

BEAVER

BRITISH LIBRARY OF POLITICAL
& ECONOMIC SCIENCE

N58

18 JUN 1990

NEWSPAPER OF THE LSE STUDENTS' UNION

No. 134

NOVEMBER 12th, 1974

FREE

Ralf to write for BEAVER



ON Monday, November 4th, the following edited interview with Professor Ralf Dahrendorf took place. The issues covered as printed here are: A social contract for Universities, the L.S.E. and Europe, and Student Participation. After the interview the two "interviewees" recorded their impressions of Ralf; these follow on the next page.

QUESTION: Do you ever envisage yourself returning to politics?

Answer: In a sense, the answer must be not really, because I have not come here to return to any place. I can quite easily see myself staying here for a very long time; the appointment is for ten years. The assumption, when the appointment was made, was that those who asked me wanted somebody who is going on to some other place afterwards — who is young enough to be interested in other things. But perhaps we should talk about that in nine years' time. I have no political ambitions at this point.

Q.: Can you state the areas in which you think there are problems and those in which there are "non-problems"?

A.: Well, it's quite clear, first of all, that I find myself confronted with a number of very real problems, as Director of the School, which I might say I had not bargained for: that is to say, that if you have a quinquennial grant, you find yourself in the third year of that, and you discover that only a fraction of the grant is subject to supplementation. If inflationary cost increases take place, then you also find yourself with the very real problem of having to cut back expenditure in a number of sensitive areas, and having to reconsider the ways in which we spend our money generally. Now that's a real problem to me. By comparison, I think that some of

the so-called constitutional debates which are going on, and especially the debates about the reorganisation of the University of London, are much less urgent. It is my general feeling that before you change rules you must make absolutely sure that you have defined the problem, that you want to solve with new rules, properly.

Q.: Do you think the fact that you have been a politician is going to help you to squeeze any more money from the relevant Government Departments?

A.: Not really. I wish I could say that, but what happens here is that Government money goes to the University Grants Committee and from there, as it happens, to the University of London and then to the Schools of the University of London. No, I think this is clearly a very general problem, and one which we would really minimise if we discussed it in terms of my personal experience. What is really happening here is that the Government obviously finds itself confronted with a totally new, most unusual situation, and ways will have to be found — how can I put it? — to include those whose market capacity is not perhaps the greatest, and that is true for Universities, in some kind of social contract.

Q.: On the same level as the Trade Unions?

A.: I haven't said that, but what I mean is that there are groups which do not have the

market capacity of the Trade Unions, and which therefore suffer more from an inflationary process than these groups do. Now I think the time will have to come very soon when it will have to be recognised generally that this would lead, if it were allowed to continue, to a considerable deterioration in the standards of Universities.

Q.: You can say that in a general way, but can you really say it of the LSE in a particular way. Surveys taken in the last few years show that there is an inordinately high number of middle class and upper-class children here. There is also a high percentage of children from overseas who are backed by their governments. Have you got any views on this? Would you agree that the LSE is generally an elitist establishment?

A.: Well, I suppose in some sense all Universities are elitist establishments and always will be. I don't think there is any great point to be made about that. The LSE is in some ways recruiting its students more broadly than quite a number of other institutions, but that is not what you are asking or you are raising. First, I think it is true that all educational institutions are suffering — all educational institutions on all levels are suffering from the present inflationary development. Second, it can't be in anybody's interest to dismantle institutions which would educate those who are to have responsible positions in many places, including Government, in the near future; and nor can it be in the interests of anybody to reduce the standards of research or the advancement of learning. For that reason, quite apart from the social origin of students, I think there is a major point in the demands

by the Universities to be recognised... to have their financial situation recognised by Government and of course ultimately by Parliament. So far as the overseas students are concerned, and I'll try to answer your question, as you know, there was a Cabinet decision some time ago, which forced them to pay higher fees in any case. I'm deeply opposed to any further special increase in fees for overseas students, because I think that unless we have an open, international world in which British students can go to European, American, Latin American, African, Asian Universities without having to pay special fees, and others can come here without having to pay special fees, we're likely to rob ourselves of opportunities for experience which is even necessary for solving our problems at home.

Q.: Many of these overseas students are children of quite wealthy people, and if you were to make the LSE truly representative of these foreign countries then the obvious thing is to abolish fees for foreign students altogether, because even if you have to provide, say, just £300 a year to the LSE, I should say that would still be beyond the income of many, many poor families in Africa and Asia.

A.: It is quite true that overseas students are probably even more selected in a way; that is to say that they represent a narrower social stratum in the countries from which they come than would be true for students from Britain. But may I make a general point here, and one which I make in a deliberately controversial fashion: you don't make anybody happier or richer by preventing

those who are able to enjoy what our societies have to offer from enjoying it.

Q.: I agree with you there, but we are still limiting it to a very narrow number of students. If they were not allowed to come to the LSE they would probably be educated elsewhere: they wouldn't be underprivileged. But I am not suggesting we should refuse to let them come here. I was thinking in terms of trying to raise money from their Governments.

A.: Yes, that's perfectly all right. However, the expression "we are limiting it" would seem to imply that some sort of selection takes place at the School, by which those are chosen who have money or come from middle-class families. This is not the case. What you are really saying is: it is a plain fact today that students are selected in an inequitable fashion from the social groups of their societies and of these only a select group can afford to go overseas. This is true, so let us do whatever we can to enlarge the area of recruitment.

Q.: Are you changing the make-up of the foreign students here? Is it a conscious policy of the LSE to concentrate more on Europe than America?

A.: You know these changes take time and...

Q.: You have already started a campaign in Germany, I believe.

A.: I haven't started any campaign anywhere to recruit students because we have admission procedures, and these changes are not going to hap-

(Continued on Page Two)

Ralf to write for Beaver

(Continued from Page One)

pen very quickly. But I do agree I would like to see a somewhat larger number of European students at the School. I have always said that I would be particularly eager to see more French students here because the real problem is to get a broad spectrum of Europeans.

Q.: Why do you think they wouldn't come?

A.: Well there's a simple reason for that: the French educational system is highly rigid, and unless you go through it in the quickest possible manner your chances in the occupational world are immediately diminished.

Q.: Student participation at the L.S.E. — is there a case for more of it?

A.: I think there is a case for a great deal of communication, to start somewhere where one can do things. I have made it clear from my first day in office that I am not the Director of the professors, or the Director of the lecturers, or the Director of the Library or the Administration staff, or of the students. That is to say that I do not regard it the function of the Director to represent any one group in the School, and I very much hope that I will not only be able to convince all groups that this is my intention but practice it. I hope that this will be recognised in the contacts which I would like to seek in these days with the students in many capacities but also of course with the newly elected Student Union Executive. I actually think that it is the first point — there's got to be more information about what is going on in the various

places. Let's start there. In addition, I understand certain offers have been made to participate in a number of committees. So far nothing has come of it. I will have to examine the question of why this is so.

Q.: One of those offers was about the Standing Committee. The offer consisted of setting up a sub-committee of the Standing Committee which would then meet the students, hear their case and then go back to the Standing Committee itself and present the case of the students. The Standing Committee would then rule upon the things which were brought up. They then go back as a sub-committee and tell the students what happened. That is not real participation. The students are still not in there when decisions are being made, they are still not putting their case over. They can't deal with the elasticities of argument as they crop up.

One of the reasons given for this failure to give students participation at all levels is the fact that some people in the Administration think that students can't be trusted with certain information. If you look at the make-up of the school, there is a high percentage of students aged over 25. There is also a high percentage of students who have worked before coming to the LSE and have held positions of trust. I was a parliamentary reporter before I came here. Peter was an accountant. There are a lot of students who come from similar categories.

A.: Well I've never heard the view that students cannot be trusted with certain kinds of information and I certainly don't share it. I entirely agree with you that the School occupies a special position in that it has many students who have had experience in jobs,

often in important positions. Incidentally, I rather like this characteristic of the School. I think we have a great responsibility for those who have some practical experience and then feel they would like to get this structured, they would like to have a chance to think about it and learn a little more. I wouldn't accept the implication that those students who are 21 are not to be trusted, and that only those who are 25 are. I simply don't share this feeling, and I haven't heard it, as I say... No, I think free flow of information is one of the first conditions of a reasonable relationship between all groups in the School, and the second point is, and here I can return to what we said earlier about problems and non-problems, I think we have got to identify the points where present arrangements actually prevent the solution of a problem. That is to say, I don't see any sense in getting involved with abstract and theoretical discussions of the best possible ways of arranging life. I think we have got to look at the problems which we have to solve, and that I think, is something which certainly this Director will always be prepared to do.

Q.: One of the problems of communication is that I wrote to all the secretaries of the Committees this summer and got, effectively, no response. They said they were not prepared to let me have their committee minutes. The main argument was that the committee minutes did go to Union Executive Officers and why couldn't I go to them? In fact they don't go to Executive Officers, because that has stopped. It looks like a negotiating tactic, but there it is.

Now the other problem is that "Beaver" is not a sabbatical post and that someone who devotes as much time to it, to bring it out so often, will inevitably have to think pretty quickly of finishing, if he is not to sacrifice his academic career completely — in my case, February next year. At the moment I can see no successor, and if "Beaver" collapses, a

large section of your communication network is gone.

A.: Clearly "Beaver" is one of the important instruments of communication within the School and I would hope that it does not collapse. I don't know whether this really depends entirely on sabbaticals. I know it's not particularly popular if older people with students refer to their experiences — I've been an editor of a student newspaper for three years during my first degree course in Hamburg. I never thought of asking for a sabbatical. So far as the matter of the minutes is concerned, I think it is most unusual to publish minutes. What we really have to look for is a way of making information available without necessarily publishing minutes.

Q.: That's really the question — I was thinking of using them as an information source, so that we could then go from the Administration and tell the students exactly which matters are cropping up. Y'see very few students knew that Strand House and the accommodation was being allocated last summer. I only heard of it because I picked up some information that was lying around.

A.: Yes but I think that is a good example of how isolated information can lead to wrong conclusions. It is true that there's been discussion about the redistribution of space both within Strand House and in the Old Building once the Library is out. It is true that there've been a number of suggestions of how this should be done. But it is not true that the final decisions have been taken, and by using one set of minutes from one committee you might easily create, or indeed have yourself, quite a mistaken impression of where we're going. Now good journalism means that you check your information. You don't necessarily check it by having all the minutes of committees. I think you are not prevented from going to the secretaries of com-

mittees, and saying, "I've got this and that information."

Q.: But there's a general fear of giving "Beaver" any information at all. Even the secretaries of Departments are very reticent to give any information or details of meetings or anything.

A.: Well, I suppose some people in the School are a bit worried about the general line of "Beaver" which doesn't seem to be one of constructive criticism but one which is intended to express the views of the opposition within the School and probably within the student body. You must understand that. I have said to you quite clearly that I think "Beaver" is extremely important in the attempt to establish communication, effective communication channels within the School and whenever you have a specific case, don't hesitate to come.

Q.: Do you think it's constructive?

A.: I think it is constructive to have something like "Beaver" in the School. If I was the editor of "Beaver", I'd probably write it differently.

Q.: Well, we don't "write" it: that's the whole point. We try not to "write" it: we try to organise it. How would you like to write for it?

A.: (Laughter) Well, I suppose I've got to write the Director's Report and things of that kind.

Q.: Mm. Well, would you consider writing a column for us?

A.: Would I consider writing a column for "Beaver"?

Q.: You are talking about opening as many channels of communication as possible, and that many people in the Administration staff see "Beaver" as putting the opposing view all the time. Would you like to put your view?

A.: Yes I would consider writing a column for "Beaver".

Two impressions

PROFESSOR Ralph Dahrendorf is a professional politician. In an hour-long interview with "Beaver" editorial, he skilfully managed to avoid saying anything on the record which could be construed as a policy decision.

But Dahrendorf is also a skilled negotiator. He expresses a determination to leave all doors open for communication and has promised to augment his "interview" by writing a column for "Beaver," and agreeing to meet an open meeting of the Students' Union if invited.

Politically, Dahrendorf must be viewed as diametrically opposed to the revolutionary Left in student politics, but in tune with the consensus pervading student politics generally, and the L.S.E. particularly.

This is the consensus of Liberal Democracy (often mistaken for Socialism), as personified by the politics of compromise. In this context, Dahrendorf will probably carefully carve a new corridor be-

tween the reactionary L.S.E. Administration on the right, and the committed students of the Left — I.S., I.M.G., the C.P. and marxists generally.

A positive result of such manoeuvring will be the casting off of the mistaken image held by the media of the L.S.E. being a "hot-bed of revolutionaries." The failure of 1968 shattered the student Left, and unless the politicians more skilfully apply themselves to the technique of tearing down the establishment brick walls, Prof. Dahrendorf will carefully disarm them of what little influence they hold with the student at the L.S.E., without them realising it.

The student Left has to decide whether it is going to accept the offer of more open communications or reject it. A rejection will hold little sway with the bourgeoisie liberal principals that invade students of such an elitist establishment as the L.S.E. An acceptance — within the Left's own clear terms as well as those proscribed

by Dahrendorf — could lead to the revolutionary Left regaining respect among the students at the L.S.E.

At the same time, the Left must disprove the cynical view that University politics will never have anything to do with the real life struggles of ordinary working people, by forging and strengthening links like those established with the Snowdown miners last year. This will only be done by gaining the mass support of the students.

Only this sort of credibility will allow the student Left to tread on the new director's toes when necessary, and remain unscathed.

"To reject compromises 'on principle', to reject the admissibility of compromises in general, no matter of what kind, is childishness which it is difficult even to take seriously..."

"To tie one's hands beforehand, openly to tell the enemy, who is at present better armed than we are, whether and when we shall fight him, is stupidity and not

revolutionariness. To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime, and those political leaders of the revolutionary class who are unable to tack, to manoeuvre, to compromise, in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle, are good for nothing."

"VI Lenin", Selected Works, Vol. 10.

Christine Tilley

WHEN Ralf says "Universities are elitist establishments and always will be," visions of a re-incarnated Sir Walter Adams are hard to hold back. Within the major parameters that have already been demarcated, one will find Ralf, tidying up an anomaly here, smoothing out a contradiction there. But then if the L.S.E. Court of Governors had appointed someone with "radical" views on education, there is a high possibility I would be Prime Minister of Britain. As it is nothing is being asked for by the present Executive that Ralf would not try to give.

What we have got is a man trying to find out what is happening whilst disposing of obvious malfunctions. His appreciation of the continual education process that takes place up to, and after a

decision is made, makes him very reticent to state a primary, crude position in case it is misinterpreted as a final fixed stance. Unfortunately he takes it to the extreme where one thinks one is talking to a deaf man, viz. "is there a case for more student participation?" "I think there is a case for a great deal of communication."

With the passage of time Ralf's position will become clearer but this should not prevent the students presenting their case as clearly and rationally as possible, and then arguing for it. If argument fails further action, in the context of what is being sought, can then be embarked on. At all times what is being sought must remain clear and an even clearer statement of Ralf's (supposed or actual) position as it appears to the students, should be stated. Even when disagreeing, it is imperative that what is being disagreed about is apparent.

Ralf is trying very hard not to offend any power group, an attractive but impossible position. At the very least it's an interesting juggling trick. How long it successfully continues depends on the vigour of the respective groups, but at least he has a quietly luxurious pad to perform in.

Peter Timmins

MONDAY

This weekend I thought, well sisters, am I the writer of trivia on loo walls or a living doll. So I decided to revamp my whole diary and let my real self come shining through! I had a long talk with scrubbing (or is it Basil) brush John Carr on one of his regal walk-about at the L.S.E. (he really must find it a strain keeping up with that nice Mr Kissinger). He told me how the Broad Left now have a secret hand-shake and that the twirl of the little fingers when holding hands means you're one of them. John Cruse (reconditioned by the B.L. machine after last year's election failure) hasn't got the idea yet and has inadvertently joined Gay Lib. In the evening I talked to drinker and dog-lover extraordinaire Chris Wells of I'm standing for General Secretary but I'm not really trying to get elected" fame. He has to be kidding! The Union Office is not all that exciting, is it? Went to bed with sexual politics.

TUESDAY

Went to the library and got practically raped by Terry Donaldson, who was wandering around pretending to look for a book. He seems to think the shelves are in funny places, I can tell you! Desperately needed a cig. so had to leave. Intend to propose at the next Union meeting that a smokers' room be provided. Should get I.S. backing as they all seem to smoke an awful lot! Had some drinks in the bar with John Blundell and fell in love with his beautiful blue thing which

he got out and showed me. I cannot pursue that any further though as he must have had some connections with my best friend Imagine. Saw Philip Windsor in the afternoon, who told me about a detective story he had written at an Eastern European conference all about spies and things. I thought he was quite intelligent and presentable for a tutor. Sort of got the drinking bug and went to the White Horse and saw Paul Cockerell, who had a different sort of bug, converting two B.L. candidates who still hadn't got the right lines (or was it just that one of them couldn't speak English?) I must say that it is a bit confusing for those not in the Union group to see Chris Hoyland is so friendly with the lovely I.S. clique. Still, background will out... it's in the family and my daddy works for insurance... so what? Went to bed with Nietzsche, Pascal and Herzen. S. K. ((should I wear my dark glasses at the hustings?) Adalja popped in to see if I could give him a quick prime.

