. I am not writing to you about politics, but to tell you from my heart how brave and good I think you have been and how much my husband thinks of you. We told the King at lunch exactly what we thought of you and he was very nice about you. Be careful of your health and keep tight hold of your men - and God Bless You. Margot Asquith." (J.H. Thomas: My Story, p29).

The letter, according to Thomas, 'seemed to lift itself out of a mass of cherished correspondence', and diligently he devoted himself to the Dame's instructions and 'kept tight hold of his men'.

Six years later, Thomas became the first Labour Colonial Secretary and introduced himself to the heads of his department with the words: 'I am here to see that there is no mucking about with the British Empire'.

Five years later still he was the 'troubleshooter' in the 1929 Labour government, appointed to solve the problem of unemployment. He solved it by increasing it threefold and cutting the unemployment benefit.

Then he left the Labour Party to serve in the National Government and his career ended in a court case involving fraud.

Conventional Labour historians prefer to dismiss the careers of men like Thomas, Philip Snowden and Ramsay MacDonald as examples of personal aberration or original sin. But the Thomas road from working-class origins through parliament to betrayal symbolises the futility of 50 years of parliamentary activity and aspirations on the part of British Labour.

Even today, after the unimaginable collapse in the last four and a half years, conventional 'left-wing' demonstrations move, as if pulled by a magnet, to parliament, there to conduct 'a lobby', and so-called revolutionaries pin their politics to the idiotic slogan: Make the Left MP's fight.

The history of the British Labour Party is a history of parliamentary disaster. In 1924, a Labour government supported by the Liberals did nothing at all.

This was a considerable achievement compared with the record of the 1929-1951 government which did everything in its power to protect the gold standard and the interests of industrialists against the clamour of the unemployed.

The Labour government of 1945 and 1951 is remembered with sentimental nostalgia by the official Labour left, who recall the nationalisation of coal, railways, gas, electricity - and the National Health Service.

The real achievement of the 1945-51 Labour government has been less widely publicised. As two commentators one of whom is a Cabinet Minister in the present administration, put it:

PUBLIC DEBATE

Which Way to Socialism?

Paul Foot Eric Heffer MP
John Palmer Sid Bidwell MP

Brighton IS & Brighton RSSF



THE ECONOMY

'In 1948-1950, when the economy appeared to be gaining both internal and external balance, there was a substantial shift away from planning in the direction of a free market system' (The Labour Government and British Industry by A. Rogow and Peter Shore, p71).

Under the smokescreen of nationalisation and welfare reforms the post-war Labour government concentrated its main efforts on the re-establishment of a capitalism seriously weakened by the war. Weak, plaintive industrialists grew, under Labour's careful succour into implacable monopolists who wanted no more of 'socialism'.

The inevitable irony was that Labour, because of the working-class support which it had ignored, was hounded from office by the very industrialists whom it had nourished.

STRIKING ACTS

By 1964, the Labour programme had been considerably diluted by the pressure of those who sought office. The reformist scraps offered to the masses have now been withheld and in their place the Labour government is now set on a course which is further to the right even than MacDonald's in 1930.

The MacDonald government did at least repeal the Tory 1927 Trade Union Act which sought in some circumstances to make trade unionists liable for damage from disputes. Similarly, Wilson's government passed an act in its first year of office overturning the House of Lords' Rookes v. Barnard decision, making a trade union official liable for strike damage.

And Robert Blatchford, theoretical inspirer of the Left, made his teenage daughter play 'Rule Britannia' every day throughout the First world war.

LEFT BEHIND

In 1925 a group of left-wingers drew up a Manifesto, headed the Socialist Club and printed in Lansbury's Weekly. 'A Labour government', it declared at the outset 'would be pledged to establish a socialist state'.

It proposed several acts of immediate legislation including the abolition of the House of Lords, ('no fraternising with the enemy') the abolition of the police and the handing over of police duties to a 'citizen's army' with elected officers.

