

Airbrushed from history?

*A Note on RSSF
& May 68*

*Ruth Watson
& Greg Anscombe*



As the May 68 media and nostalgia machines got under way, occasional references were made to the UK's student revolt and its organisation RSSF, the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation. This Note draws together a varied assortment of sources to assess what is known about what happened, suggesting that the British student rebellion of the 1968 period has largely been airbrushed out of modern history as ephemeral and implicitly a minor British copy-cat phenomenon in comparison to French, German and Italian and other European movements, and, of course, the various movements in the United States.

The impressive scale of recent student support for the campaign against the reduction of comprehensive pensions for university teachers is a reminder that, as a body, students have had, and can have a distinct role in progressive politics, notwithstanding the careerism and elitism which has characterised official National Union of Student (NUS) associated politics at various — too many — periods.

Remember the long marches

Mature reflections after 50 years have their value, but one thematic ingredient, if not an actual material outcome — a piece of real history making — must be the long marches through the institutions taken by many from that generation of students. While there are many who have travelled outside the red lines of left activism and socialism, it is arguable that the collective march has sustained and enriched subsequent political life. It was, in this

sense, not just student ferment and unrest: it was a rebellion, with honourable echoes in history and notable advances of ideology. In the UK, as elsewhere but not everywhere and in different ways, mainstream student politics through student unions and guilds was challenged by the Radical Student Alliance movement which rapidly transformed into the RSSF formation, conceived before May 68 if not to plot revolution, surely to demonstrate the case for a politics beyond reformism. That the French events got very close to triggering an actual French revolution defines differences of reality and circumstance, but not aspiration. For Britain, it gave a new politics which was already emerging in student circles a much wider meaning and deeper register.

A definitive identity?

As far as RSSF is concerned, basic references are meagre and elementary facts are misleadingly definite — the real first conference date was not at London's Roundhouse in November 68, though this has been referred to as 'founding' because a manifesto and organisational format was agreed. The start was in June 68 at LSE, after an initial proposal from a Leicester University occupation prior to France's May 68. The dating contributes to the quite false view that it was all very short-lived, had no pre-history and little outcome. Leadership matters are equally misrepresented: there was no relevance or role for the Jack Straws of this world. His opportunistic careerism dates from his overt rejection of student rebellion at the time, and his astute challenge to the mainstream NUS leaders in the name of, well, Jack the Lad, slithering icon of future generations of New Labour careerism. Other figures such as Tariq Ali played notable roles in opposing the Vietnam War, and supporting New Left politics, but were hardly involved in student politics, activism and events under the RSSF umbrella. Sectarian and formal political parties were involved, but they tailed the independents, and rejected the independents' thinking which was, roughly speaking, newly presented European marxisms and liberationist doctrines. They also tailed the associated formations. Not the least were the Schools Action Union (SAU), the Gay Liberation Front, many feminist formations, and pre professional groups such as ARSE (revolutionary architectural students), trainee teacher groups, theatre groups (AGITPROP), Cinema Action, art college groups and scientists, psychologists and philosophers in the making. Issues provoking occupations, sit-ins, lock-outs, marches and demonstrations, conferences and publications and manifestos filled the whole spectrum of anti capitalist and anti imperialist politics, and there

was involvement in the Irish troubles.

Worker, trade union and labour movement connections were sought and gelled in ways quite different to the traditional politics of either, significantly, the official Communist Party or the lesser sectarian and *ouvrierist* groups. On the other hand, photos of official trade union marches with Gay Liberation Front banners — and others — just behind the front row reflected a commonality of political spirit if not lifestyle.

Even where books and authors cite official state records (see below) and provide extensive reading lists, there is no sense of primary historical fact. Indices to otherwise useful general books omit RSSF, show no evidence of seeking obvious sources such as local papers and university archives, which would show a very different picture.

The poverty of literature

This is especially true of the post 68 literature. Maybe its poverty reflects hard political facts and experience: because the rebellion and activism was so extensive and such an overt political break, well beyond the scale and character of ‘the usual suspects of the lefty sects’, many people did not want to self-publicize. The culture was essentially collective, impersonal, free in form but politically coherent and purposive. Fear was a big factor: victimisation by a UK state whose fundamental attitude was angry, repressive and punitive was much more extensive as a sanction than appeared from the celebrity episodes. Collective personality, anonymous work and non-iconic leadership were the dominant cultural style, to an extent necessarily so.

