

LSE

what it is : and how we fought it

Introduction

On April 14th 1967, after four acrimonious meetings in nine days, the Court of Governors of the London School of Economics announced that it had lifted the three-month suspensions imposed on two student representatives on March 13th. This was undoubtedly the victory students had fought for in nine historic days of direct action.

The original view taken by the Administration was that the victimisation of Adelstein and Bloom was necessary for the maintenance of their power. This was overturned by the student struggle. It became apparent that the victimisations had to be abandoned for them to maintain any power. The threat of a resumption of the sit-in on April 27th was well known...

This pamphlet has been written by some of those who participated in the struggle. It is the story of the sit-in and an attempt to locate this struggle in a wider social context. Every effort has been made to check the information presented, but the confusion of those days makes it very difficult to be fully accurate, and we apologise in advance for any errors which may have crept in. It is a genuine collective effort and while each of us may not accept every sentence, in general we all agree with its conclusions.

We wish to thank all those who have given us help. In particular, the pamphlet could not have been produced without the technical assistance of the Pirate Press ('fast, cheap, radical') and Solidarity. Photographs are by courtesy of the Daily Telegraph and Beaver (in good company). Some financial help was provided by the LSE Registry.

Any profit made on this pamphlet will go to various strike funds and further agitation.

Open Committee, LSE Socialist Society.

Copies of this pamphlet are available from Alan Fowler, 42a, Manor Road, London N.16.
1/6d individual copies; 15/- a dozen, post paid.

1. THE STORY OF THE SIT-IN

Stormy Monday

On Monday March 13th, events 'unprecedented in British university history' (Times, 14.3.67) took place in LSE. By 5 pm the main entrance and lobby of the School was blocked by students squatting on the floor, some discussing the issues immediately affecting them, some singing protest songs, all deliberately disobeying the School authorities.

The sit-in followed a Union meeting that had been called to await the 'judgment' of the Board of Discipline - set up to put the students in their place. Charges had been brought against five members of Union Council (1) and the President of the Graduate Students' Association (GSA). Feeling at the meeting was very tense. Originally called at 2 pm it had been postponed until 3.30 pm while the Board further considered the politics of their judgment (by now charges remained only against the two Presidents).

The 800 students, sweating in an overcrowded hall (normal capacity 500) had to wait another half-an-hour. The mood was expectant, but also light-hearted and optimistic. The time was passed listening to protest songs. Few expected the announcement of vicious sentences.

At last the folk singers were ushered off the stage. A messenger had arrived with the verdict. Stunned silence greeted the news that Adelstein and Bloom were to be suspended until the end of the next term. For several moments no one knew what to say. Then Peter Watherston, president-elect of the Union and ex-Chairman of the Conservative Society, was pushed forward, and moved that the Union organize a boycott of all lectures and classes, and support a sit-in on School premises until the sentences were lifted. There followed a

(1) The nine member executive of the Students' Union.

discussion in which it became clear that while there was near-unanimous support for the boycott, many who considered themselves 'moderates' were not so sure about a sit-in. To counter the threat that the proposal would be talked out, one student insisted that solidarity with elected representatives was more important than formal constitutional procedures. Fifteen people left to begin the sit-in. Others drifted out to join them and, at about quarter to five those remaining voted for the boycott and in support of the sit-in. The motion was worded in such a way that it seemed that even the majority of those who voted for it did not personally commit themselves to implement it.

Outside, the more determined were already sitting down. With varying degrees of reticence others took their places around them. In a fairly short time the lobby linking the main door to the Old Theatre was blocked. Numbers grew rapidly as other students on their way to the Library or refectory heard the verdict and joined in.

The Administration was stunned by the students' reaction. They had expected some trouble but they still considered themselves all-powerful. Their conception of the running of the School had not allowed for a situation in which those over whom they ruled would begin to make decisions regardless of their wishes.

Within an hour, a middle-aged academic appeared by the porters' lodge at the entrance to the building. Through a megaphone (conveniently at hand) he began to speak: 'My name is Sinclair', (to which suitable replies were offered). 'The Director has delegated to me his disciplinary powers ...'. Chorus after chorus of 'We shall not be moved' rendered the rest of what he said inaudible. It turned out that he was going to suspend any student who was still sitting down in the lobby ten minutes later.