WEDNESDAY

Noticed lots of B.L. zombies standing outside with their "Vote Us" pieces of paper. I read all four bloody pages during a lecture. I think it would be a super idea if one person took notes at each lecture on a rota system and the rest of us could hang around

in Florries or stay in bed with things and people and dogs or whatever. All offers to Felicity alias Smith and Jones Winters U/G pigeonholes. I went to the hustings so I could see what people looked like and sat with the in-crowd for a bit to watch them handing round their prepared question. No you ask that one—I want to ask if he's a Marxist—"O.k. but I want to ask about Gay Lib (no marks for guessing who that was!). I noticed David Kenyvn sniping away at Chris Wells (now I'm sure it's David who write snide-lines). Then watched Tony Ventham hustle and Paul Cockerell give his elder statesman speech with only a few twitches. Chris Hoyland looked more convincing though a little tired. Must be all these late nights he's been having! Went to the bar and played table-football with Mark and Greg. The latter by the way is a new candidate for the James Mitchell alias Liberace smarm of the year award. Keep trying Greg and you too could learn to play the piano! Went to bed with you know who and did you know what (I think).

THURSDAY

I slowly awake with the autumn sun on my face and asked Geoff what he was searching the room for. "Bugger off," he replied. Still he has had a lot of experience in student politics and so had to let some

things slide. His speech at the hustings was impeccable, unlike that of Tony Brown who shamelessly confessed to not being a Marxist! Steve Schwenk Schwerked! Went to the refectory to smell the "food", and observed three loonys carrying a placard around the room. Must be the time of year! Opened a book in the afternoon but closed it in order to listen to the chatter of the Trotskyists. Decided to vote for Tony Ventham as he looks so undernourished that he could use the money. Went to eat with the Conservatives and from thence on to Carr Saunders Hall. Ed Kuska, the proprietor of that friendly nightclub, greeted me with great North American charm. Decided to avoid the place in future. However, could not avoid Chris Wells who was still desperately not campaigning. Was rescued by that tall handsome apparition John Lunson who has a simply lovely stereo—but confided in me that Kuska's is bigger. The records were nice though.

FRIDAY

VOTE FOR REVOLUTIONARY FELICITY!

... and I would like to thank all my loyal supporters in the elections, no matter what your reasons for voting! I don't know anything about the job I was proposed for, but that does not seem to be unusual. However now we have built such a

strong wall we can hide behind it no matter how many Socialist Workers go bankrupt! I was dying to talk to Nick Wilson, the Returning Officer, and luckily had a chance to, when he tenderly punched my cheque card (does he normally wear glasses?). Went to the U.G.M. and felt a sudden thrill down my spine when Robbie Macwhatsit banged his little tobacco tin and reprimanded the infants at play. At last, a real man. Brian Cusack, an ageing executor, was heard to say, "Hear hear". Puzzled by this oblique reference I left Nick counting votes and went on to Passfield to play darts on the new disco equipment. Colin, the new bar manager at Roseberry, persuaded me to go home with him but after he fell asleep on the pavement I went up to Tony Ventham's room to await his return from his latest picket. I'm still waiting.

Love,
FELICITY.

EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA EXTRA

Notes to campaign managers

Al Coe—not a bad job considering the building material (especially that inferior thick-brick).

Chris Wells—brilliantly drunken non-entity.

The I.S.—lovely manifesto cover, pity the rest was terrible. Slick Robinson—stick to kings and queens.

Pete Timmins—slogan was good but who else could fill the gap?

FELICITY

Snidelines

JIM STRIDE, the man who couldn't get on the Executive, had, I hear, already compensated himself with an office of great responsibility just in case his campaign was not successful. Unfortunately, my source has cast great doubts on the methods James used to obtain the sinecure of Cricket Captain. It would appear that there has been a violent leap in the membership of this obscure conservative club as bridge players galore dashed to enrol and then cast their vote at the election. Mr Richard "the writ" Ingrams complained loud and long but he should have the satisfaction of playing under a fair captain in a team bulging with sharp cards.

MR SKLAIR, the self-advertised Marxist is leading a campaign against men, women, children and lifeboats, so my friends in the Sociology Department tell me. This married but childless man, rounded on a woman who turned up late for one of his classes when she told him that she was late because she was seeing her stepchildren off to school. Postulated Mr Sklair (without realising they were her stepchildren and not her own), "I'm not sure they should let women with children go to universities."

At another of Mr Sklair's classes, word of his beneficent attitude was received by a man who also has children. Should he be at University he pondered? Would Mr Sklair label him as a societal deficient if he turned up late?

Next on Mr Sklair's list are smokers. He doesn't like the

habit. Some of Mr Sklair's students hold similar opinions on moustaches.

IT WOULD APPEAR that strange things have been happening at a Film-Soc event recently. My film-pseud triumphantly told me that his training and better class of mind had noticed a mix-up in reels by the projectionist during the recent showing of Goddard's "Weekend." He further pointed to his gross superiority by contrasting himself with all the dull so-called film-buffs who never complained. Just what were they all doing in the dark? Probably looking for a new interpretation of fellow feeling.

ANTONIO CORTES, the wonder Broad Left/JACOSS Students' Union Executive member has started his dubious career on a singularly quiet note. "Morning Star" readers will have noticed him selling that exciting trendy newspaper of the masses on the morning of Monday, November 4th, but the same exciting trendy reader will not have noticed him at the first Executive Committee bore-in at 3 p.m. on the same day. He also nearly managed to miss the second Executive Committee meeting at 1 p.m. on Tuesday, November 5th, arriving an hour late. Close work Ant! He must have just been reminded of the rule that if an Exec member misses two meetings of the Central Committee, he can be impeached.

THE OTHER STRANGE thing to happen on that Committee is J. Cruse. Last year he was regarded as not the most mentally well-endowed member of Broad Left, so Mr Coe told my Editor at the time. This year I've heard Mr Coe singing the praises of Economy Cruse to the Editor in a most vehement manner. So there must be hope for one C. Ents Hall, the character who stood with Mr Cortes at Roseberry Halal on the "Broad Left—the non-political organisation" ticket. Hope for you yet, Christopher!

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS VIA ANY MEMBER OF STAFF, NASTY ONES PARTICULARLY APPRECIATED, CONFIDENTIALITY ASSURED.

Quotations of interest

THE Conservatives do not believe it necessary, and, even if it were, we should oppose it.—Quintin Hogg.

Our charity begins at home,

And mostly ends where it begins.—Hodrace Smith.

There can hardly be a town in the South of England where you could throw a brick without hitting the niece of a bishop.—George Orwell.

Hungry Joe collected lists of fatal diseases and arranged them in alphabetical order so that he could put his finger without delay on any one he wanted to worry about.—Joseph Heller—Catch-22.

It is grievous to be caught.—Horace.

There are two tragedies in life. One is not to get your heart's desire. The other is to get it.—Bernard Shaw.

A society in which every member holds an equal quantity of property needs no special justification; only a society in which property is unequal needs it.—Sir Isaiah Berlin.

DAILY News people are Dee Smalley, Lyne Martin, Crispin O'Brien and Gill Hibbert.

BEAVER people are Peter Timmins (sometimes called Ed.), Chris Tilley, Dianne Gillespy, Crispin O'Brien, Gill Hibbert, Mac McDonald, Maggie Urry and Steve Savage.

COPYRIGHT (C) School of Economics Students' Union.



Students Union Executive 1974-75

HERE is the new Executive on which Dahren-dorf places many of his hopes for increased student participation. If that initiative fails, one hopes it won't be from a lack of effort by these 12.

They number 8 Broad Left/JACOSS and four independents, one of which, Tony Brown is a Conservative in snazzy clothing. It'll only be a question of time before he is placed in a position where he is forced to resign, a rather stupid manoeuvre for he is quite manageable where he is.

Of the Ordinary Executive Officers, four of

the top six were independents, and of the top four, three were women. Draw your own conclusions. What must be pointed out is, that none of the candidates who stood for General Secretary would have been elected if they had been in contest with the Ordinary Executive Officers.

The accusation Broad Left have left themselves open to is that if there is no progress it is their fault. So when the election for the 1975-76 Executive takes place in the 8th week of next term (groan, did I hear?), it should be pretty lively. One can always hope. Oh, and thanks to the 876 who voted. Now ask your friendly Exec. person what you can do to help!

THE TWO SABBATICALS



CHRIS HOYLAND
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 493.
Senior Treasurer.



PAUL COCKERELL
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 324.
General Secretary.

THE WINNERS..



RACHAEL SOLOMONS
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 427.
Bar.



CRISPIN O'BRIEN
Independent Socialist
Welfare.
Votes : 418.



GLENYS THORNTON
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 412.
External Affairs.



GILL HIBBERT
Independent Socialist
Votes : 408.
Publications.



TONY BROWN
Independent
Votes : 396.
Entertainments.



JAMES MITCHELL
Independent
Votes : 385.
Academic Affairs.



GEOFF ROBERTS
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 379.
Junior Treasurer.



JOHN CRUSE
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 369.
Junior Treasurer.



ANTONIO CORTES
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 365.
Shop and Florries.



SHAILESH ADALJA
Broad Left/JACOSS
Votes : 363.
Overseas Students.

AND THE LOSERS..



JIM STRIDE
Independent
Votes : 329.
Senior Treasurer.



CHRIS WELLS
Independent
Votes : 313.
General Secretary.



TONY VENTHAM
International Socialist
Votes : 107.
General Secretary.



WENDY FORREST
International Marxist Group
Votes : 94.
General Secretary.



BRIAN GUSACK
Socialist Trade Unionist
Votes : 358.
Ordinary Executive Officer



JIM STRIDE
Independent
Votes : 333.
Ordinary Executive Officer



CHRISTOPHER HALL
Independent Ents.
Votes : 318.
Ordinary Executive Officer



JOHN BLUNDELL
Conservative
Votes : 245.
Ordinary Executive Officer



JAMES ROBERTSON
Conservative
Votes : 208.
Ordinary Executive Officer



DAVID PAIN
Conservative
Votes : 192.
Ordinary Executive Officer

Post-Votal Blues

WELL, the electric atmosphere in the politico-occupied Old Theatre has evaporated. Some have won, and some have lost, but what was the prize they were fighting for?

The optimistic view, I suppose, is that they were fighting for the chance to end the chaos of the last few years. In that case, the most important new factor is the election of two sabbatical members of the Executive Committee.

The Broad Left, who argued for the concept of sabbaticals for many months, have captured both posts. Paul Cokerell and Chris Hoyland have the responsibility of making a success of sabbaticals. As full time members of the EC, they must take it upon themselves to organise the Union efficiently. This doesn't just mean advertising Union Meetings and controlling Union finances properly; it means using their time to think of ways to make the

Union more relevant to the majority of students at LSE.

The issues which have pre-occupied the Union over recent years, it is fair to say, have not involved the majority of students. Although it is encouraging to see the increased turnout at the Union elections, we must bear in mind that the majority of students couldn't be bothered to vote. The time has come to accept that the long-standing concept of "mass-action" is just that: a concept. If the political groups seriously propose "mass action" at LSE, then there is a lot of ground-work to be done.

The Union must reflect the needs of students more, and that means that the EC, and especially the two sabbaticals, must make a conscious effort to discuss with all kinds of students what they think can be done in the short term to improve conditions at LSE. If they don't make an effort to find out what students want,

then all the sabbaticals in the world won't help the LSE Union.

"Giving a political lead" is not telling students what they ought to want, nor telling them why they should want what they want: it is finding out what they want and working out how to do it.

It's all very well to saturate us with progressive political analyses about our place in society, but unless there is a sudden mass-conversion, which on past experience doesn't seem too likely, political propaganda will play a subordinate role in LSE. It is what we do that matters, not the finer points of political controversy.

The EC must decide whether the Union is to remain an introverted debating club or to turn into a relevant body acting on behalf of the students. We don't have to end all political argument, just remember there are other things.

S.S.

Working women's charter

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO AGITATE AND ORGANISE TO ACHIEVE THE FOLLOWING AIMS:

(1) The rate for the job, regardless of sex, at rates negotiated by the trade unions, with a national minimum wage below which no wages should fall.

(2) Equal opportunity of entry into occupations and in promotion regardless of sex and marital state.

(3) Equal education and training for all occupations and compulsory day-release for all 16-19 year olds in employment.

(4) Working conditions to be, without deterioration of previous conditions, the same for women as for men.

(5) The removal of all legal and bureaucratic impediments to equality, e.g., with regard to tenancies, mortgages, pension schemes, taxation, passports, control over children, social security payments, hire purchase agreements.

(6) Improved provision of local authority day nurseries, free of charge with extended hours to suit working mothers. Provision of nursery classes in day nurseries. More nursery schools.

(7) 18 weeks' maternity leave with full net pay before and after the birth of a live child—seven weeks after birth if child is stillborn. No dismissal during pregnancy or maternity leave. No loss of security, pension or promotion prospects.

(8) Family planning clinics supplying free contraception to be extended to cover every locality. Free abortion to be readily available.

(9) Family allowance to be increased to £2.50 per child, including first child.

(10) To campaign amongst women to take an active part in the trade unions and in political life, so that they may exercise influence commensurate with their numbers and to campaign amongst men trade unionists that they may work to achieve this aim.

Grants week of action

THE central slogan of the 1973-74 Grant's Campaign was "£665 for all" and whilst the campaign led to an increase for some students, the essential demand to end all discrimination within the grants system was not realised.

Although the married woman's grant was raised slightly, the new spouses clause will mean that many

married women are worse off than before. So if we accept that it is irrelevant that one is under "18" or mature, married or single, whether you are an Overseas Student or not, every student doing a full time education should get the same grant then we would be failing ourselves and the student movement in general if we did not take action on this and press for "equal opportunity" for education as a right and not a privilege.

The campaign for a higher, fairer grant can only be seen in the context of the Government's policy towards education as a whole, with the Grants Campaign and Campaign Against Education Cuts interlinked. So we must fight for the restoration of the full education budget plus an allowance for inflation, an end to college mergers that are made only for financial and administrative purposes; provision to be made for higher and further education demands, and a fair grant for all students over school leaving age.

The Extraordinary Conference on Grant's Campaign in June maintained that activity around all these demands had to take place from the beginning of the academic year and laid down a clear plan of action:

- (i) Militant direct action to defend the students standard of living.
- (ii) Action specifically around the grants demand.
- (iii) Action against the cut (and mergers).

It may come as some surprise to you to learn that the N.U.S. Grant's Campaign Week of Action is, November 11th-15th. A resolution was passed in the first Union meeting of this term in support of this and to set up an open action committee to mobilise L.S.E. students over this issue and organise specific activities in L.S.E. as part of this campaign.

This action committee never got off the ground, due mainly

to lack of support from the students of L.S.E. You may have realised by now that even with the increase in your grant you are in fact no better off, even worse off than last year. It is in your own interests to support and become fully involved in, firstly the week of action and, secondly the ongoing campaign through the year.

On a national level there is the lobby of Parliament on Thursday, November 14th, concerned with the grossly unfair discrimination against married women students. It is vital that you all take part in the Week of Action at both local and national level.

Actively SUPPORT the Canteen Boycotts and other activities organised for it is essential that we make the maximum impact on the authorities, and fight for equal grants for all students in further education.

G.T.

Ejected— —dejected

DEAR UNION,—We will be pleased if you will make representation on our behalf to Dr. Dahrendorf, Director, with regard to his policy of ejecting students from the Founders Library in order to hold staff social functions.

On at least two occasions this term, despite a notice clearly displayed on the library door saying that the library is open during school hours, despite the fact that common rooms are provided for staff assemblies (on one of these occasions, the Senior Common Room was free of use), and in view of the acute shortage of study and leisure facilities for students, the Shaw Library was closed in the afternoon.

Whilst we can appreciate the Director's wish to meet his colleagues, to penalise students in so doing is to antagonise an otherwise indifferent group of L.S.E. "citizens."

We feel that an apology is called for.

Signed: three illegible names.

Conjectures— and refutations

DOES "Beaver" really want to see student involvement in Union matters, to smash the apathy which pervades L.S.E.? In issue 132 the vitriolic piece by R.C.H.T., which dealt with union societies and the forthcoming union elections, was guaranteed to do none of these things.

R.C.H.T.'s blatant misrepresentation of the Women's Liberation Group's plans and interests, for example, would with certainty reinforce the all too publicised image of the Women's Movement which successfully keeps many sympathetic women from involvement. Women find it more difficult to join groups than do men. The isolation prevalent at L.S.E. affects all but does hit women the hardest. The sophisticated and arrogant put down of union societies made by R.C.H.T., far from indicating concern at the state of the union, showed his personal dislike and lack of understanding of the groups who are actively involved in bringing about change at the L.S.E.

Another, and more important, point is the charge of bad journalism which the Women's Group makes against R.C.H.T. When asked whether or not the group planned to stand in union elections the woman to whom R.C.H.T. spoke replied:

1. The group had not yet held its first meeting and that she could not speak for the, yet unformed, group. (We did in fact,

have a 90 per cent intake of new members).

2. Last year's remaining members knew of the N.U.S. Women's Campaign and were planning to send representatives to the forthcoming conference. (See report back from the conference in this issue).