The manifesto was signed by Marion Phillips, Susan Lawrence, George Lansbury, Ernest Thurtle and John Scurr. By 1929, Marion Phillips, then an MP, was the staunchest defender of the proposed cut in unemployment benefit. Miss Lawrence was an Under Secretary of State, and sharply attacked John Wheatley for daring to attack the government.

George Lansbury was in the Cabinet and was a member of the Labour Party executive which framed the rules for the expulsion of James Maxton. The rules under which the expulsion was based were drawn up by John Scurr, chairman of the Consultative Committee.

And Mr Thurtle, who was Lansbury's private secretary, resigned from the ILP because it would not support the policies of the MacDonald government.

Exactly the same process followed the 1931 debacle. The left-wing, under Stafford Cripps, joined the Socialist League.

'Continuity of policy' wrote Cripps, 'can find no place in a socialist programme. It is this complete severance with all traditional theories of government, this determination to seize power from the ruling class and transfer it to the people as a whole, that differentiates the present political struggle from all those that have gone before'.

'This determination' was amply demonstrated by Cripps himself as President of the Board of Trade and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the 1945-1951 government, in which posts he fought heroically to protect British capitalism from competitors abroad and militants at home.

POMPOUS CRETINS

The reason for all this is not to be found in personal weakness or betrayal nor in the predominance of 'right-wingers', whatever that may mean. The personal betrayals are the reflection of something much deeper - the fundamental belief of Labour parliamentarians that the road to socialism can be paved in parliament: that universal suffrage to five-yearly parliaments is a sufficient precondition for the change from capitalism to socialism.

This view, held incidentally by Karl Marx, grossly underestimates the power and flexibility of the capitalist system. It underestimates the ability of the men who control industry and commerce to absorb democratic processes through parliaments every five years while retaining undemocratic control of the power that matters: economic power.

The geographic basis of the parliamentary democracy (with its assumption that MPs must represent all their constituents whatever their class) and the long gap between elections puts parliamentary representatives at an enormous distance from the people they represent, and by whom they cannot be recalled for five years.

The gap is further exaggerated by the cretinism and pomp of parliament itself for whose 'charms' and 'glory' no one, not even Maxton or Bevan, has failed to succumb.

With very little difficulty, the capitalist class has been able to ensure that the British Labour movement, blinkered by its desire for parliamentary power, becomes separated from its representatives, and accordingly corrupted and deformed by the lack of democracy in its own ranks.

Faced with continued destruction and bribery from the ruling class, the Labour parliamentarian is confronted with a dilemma. Either he mobilises outside parliament, confronts capitalism and calls in question his parliamentary illusions. Or he must try to run capitalism better than his opponents.

Without exception, he prefers to foster illusions and pursue the latter course.

With parliamentary obsessions run insistence on 'law and order', the 'good of the nation' and so on, with which slogans the ruling class has persuaded Labour governments to discipline and humiliate the people who voted for them.

Finally, there is the certainty that in the extreme even of a Labour government moving seriously to tip the class balance in favour of the workers by parliamentary action, the capitalist class will abandon its parliamentary pretensions and move to a more direct struggle outside.

CUL DE SAC

The idea that the ruling class will stand aside muttering about a 'fair fight' as the Workers' Control Act 1969 is passed through the Commons (and the Lords?) is the fantasy of those who have not read about Vienna in 1934, or of Barcelona in 1936, or Athens in 1967, or (a prediction) Rome in 1969.

The slightest possibility that a social democratic government will move firmly against the capitalists will be greeted not with formal protests from Her Majesty's Opposition but with flights of capital, military coups and mercenary invasions.

Ruling class power cannot be legislated out of existence. It has to be seized.

Office has nothing to do with power. Parliament does not offer the 'road to socialism', it offers a cul-de-sac. As Rosa Luxemburg put in in Reform and Revolution;

'In the history of classes, Revolution is the act of political expression of the life of a society that has already come into being. In each historic period work for reforms is carried on only in the framework of the social form created by the last revolution. People who pronounce themselves in favour of the method of legislative reform in place of, and in contradistinction to, the conquest of political power and social revolution do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal, but a different goal'.