History deserves to be and can be better served: in contrast, for May 68 the French state has contributed a substantial and significant archival exhibition, alongside the predictable and proper history and politics reviews and debates (see below). Their exhibition opens the French state archives and treats the era as a contestation of power: the UK movement needs its own characterisation, but at a minimum it must include a major, if not the major and first serious challenge to the intellectual and cultural authority of the universities and Higher Education (HE) sector as bulwarks and foundations of UK state hegemony. Today’s long accumulated subjection of higher education to neo-liberal dictates might be seen as the long tail of punishment for the 68 rebellion.

Edward Short's 'perps' ...

The UK Establishment's typically many-sided *modus/animus* was expressed most clearly by Secretary of State for Education, Edward Short. In January 69 he let fly:

'LSE has about 3,000 students. The disruptions that have taken place involve probably about 300 of these, though the real perpetrators are a tiny handful of people — fewer than half of one per cent . Of these, at least four are from the United States. These gentlemen are clearly not here to study, but to disrupt and undermine British institutions. They are the thugs of the academic world.'

RSSF's poster replied to Short showing a Tintin-style figure looking at an amazingly huge growing red mushroom with the counter view, graffitied with 'only 1/2 of 1 per cent' and 'The revolution that is beginning will call into question not only capitalist society but industrial society. Social alienation must vanish from history. Imagination is seizing power.'

VCs — not medals, just ruthless repression



Vice Chancellors quickly got themselves organised, meeting first at Downing College Cambridge. Their correspondence and plans for victimisation/repression were discovered by Warwick students and widely circulated. Historian Edward Thompson, of Warwick University, subsequently edited the papers as *Warwick University Ltd*, published by Penguin in 1970 and reprinted by The Russell Press for Spokesman in 2014. The pitch of the VCs is hard to credit: a 26 'Principles of Treatment' document about handling student occupations from the Vice Chancellor of Bristol University talks of direct access to the Chief Constable in case of riot, police

escort for tours of inspection, locking out teaching staff (in case of collusion?), solicitors to be instructed for injunctions and possible collective legal action, not just individual victimisation, bring in ‘agents on particular aspects’, ‘harassing occupants by cutting off essential services’, and the general aim that ‘a weapon may be forged ... to give speedy redress to ... this technique of “direct action”.’ Is comment needed?

A *cri de coeur* from LSE Secretary Harry Kidd, *The Trouble at LSE*, remains a fascinating case study of perplexed traditional authority and authoritarianism, published in 1969 by Oxford University Press and obviously written very quickly. A photo of police carrying — evicting — a student from LSE’s Connaught House has the revealing caption ‘The clearance of Connaught House’.

A velvet glove too ...

The velvet glove came from the extensive official and institutional work of the Parliamentary Select Committee (see below) advising local authorities not to summarily [sic] cut off student grants while probing the challenges facing student representatives within the NUS structures but avoiding ideological engagement. Its conclusion perhaps explains the story line of much later history: UK student rebellion not as bad as elsewhere, can be played down but containment needed. It runs to a main report and seven volumes of evidence, concluding that ‘disrupters’ are a tiny minority, but their support could not be ignored, that unrest had some legitimate causes which could be taken on board in reform, but that the legal powers of the para-state, i.e. publically funded higher education, needed clarification of its ultimate powers to command deference and compliance. The problem was legal authority apparently versus, but to be balanced with, free speech and legitimate critical capacity. Anyone familiar with the discourses of the UK governing class would see the signals and read the codes: and note, wisely, that there is not a drop of recognition that the classic ideologies of politics had any presence other than as ‘disrupters’.

Heady words then, on both sides, but they reflect a sense of substantial and significant events, political challenge and change, and genuine threat to the established order. That deserves serious historical analysis, not least because this resistance and rebellion needs to join in the ranks of the other version of UK state history, which reveals routine, successive and deep challenges to a political hegemony. But one big political outcome can be asserted with some certainty: the aftermath, in later life and through family and community and political heritage, saw the Blair/Brown Iraq War

sycophancy challenged by almost two million people on the streets. Nearly two million, not the tens of thousands who characterised anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in the 60s, when the student rebellion helped to keep up the pressure on Wilson's government to stay clear of US war-making in Vietnam. There were many ideological and political culture outcomes, too: they deserve more than casual judgements.