No one moved. Nothing more was heard of this threat (or promise). The feeling of those sitting was that they would bring the School to a halt unless the suspensions on Adelstein and Bloom were lifted. Threats by the Administration only served to intensify their determination. Sinclair attempted to intimidate the students by arbitrarily suspending, until the end of term, the two who were closest to hand. Throughout this last week of term, he remained powerless to put this decision into effect. (The authorities were later forced to realize that their power could only be kept intact by the abandonment of the original suspensions).

In their powerlessness, the administration tried to be as awkward as possible. It seemed at one time that they intended to starve out the students by barring movement from the lobby, except into the street. They insisted that no one would be allowed back in. Students improvised ways of getting round this. No one wanted a clash with the porters, who had no choice but to obey orders to bar the doors.

Later the Administration tried to freeze the students out, by locking the doors in an open position. Hastily erected barricades only slightly impeded the cold draughts. They did however provide students with control over entry into the building. The Administration also made a futile attempt to break the students by interfering with the fuses. They removed those controlling the lights in the Old Theatre, but prompt student action prevented the same happening elsewhere. When the door to the fuse cupboard was open, a number of students threw themselves in front of it, and sat down. The Administration then had to plead for permission to close the cupboard, which was only given after students had replaced the missing fuses.



LSE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST UDI
(NOV. 12, 1965)

Background

In June 1966 it was announced that Dr. Walter Adams, the Principal of University College, Rhodesia, had been appointed as Sir Sydney Caine's successor. This announcement shocked many students with liberal consciences and reasonable memories, who recalled that the authorities at UCR had failed to take any stand against the racist government of Ian Smith. Some began to enquire into Adams' record at UCR and the circumstances of his appointment to the LSE; the results of their investigations were published in a lengthy Agitator pamphlet 'LSE's New Director: a report on Walter Adams'. Within ten minutes on Monday, October 21st, the first print of 750 was sold out; later that week Union passed a motion 'seriously questioning' Adams' appointment and giving him a time limit in which to reply to the criticisms raised.

Fundamentally what was objected to were not Adams' own politics (reputedly 'liberal'), but the fact that at various times he had given in to external pressures and sided with the racist government. He had chosen to cooperate with Smith, the price for keeping the College open, even though this meant giving up any pretence of academic freedom; with his assistance and without a fight the final source of militant public opposition to the Smith regime was blocked. Adding to this Adams' reported disdain for students, the resulting militant opposition of LSE students to this appointment is no surprise.

The immediate reaction of the powers that be (inside and outside the LSE) was to condemn the pamphlet out of hand. The criticisms it contained were never answered. One reason for not doing so was given by Professor MacRae who displayed the same logical precision and knowledge of reality as he does in his first year sociology lectures, by arguing that he could not reply to them as the pamphlet was 'anonymous' (in fact a false claim, since Agitator is published by the Open Committee of the Socialist Society), and therefore to be compared with McCarthyism or the Moscow Trials. Another reason given was that to do so would infringe academic freedom. The excuses given merely covered up the belief that students had no rights in any of the preserves of power.

The Administration and Governors of the School did all they could to prevent the campaign against the appointment being effective. They 'requested and advised' Adams not to communicate with the Students' Union, while themselves encouraging and participating in a campaign of letter writing to the press in support of him. This led to the first real confrontation between the students and the authorities. The Union President wished to reply to a letter in The Times written by the Chairman of the Court of Governors, Lord Bridges. The Director refused permission for Adelstein to reply as Union President. A packed Union meeting decided this was a direct denial of freedom of expression and ordered the President to send the letter despite the ruling. The Administration immediately took up this challenge, and for the first time in fifteen years summoned the Disciplinary Board to try Adelstein. The students responded by voting for and supporting a one-day boycott of lectures and classes which was 80% effective. As a result the Board found Adelstein guilty, but did not punish him in any way, justifying this position by pretending

to accept the legalistic defence his lawyers had presented (i.e. that he had acted without intent to defy). Most students saw this as a victory for direct action.