It took a real election triumph, like 1966, to propel the government on a collision course with the unions and to enable them to propose legislation which shackles the unions more than the 1927 Act - and more than anything else since the first Labour parliamentarian entered Westminster.

Parliamentarians and reformists seek to explain all this as an unhappy accident. Unfortunately, they explain, the Labour governments were always dominated by right-wingers, who took the wrong course. Left-wingers, they proclaim, would have moved in a socialist direction.

But would they? Were not Wilson, Castle, Crossman, Greenwood darlings of the left? Was it an accident that prompted every one of the promoted left-wingers, with the single exception of Frank Cousins, who had a good job to go back to and has now found an even better one, not only were 'converted' to the anti-working class politics of the government, but also became their most enthusiastic supporters?

History suggests otherwise.

THE ROCK SPECTACLE

" So the kids are talking revolution and smoking dope. Gee, so are the companies, in massive advertising-campaigns that co-opt the language of revolution so thoroughly that you'd think they were out on the streets themselves So effective has the Rock Industry been in encouraging the spirit of optimistic youth takeover, that Rock's truly hard political edge, its constant exploration of the varieties of youthful frustration, has been ignored and softened."

(Michael Lydon - 'Ramparts' June.
'Black Dwarf' July.)

'Rolling Stone' magazine recently took out a \$7000 ad in the 'New York Times', aimed at "corporate executives" who need to understand the "Youth Revolution". (sic). It seems clear that Rock is a billion dollar industry - one of the biggest most powerful of capital investments and returns: and as such it is no different from any other large industry in an economy that is dependant upon capital and a society controlled largely by the owners of that capital. The big companies effectively control the means of production and distribution of rock music. As a consequence, independent forces developing in



MEMBERS

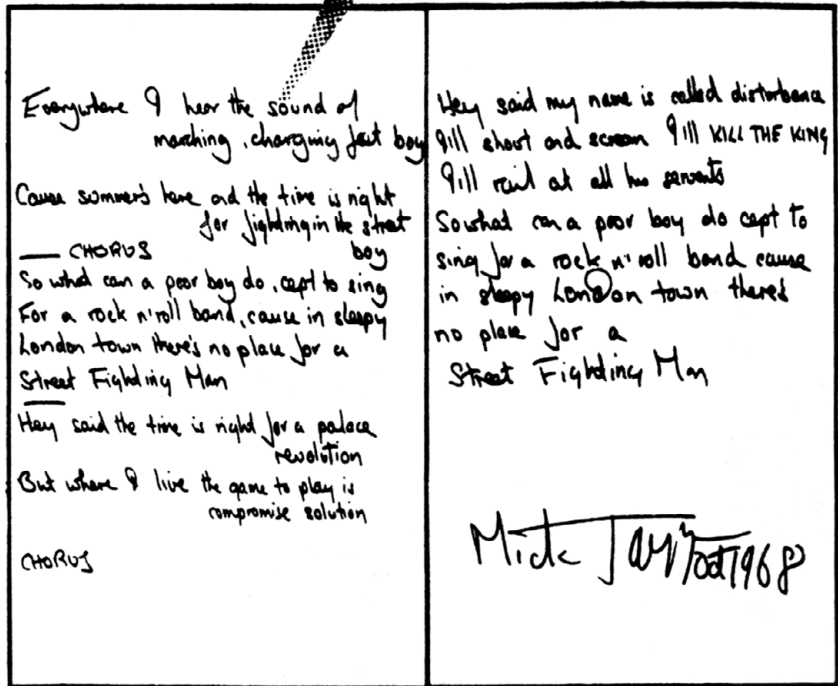
their own direction - not packaged and preplanned by the giants - cannot be tolerated.