A surprisingly limited field

The 50th anniversary has seen only the one substantial work in the UK by Richard Vinen, London University history professor, *The Long 68 — Radical Protest and its Enemies* (see below). It has had good reviews but has no forensic reach into the UK situation. The *London Review of Books* has run a commendable interview with Tariq Ali, valuable about his role and oversight capacities, but not based on direct student movement experience as such. There is also the republishing by Verso of the quite separate and important texts of the *May Day Manifesto 1968* programme of analysis associated with Raymond Williams. Given the role and contribution of then *New Left Review* associates to the UK 68 universities revolt, it is disappointing that NLR has not claimed any heritage. Many historical studies of sixties and seventies Britain — more correctly, Britain and Ireland since Ireland north and south was involved — are overwhelmingly dependent on secondary sources. An American study of 2012, *British Student Activism in the Long Sixties* (see below), is astutely flagged on Google as a 'welcome addition to a surprisingly limited field'.

Thematic worker/student control issues

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is to be thanked for publishing this Note. Its own initiative to re-activate workers' control politics occurred in the same period. The Institute for Workers' Control's politics, too, were independent, about self-organisation, producer communities, and challenging the power of established authorities across a wide agenda. After several years of preparation, the IWC was founded in March 1968 at a conference in Nottingham, which contained and sustained student workshops. *Students at Hull* by Alistair Kee was the first BRPF 'Paper



on Democracy in Higher Education'. Of course, the Russell Foundation itself was in part shaped by one of the big commonalities of 68 — the Vietnam War, including active association with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (VSC), although the Foundation was established a few years earlier, when it could be argued the ferment was starting to emerge. From 1966 onwards, there had been actions, charters, calls for university reform — the French events gave them a new authority and resonance. This Note seeks to put on record some elementary RSSF data, to assist readers and maybe stimulate memories. It has been compiled from a variety of sources and views.

* * *

Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation

Politics and Organisation

RSSF's Formation and development

The need for a coordinating organisation was raised at a Leicester University meeting in late Spring term 1968 after the Leicester occupation/sit-in, with LSE and Essex representatives and some support from International Socialist activists for an 'independent' student organisation initiative. This would advance on the recently formed Radical Student Alliance, the key player in the LSE events, which started in 1966. A Free University event at Essex University in 1967 might be regarded as a prime mover, but LSE's anti capitalist and anti imperialist programme started earlier, in 1966. Leicester claims the first occupation/sit-in, while the last recorded occupation was Liverpool.

A full preparatory conference was proposed at a two-day LSE conference in June 68, after the French May events. This founding conference agreed a manifesto and the organisational format of a loose federation of individuals and groups with red bases. It took place at The Roundhouse, London, 8/9 November 1968. A co-ordination bureau was set up at 59 Fleet Street, and National Coordination Committee meetings commenced, held at various sites. More than a thousand individual members registered, and over 100 institutions — including colleges of all varieties, schools and political groups — were represented. There were 72 RSSF base groups routinely involved, 29 in the London area, 10 in

Scotland, three in Wales, and one in Northern Ireland. The Second National Conference was at Manchester University in March 69, the third at Imperial College London in December 69, after a Leicester Summer Seminar. The last conference was in Liverpool in April 1970. Many sectarian groups, most notably IS, withdrew support from the Imperial Conference onwards, in response to the independents' emerging aim of establishing an ongoing cadre network. (See below for Study Group Report 'Political Theory of the Student Movement'.)

RSSF Actions

These took many forms, most commonly involving occupations and sit-ins and teach-ins, marches and free style demonstrations, connecting to community and issue actions such as the property speculation underpinning the emerging housing crisis. The squat at No 9 Piccadilly, London, saw a schoolgirl arrested as the ringleader. RSSF organised a solidarity contingent with the Northern Irish Civil Rights Association (NICRA) to march from Belfast to Dublin at Easter 1969 for civil rights north and south, much of the organising being down to the recently formed People's Democracy movement. It needs to be remembered that while LSE had sit-ins and teach-ins, it also had a lock-out, reinforced by new steel gates and police horses, and its staff and student representatives were victimised, as were many others at different institutions, while heavy fines and prison sentences were imposed elsewhere. At LSE, the governors' application for court injunctions, sanctioned by gaol sentences for 'disrupters', was rejected by the courts. A common demand in sit-ins and occupations was for fair and open student disciplinary codes and processes; struggles were underpinned by help from legal professionals, and tribute is due to London University's Professor John Griffiths, culminating in his defence of the expelled students at the last major sit-in at Liverpool University.