Two important features of this boycott that have bearing on later events have to be mentioned here. Firstly the 'official' organizers - a section of Union Council - seemed to go out of their way to impede discussion on wider issues by the mass of students. At a mass meeting in Houghton Street their chief concern was to help the police keep the traffic moving. They closed the meeting after about only ten minutes - eight of which had been taken up by a speaker both before and since hostile to direct student action, Geoff Martin, the president-elect of NUS. Any real involvement by the majority of students was effectively blocked. This caused a minority of disgusted students to try more effective action by themselves. They sat down in the administration building, blocking the passage to the room in which the trial was taking place. For this action they were bitterly attacked in a Union meeting. The official 'leaders' warned of dire consequences. None of these ever materialised.

LSE's NEW DIRECTOR : A REPORT ON WALTER ADAMS

'Our examination of the events in Rhodesia and in the University College in particular leads us to criticise him on four main counts:

1. Unwillingness to take a stand on the issue of academic freedom.
2. Avoidance of important decision making.
3. Extreme isolation from staff and students.
4. Administrative inefficiency.

Arising from these four main criticisms come a number of lesser ones. Their full implication will only become clear when the evidence is introduced, but we mention them now to make it clear that the traits outlined above were both harmful to African students at the College and a help to the Smith regime. They are:

1. A failure publicly to oppose U.D.I.
2. A failure to protest at the searchings and intimidation of students and staff.
3. A failure publicly to oppose the restriction of students to areas where it was impossible to continue their studies.
4. A failure to condemn the arrests and deportations of members of staff at the end of July 1966.
5. A failure to give assistance to those students who wished to continue their studies outside Rhodesia.
6. Double standards.'

These charges have never been refuted. On April 14th 1967, Adams took the President of the Students' Union to tea at the Athenaeum.

The lent term

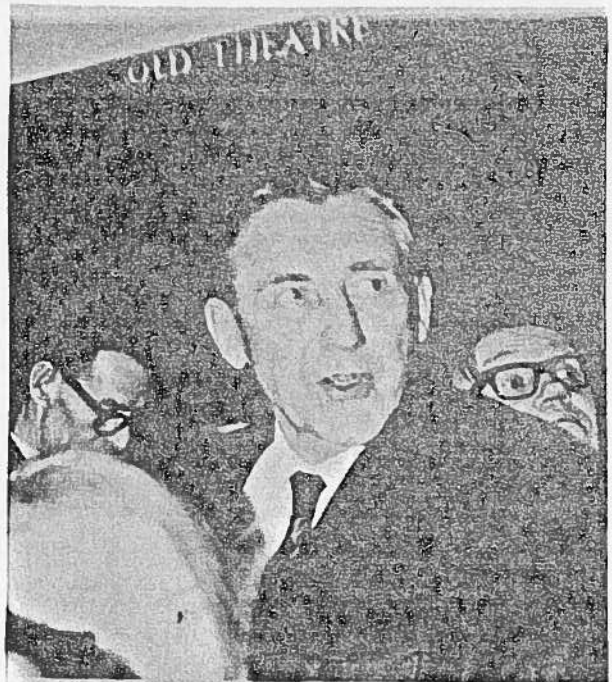
When the students returned from the Christmas vacation the 'Adams Issue' seemed very much dead and buried. This was so partly because Union Council (1) failed at the time of the boycott to raise this issue as one fundamentally affecting students' rights, and partly because many of the militants of the term before felt that little more could be done about it. For most students examinations had again become their chief preoccupation. One small group, however, was still trying (with little chances of success) to get the issue discussed a fortnight after the beginning of term. They plastered every notice board in the School with posters advertising a meeting to discuss direct action against Adams. Although one or two of these contained light-hearted abuse of Adams, most of them were centred around a recently discovered editorial in the *New Statesman* of June 1956 attacking Adams' support for segregated student living quarters at UCR. These posters appeared in the School two weeks before January 31st - the day the meeting was due to take place. The meeting was scheduled for 4 pm on the 31st. At 2.45 pm that day the Director saw Marshal Bloom, the President of the Graduate Students' Association (G.S.A.), and told him the meeting was banned.