3. She personally saw that the group should take an active part in union politics if they were to organise around certain issues of importance to women both in the university and the wider society.

R.C.H.T. asked specifically of our intentions regarding the union elections. He did not ask whether we planned action on the issue of nurseries or anything else. If he had bothered to ask or even to show some degree of interest in what our sister was telling him he would have learnt that we had already begun to take names of those interested in working on a nursery campaign.

What about our incestuous relations with the Canterbury Radical Women's Group? R.C.H.T. was approached by the sister whom he later questioned, and asked whether or not he was related to a member of the Canterbury group whom he greatly resembled. We supposed that if he had been approached by her in the bar and asked whether he would like a drink he would have reported that the L.S.E. Women's Group seem to be more concerned with alcohol than with nurseries.

Vote of thanks

DEAR EDITOR,—May I write to express my gratitude to those few people who were willing to sit from 6.00 to 11.30 on election day evening counting the votes. It was a dull job with no reward whatsoever. It was a pity that more people did not have the public spirit which the counters had. Also thanks to those people who helped during the polling itself. Let's hope that more will help next time.

Thanks a thousand to the few.

Nick Wilson
(Returning Officer)

THE BOOZER'S DIARY 1975
Ideal Christmas Gift
Packed with information and humour
Send £1 only (P&P inc.)
To: Boozer's Diary,
243 Regent Street,

SIMMONDS
UNIVERSITY
BOOKSELLERS

Our shop is not the biggest in London, but it is among the best and it's a place where you will receive individual attention.

16 FLEET STREET
LONDON, E.C.4
(opp. Chancery Lane)
353 3907

'V.P. sauce' The Press

ON October 18th, a journalist called John Evans published an article in the "London Evening News" about the new director of L.S.E. That it was bilge is not important, for after all Fleet Street floats in it, but what is important is that the whole article was based on false assumptions deliberately offered to a reading public to perpetuate a myth that was and is not true.

It is an article which I recommend all new students to read, for they, as innocents in the L.S.E. game, might at some time in the future be rudely woken should we ever again become an object for Fleet Street's attention.

The article begins with a statement that could be Marje Proops on an off day. It reads: "Sentiments akin to horror were expressed by friends of Ralf Dahrendorf when they heard he had been appointed the director of L.S.E."

I bet they lapped that up in Ruislip. All good thinking suburbanites would immediately respond with overwhelming sympathy to the poor lad who had got himself into such a dreadful mess, but was valiantly prepared to do his duty. It goes on:

"They feared for his personal safety."

What gut rending rot. In all the years I have been at L.S.E. the only violence I have seen was inflicted on myself. Indeed the history of L.S.E. is such that the only group within it to have reasonable grounds for slight apprehension are the School porters, certainly not academics, and most certainly not the director, for the custom to date at times of stress i.e. student palpitations, has been for the academic gentry to take to their country cottages (or Greek villas?) leaving the young gentlemen to the porters' adequate care.

"Is he unaware of what happened to his predecessor, Dr. Walter Adams," the article continues, "Whose appointment so upset radical students that they tore down the school gates and fought violent battles with the police."

There are seven inaccurate points of fact in that paragraph and I offer John Evans' head as a prize booby to anyone who can bother to find them out. The two most obvious ones are:

(a) The students did not tear down the gates because Walter Adams was appointed director.

(b) Violent battles were not fought with the police.

It is this kind of vicious folk lore by the gutter press that will for the next thirty years or more perpetuate the false revolutionary myth of L.S.E., and nothing any of us can do will ever change it.

The main body of the article consists of what I call coffee table talk which is of slight interest, but bannered over the whole page is the final absurd slogan:

INSIDE THE L.S.E., LONDON'S HOTBED OF REVOLUTION.

Even if we went around the city in funny hats collecting money for spastics, some hack reporter would wring a revolutionary L.S.E. story out of it. It's the old game of wringing half truths from quarter lies.

PAUL BOSCHER

Hall walls don't have ears

Rosebery Avenue rip-off hall

IN reply to the amazing whitewash which appeared in the last issue of "Beaver," here are the facts about Rosebery Hall:

(1) The lifts: these are designed as service lifts, and are, hence, incredibly slow and, moreover, not ventilated. This is very dangerous and something must be done about it in the very near future.

(2) Food: In all Halls of Residence, this is recognised to be appalling. To a certain extent, this is inevitable with large-scale catering, but at Rosebery, the food is worse than need be. This is in large part due to the time food is left standing, unheated; the cleanliness of the cutlery also leaves something to be desired.

(3) The Society Committee is the most inactive in L.S.E. A recent example: the evening receptionist, it appears, cannot count, and rather than rebuke her, the Committee decided to sell no milk at all in the evening. The only disco to be organised in the Hall so far was organised by the Warden, while both Carr-Saunders and Passfield have had two.

(4) Rosebery Avenue offers the least facilities for the highest fees. Admittedly, this is in part due to its newness, but it still seems likely to be renamed Rip-Off Hall in the very near future.

C.H.

THE Halls of Residence Committee last met in 1966. The organisation and direction of policies for the Halls is now considered to be controlled adequately without the need of any additional bureaucracy.

Any policy rethinking is directed to the General Purposes Committee or straight to the Director. The administrative thinking which went into the launching of the new Hall of Residence in Rosebery Avenue was almost solely the responsibility of its Building Committee. The rate of Hall fees was decided by the Director, but internal organisation was left to negotiation between the Warden and students.

Although within each Hall there is a student sub-committee to air complaints or promote suggestions, it is not linked to the administration provinces which could approve or condemn matters beyond the Warden's jurisdiction.

The Assistant Bursar, Mr Kelly, has explained that any problems like this should go to him. They should then reach the agenda of the General Purposes Committee, although in specifically related cases such as food or hall fees, these would be dealt with by the Domestic or Financial Committees.

Mr Kelly feels that most students' views are satisfactorily covered by discussion between students and their Warden, but declined to comment on the advantages of a student/staff committee. Any feedback of ideas from students relies therefore on the co-operation of individuals who have an arbitrary power in the decision making process.

The system is, however, currently under review. One curious feature of this is that no readily identifiable body exists to negotiate rates for residential accommodation. Thus, I am assured, the rumour of imminent increases in Hall fees can only be unfounded!

G.E.

Shade it red—shade it blue

Does it mean anything to you?

A VERY great number of different shades of political opinion are represented in the L.S.E. An understanding of the perspectives of the various groups is often hard to arrive at. Above all the terms of reference have to be redrawn. It is not accurate to refer Tory-style to the Labour Party in power as "Socialism". The Labour Club, one of whose members delivered a conservative rant about "the subversion of the judicial system" by Paul Foot at a recent Union meeting, is seen as being far from socialist by its opponents on the left. The Labour Club, following their purge of militant members, broadly represents orthodox Labour Party policy.

On the right, the L.S.E. Conservative Society claims 100 members, despite the fact that they mustered no more than 25 for leading Tory John Davies a couple of weeks ago. One of their members blamed such low attendances at meetings on concentrating upon the General Election; so much for their gaff about making L.S.E. "relevant to you". In reality, they are just as interested as any other group in involvement in national politics. The Tories, he assured me, did very well in the "troubles" of the late 1960s to the extent that the right-wing Monday Club came to dominate the society from 1968 to 1971. Son of a millionaire Jacques Arnold Arnold (that was his real name) eventually broke this stranglehold.

Now, in the new age of L.S.E. conservatism, all species of Toryism are represented from the "booming capitalism" of Selsdenites to the "progressive" outlook of PEST. A recent "Sennet" poll has revealed the relatively small base conservative politics have in the L.S.E.; only 10 per cent of those interviewed said they would vote Tory.

Ranged against this front of reaction are a large number of radical and socialist alternatives. The Broad Left is a non-membership student organisation that grew out of the Socialist Societies during the late 1960s. In the L.S.E. they have around 40 supporters. They advocate unity over progressive campaigns to draw the mass of politically uncommitted students into political combat. They criticise what they call "ultra-left" organisations for adopting policies they feel are too advanced.

By contrast the non-Communist Party section of this group are openly Parliamentary in their approach to the creation of a Socialist society. They told me they were "gradualists". Socialism is "a process of concessions" forced from a reluctant Parliament by the industrial militancy of the working class. Leninism does not apply to their organisation. Their position is essentially non-dialectic, Socialism is not seen as a historical culmination and a revolutionary explosion but as a legislative process dictated by working-class action.

The Communist Party is also part of the Broad Left and their position is perhaps one of the hardest to define. They maintain that their position is revolutionary. Putting up candidates is tactical in that it does not in itself afford a possibility for creating socialism. The creation of a Socialist society must be based upon an anti-monopoly alliance of workers, students and some sections of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party does not think that the alliances it attempts to build with Left Labourites represent a disparity between thought and action: "by and large Communist and left Labour students share a similar approach to the many problems confronted by students." The emphasis of the C.P. is upon the mass involvement they view as necessary in the building of their anti-monopoly alliance. Political education, they argue, follows the initial involvement. The Communist Party remains the largest Marxist party in Britain. It has 30,000

members nationally and 1,000 of these are students, 25 of them in the London School of Economics.

The International Marxist Group (I.M.G.) has historical connections running back to the Left Opposition of Trotsky to Stalin and is recognised by the United Secretariat in Brussels as being the British section of the 4th International, formed in 1938. The I.M.G. is an organisation of around 1,000 with 350 student members, eight of whom are in the L.S.E. They call for the united action of working-class organisations in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

Their view of the current economic crisis is that it will lead to factory occupations by redundant workers and the creation of a revolutionary situation through the self-activity of the working class. The I.M.G. is a democratic centralist organisation as was Lenin's party. The I.M.G. argues that students have a definite political role and that the best way in which they can ally their struggle with that of the working class is by action at their colleges.

The International Socialists are also a revolutionary organisation. The I.S. has over 3,000 members, approximately one-third of whom are students. In the L.S.E. there are 15 members of the national organisation and another half-dozen or so sympathisers. The "Daily Telegraph", whose right-wing sympathies are clear, views the International Socialists one of the most "dangerous" (to people like them) revolutionary parties.

The I.S. also argues that capitalism is in a period of deepening crisis and that "to achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party".

It is stressed, however, that such an organisation cannot be other than an independent organ of the working class. On students the organisation has a viewpoint which argues that students are recruited to build a revolutionary party not as students *per se*, but as revolutionary socialists. The International Socialists have received public attention on a wide scale following the "successful" prosecution brought against the editor, Paul Foot, to the tune of £8,000 in fines and costs.

These organisations do not represent the complete extent of political activity in the L.S.E. The Workers' Revolutionary Party has one student member, one lecturer and one member who works in the administration. The Socialist Party of Great Britain, dating back to 1904, a split from the Social Democratic Federation, holds that a socialist world will only be attainable when "a working majority understand and desire it. On gaining the necessary degree of understanding the working class will establish socialism through the capture of the political machine." This party has 800 members, one of whom is active in the L.S.E.

The Women's Liberation Group has neither party organisation of a formal type nor a political line. Its members are divided between those who have a feminist approach and those whose analysis is Marxist, viewing the position of women in terms of their relationship to the means of production.

It is not a membership organisation and the strength is around fifty. Their present local campaigns are for the Working Women's Charter and the need for a nursery in the L.S.E. for the children of staff and students.

This article can deal only briefly with some of the aspects of the politics surrounding students in the L.S.E. The only sure way of getting a clearer understanding of the distinctions that prevail is to participate.

J. MONTGOMERY.

Join the Army; travel to exotic, distant lands; meet exciting, unusual people and kill them.

AT the Union Meeting on 25-10-1974 a motion was passed in solidarity with the 14 supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) at present charged with incitement to disaffection and conspiracy. As no-one spoke against it the motion was passed nem. con. In recognition of this I have tried to explain something of what we are involved in doing and why.

The campaign itself was launched over a year ago by an initial policy statement signed by over 100 people. Starting with the sentence "There can be no military solution to the problems of Northern Ireland." The statement called for a definite date for the withdrawal of British troops in the immediate future, and for the union between Britain and Northern Ireland to be ended. Both soldiers and civilians were to be campaigned among to encourage support and action towards these aims. It is for this "conspiracy to keep the peace" that 14 people are now charged and one other has already gone to prison.

In a way we are very lucky. We shall get a full trial, with a jury and a competent defence; we have been granted bail; in the event of a conviction we

shall have a fixed maximum prison sentence; in the event of an acquittal we shall not be immediately rearrested on leaving the dock; we have not been strip-searched, beaten, tar-and-feathered, or had our knee-caps shot off. In Northern Ireland all these things could happen.

It is important to remember that we are not campaigning for civil rights and freedom of speech and expression, nor for the replacement of a regime propped up by the violence and repression of the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary or by one propped up by the violence and repression of bully-boys calling themselves "republicans" or "loyalists". Rather, we are attempting to tell the British Government that even their own soldiers are realising that the army's "peace-keeping" role is a myth. When the soldiers refuse to serve and new recruits cannot be found, the government will be forced to reduce military operations in Northern Ireland.

Many soldiers are coming to us because they are sickened by the misery and waste of life in Northern Ireland and are looking desperately for ways of leaving the army — but with recruiting figures lower than for many years, and with hundreds of soldiers killed and

maimed in action, the army will not let them go easily.

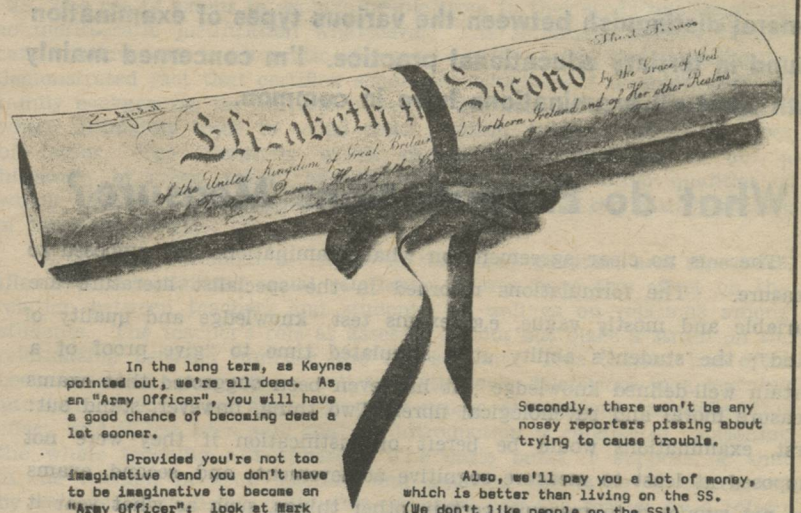
It can well be argued against the campaign that no withdrawal of one armed group will bring peace until the other armed groups are prepared to reduce their activities, and until the people as a whole think as a people and not as antagonistic sectarian groups, developing an awareness of their own and each other's situations and controlling of their own lives. However no such conditions can develop where the actions of the armed groups split the people every day.

There are groups working in Northern Ireland on this aspect, but to our knowledge BWNIC is the only group in this country actively concerned with direct contact with troops, as well as with civilian anti-recruiting, or who tie the demand for the withdrawal of British troops with an anti-militarist analysis and non-violent action.

Due to the 14 arrests, we must now not only carry on the campaign at the same or higher level than before, but prepare a defence, organise support and solidarity actions, raise funds and most of all show that the campaign is stronger now than ever.

Supporters of the campaign

The long term benefits of a Short Service Commission.



In the long term, as Keynes pointed out, we're all dead. As an "Army Officer", you will have a good chance of becoming dead a lot sooner.

Provided you're not too imaginative (and you don't have to be imaginative to become an "Army Officer": look at Mark Phillips) this shouldn't worry you at all.

The CBI has a special scheme for employing officers, and in the unlikely event of a coup d'etat, you could find yourself running whole industries. But don't worry!

First off, you can always blame any mistakes (and we all make mistakes: look at the history of the Army: it's full of them!) on the workers, and shoot them.

Secondly, there won't be any nosy reporters pissing about trying to cause trouble.

Also, we'll pay you a lot of money, which is better than living on the SS. (We don't like people on the SS!)

So if you're under 26, and want to see the world (flattened), join the "Army" as a Short Service Commissioned Officer.

Address your letter to Major J.R. Pinochet, Army Officer Entry, Dept. E38, Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, Santiago, W1X 6AA.

Army Officer

have and will continue to:

- (a) Distribute leaflets to British troops, informing them of ways of leaving the army.
- (b) Campaign among civilians to gain support for our policies.
- (c) Produce and distribute leaflets warning potential recruits of the dangers of joining the army.

Anyone who can help in these or other ways (e.g. financial) please contact BWNIC,

c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Those interested in helping the defence group contact Defence Group, Box 123, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

In particular the leaflet mentioned in (c) will be distributed outside the Strand Recruiting Office every Saturday. (It's quite legal). Anyone interested be outside at 10.00 in the morning.

PAUL SEED

The Army: 3 years of glamour and excitement

THREE years - - - before you may be able to change your mind.

The glamour - - - of being unwelcome wherever you go.

The excitement - - - of seeing your mates killed in Northern Ireland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Many soldiers come to us for help because they are sickened by the misery and waste of life in Northern Ireland, and are looking desperately for ways of leaving the Army — but with recruiting figures lower than for many years, and with hundreds of soldiers killed and maimed in action, the Army will not let them go easily. (In 1969 there were 121 army casualties. By 1972 there were 378).