Violence from the police on demonstrations was always present as a threat, and *agent provocateurs* were uncovered; these measures were justified by public allegations of student violence from politicians, vice chancellors and the media. In contrast, the action of the 'opening' the steel gates at LSE, and some locks on doors of squatted/occupied college property, was minor and mild: later, the similarly mild Garden House Hotel protest in Cambridge was used as an excuse for gaol sentences, maybe partial retribution for earlier embarrassments caused by a different student generation over the disrupted visit of Henry Brook, the UK's last

hanging Home Secretary, in 1963. The Garden House demonstration was against a junket dinner for visiting Greek big-wigs representing the military junta. The Liverpool University occupation ended with expulsions and a legal counter-challenge, constituting a virtual trial, but without jury or public gallery.

On a less solemn note, some occupations ended with cleaner premises than they started. At Guildford College of Art an occupation about student treatment and representation was planned to be ended with security staff brought in to evict students. Four of the security staff, when they understood the situation, crossed sides and joined the students.

A year of occupations

Academic studies suggest there were nine major occupations during 1968: Keele, Edinburgh, Bristol, York, Leeds, Leicester, Oxford and Cambridge, and Hornsey and Guildford Art Colleges. These are recorded by S Webster (2015) ‘Protest Activity in the British Student Movement 1945-2011’, a PhD study (see below). *New Left Review’s* Ronald Fraser (see below) has another chronology, and a useful international concordance, while a hostile but interesting treatment by Margaret Anne Rooke (see below), written just after the 68 period, as was Fraser’s, has considerable and detailed reportage. This book makes reference to events and issues at 92 institutions of higher education.

A solidarity leaflet (with LSE) after the Round House conference records another scale of activity, with students at 22 colleges of various kinds expressing active solidarity with the LSE students in occupations, mass meetings, teach-ins, donations and declarations.

Political formations and ideologies

While opposition to racism and colonial/imperial university links was an early and continuing theme, the agenda of issues was amazingly diverse, providing triggers for protest and action and continuous debate. But vindictiveness about student bids for participation, transparency, influence and democracy — abbreviated to ‘student power’ by university and higher education authorities — transposed a broader ferment of ideas into struggles and contestation. Disappointment with the Wilson Government, the start of higher education policy viewing students as higher grade market labour under traineeship, and cultural changes — the Stones, Beatles and Hendrix had campus support and were provided venues — and

other well documented openings, led many in the university establishments to see their privileges and demands for deference and compliance under profound threat. Traditional student socialists had seen their Labour Party student organisation, NALSO, closed down in 1966. So much was happening before the French May 68 events, and other international struggles gave a global and systemic meaning to issues which in themselves could look less momentous. Personal lifestyle, curriculum, the right to free speech, and active political life as opposed to allegedly privileged and deferential apprenticeship were the ingredients of a movement deeply rooted and widely resonant. It contrasted sharply in style, aspiration and scale with the practices of traditional sectarian groupings, their mechanical marxisms, *ouvrierisms* and revolutionary rhetorics, although they were strongly present in many areas and, as individuals, often played important roles. The independents — the keyword for practical RSSF politics — outnumbered the sectarian Trotskyists, of two main varieties, the Maoists, and mingled most easily with liberationist groupuscules. In a separable category, orthodox communists found their party cool and patrician, wanting debate and policy talks, not actions. It was culturally uncomfortable with new modalities of feminism, gay liberation and militant activism, but its individual student cadres were good RSSFers and brought leadership and political skills. RSSF's base politics was distinctly independent, and in open debate about actions, both starting and ending, it rallied the decisive majorities.

European marxism's revival coalesced with American anti-racism and liberationisms and, quite soon, a new politics of power assertion turning into revolutionary challenge. This was reflected in student, ethnic group struggles and, in the United States, in organised working class industrial life. Black independent union movements were formed in the major car companies (DRUM, FRUM) around Detroit and the COBAS (committees of the Base) emerged in Italy. France's militant CGT led and won concrete gains as well as demonstrating its fundamental class politics. Britain's traditional marxists were of some variety and rather varied traction. Their *ouvrierist* /worker orientation had an arguably self-defeating result. When they withdrew from RSSF and the new student movement, they cut themselves off from a wide audience, and an ongoing and systemic area of struggle, which, as higher education subsequently showed, has played a major role in subsequent national politics. Had that not happened, the long marchers might have been more numerous.