The effect on students was electrifying: one group prepared and distributed a leaflet ('Caine bans free speech') calling upon students to defy the ban; Union Council met and sanctioned the attempt to go ahead with the meeting (they were later indicted for this decision); posters appeared around the School urging students to support the banned meeting. By 4 pm some 500 students had left the library or their lectures and were blocking the lobby and corridors outside the Old Theatre, the venue of the meeting. Entry was barred by the porters, on the Administration's orders.

There followed a long and confused sequence of events. Most of the students wanted to exercise their right to hold a meeting in the Old Theatre, but were unwilling to use any force against the porters, with whom they were friendly. Some students began to sit down, but for most students this seemed too negative. Bloom more or less assumed the function of chairman, initially to allow the Director to speak to the protesting students. It seemed later that this was what he was to be punished for. The Director's equation of direct action with violence served only to impress upon

people the high standards of knowledge required by those chosen to rule over academic institutions. Challenged again on the ban, he replied 'You have no rights'. This bland statement of the Administration's attitude was the most inflammatory remark made at the meeting. When Caine was asked to remove the porters to avoid the risk of anyone getting hurt, the School Secretary, Harry Kidd, who was standing at his side, refused.

In the general confusion, three attempts were made by Bloom and Adelstein to take a vote whether to enter the Old Theatre or not. All were passed in favour of defying the Director's ban. Eventually, pressure from the students moved the porters at one door aside, and up to 70 students plus Kidd and Caine (who had been pushing and pulling at students to prevent them going in) entered the darkened Theatre. On Kidd's orders the fuses had been removed. Another 80 students then entered by a side door. Inside, students felt they had been completely successful; the Administration was now powerless. In the candlelit Theatre, Caine, who only an hour before had stated categorically that the meeting could not take place, now had to beg students to leave and hold the meeting elsewhere - anywhere but in the Old Theatre! His pleading had no effect; the Director of LSE was now just one individual with whom many others disagreed. Other administrators were reduced to the pantomime of pulling out wires in order to extinguish sources of light students had found.



THE DYNAMIC DUO DEFEND THEIR ALL



MARSHAL BLOOM SECURES HIS SUSPENSION
(Kidd second from left; Caine centre; Bloom second from right)

After a student occupation lasting about a quarter of an hour, news arrived that transformed the whole situation. Caine announced: 'What would you do if I told you a porter was dead?'. At first he was disbelieved, but eventually it became clear that a porter had collapsed during the excitement after most students were already inside. It transpired that he had died of a heart attack, and had not been touched by students; as the Board of Discipline later recognised, his death was purely accidental.

Despite agreement that 'no-one should hold themselves responsible' (Caine) students, without exception, were stunned. Many of them felt in a quite irrational way that they were to blame. If only they had done this instead of that, it might have been avoided... Nor did it prevent others who knew nothing about the situation from accusing students of being responsible for his death (Geoff Martin of the National Union of Students appeared on television saying that this showed the dangers of student militancy). Within the LSE itself, various individuals with personal or political

grudges against the 'left' began a campaign to censure Union Council and the G.S.A. committee for disobeying the Director. For a few days it seemed that LSE was possessed by an archetypal witch-hunt, in which a minority of interested parties attempted to make political capital out of the sense of bewilderment and guilt that most students felt. At the next Union meeting a member of Socialist Society was shouted down when he attempted to defend the defiance of the Director's arbitrary ban. This wave of emotionalism soon died down, but it did leave a residue of unwillingness in many students to contemplate further direct action for a considerable period.

Among the staff the reaction was even more hysterical. 124 of them signed a statement condemning the action of the students 'in attacking the appointment of the director-designate and the violence to which this has led'. These included many nominal leftists, like Titmuss and Greaves. At an Academic Board meeting there were calls for mass expulsions, but a rearguard action by the less reactionary led to the setting up of a

Committee of Inquiry - 'legal' victimisation was preferred to arbitrary execution! A week later, this Inquiry produced a report which was never published. However, it was soon to be used as a source of evidence when the Administration brought six student representatives (those present at the Council meeting referred to earlier) to trial before the Board of Discipline.