The corporate elite has set up an arena in which the "Rock Revolution" can be performed. 'A lovely playground is constructed for the young' and with in it their every whim is indulged - even 'revolution'. They do not see the carefully maintained walls around this playground, nor the efforts made to control its size. The self deception of the young is complete.

TROUBLE

The physical manifestation of the rock and roll playground is the new open-air rock music concert. This summer in England alone, there have been at least six. With hundreds of thousands of the most energetic group on society together at these events, why, while the violent songs are sung by the apostles of "Revolution", was there not a hint of action against the hated society? Why didn't the music turn the crowds' frustrations into anger and violence?

Mick Jagger has explained away the lack of violence at the Stones' free concert in Hyde Park by saying: "There was nothing for anyone to kick against. No money changed hands, no barriers, so no trouble." Obviously, this fails to explain the lack of any "trouble" at something like the 3 day Isle of Wight Festival, where there was an excess of barriers and more than £1M must have changed hands. Rather it is



the nature of those concerts, free or not free, as manifestations of the controlled playground that determines their peacefulness.

It is largely the attitude of the organisers that reduces the audience's involvement. It is easier to cater for an audience of 200,000 customers than for that many human beings. Furthermore the performers have an apparatus to separate them from the crowd: private enclosures, hotels, police escorts, television crews and high stages. Jagger wears 50 guinea suits while his 'fans' wear jeans. A compere acts as another barrier (at the I.O.W. the crowd was fed up with and angry at their compere, perhaps this indicates a desire to break down the barriers.

CONSUMPTION

With the audience so far removed from the musicians, it is safe to offer for their consumption the spectacle of revolution. Rock stars sing songs about it so that those whose music it is need not participate in it. The process is similar to the 19th century religious ceremony: its effect is to purge rather than to liberate energy in revolt.

These concerts can never be the source of revolution. They have to be seen as inextricably connected to the billion dollar record industry. Free concerts are cheap promotion (the Stones' "Honky Tonk Women" stood at N.o. 1. for six weeks after its unveiling in Hyde Park. Paying concerts are big moneyspinners. But, more important, is that nobody wants revolution if they've got concerts that are described as the height of freedom, and music that tells them they've won it.



NON-MEMBER?

At the Isle of Wight Festival last month 100,000 people paid £2/10/0 for one day alone; and yet total costs for staging the whole weekend were estimated

at only £70,000. Clearly the organisers were out to make money. But they also laid great emphasis upon the 'revolutionary' themes of 'peace' and 'freedom'. Surely there is a clash between the 'Revolution and the profit motive?'

Of course not; if the crowd had joined together and been moved to carry their revolution outside the playground, then the police would have been required. Any violence would have antagonised the local population and tradesmen; the authorities; and perhaps a part of the audience itself, this reaction would in turn have prevented the organisers from staging further concerts and making for themselves further small fortunes. In this case the profit depends upon 'peace' and 'freedom'.

Will you be at the Isle of Wight on August 31st? ... Bob Dylan will." said the Festival posters. Subtly you are made to believe that you are all one big happy family together. Yet what sort of family is it?

In most cases you have to pay to belong to it. Even in 'free' concerts you are never more than attendant at a spectacle. How many get up and dance? How many just get stoned and never speak to the next person, though they may say "I've never been with so many people of my own kind." This feeling of brotherhood does not go far: these same people will advise others to get to the concert and grab a seat, and sit there all day long getting stoned.'

BLUNT

From outside the rock scene, the audience at an openair concert may appear as a vast, inhuman, amorphous and threatening mass ("Popular music enthusiasts as viewed from the air" ran a caption in the Times to the I.O.W. Festival.) However this mass reveals upon inspection an almost harmless collection of ordinary, selfassertive individuals, quite without either solidarity or unity.

At the Isle of Wight, the Who played "My Generation" - a picture of alienation: "I hope I die before I get old." People applauded because they identified. The Who also played "Summertime Blues", in which the chorus is significant: "I want it.. I - want it, I want it, You can't have It." Revolution would be more feasible if the record companies and the system they represent were as blunt in their refusal as that.