Communications

A plethora of magazines, reports, political texts and posters appeared, many directly as RSSF. Poster workshops used self-made silk-screen technique, while duplicated and offset litho publications flourished with the occasional wall newspapers. Student papers abounded, formal ones from student guilds, and others newly created. The Cambridge 1/- (Shilling) Paper started the now established idea of a student critique of universities, a kind of insiders university WHICH, while national independent political media took off (*Black Dwarf, Time Out, Oz*, etc). American, French, Italian and German student movement publications and new Marxist literature were in free and frequent circulation. A national newsletter was produced by RSSF's off-campus bureau at 59 Fleet Street, round the corner from LSE. Offset litho printing had just become available, allowing bigger distributions and quicker production. Otherwise, Roneos and Gestetners did the work, especially after the new photocopy machines were removed from free access.

Leadership

There were no Cohn Bendits, and no Rudi Dutschkes — the German student (SDS) leader shot by anti-communist Josef Bachmann, resulting in premature death. The two student official leaders and two lecturers sacked at LSE became what would now be termed 'icons', but of victimisation, not leadership, which was firmly rooted in mass assemblies and collective initiatives. Documents were often signed pseudonymously, or contributory names listed to signal collective production and commitment. Victimisation was, however, frequent, fervent and random, revealing the hysteria of the university authorities and their inability to understand the political models and processes of the student movement.

RSSF co-ordinated events

The LSE 'Open the Gates' march was organised under RSSF auspices, mounting a national solidarity demonstration of towards 20,000, a symbolic political high point being a covert route plan which countermanded a police ban on marching past both the US Embassy and the South African Embassy on the way to LSE. Here, serried police horses barred the narrow entrance street. The Belfast to Dublin march, with mass arrests at Newry, supported the 'Civil Rights North & South' movement

associated with PD (People's Democracy) and NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association).

Long marches of students, ideologies and politics: five currents?

Five currents were activated, embedded and constituted in subsequent political history by the UK student movement, most of them, of course, internationally resonant, but some particularly characteristic of UK governance and state power. Strategic doctrine number one was the long march through the institutions: occupations started did not just fizzle out, but asserted re-entry terms as dominant issues.

Second was the political imperative of base organisation and open democracy. Instead of electoral arithmetic, community voice and authority and street numbers became a norm, outside the two (and two-and-a-half party system). This was maybe re-established, as much as being new; the newness being the student constituency.

Third was basic disengagement from establishment political norms and, hence, established modes of conflict resolution, mediation and compromise and the prescribed return to 'normality' after bouts of 'unrest' — the Select Committee terminology. This involved the idea that parliamentary democracy needed to work for the people below, not those above, through principled engagement and the pursuit of traction and outcomes for popular social issues.

Fourthly, that processes of democratic participation and constitutional control were not only fundamental but could be made to work and 'prove' a different way of running society. With higher education in the frame, this was both possible and necessary. The language of exposition and articulation for this 'control/power' politics came, most obviously, from socialism's workers' control traditions and deeper doctrines of producer rights, wherever they operated in economy and society.

Fifth came ideological affiliation: this may be portrayed, for simplicity's sake, as an independent marxism and liberationism. This often appeared as new utopias, but equally could be sharply focused: schoolchildren in Berlin broke away from a demonstration protesting about the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, occupied an auditorium and debated the issues, teaching their student and parental generations — and the public — that the really relevant, true demand had to be 'Russians out of Prague, Americans out of Berlin'. RSSF's support for civil rights north and south in Ireland might be seen as a minor example of a similar political capability in the face of frozen, check-mated global and local politics.

These currents, tenets and approaches constituting perhaps a political ideology in its own right, motivated, explained and energised political action. Seen most powerfully, once uncovered and made available, in the long development of western marxisms on the one hand and feminism and gender rights on another, they de-passed the transatlantic consensus version of deep political truth and history as freedom, humanism and democracy versus collectivism. Overall, the long march of ideologies after 68, having found a market place for effect and traction, was as much of a historical product as the long march of actual people from 1968.

Literature

RSSF Manifesto: adopted at London's Roundhouse conference, November 68.

RSSF Red Texts 1 and RSSF Red Texts 2: RT1 has accounts of the June 68 LSE founding conference of RSSF and base reports. RT2 contained a range of papers including anti Nazi league campaigning, features on housing, architecture and squatting, and one of many circulating marxist bibliographies.

RSSF Irish Paper: for the NICRA Belfast-Dublin march, May 69 (8 pages)

RSSF Political Theory of the Student Movement — Notes for a Marxist Critique, March 1971, a substantial and marketed report, containing a chronology, review of formally declared political tendencies in RSSF, political analysis of RSSF politics, and a theory reading list. Commissioned by RSSF conference April 70.