OUR BELIEFS

There will be no military solution in Northern Ireland.

The British Army, the IRA's, the protestant "loyalist" forces have all tried by violence and failed to make the people of Northern Ireland accept policies they do not want. The suffering of the people of Northern Ireland is measured in the fear and worry of routine searches, street shootings, bombings, broken families and bombed-out buildings. If the deep divisions are to be healed, it must be by the people themselves talking and working towards peace without outside domination.

TRAINING

Most things you learn in the Army will be useless to you in later life — like installing guns, driving a tank, and bayonet drill. Even if you do learn a useful trade, you will not automatically be accepted as qualified by an employer or

trade union. If you do not get an acceptable qualification you will be in the same position as a school leaver — but several years older.

BARRACKS LIFE

You will constantly be subjected to pointless and petty restrictions. (Remember school?). You would have no chance of a normal social life in Northern Ireland.

STREET CORNERS

On the dole you may hang around street corners in shabby clothes talking with friends. In the army you will probably be posted to Northern Ireland and stand around street corners in a nice smart uniform that attracts bullets.

If you have doubts about what it is really like as a soldier in Northern Ireland, and why it is so difficult to get out, contact us: the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC), c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London, N1. Give yourself a chance.

ALL TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND !!!



THE FLAME-TROWER WILL DO THE JOB IN 20 SECONDS!

NO MILITARY SOLUTION

Stay alive, save lives, stay out of the Army

Have you got the CLAP?

CLAP (Community Levy for Alternative Projects) is an attempt to set up an alternative, voluntary tax system.

The idea is that individuals contribute up to 45 per cent of their gross income to projects which satisfy certain criteria; they're non-profit making, pay wages of less than 1½ times the basic dole plus rent, are community-based, imaginative, revolutionary, etc. CLAP pays out every two months. The July pay-out totalled £1,477.93, and was spread around projects such as the People's News Service, Albion Free State (a commune, as if you couldn't guess), a Philosophical Music Machine, and many others.

The next pay-out will be the result of CLAP Handbook No. 4, published by Peace News, in which projects explain why they want money — people who read the Handbook decide whom they want to give money to, and check with CLAP that the project still needs money.

Then they send the money directly to the project(s) concerned.

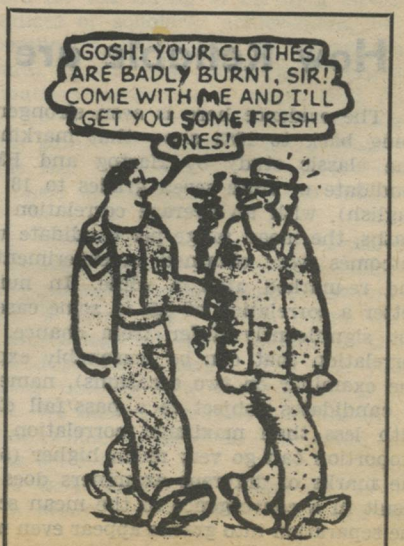
If you are interested in seeing the CLAP Handbook (No. 5 will be out on November 7th) then write to the address in the CLAP advert.

A random example of a project which asked for money in Handbook No. 4 is Liverpool's Radio Doom, which works with kids between 2 and 20. They use sound equipment for creative purposes (voice/music, etc.) and to encourage awareness of possibilities of self-expression. They need money (i) to be more independent, so as to work in different places, (ii) to pay expenses, and (iii) to buy a small synthesiser (£500).

Their address is P.O. Box 18, Southport, Merseyside. There are many other projects, of many different kinds in the 12 page Handbook No. 4, and although students may not feel too rich, they'd know their money was going somewhere specific, which would not be the case if they had to pay tax to the Government. Handbook No. 5 only costs 14p, so buy it and take a look. Maybe it might inspire you to start something up.

S.S.

GLAP. Community Levy for Alternative Projects. PAY YOUR CLAP TAX. Send 14p in stamps for our Handbook. Or DOES YOUR INSPIRED PROJECT NEED MONEY? Send maximum 200 words. CLAP c/o BIT, 146 Great Western Road, LONDON, W.11 (01-229 8219).



THE sort of tests which involve graded assessments of students for purposes of certification, I'll call "examinations." Examinations characteristically, though not invariably, issue in little or no feed-back on the details of the performance to the student. For purposes of present discussion I shall not in general distinguish between the various types of examination found in tertiary educational practice. I'm concerned mainly with what all examinations have in common.

What do Examinations Measure?

There is no clear agreement on what examinations are supposed to measure. The formulations recorded in the specialist literature are variable and mostly vague, e.g. exams test "knowledge and quality of mind"; the student's ability at a stipulated time to "give proof of a certain well-defined knowledge"; it has even been suggested that exams measure moral and psychological fibre. Two things, however, stand out: first, examinations would be bereft of justification if they were not supposed at least to measure cognitive achievement; and, second, exams are not supposed to measure certain other things, such as what year it is, what university one is attending, what subject is being examined. There exists however direct and very clearcut evidence that exams measure all of these things. This evidence thereby counts against the claim that exams measure knowledge or cognitive competence.

The Robbins Report ten years ago showed that in British universities candidates tended to be classed in categories that remained constant within particular universities and faculties. While statistics alone do not establish that these fixed proportions are predetermined, additional evidence indicates just this. In the Arts faculty of Sydney University there is at least one department where the normal curve of distribution is used explicitly as a criterion of proper marking. My experience as an examiner is limited to eight years in a middle-sized department. Even here I've seen enough to convince me that for large batches of scripts something like the normal curve of distribution is used as an implicit criterion of proper marking. Continental studies of exam scripts show that the pass/fail line is frequently drawn according to fixed proportions and independently of variations in the quality of scripts. The investigator summed up his results in these words:—

Pass-fail decisions at fixed percentages are, in fact, not the outcome but the very intention of examination processes.

The bearing of this conclusion on the question of what exams measure is clear enough. The grade awarded to a given script varies depending on the quality of the other scripts in the same batch. Grading is comparative, as any honest examiner reflecting on his or her practice can confirm. So exams do measure what year it is.

Moreover, the fixed proportions themselves tend to vary between faculties and universities. Thus it is well known that there are systematic discrepancies between Arts and Science faculty results. Science faculties award many more firsts but also fail more people proportionally than do the humanities, and these variations are unrelated to such predictors of performance as matriculation results. The reason has to do with the greater spread of marks actually used which occurs in science subject examinations, compared with arts subjects. The two sorts of marks are not comparable, and exams do in fact measure what subjects the candidate is taking.

Again, if grading is comparative, the comparison lies between the candidate and those in his/her group, rather than being a comparison of the candidate against the generality of students. Since there's not the slightest evidence that classes at various learning institutions are comparable, exams also measure what university the candidate is attending.

There is ample evidence that exam-induced anxiety adversely affects the performance of all but a small proportion of students (the exceptions are students in the highest performance categories). There is even evidence that the quality of the handwriting affects the marking. So exams also measure how upset students are, and what calligraphic skills they have. In the light of all this, what is left of the claim that exams measure the cognitive competence of the candidate by some non-comparative, objective standard? That claim is shown to be foundationless.

How Reliable are Examinations?

The evidence here is even stronger and older. Experimental studies going back to 1888 show that marking is a highly unreliable process. The classic study by Hartog and Rhodes reported mean ranges per candidate of from seven grades to 18 grades per paper (four papers in English), with an average correlation between markers of only 0.44. In maths, the mean range per candidate was 34.7 marks. Similar disastrous outcomes were obtained in experiments in which papers were marked and re-marked after a while. In numerous cases examiners failed to better a correlation of 0.5, in some cases going as low as 0.28 which does not significantly differ from chance. But even taking the highest correlation that can be reasonably expected between two examiners (or one examiner on two occasions), namely 0.85, there are still 16 per cent of candidates subject to a pass/fail difference between examiners. And with less than maximum correlation, which is likely in practice, this proportion can go very much higher (50 or even 70 per cent). Averaging the marks of different examiners does not really help, since it tends to result in a convergence of the mean scores of various candidates making the separation into grades appear even more arbitrary than it now seems.

Examine you if you don't

Examiners differ widely, among themselves and from occasion to occasion. The reason is not that they employ different general standards or have differing ideas of what is required of them. In the Hartog and Rhodes study the mean mark given by different examiners did not vary greatly—it wasn't that one examiner marked consistently high and another consistently low. Powell and Butterworth have suggested an explanation. They argue that students bring a variety of abilities to examination and the variations stem from the attempt to assess all these in a single dimension—by giving a mark. This would account for the experimentally established unreliability of exams.

Why are Examinations Needed?

What are the justifications usually offered for having exams? This is not the same as asking what functions exams actually have. The position here—as with many of our social practices—is that the real function is hidden and what is overtly pointed to is a set of supposed uses of the practice which allegedly provide its justification. I want to examine this overt ideology of exams.

The first and most influential argument in favour of having exams is put as follows by Professor C. B. Cox:—

... exams have an essential social purpose... Examinations serve a function for society at large in attesting to standards of academic performance... it is inherent in professional work... that the public is not in a position to judge the quality of performance which it must take on credit. Passing examinations before entering a profession is, thus, a necessary protection for the public. Before we call in a doctor, we want some proof that his studies have not been confined to witchcraft. Before a headmaster appoints a teacher of French, he needs proof that a candidate has reached an acceptable standard. If a specialist is wanted for sixth-form work, it is a great help to know that one man has an upper second class honours degree, and another only a third. The simple truth is that these class divisions represent very real differences in performance, as anyone who has taught and examined for a few years will know. A complicated society depends on such safeguards and classifications. To abolish exams would leave us altogether too vulnerable.

We have seen that one essential premise of this argument—which is here dogmatically asserted as being the "simple truth"—is in fact false. Exams do not measure nor attest to "standards of academic performance." If exams do not measure the quality of performance they ipso facto don't measure abiding competence, and therefore don't provide the public with protection against incompetence.

Second, it is not true that the lay public's inability to judge professional performance is "inherent in professional work." Such inability does not, even today, extend to judgment of the result of performance. Lay people are capable, and do, form opinions on the skill of professionals who thereby acquire a reputation which even as things now are does more to influence their standing than educational certification. (Have you any idea of what final results your dentist achieved? Is it because of his exam results that you patronise him?) In any case the lay public's present inability to judge professional performance depends crucially on a system of education which allocates resources entirely to the training of a few specialists while leaving the bulk of people ignorant of the basics of the professional field (medicine, law, or what have you). It is only in the context of a culture which systematically fosters the imbalance between lay persons and professional experts that the public is vulnerable.

Finally, the argument commits the common fallacy of trying to prove too much. Even if it were shown that tests of competence are needed to protect the public against exploitation by charlatans, it does not follow that such tests need to be associated with the learning process, and hence it does not follow that the "protection of the public" justifies examinations as we have defined them and as they exist. We shall see later that some of the deleterious effects of exams arise precisely from their being associated with the learning process.

A second defence of exams is that they "make people work hard". This too is usually asserted without evidence. That is because, as Powell and Butterworth write, "there is very little evidence for the general truth or untruth of this claim". Professor Cox argues:—

Much opposition to [exams] is based on the belief that people work better without reward or incentive, a naïveté which flies in the face of human nature. All life depends upon passing exams.

Unfortunately, no details on the theory of human nature in question are given. Of course, we are in deep waters here: the whole complex issue of material versus moral incentives lurks just beneath the surface. Perhaps this much can be said in circumstances where students do not select their studies on the basis of an interest in the subject, but are on the contrary faced with an imposed curriculum which they have to master at the cost of incurring a variety of lifelong penalties, in such circumstances examinations may perhaps act as an effective incentive to work. But to generalise from this to "human nature" is reckless to say the least. It is analogous to passing from observation of a

prison workshop to the conclusion not work unless armed guards stand

A related point is that the "work" done by spontaneous learning under threat of failure in exams etc. a lot of evidence on long-term retention accepting the simplistic hypothesis of an effectively homogenous process called "work" which exams cause people to do and those not facing them evade (a few weeks' duration) required to pass that this is the same as intellectual

Another defence of exams is a... J. Chadwick has written of the Co

"IN NUMEROUS CASES, EXAMINATIONS ARE BETTER A CORRELATION OF GOING AS LOW AS 0.28 WHICH DOES NOT SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFER FROM CHANCE."



There are of course people who are under pressure; which is another way of saying that a certificate of academic brilliance is a warning if a prospective employer has plenty of time and no pressure in life is not like that.

It's questionable how far life's pressures are. However, the crucial point about this is that forward as a valuable aspect of exam candidates to situations of tension, to maintain required levels of performance entailed. That this sort of conditions employers' I do not doubt, but what show is that it is in the interests of

Finally, it has been argued that nepotism, or corruption in general

... dons write references for candidates at the moment the student is protected apparently, these confidential reports the don can indulge his own whims to stop the professor from exaggerating relatives or, more subtly, those like warp judgment? The authority of the from the need to curry favour.

Just how authoritative exams are argument seems, in addition, to have cases where examiners and referees favour one over another. More up which exams are supposed to provide more simply by a change which is removing the confidentiality of referee one could ask for to protect students a system of open references could be job applications with samples of work one submits a portfolio of work, much as

I conclude that these justifications scrutiny. They give no good reasons needed, or that a system of education is possible or undesirable.

our life now— t—they will

human beings by nature will
them.

which is exacted from students
may be qualitatively different from
are. One would need to have a
team, and other matters, before
according to which there is an
ed which students facing exams
de. We know at any rate that the
tion is just the work (often of a
ssams, and it remains to be proved
fruitful "work".

the lines of "life's like that".
amige finals exams:—

EXAMINERS FAILED TO OFIS IN SOME CASES



who go to pieces under that sort of
ofying that a First is not simply
e, and most employers would like to
ye can only be trusted provided he
ssus on him. In most professions,

ke exam situation in any profession.
his sort of argument is that it puts
am that they prepare and condition
and thereby foster their capacity to
nize despite the evident suffering
hims in the interests of "prospective
that the argument altogether fails to
of the examinees.

at exams provide protection against
Professor Cox again:—

andidates for jobs, and . . . at the
ed by his exam result. In future,
jobs can be entirely subjective, and
in and prejudices. How are we to
atig the virtues of his friends and
likes and dislikes which can easily
of exam results protects the students

we have seen already. The
eveno application to those numerous
es are identical. Nor does it cover
y, these references alone are used to
important, however, the problem to
le the solution can be removed much
deable on other grounds anyway:
ferences. This will do as much as
s against the caprice of referees. (A
rengthened by a custom of supporting
e "work"—in applying for employment
a commercial artists do now).

for exams do not stand up to
n thinking that examinations are
without assessment is either impos-

What do Examinations Achieve?

So far I have argued that exams do not measure what they are supposed to, that they do not measure anything reliably and fairly, and that the reasons conventionally advanced in their justification do not hold water. These conclusions are consistent with certification by examination being a harmless, if idle, social practice that does not call for reform or corrective action. I now want to look at some of the major consequences of exams.

The first achievement of exams is that they **spread sickness and death**. There is no doubt that exams annually precipitate a wave of tension, unrest, and misery among students. "Third term blues" is a well-known phenomenon. Statistical evidence shows that the known incidence of mental illness among students is significantly higher around exam time than at other times. At the British Student Health Association's 1968 conference it was generally agreed that between 8 and 11 per cent of all students seek medical treatment for various exam-related conditions. One can only guess at the number of those who don't seek treatment for similar conditions (or seek treatment away from student health services) and therefore don't enter the statistics.

Here are some descriptions by medical authors of the reactions to exams commonly encountered:—

During the course of an exam students are sometimes brought out in a state of almost total physical collapse, shivering, unable to write, think or even to walk.

Examination panic. These are the cases of students who start their papers, but get increasingly anxious or exhausted and finally leave the examination room. Sometimes they actually faint or have nosebleeds, sometimes they are overcome by headache or migraine, but for the most it is just an increasing and overwhelming feeling of nervousness, tension and despair, with an incapacity to remember things they previously knew. The great majority of these students have already suffered from a long period of mounting pre-exam strain.

Such (i.e. pre-exam) behaviours include all the well-known symptoms, ranging from restlessness and bladder irritability to full-blown panic attacks and mania.

There is reason to believe that examination stresses in some circumstances can give rise to thought disorder not immediately distinguishable from that of schizophrenia.

Dr Malleon, already quoted above, has compared exam reactions of students to pre-battle reactions of soldiers, and has suggested that exam panic may be treated with techniques applicable to shell-shock.

These observations could be multiplied many times. The picture of misery they suggest ought to be familiar to anybody involved in the schooling process. The impact of exams on the health of students is not uniform: women (as usual in sexist society) suffer from exam anxiety more than men, and overseas students more than locals. A study conducted in Manchester shows that the proportion of women made sick by exams is nearly twice that of men! This is additional to the demonstrated fact that exam performance is adversely affected just before and during the menstrual period. Since, as was argued above, exam results are essentially comparative, the outcome is not only that those who are sick underperform, but that those who are not automatically benefit from the ill-fortune of their fellow candidates. This makes exams one of the most unsavoury forms of competition I know.