REVIEWS

Ulster Violence.

Ulster has a history of self-defeating working class violence. The present bout started with last year's actions by the Paisleyites and the Civil Righters. This year opened with a bang when on Jan 1st the students in Peoples Democracy set out to march to Derry and four days later were ambushed at Burntollet. The clashes have escalated ever since.



Prime Minister, Major James Chichester-Clark, approves the diversion which led, two miles up the road, into a police cordon and a well organised ambush.

Burntollet is now the name of a short, but exhaustively documented book by two Irish legal writers. It gives an account of January's long march and of the ambush on Burntollet Bridge on the outskirts of Derry. It is no simple description or existential tale of a civil rights march: but a systematic indictment of the entire apparatus of State Power in the Six Counties.

Police are charged with being "engaged in criminal activities". B specials, members of the Reserve Police Force are named as taking part in the Burntollet ambush. The Orange Order, a backbone of the ruling Unionist Party is shown to be inseparable from the organisation of ambushers: with its halls being used as headquarters by the armed dupes of the Anglo-Irish squirearchy. Robert Porter, then as now the Minister for Home Affairs is shown up as a dithering if not a deliberately evasive liberal doing the work of reaction. The police are condemned for rampaging round Derry after the ambush, smashing their way into shops, and terrorising Catholics in their homes.

Finally, the present Prime Minister, James Chichester-Clark, is fully implicated in the arrangements for a smaller ambush which took place between Toome and Maghara.

These are the book's conclusions "The sum of our researches (they took 7 months) indicate that 320 took part in the attack on the marchers at Burntollet. Of these we have identified 257. Nearly 100 have records of service with the R.U.C.. And these people uniformly appear to have had directions and control of the attack."

"The attack was Organised locally by representatives of the Orange Order and the Special Constabulary, in close collaboration with some members, at least, of the R.U.C. ...the police force on duty, as a whole, knew of the place and the approximate magnitude of the attacks. Specifically, or by clear indication, the members of the Force learned that they were not expected to resist or arrest attackers."

Cool and lucid, this book gives a rare insight into the bloody workings of Ulster - the Police State not so very far from home, it is a model of militant research. Inevitably the authors had to publish it at their own cost. It is called BURNTOLLET; it costs ten bob (or four pounds for ten copies) from: ...48 NOTTING HILL GATE.. W.11. or ...SUSSEX UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST BOOKSHOP THURSDAYS AT FALMER HOUSE. Midday)

Blind Faith

Blind Faith is an appropriate name for a group which can't see where it's going. A "supergroup" need not necessarily play super music. The best music comes from groups where the talents of each musician combine under a clear musical direction... as with the early Stones', Sgt. Pepper or the first Country Joe LP. Blind Faith hasn't yet found much of a direction. The two chief soloists, Eric Clapton and Stevie Winwood, were originally inspired by the Blues, but Blind Faith have little contact with it. The one blues (unoriginal) intended for the record they could not perfect in the studio.

The album is dominated by Winwood's strangled vocals and Clapton's unadventurous, if highly skilful, guitar playing (only in The Presence of the Lord does he really step out). But then the album is stronger on the precision and taste of its playing than on excitement or rhythm. The only track that swings is Well Alright. Heavy music freaks will miss the guts of Cream or the funkiness of Traffic.

What there is to like is the haunting beauty of Can't Find My Way Home, where Stevie's plaintive vocal style for once makes sense, and Sea of Joy, with Ric Grech's fine violin solo. But Clapton uses some pretty uninspired riffs: on Had To Cry Today he keeps restrained when he looks like letting go. Winwood doesn't play particularly well except for some good piano on Well Alright.