Most students were, as yet, in no mood to take direct action in defence of these representatives. The Administration was therefore under no pressure to get it over with quickly. The proceedings of the Board of Discipline dragged on for six weeks until near the end of term. For those involved the strain of not knowing their own future was tremendous. Most people knew that the six were not the ones who had played the major part in defying the Director's ruling. Most students also agreed that the ban should have been defied. Yet, when a petition accepting joint responsibility with the accused was drawn up, only 250 signed it. Even when it became clear that the Board was weighted against the accused, Union meetings would only agree to a token 'vigil' outside the proceedings. When it was announced that the decision was to be postponed yet another week (no doubt with the idea in mind that the proximity of the vacation would make any defensive action by the rest of students ineffective), the response remained 'diplomatic' and 'moderate'. Most students still preferred to treat the situation as one of impartial consideration of the charges, although they knew this to be false. For those wanting a more militant defence of the accused, this was a

period of continual discussion in a vacuum cut off from effective action. A Students' Defence and Action Group was set up, but only about 100 students were associated with it.

It cannot be said that the shock of the verdict fundamentally changed everyone's outlook. But it was a major step in the unmasking of the realities of the situation, a process which had been going on for many months.

Eight days of struggle

Even during the sit-in, however, the situation was not completely clear to students - not so clear, perhaps, as it was to the administration and governors. The latter saw their absolute power being directly challenged. Students still expected 'justice' from the powers that be and were amazed when professors, doctors and knights told blatant lies. They were disgusted that anyone should be suspended for taking a vote. But the bitterness of their feelings against individual members of the Administration reflected a residue of support for the system as a whole. The sharpness of the clash between their illusions - a more or less unreflective acceptance of liberal rhetoric - and the oppressive reality of one of the structures that continued to propagate them, was, however, beginning to teach them a great deal.

At first the Administration did not realise it, but this confusion among the students could have been of great assistance to them. Instead, during the first two or three days of the sit-in they continually aggravated the situation. Their remarks about provos, anarchists, trotskyites and Americans showed students their absolute ignorance and dishonesty. Caine refused to negotiate, and gave the impression that it would be weeks before any body with power to alter the suspensions would be able to meet to consider them (later the Court of Governors convened itself urgently four times within 8 days - see below). Professor Ben Roberts, an 'expert' in Industrial Relations and a top man in the LSE power game, later expressed their attitude: 'The students have ruined the university. You have caused great damage and only the students are to blame'. As the attitudes of the rulers of LSE became clearer, the sit-in gathered momentum.

'O.K. TAKE YOUR FINGER OUT NOW, BEN!'



(Harry Kidd and Ben Roberts entering LSE)

On Monday and Tuesday (March 13th-14th) the sit-in was not causing the Administration much sustained inconvenience, though the press reports must have made them writhe. Access to the building was not completely barred. The library still functioned, although few students were in it; academics could still do research. If lectures were unattended, this hurt students as much as anyone (Professor Donnison, one of the 'judges' on the Disciplinary Board, himself said that the staff wouldn't mind if the School were closed down for the whole of the Summer Term - this would allow them to get on with their research). Above all, the vital administrative tasks carried out in Connaught House - for instance, preparing next year's intake - were completely unimpeded by the sit-in in the main building. Its tremendous success, in terms of numbers and enthusiasm, obscured its limitations however. Students were experiencing for the first time a real collective attempt to change their life situation. There was a general feeling of elation. Something seemed to be happening that was far more important than lectures or examinations.

An interesting feature of the whole protest week was the way in which the same people engaged in the struggle outside the Old Theatre seemed more militant and aware of what was happening than when they were sitting in the formal atmosphere of a union meeting inside. There, the old Union Council tended to dominate: outside, various students rose to frame questions directly related to the struggle. It was a failing of those sitting-in not to have elected at some fairly early stage of the proceedings a strike committee attuned to the exigencies of waging the fight successfully. Obviously this would have included many Council members who as individuals were playing key roles, but as a body Union Council still seemed obsessed by constitutional niceties. In fact, the students made only one serious move to develop the struggle, to wage it on terms more favourable to themselves and more damaging to the authorities. This was on the Wednesday morning when they entered Connaught House.

The 'occupation'

This was the most crucial point in the week: the complete humiliation of the Administration could have resulted in an immediate student victory. But even many of the 100 or so students who actually took part did not realise its full significance.