Newsheets, magazines, reports, wall posters and posters

References have been found to the following publications: **Before the Barricades**, Essex RSSF magazine, with cover of France, schools students' issues, and the RSSF manifesto. **The Cambridge Shilling Paper** ran for a good period. **Subversity** was produced at Sheffield University. **Incite** was by York RSSF. **Sublation** was a theoretical magazine from Leicester and **Cadre** came from Leicester RSSF. Birmingham's Student Guild paper **Redbrick** played a strong role, as did many other 'official' student papers. **The Mole** came from Brighton, **Red Notes** from London University Union, Gower St. **The Dossier** came from Manchester University, **Before the Barricades** from Essex University RSSF, and **Open Conspiracy** from Bristol University.

Vanguard newspaper came from the Schools Action Union. **Paper Tiger** was produced by the Birmingham 491 Group. **Praxis** came from Bradford University RSSF. **Cardiff People's Paper** was, like others, community based. **The Eysenck Paper** was produced by trainee teachers at Bingley Teacher Training College. **SCUM** came from City of London College, **Hull Left** reflected a broad politics, and **The Red Flag** came from Chelsea Art College.

Contemporary accounts

LSE: The Natives are Restless, Paul Hoch & Vic Schoenbach, Sheed & Ward (left catholic publishers) 1969

Student Power, Penguin Special, with New Left Review, 1969, edited Alex Cockburn & Robin Blackburn, a broad based collection

House of Commons Select Committee on Education & Science, Report and seven volumes of evidence, July 1969

The Political Theory of the Student Movement, March 1971, postscript to a 100-page analysis by an RSSF study group.

1968: A Student Generation in Revolt, Ronald Fraser, Chatto & Windus. By a New Left Review editorial board member and oral historian, authoritative on the global movement but light coverage of situation in Britain.

Anarchy & Apathy: Student Unrest 1968-1970, Margaret Anne Rooke, Hamish Hamilton, 1971. Most indexed for RSSF, a rightwing *cri de coeur* for the established order but an interesting account.

50th Anniversary & other accounts

Richard Vinen, *The Long 68: Radical Protest and its Enemies*, Allen Lane, 2018. This manages two paragraphs around RSSF and left groups. Otherwise useful, with some state archival sources but essentially a political interpretation reflecting more about post-millennial times than the actualities of 68.

68 — *Les Archives du Pouvoir: French National Archives*, two exhibitions and online catalogue, Paris www.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr

PhD thesis: S. Webster, Manchester University, 2015. Nine occupations recorded in 1968 in 'Protest Activity in the British Student Movement 1945-2011', a study focused on Manchester University and LSE.

Days in the Life, Jonathan Green, Voices from the English Underground 1961-71, Minerva, 1988

1968 The Year That Rocked the World, Mark Kurlansky, Jonathan Cape, 2004. Very little about the UK, politically not unlike Vinen but without new sources.

Background

Herbert Marcuse's works, notably 'One Dimensional Man' and other formative politics provided the basis for the seminal 'Dialectics of Liberation Conference' held in London at the Roundhouse in July 1967. Published by Pelican in 1968, edited by David Cooper, it contains a useful Marcuse text and several invaluable papers.

Reflections on the Revolution in France: 1968, Pelican, published 1970, edited by Charlie Posner, is a model of contemporary document and analysis.

French Revolution 1968, a Penguin Special by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, published rapidly in 1968, is a professional journalists' eyewitness account of considerable value.

New Left Review No 52, Nov-Dec 68, is a celebratory special issue analysis of the French events, including a Lenin text on the Russian student movement and an interesting introductory essay.

The Student Revolt, one of two books published by Panther in 1968, contains speeches and documents from the Paris activists.

The Beginning of the End, Panther 1968, contains two long analytical essays by Tom Nairn of *New Left Review* and Angelo Quattrocchi, Paris journalist working for the Italian journal *Avanti*. Nairn taught at Hornsey College of Art, London, and Quattrocchi was an eyewitness to the Paris events.

Imagination in Power: The occupation of factories in France in 1968 by Andrée Hoyles, published by Spokesman Books, Nottingham, in 1973.

How and Why Industry Must Be Democratised

Edited by
Ken Coates & Wyn Williams

*A full report on the 1968
Workers' Control Conference
together with all Conference
Papers*

THE INSTITUTE FOR WORKERS' CONTROL