The worst thing about this album is Do What You Like: a messy, aimless track which unfortunately takes up nearly all the second side. The drum solo is boring, the organ cramped, the guitar pretty good and the bass unremarkable. Idiomatic tapecuts of voices chant Do What You Like throughout the second half and if that's their philosophy then it's hardly surprising that they haven't found a common direction. The album's worth playing, but it's far from being, as you might hope, the best Rock LP ever made.

Certainly Socialism will always go against established "common sense", because it rests on values opposed to the existing society. But it is not, or need be, "difficult" or abstractedly intellectual. From now on Mole will regularly review books that are, or at least could be both popular and Socialist.

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists

Robert Tressell
London Panther 7/6

There is a big sick joke that hangs over us every day of our lives: that most people are exploited, and love it.... This is the theme of "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists" set in Edwardian England in a South Coast seaside town. You could see it as merely a realistic portrayal of working class conditions of the time. Certainly never has so good a portrayal been written. The haunting threat of unemployment and starvation is lived out by characters of complete humanity. They are ordinary people, with perhaps the exception of Owen, the socialist agitator around whom the book centres. Yet even he is absolutely real - worrying about his sickly child or dying to smash his fore-man's face in - never merely a propaganda mouthpiece.

Owen's name for his workmates who seem to scheme how they can cheat themselves of another penny and head one step nearer to early death from over-work, starvation or both in order to give their boss a higher profit.

The socialism does not merely give the book political relevance for today, it gives it its whole coherence. And without this it would be mere portraiture, with it Owen's struggles to convince his workmates of Socialism - his anger, his contempt even at the way they laugh off his ideas - while the system literally kills them - reaches the level of tragedy. Yet Owen keeps his burning certainty that it can change, be changed by some ragged trousered philanthropists. ... And that remains true.

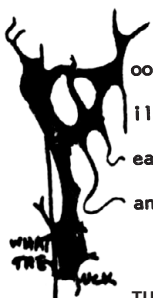
BUSES

Brighton's bus users, after the last fares shock, have another coming: more one-man buses. Already passengers complaints about the rundown in service that followed single-manning have reached an unprecedented rate; long delays while the driver takes the fares make it impossible to keep time, as well as holding up other traffic; mothers with pushchairs and young children have no conductor to help them; and the constant pressure on the drivers often make them less than sympathetic to people without the correct fare or uncertain of their destination. Old people, especially have a hard time on the buses.

Brighton, Hove and District are expected to make the change to single-manning on the busy crosstown service no 37. And Southdown too are jumping on the one man bandwagon: up to now restricted to country services. But before the end of the year it will be "Pay the driver" on the heavily used Lewes-Brighton run, and at the same time it is expected that they will bring in double deck one man buses on the popular service 38, linking the Lewes Rd. with Preston Circus, Seven Dials and the Clock Tower.

BRIGHTON COMBINATION

October 1st.



ood - in the new Cafe where meals can be ate cheaply again and meusli, yoghourt, coffee etc.

ilms - incredible flicks to viddy, 0 my brothers ; early and late showings on and off all week.

eatre - plays begin again in Novembar with a whole people Environment.

antastic rock music Disco - the summer sounds go on with music. For heads, acidheads, skinheads, eggheads eggcatcra. ...

TUESDAY - SUNDAY 6P.M. to 2A.M.

76 WEST STREET 24596

MOLE'S DIARY

noise

- sat 27 Tom Paxton. The Dome 7.30pm
0/- to 21/-
fri oct 3 Jethro Tull Savoy Brown
Terry Reid. The Dome 7.30pm
sun oct 5 Clifford Curzon. Bton Phil.
Conducted H. Menges. the Dome
2.45pm 6/- to 17/6
sep 25 CoE Folk Club. Hick Jones 8pm
wed oct 1 CoT Icicles/Jugular Vein
8pm. 4/-
continuous Sherry's Dixieland Show Bars
West st/Middle st. Music/Sin-
ging/Dancing. Harry Roy
and his band
continuous Sloopy's. Dancing nightly
from 8.30pm. Tony Mack's
Soul Show 11 Dyke Road