Exams do not merely cause widespread suffering and distress among those who have to face them. They are a causal factor, directly, in many cases of dropping out; and at least indirectly, in many cases of suicide. Clear evidence shows that suicide rates among male students in England and Wales are higher than among the comparable non-student population. The evidence connecting student suicide with exams is there, but because of paucity of studies is perhaps not conclusive. Rook analysed the suicide figures in Cambridge in the decade 1948-58, and concluded that—

It is difficult to believe that exams do not have some influence on the Cambridge suicides, for over half of them occurred around the exam period, and four out of five of those who were believed to be worrying over their work died in May.

Carpenter showed that over a longer period (1923-1958) the proportion of third-term suicides at Cambridge (=43.3 per cent) was higher, but not "significantly" so than the proportion of third-term suicides among non-students (=34.5 per cent). The difference is, however, considerable. I know of no more recent studies of the nexus between exams and suicide: a neglect in medical research which is itself symptomatic of our general indifference towards the life-destroying aspects of exams. I have, however, known of cases of people who have suicided for reasons which at least included exam-anxiety.

The second achievement of exams is that they maintain and reproduce hierarchic stratification, and thus are the means whereby educational processes are deployed in the perpetuation of social inequality. On the one hand exams are used to **exclude people from further study** (by the setting of entrance requirements, quotas, the distribution of scholarships, stipends, etc. on the basis of exam results). On the other hand exams are the method of **distribution of a whole range of socially important rewards**, on results depend entry to professions and types of work, with attendant financial and status rewards. Thus examinations are the means for slotting people into their "station in life".

The usual defence of this aspect of exams is meritocratic: the process is seen by those who are not egalitarians as selecting the able,

the bright, clever, and meritorious people for positions of rank and reward. In this way exams are seen as "maintaining high standards."

This meritocratic defence fails not only because exams do not measure cognitive capacity or excellence of mind, but for two other reasons as well. The first is that exams cannot measure, even in principle, more than what the candidate currently knows. No exam can tell you anything about what the candidate could come to know in the future, as a result of further study, experience, changed interests and motivation, etc. The use of exams to exclude people from further study has therefore no meritocratic justification whatsoever. The second, and more significant, failure of meritocratic defence derives from the abundantly demonstrated fact that certified scholastic achievement depends more on family background, the cultural milieu of the home, and such-like factors which ultimately trace to social class position, than on all other types of factor. The hierarchy which certification perpetuates is not a hierarchy of merit, talent, excellence, or any of the other qualities of which educational conservatives are so fond. It is the class structure of capitalist society.

A third achievement of exams is that they **produce, and reproduce, alienated, dehumanised social relations**. Exams have this effect on the relation between teachers and students, as well as on relations among students. The teacher's role as assessor cannot but place a strain on the relationship between him/her and the student. This tension has often been remarked upon. The result is particularly deleterious in a learning situation. Continuous assessment (or course assessment) magnifies this effect, and it has been said that its introduction is capable of "poisoning the whole teaching atmosphere". The basic point, I suppose, is that in the relation between assessor and assessed the latter is dominated by an interest in being favourably assessed, and the former by a totally false sense of authoritativeness which his teachings (and other actions) gain as a result of his power as an examiner. Critical interaction between minds is made impossible: what people say in a testing situation bears no intrinsic relationship to what they believe. Candidates only say or write what they believe will get them good marks. Exams which are so carefully guarded against so-called cheating, infuse into the relationship between teacher and taught a much more profound bad faith and inauthenticity.

Around exam time relations among students become marked by jealousy and explicit competitiveness. Evidence shows that students often feel that their own chances are improved by not sharing their ideas and work with their peers. This feeling is of course justified, but even if it weren't, its mere existence would tend to cut off people from one of the most important sources of learning: the insights of one's fellow learners. Exams are also the most drastic means of reinforcing the bourgeois ideology of individualism in intellectual matters. By being individually assessed, the student is irresistibly driven to the privatisation of knowledge, i.e. to the false and socially pernicious belief that the creation and transmission of knowledge are the private achievements of isolated individuals. Powell and Butterworth sum up the matter aptly:—

By discouraging students from co-operating with each other the assessment system inhibits the prime virtue of civilised society—that of mutual aid. By isolating people from each other in a highly formative stage in their lives, and encouraging them to regard their work as a private and measurable achievement, it enforces, or reinforces the view that different people deserve different rewards in life.

I should also add that in a fuller discussion of this whole area one would have to explore also the role which exams play in relationships between students and their parents.

A fourth achievement of exams is that they **constrain and narrow curricula and militate against diversification of study programmes**. This they do in the following ways: first, they determine exclusions from the curriculum along the "principle" expressed by one Sydney headmaster saying, "If it's not examinable, don't teach it." In an exam-dominated education system the inclusion of a subject in the curriculum tends to become conditional on the availability of administrable forms of testing associated with the subject. Second, exams set up administrative (bureaucratic) barriers against diversification of study programmes. It is easier (cheaper, more convenient) to design and administer a single test for assessing a given (large) group of students than to design and administer a multiplicity of tests for the same group. This clearly generates a tendency favouring narrowness and imposed uniformity of curricula as against wide diversity and flexibility in the choice of study programmes.

A fifth achievement of exams is that they **waste money**. How much exactly assessing costs has never been calculated. In a recent conversation the Vice-Chancellor suggested, as a very casual guess, that the recurrent costs of examining at Sydney University may be around a 100,000 dollars per annum. I regard this figure as the lowest possible estimate. Even so, if we take this amount as our basis, the annual cost of examining in Australian tertiary institutions alone would come to something between 2.5 and three million dollars. The overall costs of examining throughout the whole school system is many times this sum. The money is from an educational point of view totally misspent.

CONCLUSION

There is no conclusion beyond the obvious one. Exams are a means of social control in an authoritarian sense. They are a pivotal part of an education system geared to forcing people into pre-existing and uncriticised economic and social roles. Certification, which issues from this educational system—the system of schooling—labels the skilled labour power which its individual owners then sell in the labour market. Certificates do not measure cognitive skills. It has been shown that the matters most crucial to employers for the hiring of certified labour have little to do with grades or indices of scholarly achievement, but rather with the evidence which certificates provide of the possession of attitudes and acquired behavioural habits that make the student suitable for work. The certificate matters insofar as it shows that its possessor has absorbed the lessons of the hidden curriculum. Submitting to exams is more crucial than results gained, the grade matters insofar as it shows the extent to which one has submitted to the assessment system. One's certificate shows one's exploitability—it's as simple as that.

The radical transformation of this situation involves a comprehensive liberating social revolution. This is no easy task, but an integral element of the long struggle for a fully self-managed world. Since, however, even the longest journey begins with a short step, we can define our immediate aim as the **discrediting and delegitimising of exams** in the eyes of students, teachers, parents, and people at large. The talk you have just heard, although it contains nothing new or original, is a modest contribution to this first task. We must get ourselves as speedily as possible to the position where the whole question of the value of exams will be generally considered as settled.

Then we will be able to use the worthlessness of exams not as a conclusion to be argued, to, but as a premise to be developed, both in theory and in practice!

L.S.E.

A question of degree

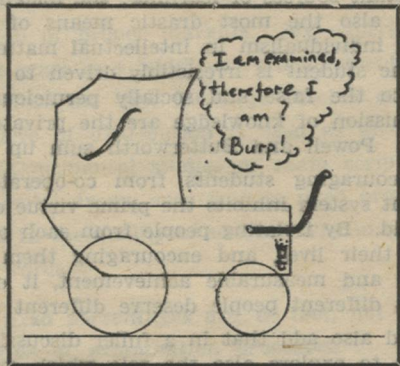
Introduction

"THE ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production." (Marx: THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY).

There are two versions of all institutions in society, two perspectives of their reality — the official "front-office" view, and the unofficial "shop-floor" view. The former is maintained and paraded by headmasters' reports, college prospectuses, by ministerial broadcasts and managerial forecasts. The latter, unofficial, version is felt and experienced by the rank-and-file, the people at the bottom. Their version of reality is concrete in that it is generally unclouded by misty or mystifying wishful-thinking. The unofficial version, however, is felt rather than perceived; it is life itself rather than data about life. Its mode of expression is equally unofficial: the workbench humour, the playground chatter, the toilet scrawl. Yet in the contrast of these two perspectives lies the social divisions between men, between, on the one hand, those who rule and manage, and on the other, those who are ruled and are managed. If these two groups have a different view of reality, it is because for them reality is different.

The following is one person's unofficial view of the London School of Economics, for the L.S.E. is no different from any other institution. On the one hand stands the prospectus, the Director's Report, the freshers' conference, the "international reputation," the publications and all the paraphernalia associated with "one of the foremost centres of social science in the world." And on the other? A few odd political pamphlets, a couple of paperback books, a record somewhere of a union motion? No. The real record is unspoken, buried deep in the experience of the thousands who pass through —

to what? A few "make it", of course, a prime minister here, a big-shot civil servant there, an academic who reaches the heights of specialisation in trivia. But the rest, what of them? The intellectual proletariats who sell their mental labour power for a mess of pottage (large helping), and collar and tie. How did they experience the reality of L.S.E.? Who knows? All we can do is to reconstruct our own experience and share it with others. The following is my own attempt to do just that. After 17 years of "success" in the schooling system, it is



very difficult to genuinely express one's own experience and relate to it. After all, the whole of "education" has been relating to other people's experience, to other people's view of reality!

It is fitting, albeit accidental, that my first two experiences of L.S.E. expressed this official-unofficial split. The first time I set foot through the glass doors of the School I was greeted by a large banner which proclaimed that "Adams" had closed "it" and that "we" had opened "it." "It" was of course the school buildings and the occasion was the weekend of Vietnam occupation in October, 1968. Inside, the atmosphere was electric; groups selling their literature; people dashing around checking food, security and accommodation. The Old Theatre became a permanent debating chamber where the division between politics and education was at last being overcome. I remember Robin Blackburn saying that, although he had heard Lipsey and many other bourgeois economists speak from this same platform, he had never heard such good sense as had been given by the trade unionist who had just spoken. It was very euphoric. But it was all good stuff. I remember sleeping in the corridor just outside the Robinson Room, and in the morning eating jam

sandwiches prepared by the L.S.E. War on Want Society. Very uncomfortable, but who cared? As I wrote in a report on a weekend a few weeks after:

"In the lecture theatre impromptu teach-ins on wages, prices and profits were given to packed, attentive audiences. At night, corridors became bedrooms, tables became beds. There was no fuss, no fights, no damage, no questions. Here was a building being used for people, and it was open to all."

It has never been the same since.

Nothing could be more in contrast to this experience than my second visit to L.S.E. — an interview. And this time I got the official version. I was interviewed by three academics: Prof. Northedge, Peter Reddaway, and a third whom I cannot recall. I sat there opposite the desk, wearing my collar and tie (it's just like looking for a job!) trying to give convincing answers as to why I really wanted to come to L.S.E. On reflection, I can remember actually working out reasons before the interview in anticipation of the line of questioning. Which shows how for many of us the process of getting to university has not been one of conscious determination but of blindly running the race and leaping the hurdles simply because they are there. The image I would use today is one of the escalator. At age eleven we get on the bottom step, and if we are fortunate enough to get into the "A" stream, we get carried along and up without question. However, my interviewers were quite pleasant, they asked me about nothing much: I can only remember one question clearly — what did I think of Enoch Powell? I gave some non-committal reply so that I couldn't be made out to be either a racist or a raving lefty. This game of question and answer foreshadowed many games I would play in the next three years. Most classes and tutorials are games in that everyone pretends to be interested in the topic under discussion, when clearly these meetings are never genuinely voluntary associations. The game-playing helps obscure this contradiction.

What was most absurd about the interview was that my "interrogators" said that the whole thing need not have taken place! There had been a mistake in the Admissions Department. I had already been accepted, and should never have been called to an interview. It cost me £6 on

train fares to experience my first taste of university bureaucracy. (Whether there genuinely had been a mistake, or whether they wanted an interview to test my political views, I wouldn't like to say.

Education for what?

"ALL objections urged against the Communist mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communist modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

"That culture, the loss of which he laments, is for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine." (Marx: THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO)

YEAR I: EDUCATION v. EXAMINATION

When I came to L.S.E. I suffered from several illusions. The main one was believing that it would be possible to get an education by following my course. I soon discovered that I was wrong. Beginning my first year course (B.Sc. Unemployment) in the manner that I had been used to, I attended most scheduled lectures and classes. I duly took notes and read the relevant books. Gradually throughout the first term two things dawned on me. What I had thought sociology, politics and economics to be — or at least those aspects in which I was interested — was not being referred to in these lectures. In other words, the content bored me. Secondly, the way in which I was trying to learn things, note-taking and revising, forcing myself to read books simply because they were on the course, feigning interest in uninteresting classroom conversations, became increasingly absurd, if not impossible, for me. By Christmas time then, I had been thoroughly turned off "education" at L.S.E.

But these general tendencies were not the only things which contributed to my growing critical consciousness. I can remember specific instances which seemed to typify the

Co-operation

BOB DENT left the L.S.E. in the summer of 1972. In his booklet, "A Question of Degree," he tried to articulate his experience of being a student — an experience which led him and others to set up alternative classes and systematic sharing of essays, and to try and work out ways of learning co-operatively.

Over the last couple of years a number of students have reacted to L.S.E. in a similar way, and have tried with some success to substitute co-operation for competition, and also to direct their studies towards problems that they feel are relevant in the contemporary world.

Perhaps unfortunately, this booklet was not then available, so we could not benefit from his experience, or use his analysis as a jumping-off point for developing our own.

To remedy this, Beaver has agreed to serialise it. Some of us may find it helpful, some of us may think his analysis is inadequate in certain respects (and others may be

overall irrationality of the teaching and learning process. Two in particular stick in my mind. One occurred during a government class. The teacher was Mrs Pickles, and the subject was "the House of Lords." Someone began a paper with the obvious remark that the House of Lords was not a democratic institution. At this point the class teacher interrupted saying that students had a bad habit of misusing the term "democracy" and that really as there was no overt opposition movement to the Lords then people implicitly supported its existence, and hence it was a democratic institution. This is the crazy sort of logic that many academics still adhere to. (Note: Mrs Pickles has since written a textbook on democracy!)

However, it wasn't only reactionary or conservative academics who left a bad impression. My first-year economics class was taken by M. Desai (a self-professed Marxist). Great, I thought to myself, at least this should be better. But what a comedown to discover that the things he was teaching were no different

Three years for what?

-competition

having the proverbial "time of their lives" and disagree entirely!).

In the meantime, here are a couple of comments to think about:

"We pay for them to go to college. Then when they leave and get jobs, and we go and clean their offices, they look down on us."—A woman worker.

"For a few, education provides the climate in which they come to feel they are something special, and removed from the common run of mankind. Our educational system also establishes in other people — indeed the vast majority—a deep feeling of inferiority, social inferiority, educational inferiority. And for all, the privileged as the underprivileged, it creates a belief that this society with these divisions is in accordance with some natural law and therefore cannot be changed, or even radically modified."—Felix Greene, in "Sennet," Oct. 30th, 1974.

LIZ CURTIS.

either in form or content from the weekly combination of American folklore and marginal analysis delivered by wonder-boy Max Steuer in his lectures. His argument was the stock-in-trade "if you don't learn this you'll never be able to criticise it." I myself was not particularly interested in making critiques of Lipsey or Alchan and Allen. I simply wanted to understand about unemployment, bad housing, income distribution, etc. But ask any economist about these and he looks at you as if you've come from another planet. And, in any case, they are not on the syllabus!

When I came to L.S.E. I was interested in economics, but the result of my trying to follow the first year course was to turn me off the subject completely. It is only now, after two years of avoiding the subject, that I am beginning, of my own volition, to take it up again.

By Christmas, then, I had come to realise that I was not going to gain much by blindly following my course and read-

ing the required books. Over the vacation, I thought about these negative experiences and tried to piece them together. There was something at the bottom of all this, the examination system. The more I thought about it, the more it became clear. It was the examination syllabus which determined the content of teaching and the fact that we all studied the same thing, regardless of our individual interests. It was the exam which introduced the irrational element of competition into the learning process. Irrational, that is, because true learning is a social, co-operative activity. It was the exam system, in fact, which explained everything, even the power structure. For, in the last analysis, the power of the authorities over the students rests upon their ability to manipulate and manage the examination (and, of course, the acceptance by the student himself of the legitimacy of this manipulation). In short, from the authorities' point of view, everything can be justified by the examination. Rationality need not be adhered to—if it's on the syllabus, then what further argument can there be? After all, we did come to university to get a degree didn't we?

This wasn't the first time I had thought along these lines. When taking A-levels I had been struck by the absurdity of the whole thing. In those days we weren't studying English Literature, we were memorising six books. I had often complained about this test-mentality, and had argued that the abolition of examinations would greatly benefit the education system. It hadn't yet struck me how necessary and efficient (in the sense that the criterion of "intelligence" was accepted by almost everybody) exams were, if society was to divide its growing population into the different categories of labour power. Neither had I contemplated not taking any exams, though after one term at L.S.E. it became increasingly clear that I could not return and study either willingly or otherwise and take the Part I exam without protest. This wasn't a question of ideological persuasion but almost of necessity in the sense that my experience of university "education" was becoming increasingly intolerable.