cinema

molescreen

- Week ending Sat 27 sep.
BFT 'Carmen' 7.30pm. 'M.Hulot's Hol-
iday' 11pm.
EMBASSY 'In like Flint' 8.15pm.
ABC 'Once upon a time In the West'
CLASSIC 'For a Few Dollars More'
CONTINENTALE 'Dutchman' 2.30/5.08/7.40
Week ending Sat 4 oct
BFT Mon-Wed. 'Tomb of Ligea' 7.30pm.
BFT Thu-Sat. 'The Shattered Room' 7.30pm
BFT Late Night Sat 'Tomb of Ligea' 11pm
EMBASSY 'Dandy In Aspic' 8.35pm.
CLASSIC 'Closely Observed Trains'
CONTINENTALE 'Skin, Skin' 8.58pm.
Cof Ed. Tue Sep 30. 'Guns of Navarone,'
'Chinese Chequers' 7pm.
Thu Oct 2. 'Bofors Gun', 'The
Visit' 7pm.
Tue Oct 8. 'Splendour in the
Grass', 'The End', 'Make Love not
Omelette' 7pm.
Cof Tec Thu Sep 25. 'The Trap' 7.30pm.

theatre

molestage

- mon sep 29 Theatre Royal Brighton. The
National Theatre in The 3
Sisters (Chekhov). for 3 days
thu oct 2 Ditto. "The Way of the World"
(Congreve), for 3 days.
(Performances at Theatre Royal:
Mon-Thu 7.45pm. Fri & Sat
8.15pm. Matinees Thu 2.30,
Fri 5pm.)
on now Worthing Connaught Theatre.
Thieves Carnival (Anouilh)
7.30pm. Sat 8pm. Matinees Wed
2.30, Sat 5pm.
tue sep 31 Worthing Connaught Theatre.
(Sheridan) "School for Scandal"
Times as above, for a
fortnight.

sports

molesport

- Football Sat Oct 4. Brighton & Hove
Albion vs Bristol Rovers.
3pm. Goldstone Ground.
Greyhounds Sat Sep 27/Wed Oct 1/Sat Oct
4. Brighton & Hove Stadium,
Neville Road, Hove. 7.30pm.

politics

- sep 29 Labour Conf. opens. Top Rank
sep 28 Connolly Assoc. Meeting and
parade for civil rights in
Ulster. Assemble at the Level 2.15.
March to West Pier.
sep 29 Brighton Rents Project Debate
8pm Labour may have
soul but we have slums
Drill Hall. Queens Square.
oct 2 Socialist Comittee Demo.
'Against Labour's Tory policies'
The Level 4pm or
The Front 5pm.
oct 2 Joint IS/RSSF debate. 'Which
way Socialism' Paul Foot and
John Palmer vs Eric Heffer MP
and Sid Bidwell. Dome. 7pm.
oct 2 'Don't be fooled again by
the Labour Party'. Reg Birch
(AEF). Pavillion Conference
Room No.2, 7.30pm.
oct 2 'Equal pay for women forum'
Lecture Hall, Church St 7.30
oct 1 Tribune Meeting. Corn Exchange.
7.45pm (tickets in
advance from Top Rank).
oct 3 UoS 'History of the Left at
Sussex' SCCML Room 112 after
Societies Fair. Falmer House

brighton combination

- wed oct 1 Reopens. 6pm-2am cafe, 'food,
coffee, etc.
thu oct 2 Film. 'Race for Life' Clusoz
& Christian-Jaques 10.30pm.
cafe.
fri oct 3 Film. Ditto. 8pm.
sat oct 4 Disco. Incredible Opening
Gala Marathon Event of heavy
rock sounds in the night &
morning. 1/-.. Cafe.
sun oct 5 Film. 'Race for Life' 9&11
pm. cafe.
tue oct 7 Cafe 6pm-2am
wed oct 8 Cafe 6pm-2am
thu oct 9 Film. 'The Brig' Living The-
atre in US. 10.30pm. Cafe.
fri oct 10 Film. Ditto. 8pm.
Disco. 10pm-2.30am.
sat oct 11 Disco. 10pm-2.30an.
sun oct 12 Film. 'The Brig' 9pm & 11pm.