Returning after Christmas, I shared my experience with several friends, and discovered that they too were bored and uninterested in their courses. It seemed to us that the examination syllabus stood in opposition to us like an alien force somehow dominating our lives and restricting any genuine desire to make exciting discoveries. We resolved to contest this situation. About five of us began what we called the "Examination Statement Campaign."

The idea of the campaign was simplicity itself. We would try to organise a boycott of the Part I exam by getting as many students as possible to sign a joint statement declaring their intention to boycott the exam provided that the number of signatures equalled half of the total number of students registered for the exam. In short, we were campaigning for a majority boycott. The campaign was centred around collecting these signatures, which was no easy task as this was not the usual petition but a commitment albeit conditional, to action. The point was not missed by anyone.

The beauty of the campaign was that we were not demanding anything from the authorities. We weren't asking for any reform, however radical. This was planning for direct action in its purest sense — demands upon ourselves. It's very much easier to make demands upon other people: upon the system, or to support other people's struggles, but committing oneself to activity is much more profoundly subversive to the system. By the end of two terms' agitation and propaganda, we had obtained about 60 signatures or so, with the result, of course, that the boycott did not come off; it would have needed at least 150 signatures to proceed. However 60 was quite a large number considering that no-one signed without thought or before much debate and discussion.

We discovered an interesting phenomenon in our agitational work; what I like to call "dual consciousness." I have since discovered that this concept can be applied to all other social groups as well as to students and its implications are profound. What we discovered was that our fellow students were both for and against the examination system at the same time. Our propaganda against the examination system and its irrationality, competitiveness, etc., fell on fertile soil. Most people agreed with us. They saw through the poverty of everyday "education" in L.S.E. And yet at the same time they justified its "necessity." Our

activities were not enough to overcome this attitude — which was not surprising since what we were asking them to do was to reject the very means by which they had got to L.S.E., through examinations: we were asking them to tear up their recipe for "success"! Secondly, there was fear of the authorities — "they'll kick you out," "they'll not allow it." Complementary to fear was the feeling of resignation to the situation: self-determination, self-activity, is completely at odds with the way children are brought up, schoolkids are taught, the system of "representative" democracy works, etc. Collective direct action as a conscious activity is difficult to achieve; it goes against the whole tide of society and affiliation. It was these ingrained tendencies we were up against.

This concentration of activity around the examination question may seem a bit misplaced. After all, students are concerned and involved in other questions such as the power of the administration and the role of the university at large. But what had struck me in coming to L.S.E. was that the lack of school discipline — length of hair, uniform, attendance at classes — and greater "freedoms" laid bare the fundamental issue, the cornerstone, the very foundation as it were of bourgeois education: the examination system. Our boycott campaign confirmed this view. For our criticism of exams freed us, through the dialectic of debate, to a criticism not only of bourgeois education as such but to a criticism of bourgeois society at large. For what else is the examination system but the actual technique of accomplishing the division of labour.

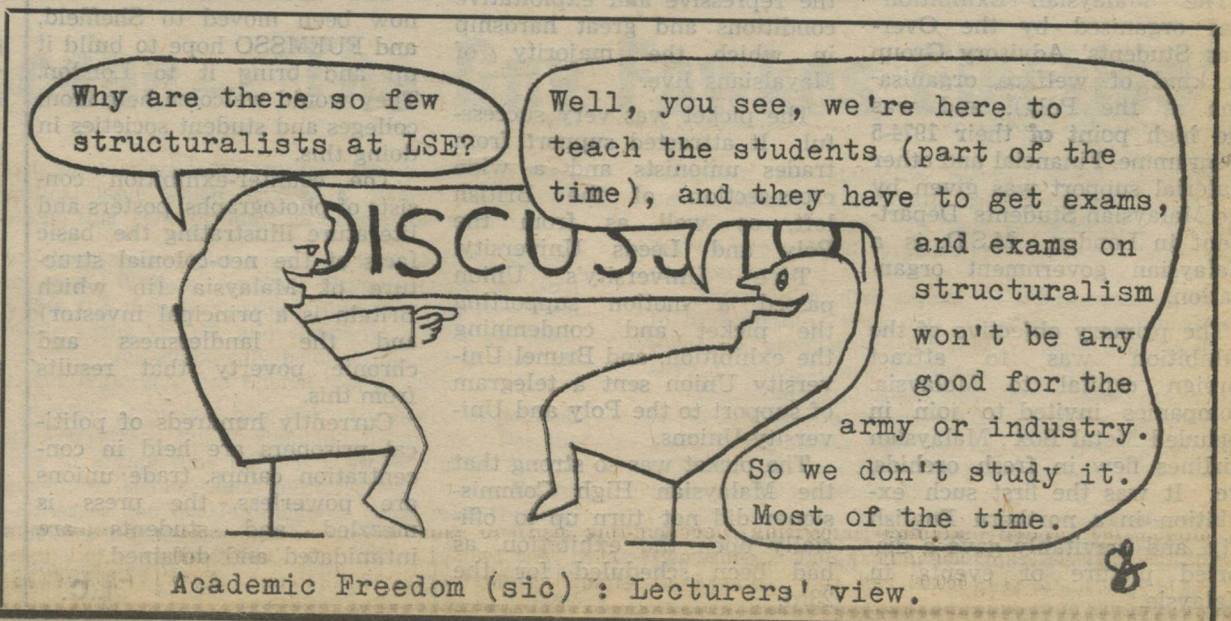
After all this, it was a great contradiction for me to take the exam at the end of the first year. Many people asked me why I did it and my answer (although it may not sound convincing) was perfectly genuine. I took the exam from a purely instrumentalist point of view. I did not want to get kicked out after one year and be deprived of the chance of two years in which I could experiment and try to really educate myself for once.

I had already decided that I wasn't interested in a degree. After all, one year of exam-orientated study was enough. Two more would be too much!

Thus it was that I trooped into the New Board Room with all the others on those sunny summer days (it always seems to be sunny on examination days) and sat the exam. But what an exam! It was probably the worst set of papers I'd ever seen — that is from the psychological point of view. In my state of mind every question seemed more absurd than the last, every detail of instructions more petty and bureaucratic. The silence and non-co-operation with people sitting only a yard away seemed like something out of a Kafkaesque nightmare. Those diligent academics, in their black gowns, pompously walking up and down seemed to crystallise in themselves the whole of the schooling system's authority and power. And, of course, from an objective point of view, they did.

But the worst aspect was the artificiality of the whole thing, in writing what I did not believe about economics, politics, history — I simply scribbled down what I knew the examiners were wanting to hear. The game had moved from the classroom into the examination room. The rules were the same — answer other people's questions, quote other people's ideas — no matter whether it's right or wrong, relevant or otherwise, whether you agree or disagree, what counts in the exam is marks not truth. To be honest, some questions did interest me. I remember one especially on Stalin. But here again, how can anyone write about Bolshevism meaningfully under pressure and in the time allotted. As Tom Fawthrop once wrote: "If a question is worth doing it can't be done in forty minutes; if it can be done in forty minutes then it's not worth doing."

The papers were collected and whisked away, presumably to be marked by some bored academic, and never be seen again. In the middle of the summer vacation, I received a list of names with mine among them. I had passed. Gloria in Excelsis Deo!



Academic Freedom (sic) : Lecturers' view.

SO much has been said about the People's Republic of China that one wonders whether this is not a direct result of the growing climate of "INFORMATION LENIENCY" on the part of the Republic's government. Why this leniency? Is it all part of the growing outwardness of China? Is it part of the ideological battle against the Soviet Union? Or is it merely part of the growing-up pains that many agriculturally-based countries have to undergo.

Perhaps the most exciting developments in China, as relayed by foreign visitors, is the new economic climate. This new climate, precipitated by Mao as a revolutionary reaction against the dangers of developing an industrial infrastructure a la Soviet style, is best exemplified by the now forgotten Cultural Revolution.

During this turbulent period in China's post-revolutionary history the essential "spirit" of the fight against the Japanese, and then the Koumintang, was re-enacted for two major reasons.

The first of these was a reappraisal of the economic direction in which China should be heading given the particular problems it faced. The second, and complementary reason, had to do with the approach that people have towards the nation as both an economic and social unit.

At the economic level the Chinese authorities realised that to rapidly industrialise a basically agrarian community according to the Soviet model would lead to a conflict of interests between those in the countryside and those in the industrial sectors. The nature of this conflict would arise from the agrarian sector having to produce a surplus value of income which would be utilised in the industrial belts. To operate this transfer of surplus would require a highly centralised market mechanism within both sectors. It would also require an army of civil servants owing allegiance to the plan.

This type of industrial development is essentially what is known as "taking the capitalist road" since it is subordinate to a planned market-mechanism. It centralises economic decision-making and demands a high degree of specialists to co-ordinate this type of decision making. It generates, so to speak, planning inertia.

Yet the Cultural Revolution merely employed this type of argument to generate what could be called the "New Man."

Mao realised that to undermine a very seductive economic philosophy one would have to let people convince themselves that this was not good for either the nation nor the individual. Thus the slogan, "From the masses to the masses." The fervour of discussion generated by the Cultural Revolution served as the foundation upon which both the new economics could be laid as well as the generating of the "New Man."

Essentially the new economics bases itself upon the

China

slogan of Self-Sufficiency. This slogan does not imply that e.g. each region is to produce all the goods and services demanded by itself. Rather it underscores dual development, i.e. development in both the industrial and agricultural sectors. Given that the latter includes the bulk of the population, economic decision-making can be devolved.

Thus, a large commune, containing many villages, will have a general output plan. At the village level this will be discussed relative to available resources. Productivity then becomes an area of village decision-making. More important, however, is the decision-making powers of the village to try and become independent in basic agricultural commodities, e.g. meat, poultry, vegetables, etc. This economic ideology is applied effectively in the agricultural sphere.

In the industrial sphere planning, by definition, has to be more centralised. The main reason for this is that you can take a rice field to an industrial city but you cannot plant a tin mine in a paddy.

To devolve industrial decision-making is to generate the setting-up of rich vs. poor regions. Such a system will also lead to federalist market mechanisms insofar as region A will have to decide with region B how many bushels of wheat equals a tractor.

Therefore while the agricultural sphere can make decisions affecting the direction of the regional plan, the industrial plant can only make decisions concerning productivity. Factory democracy is geared towards this factor. The only link between the two spheres at this level is ideological.

"Put politics before everything!" This is an oft quoted slogan that only has meaning within China. The core of its politics is the "social contract" between man and man. The Cultural Revolution constantly put forward the theme of collective action. It is not incidental that during the Cultural Revolution the means of putting forward this theme was the People's Liberation Army since the defeat of the Japanese, and then the Koumintang forces, based itself upon a strong sense of camaraderie.

At the same time, however, nationalism of a very

intense variety was also employed to bind the P.L.A.

During the Cultural Revolution much of the propaganda related to the noble exploits of the Liberation Army and how they threw out the old feudal order. The literature and art of this period abounds with ample examples underlining the extent to which the old image of expelling the Japanese and Koumintang forces was used. The new twist to this argument was the development of a concept of "Soviet Social-Imperialism."

The linking of "Taking the capitalist Road" with "Soviet Social-Imperialism" is not difficult to understand. The latter specifically refers to the application of Soviet Planning to China before the Cultural Revolution, and the failures that it generated. At the same time it links with the former insofar as it is alleged to lead to planned market mechanisms which will lead to economic friction between regions and individuals.

This economic friction is the basis of their use of the notion of social-imperialism since it is, in many ways, opposed to the notion that they have of the collective spirit, i.e. the social contract writ large.

And yet the new discussion relating to Confucius seems to indicate that far from generating a collectivist spirit, the Cultural Revolution may have unleashed more of a nationalist feeling. Chou En Lai himself has warned against this development and the attack on Confucian thought may be the first warning shots against those who used the cloak of Maoism for nationalist ends.

That this is a probability is evidenced by the bonus system operating in China. Although there is an annual bonus spread across the whole population, there is also a regional bonus or a bonus derived from the efficiency of operating the slogan of self-sufficiency within regional units. Whether regional bonuses are used for the good of the community would, of course, nullify wage differentials but increase the distance between rich and poor communes or regions.

Also, the spirit of the social contract should, if non-regionally oriented, incorporate the national sphere of collective feeling.

Whether the complex relationship between economic activity and the "New Man" does unfold within the socialist context or the nationalist context is not an easy question to answer. The admixture of the two in China at the moment makes it difficult to separate the effect of slogans such as "From the masses to the masses" and "Put Politics Before Everything."

Undoubtedly, as China moves into the phase of more complex industrialisation, regional inter-relationships will take on a more complex hue. Whether the dynamics of agricultural democracy will be forced to give way to centralised planning of a higher degree remains to be seen.

A. OPPEL.

Malaysian exhibition — an invitation to Imperialism

FROM October 23rd to 26th, FUEMSSO (Federation of UK and Eire Malaysian and Singaporean Students' Organisations) held a successful picket and counter-exhibition at Leeds Polytechnic to oppose the neo-colonial "Malaysian Exhibition" which was being held there.

The "Malaysian Exhibition" was organised by the Overseas Students' Advisory Group (a kind of welfare organisation at the Poly), and was the high point of their 1974-5 programme. Financial and other material support was given by the Malaysian Students' Department in London. M.S.D. is a Malaysian government organisation.

The primary objective of the exhibition was to attract foreign capital to Malaysia. Companies invited to join included Metal Box; Malaysian Airlines flew in fresh orchids, etc. It was the first such exhibition in a northern English city, and inevitably gave a distorted picture of events in Malaysia.

The organisers invited FUEMSSO to participate: but later withdrew the invitation when M.S.D. threatened to withdraw financial support unless FUEMSSO was excluded.

So FUEMSSO decided to picket the exhibition and hold a simultaneous counter-exhibition to give an accurate picture of the repressive and exploitative conditions and great hardship in which the majority of Malaysians live.

The picket was very successful. It attracted support from trades unionists and a wide cross-section of the British left, as well as from the Poly and Leeds University.

The University's Union passed a motion supporting the picket and condemning the exhibition, and Brunel University Union sent a telegram of support to the Poly and University Unions.

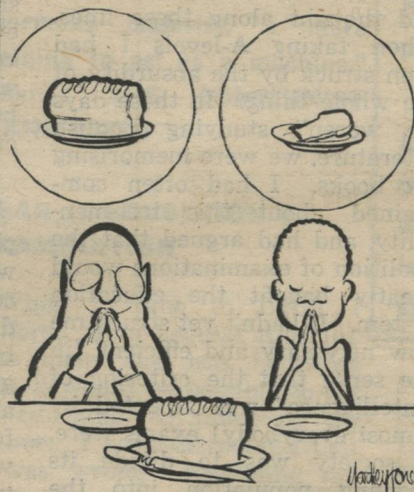
The picket was so strong that the Malaysian High Commissioner did not turn up to officially open the exhibition, as had been scheduled for the 23rd.

Furthermore, picketers went into the opening ceremony and demanded to know why FUEMSSO had been excluded, and asked the meeting to hear their point of view. The audience agreed to "listen to both sides" and later favourable comments were made on what FUEMSSO said.

The counter-exhibition has now been moved to Sheffield, and FUEMSSO hope to build it up and bring it to London. They would welcome help from colleges and student societies in doing this.

The counter-exhibition consists of photographs, posters and literature illustrating the basic facts of the neo-colonial structure of Malaysia (in which Britain is a principal investor) and the landlessness and chronic poverty that results from this.

Currently hundreds of political prisoners are held in concentration camps, trade unions are powerless, the press is muzzled and students are intimidated and detained.



We reprint this poignant cartoon from the October issue of "Canadian Churchman" together with our acknowledgments and thanks.

Rumanian Ruminations

"... Aphorisms which summed up my feelings after a week here... 'The experience of capitalism breeds socialists; the experience of communism breeds capitalists'... 'The best propaganda is the absence of propaganda'..."

—Quoted from an article entitled "The U.S. swallows a bitter pill" published in the October issue of "Canadian Churchman" and written by John Harriott in Bucharest.

BANNER BOOKS & CRAFTS

for Progressive Literature—Marx, Engels, Stalin, Lenin and Mao with books from Vietnam and Albania—and stationery and crafts.
90 CAMDEN HIGH ST., NW1.
Tel. 387-5488.

L.C.

... And another view

THERE are many unclear implications in this article. Of course, the subject matter is frightfully vast and complex that no-one, except Marx or Lenin could condense it and yet keep it clear within such a space.

A. Ooppel unfortunately is neither, not yet anyway!

Still one cannot attribute the obscurity of these implications to limitations of space only, but also to limitations of the time available to the author to grasp his subject. Direct contact with Mr Ooppel ascertains that he does not claim any such finality.

What the article attempts to achieve, however, is simply a provocation of people's minds on the most important subject of China today. In this, he must be successful, especially from the standpoint of steering away from the kind of nonsense one reads in "The Times" and the "Economist" or hears over the BBC.

It is unnecessary to take up passing points and leave the fundamental issues.

It is unfair to judge the article by certain implications which are terribly wrong. One should forgive him his faults because he tried to be bold and to grasp the nettle with good intention.

One only hopes that more people would come along and make a genuine contribution, while in the meantime urging Mr Ooppel to write again.

S.A.A.

TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION

A sign post for the world

"Now in this scientific age it is high time for knowledge to be complete and for fulfilment to be profound for every man, for every society, for every nation, for the whole human race."

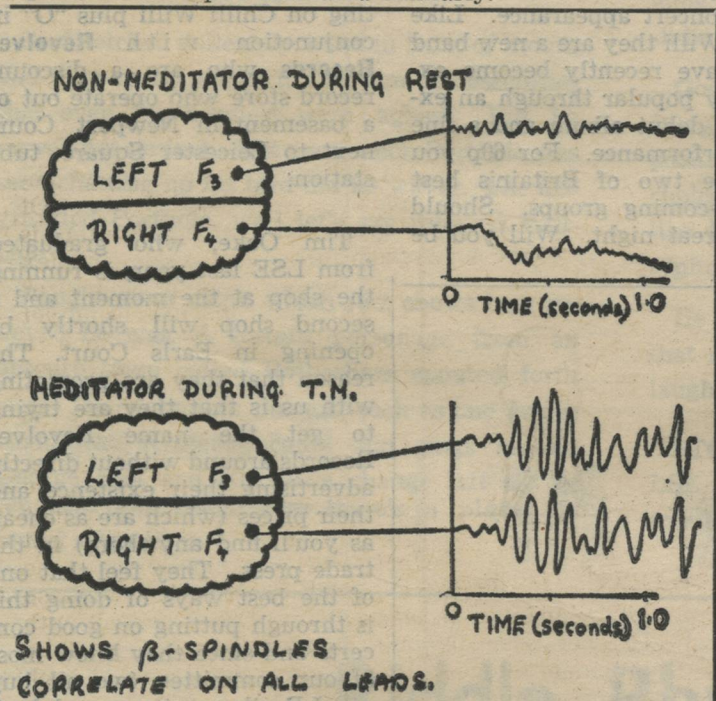
—Maharishi Mahesh Yogi.

IT'S well recognised by everyone that a clear mind is essential for success in all spheres of life. Just as, say, an architect in the quiet of his own study will find the germ of an idea of a beautiful building, so it would be useful to be able to take a mental step back and give our lives a new perspective with a clearer mind. Unfortunately it is not possible for us to fully consider every situation. What is needed, then, is a practical technique which will give us a quieter, clearer mind and enable us to live life more easily, fully and with greater satisfaction. Such a technique is found in Transcendental Meditation, a simple, natural and easy technique which, by giving both body and mind a deep state of rest, gives the practitioner such benefits.

Perhaps the best advert for Transcendental meditation is the phenomenal growth of its practitioners over the past few years. It is estimated that in England alone there are over 32,000 meditators, with the numbers multiplying rapidly, in October alone over 1,500 people started. Further this growth is not a flash-in-the-pan burst by a few members of a sect, but a sustained growth practised by ordinary people from all walks of life, from housewives to professors, from students to generals . . .

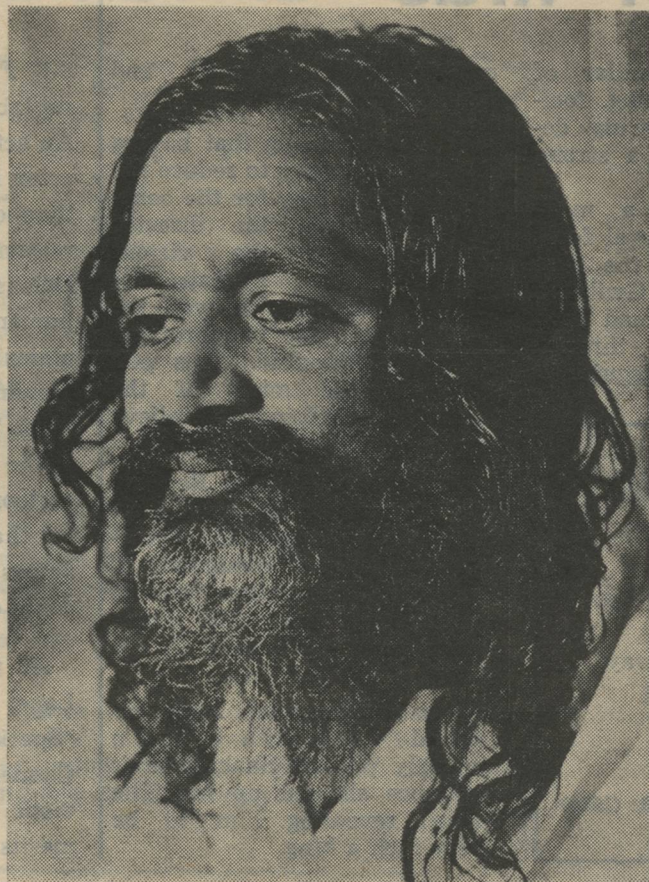
A few years ago some doctors at Harvard University looked into the claims of meditators and their published results have helped to spread Transcendental Meditation enormously, for their research showed that the claims of meditators throughout the world have a basis in scientific fact. During the time of meditation it was found that

- ★ Oxygen consumption decreases by 16 per cent within five minutes of meditation.
- ★ Cardiac output decreased similarly.



(Adapted from Scientific American, Feb. 1972).

During TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION oxygen consumption and metabolic rate markedly decrease indicating a deep level of rest. This rest is the basis of many of the benefits of Transcendental Meditation.



- ★ The lactate level in the blood decreased sharply. (This chemical has been correlated with stress).
- ★ Skin resistance rises by 500 per cent.
- ★ The alpha wave activity of the brain increases and many beta spindles are present.

Since then all these results have been confirmed and extended. Notably it has been found that the activity within the brain, measured by the EEG, becomes more coherent (with Beta-Spindles correlated over the whole brain) and the two hemispheres become synchronised. Quite why this should happen is at present unknown but undeniably it does and many of the claims of meditators have been validated.

The results meditators gain from their twice daily, 20 minute periods of meditation are many and varied. It is easy to see that the relaxation gained will be beneficial, just as if we have had a good night's sleep—then our day is so much better, the period of meditation guarantees a rest far deeper than that of sleep, and the effects are that much more pronounced.

With this rest comes clarity of mind which lasts the whole day, creativity increases and with this one's life becomes easier, more effective and satisfying. It is interesting that this one simple technique should apparently affect ALL aspects of life. If a gardener sees the leaves of a plant in his garden wilting we would think it strange if he attended to each leaf individually, instead he takes water and puts it on to the roots, knowing that thereby he will enhance all aspects of the plant. Similarly, meditators say, if one improves one's own capacity for understanding and

experience by meditation then all aspects of life will be simultaneously enriched. Moreover, not only the mind but also the body gains benefit, for meditators often report a decrease in the number of illnesses they have.

Here are a few of the published comments by meditators:

"I have had the privilege of introducing and passing a House Resolution through the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, lauding Maharishi Mahesh Yogi for bringing back to the world and the United States in particular, the art of Transcendental Meditation. I unhesitatingly recommend Transcendental Meditation to people of all ages interested in bettering themselves and the world we live in."—The Hon. W. J. Murphey (State Representative, 31st District, State of Illinois).

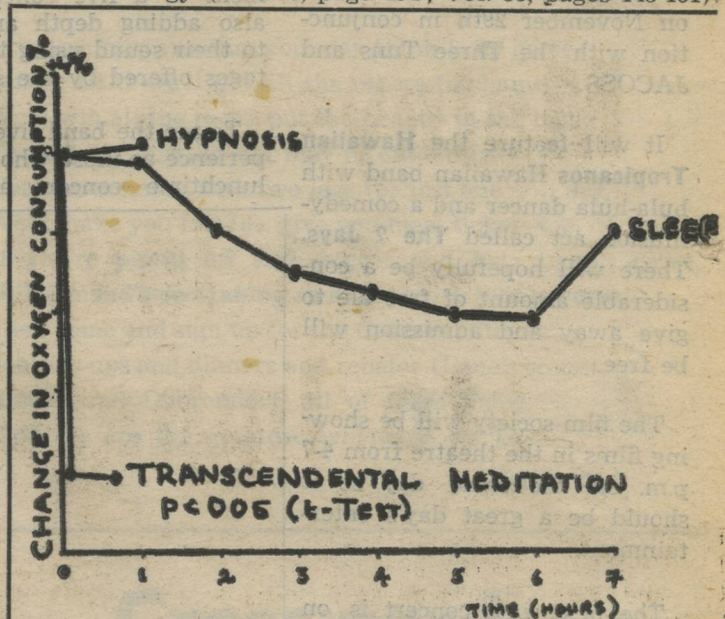
"... education should move past the closed-circuit TV to the mind and its capacities . . . TM has innovation, creative thinking."—Major General Franklin Davis (Commandant U.S. Army War College).

"The stresses are still there but I've become more resilient to them. They bounce off. I find I've got more energy, more time available. I solve problems more quickly . . ."—Lionel Lewis (Financial Director, Davy Ashmore International Ltd., England).

With all the material shown it certainly looks as if LSE students should look into the possibilities of Transcendental Meditation for their own benefit. If you would like to get in touch with SIMS, the Students' International Meditation Society, for introductory talks, please ring 01-821 1511 day or night. Or come along to an introductory talk on Thursday, November 14th, at 1 p.m. in Room S101A.

The following references may be of help:

- Scientific American (Feb. 1972).
- Lancet (April 1970).
- Electroencephalography and Clinical Neurophysiology (Vol. 33, page 454; Vol. 35, pages 143-151).



TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION synchronises electric activity in the left and right cerebral hemispheres, bringing about a concordance of phrase. This seems to indicate an integration of all skills, and the nervous system becomes more flexible and stable.

(Adapted from Electroencephalography and Clinical Neurophysiology, Vol. 33).

American Political Scene—'The Guy Fawkes Election'

EVER since that fateful evening in 1972, when seven sophisticated compatriots stole into the Watergate Hotel for clandestine purposes, the United States of America has been torn asunder by accusations, allegations, and exposures. Yet last week the biennial Congressional elections offered the first real hope that the wounds opened by John Dean, the "Washington Post" and others, would partially be healed.

For two years we have poked into the intricacies of the executive branch, making public the repulsive lives of all involved in the nauseating saga. Whether this process has improved government in America or whether this attempt has shown the people that the influenced cannot govern the influential properly, will only be seen in the light of history.

The November 5th elections should not be interpreted as a radical realignment in American politics. While some political scientists like Kevin Phillips and Walter Dean

Burnham have suggested a cyclical theory wherein there is a critical issue which acts as a catalyst once every generation—this concept may no longer be true.

The classical examples were the 1896 shift to Republicanism (e.g., William Jennings Bryan—Cross of Gold speech and the monetary issues), and the 1932 New Deal Democratic swing (F.D.R. and company). Such an emergent majority was supposedly being evidenced in the last decade, but Watergate has altered this scenario.

The situation at present may tickle the hearts of political idealists everywhere, but it shouldn't delude us. For the first time in a long time there is a viable chance for the development of semi-rational electoral behaviour. Voting based on issues and quasi-intelligence could raise the level of U.S. politics in general.

Without taking too naïve a view, we could project the Guy Fawkes Day election in America in terms of a non-

alignment, an intellectual metamorphosis, instead of the much-spoken-of Democratic takeover.

We cannot right the past or determine the future, but we are obliged to strive for a cleaner, more humane political arena.

American politics cannot be turned around, or made to be something it is not. However, it can move in the painfully, gradual process that is American development towards semi-rational standards.

The biennial elections held last Tuesday, perhaps can be likened to the Fawkes' Day Bonfire. As the bonfire emits fresh sparks into the air, this year's elections also touch off the first real hope that we have had since that fateful night in June, 1972.

Our fire—our long and tragic fire—culminates with this election. It can be a step toward political opportunities for the nation, or a retrenching wad of scum.

Arts

Shakes for kids

Who makes Shakespeare great: The Royal Shakespeare Company or William?

THE staging of Shakespeare has been dictated by fashion. We feared that the performance of "Lear" at "The Place" Dukes Road was going to be completely rehashed by the director Buzz Goodbody.

She was producing the play for school children and admitted to "cutting the text heavily" and removing the subplot, while professing to leave the centre of the play intact. As it happened we hardly noticed Cornwall's and Albany's absence. In a word the play was superb — intact or not.

The tiny apron stage was so close to the audience, that we were immersed in the poignant atmosphere. The play seemed to thrive on the intimate stage, more than in the elegant Stratford theatre. Being thus involved, we suffered Lear's anguish with him, as we saw Tony Church

degenerate from a pillar of royalty into a crumbling, foolish old man. It was truly depressing to see such a strong man so transformed.

David Suchet was a maliciously truthful, yet loyal fool; he showed up to be the wise man he is beside Mike Gwilym's brilliant portrayal of mad Tom. Kent's nobility shone through his meagre role and disguise in

contrast to Goneril's and Regan's cruel fickleness.

It was surprising that having found it necessary to reduce the length of the play for the benefit of children the director should include the vicious blinding scene. Perhaps the highlight of the play was the duel between the two brothers Edgar and Edmund. This took place in the midst of the audience — helping to relieve much tension and anxiety.

Fortunately Frances Roe did not let the trend in under-clothing Shakespearian characters influence her costuming of the play. The clothes were a feast for the eyes. The whole performance stimulated all the senses of the audience.

Even while mad Lear remained "every inch a king"; similarly William Shakespeare's brilliance showed up in "The Place" revealing him to be every inch a king.

WAR AND PEACE

The vicious night of war and strife

At last can fade away,

For Dahrendorf and British wife

Create a better day.

N. RACINE-JACQUES (1974)
(Copyright)

Fantastic planet

S-F FILMS traditionally have superb effects and poor aliens. An actor in a skin looks like an actor in a skin and not a Tralathan or a blob. This was one reason for the success of the Daleks — they simply weren't humanoid-shaped. It also explains the preponderance of humanoid aliens in the "real" "Star Trek" and of non-humans in the "Star Trek" cartoons; for cartoons can depict aliens better than films. As an example James White's "Hospital" series could only be done as a cartoon.

At the Odeon, St. Martin's Lane, is the winner of the "Special Grand Prix" at the Cannes Film Festival: "Fantastic Planet": a film whose merits outweigh its drawbacks.

The plot is practically non-existent being simply the cliché idea of inversion — the humans are intelligent pests on a planet of giants. Another flaw is that it is impossible to become involved; one is always sitting back admiring the artistry of it.

The film is slow-moving (risking but never becoming boring) and highly imaginative. In places the images are poetic; in others pythonesque. Despite its faults the film is well worth seeing.

The second feature is "Crystal Voyager", a superior but overlong surfin' movie starring George Greenough with muzak by G. Wayne Thomas and Pink Floyd. At last a good double-bill for all S-F surfing Pink Floyd fans!

ENTSNEWS ★ ENTSNEWS ★ ENTSNEWS ★ ENTSNEWS

AFTER an extremely successful concert featuring Stefan Grossman things are looking promising for the future. We have decided to hold an all star cabaret evening in the Three Tuns Bar on November 29th in conjunction with the Three Tuns and JACOSS.

It will feature the **Hawaiian Tropicanos** Hawaiian band with hula-hula dancer and a comedy-illusion act called **The 2 Jays**. There will hopefully be a considerable amount of free ale to give away and admission will be free.

The film society will be showing films in the theatre from 4-7 p.m. on the same day so it should be a great day's entertainment.

The next ents concert is on Nov. 16th and features **Chilli Willi** and the **Red Hot Peppers** and **A Band Called 'O'**. Chilli Willi are the only British band who are currently performing and perfecting the many eclectic styles of American music. If comparisons are of any validity, and in this case I think perhaps they are, then I would say that the Willis are our equivalent of the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, The Flying Burrito Brothers, and Commander Cody all rolled into one... a formula that is neither contrived nor artificial, but the natural product of five musicians who have histories steeped in the blues, folk music, soul, r'n'b and rock.

The members of the band are: Phil "Snake Fingers" Lithman: guitar, steel guitar, fiddle and vocals; Martin Stone: lead guitar; Paul Bailey: guitar, banjo, saxophone and vocals; Paul Riley: bass and vocals, and Pete Thomas: drums.

Their debut album "Bongos

Over Balham" was recently released to excellent reviews and with it the Willis have succeeded where so many other bands fail as they've managed to capture the spirit and excitement of a live concert whilst also adding depth and clarity to their sound using the advantages offered by the studio.

To see the band live is an experience as those who saw their lunchtime concert appearance

last February will testify. Their music melts your heart, invites you to dance and sing along, and when it's over you feel a rush of energy and exhilaration pulsating through your blood... like you don't quite believe what you've seen and heard, so you shout for more and you come back and see them again and again, and I can vouch for that at least ten times over. Pass them by and you just might live to regret it. Catch

them once and they'll make you a happier man.

Support act "O" also appear here by virtue of a fine lunchtime concert appearance. Like Chilli Willi they are a new band who have recently become extremely popular through an excellent debut album and a fine live performance. For 60p you can see two of Britain's best up-and-coming groups. Should be a great night. Will you be there?

One thing that should be pointed out about this concert is that it is not being promoted by LSE Ents alone. We are putting on Chilli Willi plus "O" in conjunction with **Revolver Records** who are a discount record store who operate out of a basement in Newport Court next to Leicester Square tube station.