dances

molewaltz

- UoS sat 4 oct Falmer House 8.30-12.30 King
Crimson/Jellybread
/Mighty Baby. Tickets 10
bob Union Office and Ex-
-spantion. (Federated
Student cards only)
CoT fri 26 sep Club 66: Jellybread.
7.30pm. 2/6
fri 3 oct Club 66: The Fox.
7.30pm.
2/6
CoA fri 26 sep Meat Market/Jigsaw.
8.30pm. CoA Freshers
free. Others 5 bob.

BUY 'BLACK DWARF' at UNICORN & IN THE
LANES. Better, send to 7 CARLISLE ST
LONDON W1 A 4PZ.
Gnomefam needs your money. Libel fund
now over 1200 pounds. Send to 34 Greek
Street, London W1

voting

In order to vote you only have to be
17 or over by 15th February next.
The method is to get onto the electoral
register, and this is not very
complicated. Each household is sent a form
to be filled out by the potential voters
every year. This means that if you are
living with your parents, they will get
the form and you should make sure they put
you on it.

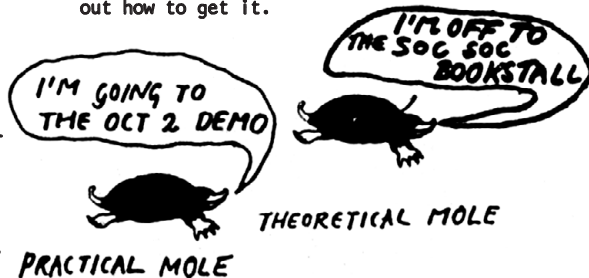
In a furnished or unfurnished
flat you should also get a form, but
since people move about a lot, it is
advisable to go to the Council electoral
registration office in Regency Arcade on
the third floor. In flats, tenants are
known on the form as Occupiers and it
is essential to report everybody living
at your address. These forms should be
returned to the office by the tenth of
Octob.

In November a preliminary list of
new voters in the C lists. If your name
is missing from any of the ward lists
then you've got till Dec 5 to appeal.
Only after this date is it too late to do
anything for the coming year.

Once on the register you can vote
in any election, local or national if it
occurs after your 18th birthday. Your
parents cannot stop you - and its illegal
for them to try.

Students theoretically register
where their home address is, but in
practice those in flats or lodgings
can vote here. The N.U.S. advises this.
But the Conservatives do not agree.
Mr. William van Straubenzee Tory MP for
Wandsworth has stated that it would be
unfortunate if the results were to turn on
the student vote - a view probably shared
by the Kempton Young Conservatives.

What you do with the vote is up to
you, but now you ought to be able to work
out how to get it.



UoS Socialist Club Bookstall. Every
Thursday in the Tobby of Falmer House
at noon.

And don't forget the demonstration on
Thursday October 2nd against Labour's
Tory policies. Join it at the start,
4pm at the Level, or at 5pm on the sea
front.

addresses

- BRIGHTON COMBINATION 76 West St (24596)
MAY DAY MANIFESTO GRP 6a Vernon Terrace
I.S. 83/85 St. Aubyn's.
Hove. (730656)
UNICORN BOOKSHOP 50 Gloucester Rd.
MOLE 11 Sudely Street.
(688942)

ABOUT THE mole

- 1) Meetings every Sun at the office 7pm
 - 2) Sellers (Sales Staff) every other
Thursday at the office 11pm.
- SELLERS/PHOTOGRAPHERS/ILLUSTRATORS/RE-
PORTERS/EVERYBODY NEEDED NEEDED NEEDED

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