Tim Oake, who graduated from LSE last year, is running the shop at the moment and a second shop will shortly be opening in Earls Court. The reason that they are promoting with us is that they are trying to get the name **Revolver Records** around without directly advertising their existence and their prices (which are as cheap as you'll find anywhere) in the trade press. They feel that one of the best ways of doing this is through putting on good concerts and since they know most of our committee (we all buy our LPs there) it seemed logical that we should promote together.

Apart from putting up money to back the concert against possible financial loss they are also distributing handouts for us as well as selling tickets and putting up posters. In other words both sides have a great deal to gain from the arrangement.

I would just mention that Chilli Willi's excellent "Bongos Over Balham" LP is available from Revolver at £1.80 reduced from £2.45.

R.R.



Chilli Willi

... and a band called 'O'
at L.S.E. Nov 16th

phone: 01-734 0795

REVOLVER RECORDS

18 Newport Crt. (Basement)
London WC2

Traders in Records & Tapes

Sporting Beaver

Touchline events

THE only scrap of gossip I got from my nationwide appeal in the last issue was a report of the first meeting of the Rape and Pillage Soc.

The report went as follows: "The first A.G.M. of the Rape and Pillage Soc. was held on the seventh floor of Connaught House. A nude president was erected, a certain German gentleman who gave his name as Attila. After his erection the newly elected president made a short speech saying that he hadn't come so far for ages, at least not since he had managed to catch a member of the Royal family with her jodphurs down.

He further vouched that he would continue in the footsteps of his predecessor, a man who came and went under the alias of Walter Madmans, by continuing to rape and pillage as many students as possible. He received a standing ovulation and was rushed off before it got any messier. Attila is getting on a bit.

Though graphic and somewhat leud, I have

my usual doubts as to the authenticity of this dainty piece but I have, against my better judgment, decided to include it.

★ ★ ★

What a bonanza of sports these last two weeks, Ali winning, though he claims he had outside assistance, and England winning 3-0. What can one do after this glut of fine results? Nothing, except go and see a second-rate football match (apologies to supporters of teams mentioned).

In London there is WOLVES at WEST HAM, a game promising two teams with names beginning with W and DERBY at ARSENAL, a game promising great things for the gloom and doom boys.

The place to be this coming Saturday is obviously Old Trafford, where the fallen angels, United, meet the rather aged Villa. Pay no attention to the football unless a fanatic but watch the crowd. As somebody famous once said: "All human life will be there."

★ ★ ★

My appeal last issue for goodies concerning sports at our famed institution was met by a flood of nothing. Surely there must be some sporting events worth reporting.

SINEC.

Cross country latest . . . We are the greatest

LSE Runners have got London shaking, 'Cos Pete Foster's diet is history-making, His appetite's huge, his capacity vast, But you'll get no mealtickets—they're gone so fast, With Foster around there is room for no other, The last meal on earth he would take from his mother, But see here, you cheater, will you squirm and jive, When caught at New Malden, more dead than alive, Fred will reveal all your twisting and taking, Your strung-up body will be history making.

Roger Vince too will shortly lose stature, While the tubes may be cheap and his luck may be long, Those cunning inspectors are sure to get at yer, He'll say that he thought the flat fare was 5p, But we'll see his jail term come up on TV. Like the runs at Brunel, all those wins at UC The times Vince has fiddled are too many to name, But the Clapham South lift-man will soon stop his game, When the Gistubo's finished, why he'll be so sad, Whining like Foster, but not quite as bad. For Roger his running and "Geog Arse" will finish, His poor reputation still further diminish.

Cross-country running you may think is no game, But in ULU we'll put all the others to shame. We'll win all the races, put the League in the bag, Though one missing star may be out on the ----, You non-runners with two legs (or just one will do), We'll make you famous, give you meal tickets too. If you're pissed off with soccer and Eric Lynn's curse, Or Diamond's piss-taking and Strudwick who's worse, Then come and sign up for the Cross-country team. See piss-ups and dinners and rebates (Lane's scene), Adams and Dahrendorf, all of them know, That we are the greatest, wherever we go.

BOB ALI.

Eric's successor found

HE stood in the middle of the floor, aloof, dignified, watching with distaste as various footballing colleagues staggered under the weight of much alcoholic beverage.

Serf belched delicately, hand in front of mouth and then reeled off such a stream of obscenities that even the hardiest were aghast. But he moved not an inch. Not even when Porthole was seen chatting up his bird did he waver. The disgruntled Porthole, well let's say relieved Porthole.

Bought me a drink which just shows how relieved he was. A certain personage from an obscure town called Rotherham spouted forth about long forgotten players, such as one James Rudd who, it seems, could run rings around George Best and still have change left out of ten bob. Jim Rudd—now there's a player to model oneself on.

Grapefruit juice in one hand, month old copy of Shoot in the other. But he stood, his nose cutting through air as cleanly as an aeroplane's wing, majestic phrases such as "Howdy the lads" sliding from his partly-opened mouth.

God what a professional. The skill of a Budgie, the muscular strength of a typhoid poodle. He, all praise him, has that initial psychological advantage to be able to beat teams like QEC twelfths or Pitman shorthand and typing colleges lower reserves.

He has that advantage, a toughness of mind that makes weak men shudder and strong men laugh. Support him, his name is ACME TRUSS.

STOP PRESS: Eric Lynn seen playing for LSE team. Signed autograph "Not Dead, just smelling funny." Eric is 21.

B.L.

Riddle Rhymes

Can you spot the personalities behind the verbal masks?

1. He goes around the globe with ease
And knows how hard it is to please
The people that he meets and sees.
2. His panoramic scenes declare
He lives in castles in the air
And knows his onions with his schemes
Of strange and surrealistic dreams.
3. He criticises great expense . . .
And many choose to take offence!
He criticises great expense . . .
And others praise his commonsense!
4. O let the knighted prophet speak
With sense so sound from week to week,
For he can bridge the gap with tact
—Although he is no knight in fact!

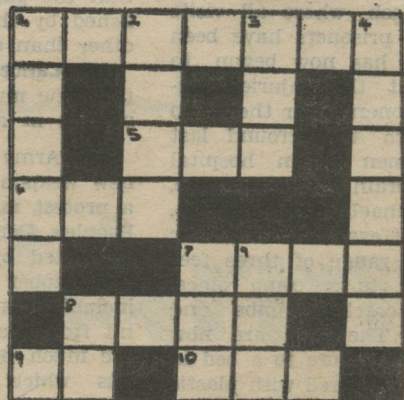
5. He asks his questions like a fox
And makes us think "How orthodox!"
Yet winter sits within the box
With falsehood, truth and paradox.
6. He hears no sound nor speech like you
—Yet is a sympathetic kind
Of man with brain and heart so true
That he, with conscience, speaks his mind.

© N. RAGINE-JAQUES, 1974

RIDDLE SOLUTIONS

1. Dr. Henry Kissinger
2. Senor Salvador Dalí
3. Mr William Hamilton, M.P.
4. Mr Ahstair Cooke
5. Mr David Frost
6. Mr Jack Ashley, M.P.

Crossword



Crossword

Crossword

Across

1. Dam builders write?
5. Military lose their why.
6. Slacks.
7. Run the good?
8. Stuff.
9. It's not cricket, yes?
10. Tim's surname.

Down

1. Sportsmen's essentials.
2. Amsterdam cleaners.
3. A tree guides the boat?
4. Dopey centre forwards do this.
7. Royal Army Tools animals?
8. Alistair's lost his He!
9. French friend.

SSCs falter

THE new Dean of Undergraduate Studies, George Grün, has begun moves towards giving full student representation to the 16 Departments on the Committee for Undergraduate Studies. At present only eight of these Departments can successfully elect a representative to go forth from that Department's Staff-Student Committee to the C.U.S. George has let it be known that at the first meeting of the C.U.S. (Monday, November 18th, 5 p.m., Room C119), he will welcome all 16 Departmental representatives.

Unfortunately not all the S.S.C.s will have met by then. As can be seen from the chart below, at least four S.S.C.s are "rather slow" at coming into existence, although the Government Department's representative was elected last term. What did come to light in the phoning round was that Union Publications could contact students better than some Departments. At the time of phoning the Stats Department had received no nominations from their undergraduates for their S.C.C. This information was put in the daily news-sheet and is repeated here. Nominations close on Wednesday, November 13th. Do something about it.

The Academic Affairs Officer of the Union Executive, James Mitchell, is of the opinion that as long as George Grün's move is part of a process towards full representation all is well. If, however, there is a reversal to eight representatives there would be some drastic rethinking of the Students' Union position in relation to the School.

Department	Past meetings	Future meetings
Accounts	—	Still being arranged
Economics	—	within two weeks
Statistics	—	Mid-November
Government	—	Provisionally Nov. 21, L109
Law	—	Nov. 13th
Sociology	Oct. 8th, Nov. 5th	Nov. 26th
Anthropology	Oct. 10th, Nov. 7th	—
Soc. Psych.	Nov. 5th	—
Soc. Admin.	Oct. 16th	Dec. 4th
Econ. Hist.	Banned	Banned
Geography	Oct. 18th	Nov. 29th
Int. History	—	Nov. 29th
Int. Relations	Nov. 7th	—
Language Studies	Oct. 1st, Nov. 6th	—
Philosophy	Oct. 15th	—

Any corrections/further information gratefully received.

Flamenco Ralf

THE question of whether Ralf Dahrendorf has blown his Liberal image has been raised by an event of two weeks ago. On Tuesday, October 29th, he entertained to lunch the Spanish Ambassador (Excmo. Sr. D. Manuel Fraga Iribarne), the Spanish Cultural Attaché (Excmo. Sr. D. Luis Villalba) and the Director of the Spanish Institute (Sr. D. Luis Maria Alonso Gamo), together with six L.S.E. professors, three outsiders, two L.S.E. doctors and one Anthony Gooch.

When asked about this, Ralf said that this man was the best hope for Spain, at the moment post-Franco and was a sort of Spanish Caetano. Whether you regard this as sufficient reason is up to you. What Ralf did add was that he had never been to Spain in his life, or any other Fascist country.

Just for the record's sake, there follow the names of the other parties to this, apparently, dubious business: Professors Fisher (Econ. Hist.), Goodwin (Int. Rel.), MacRae (Sociol.), Northedge (Int. Rel.), Pitt-Rivers (Anthrop.), and Self (Govt.); outsiders, Professor L. P. Harvey (Cervantes Professor of Spanish, King's College), Professor J. C. Cummins (Head of the Department of Spanish, University College), and Dr H. Blakemore (Secretary of the Institute of Latin American Studies) and finally Doctors Leigh (Law) and Thornes (Geog.).

Army

BRITISH troops took advantage of the riots at Long Kesh on October 16th to field test CR gas, a new riot control agent apparently issued at the end of last year. Victims at Long Kesh report CR's effect includes collapse and temporary paralysis. Despite government attempts to hush up all news from Long Kesh, where all visits to Republican prisoners have been stopped, word has now begun to leak out about the injuries sustained by prisoners after the camp was burned to the ground last week. Five men are in hospital with severe brain injuries. One, Terry Carmichael from Belfast, was hit in the eyes with a rubber bullet from a range of three feet and has been in a coma since. Many have cracked limbs and broken ribs. The men are now sleeping three or more to a bed in makeshift huts covered with plastic sheeting. They are still refusing what the camp authorities describe as "food".

The issue of CR gas to army guards at Long Kesh was reported in the "Guardian" in March. Its superiority over CS gas is based on its non-spreading properties which enable it to be directed at individuals, thus eliminating the radicalising effect of CS gas which affects whole communities. CR gas came under criticism, however, even from conservative medical opinion. No information to suggest that the gas was "safe" was published by the Ministry of Defence other than one paper described by "The Lancet" as "so incomplete that one must assume that it was written in a security straitjacket."

The Army revealed another of its new weapons—PVC bullets—during a protest march organised by the People's Democracy in Belfast and supported by over 1,500 marchers on October 20th. Several people, including an elderly woman, were hit from close range. PVC bullets are much harder than rubber bullets which have already killed several people and blinded over a dozen since they were first introduced in June 1970.

Acknowledgment

THE West Papua article (No. 132) was translated from the German by David Paisey of the British Library.

The interview was conducted by Tilman Zulch, editor of POGROM (published in Hamburg) which is devoted to minorities throughout the world.



The last chance ...?

MR Wilson's slip which we attacked in our last issue should not justify to any member of the Labour Movement to indulge in an all-out confrontation with the Labour Government. Of course the Conservatives and the Liberals are still licking their wounds. This could prove to be mortal, — and more particularly when they remove their masks further and ride the Fascist wave. But the tragic errors which took place within the Labour Movement in previous years should be avoided in order to ensure that a broad patriotic front involving all progressive elements in British politics is maintained and strengthened. The fascist danger in the political field is real enough to make every effort in keeping the lines of communication open worthwhile.

What needs to be done at this stage is a concerted and continuous effort to place maximum pressure on the Labour Government in order to implement the manifesto, the whole manifesto, and nothing but the manifesto. "The Labour Government," argues "Tribune," "will not prosper if it refuses to recognise the need to adhere to the policies which have been thrashed out in laborious but necessary democratic argument since 1970. The movement as a whole will wither if it is not maintained as the area where new and relevant policies are developed for the future." (November 1st, 1974.)

Mr Wilson did indeed misjudge the fundamental trends in British politics when he allowed (or even created) tension to arise within the Parliamentary Labour Party. He seemed to have forgotten for a weak moment that the opportunist section of his Party is, to quote "Tribune" again, "by no means as powerful as it was in the past." Yet the seriousness of the situation doesn't allow weak moments to be comfortably long. The Prime Minister after a few days of the row he created, seemed to have learnt his error. The Labour Party Conference that is going to be held at the end of this month, will ascertain the extent of his wisdom.

Still, one can never be sure of an ex-Liberal, an opportunist or just a Social-Democrat, which in this case happened to be all-in-one. The only certainty about proper steer-

ing of the country away from the sort of malaise and defeatism which his 1964-70 administration showed and the pitfalls and atrocities we experienced from the Tory administration in the years that preceded and followed since the war, is simply a genuine strengthening of democracy, and in particular socialist democracy as called for by the Trade Unions and the left-wing M.P.s.

The progressive voice of the L.S.E. students would like to remind everyone of the all-important statement made by Mr Hugh Scanlon last September, when he shrewdly remarked "Both this and the next Labour government have to justify the support given by the trade unions. This means nothing less than a Labour government carrying out Labour's pledge to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power in society in favour of working people and their families." (A.U.E.W. Engineering Section Journal, September, 1974.)

Paradoxically the "Times" editor also got it right for a change, when he remarked on September 4th, 1974, that "Another failed parliament could almost certainly leave things too late for the crisis of ultimate inflation to be arrested. If Britain does experience an inflation that wipes out the existing currency, many people will be ruined and democracy will be endangered. The importance of the election is therefore that it will choose the last chance parliament." (For full analysis of the present situation in Britain, see in particular Mr Palme Dutt's, "Notes for the Month" in Labour Monthly, November, 1974.)

The way to tackle the mess in which we live must therefore, start with supporting the effort of Mr Ron Hayward, the new general secretary to the Labour Party, and the Tribune Group in the House to fit Transport House into the role which the Party constitution provided for it. It is to recognise the fundamental changes which have brought Labour back to power. All the policies presented at the elections must be accepted exactly as they were set out in the manifesto. Immediate legislation must be introduced to repair the damage to democracy which has been done by its enemies in the Tory Party and the press. The Cabinet

should be told what the Labour Conference's view is on the Common Market terms. Immediate withdrawal is the task. Conference should also be able to vote on the future of overseas policies. Scrapping the Simonstown Agreement is then in order. Debate on the major items of economic detail must be held in the Conference. Deflation, the growth of unemployment, cuts in public expenditure, and the so-called investment bank must all be rejected. A formula must be produced to give the Labour Movement as a whole a growing say in policy matters.

ONLY a transformation of Britain from its present decadence to a Socialist, truly Socialist country will ensure avoidance of a fascist blood-bath that otherwise is sure to come.

Victory

CARMEN CASTILLO has been released from the Military Hospital in Santiago. She arrived at Heathrow Airport on Sunday night (October 27th) and was met by members of her family. The British Government has granted her a visa as a refugee. Her release follows an intensive international campaign on her behalf and represents a victory for the worldwide Chile solidarity movement.

Elitism ?

A TOTAL of 40 graduate students attended a preliminary meeting which led to the formation of the Graduate Sociology Society.

The aims of the Society are as follows—
to sponsor social get-togethers for M.Sc. and Research Students;
to provide seminars for those with common research interests;
to support and encourage the undergraduate Sociology Society.

Graduate students are urged to submit their names, addresses and research interests to Simon Smelt, c/o P/G Pigeonholes.

Poisoned ?

UNFORTUNATELY Gaston Gnome is ill in hospital with food-poisoning due to enthusiastically indulging in cheese-rolls purchased at Florries.

He has not yet been taken off the critical list but we have plans to give him a complete blood transfusion. Should this prove ineffective we may have to consider removing his stomach together with his left breast.

This may impair his faculties somewhat but we hope that these drastic methods will not have to be resorted to.

A Doctor.
NEWSFLASH . . . NEWSFLASH
Blood transfusion successful
STOP Patient responding STOP

Hols '75

WILL any students who wish to sublet their flat or rooms from June to October 1975, please contact Emma Hamilton-Brown, Room S.100, Students' Union. You can go away and not have to pay rent!