Connaught House, the Administration block, is linked to the rest of the School by two passages on the first and fourth floors. These had been blocked by steel fire doors on the Monday morning. The

102 suspended

HUNGER STRIKE BY STUDENTS

Girls among volunteers for L.S.E. protest

By RONALD FAUX

At midnight last night a small corps of students at the London School of Economics had their last sandwich before beginning a hunger strike in protest against the suspension of Mr. David Adelstein and Mr. Marshall Bloom.

"We will certainly not eat anything until Saturday night and we will last out longer if we can", one of them said. Mr. Elliott Isenberg, aged 21, a sociology student, said he had already complained about the Vietnam war in America by taking part in a hunger strike. "I lasted five days. We want to dramatize to the public that we have a commitment", he said.

LONDON

WEDNESDAY

MARCH 15 1967



only remaining entrance faced onto the Aldwych. During the day this was guarded by porters, who, while the demonstrations continued, only permitted entrance if registration cards were handed in first. On Tuesday evening those who stayed overnight decided that the first priority was to invade Connaught House and occupy it until concessions were granted. At 5.45 am a student knocked on the main door. The night porter opened it to see who was there. Immediately, three students sat in the doorway blocking it open, while others ran back to the Main Building to awaken those sleeping in the Old Theatre. Within five minutes a hundred students were in the building. Many sat down in the hallway, blocking the main door, while others erected barricades of steel cupboards, desks and chairs further up in the building, preventing the reopening of the two internal passages. But although the passage to the main door was blocked, the door itself remained slightly ajar - a major mistake. After some fifteen minutes, Sinclair and the Clerk of Works appeared outside. The latter, exploiting the students' reluctance to use violence, pushed his arm through the gap and was thus able to force his way into the building. Sinclair followed him in and pleaded: 'I'm on your side', he appealed to the students. He then told them that they were harming their own cause, and asked them to leave. At this stage he also told the students that he had neither the

power nor the desire to suspend them or to have them removed. Sinclair then left the building only to return an hour later with Harry Kidd. This time his line was very different. He told the students to leave and that if they didn't, they would all be suspended and thrown out of the building.

After the traditional ten minutes warning time, and a plea from the police inspector at his shoulder to leave peacefully, Sinclair then turned on the students. 'Right', he shouted, 'You're all suspended. And then, 'How long shall I suspend you for?', he screeched hysterically. A student replied: 'As long as Bloom and Adelstein'. 'Good', Sinclair stuttered, calming down a little, 'then you're all suspended for three months'. All that remained to be done was for the police to carry all the students (singing vociferously 'We shall not be moved' - another mistake) out of the building.

The 'suspended' students (who included a few from Manchester University who had arrived the previous day), gathered outside in the street, and finding an entrance to the Main Building open, returned to join the sit-in where some 200 remained. In retrospect it might have been wise to return immediately to Connaught House, but it was decided to wait until more students arrived. The euphoria amongst the

'suspended' (since the Administration obviously could not enforce the suspensions against Bloom and Adelstein while a hundred others walked around unhampered) spread to the other students. These mass suspensions therefore had an effect opposite to that intended by the Authorities - instead of intimidating the student movement, they merely served to increase its size and militancy. They underlined the farce of the 'judicial' proceedings against Bloom and Adelstein, dragged out over six weeks, when identical penalties were imposed without even the facade of a trial. The Authorities did not even have their names, and apparently intended to identify them from press photos!

Students 'invade' London

By Wednesday afternoon support was flooding in from all over the country. Telegrams were received from virtually every University, from Bertrand Russell, Mrs. Laski and many other individuals, as well as from Spanish and German universities and some trade union branches. A large contingent arrived from the Regent Street Polytechnic, and students from there as well as many of the other colleges played a valuable part in the nearly continuous debates, both in Union and in the lobby outside. In these debates, day after day, the basic principle of support for Adelstein and Bloom was brought up for continual re-examination - usually by those who played no part in the sit-in. The tremendous support from 'outside' students greatly assisted those 'inside' in reaffirming a basic solidarity on some very difficult occasions.

For two hours that afternoon the three main entrances to the School were completely jammed by about a thousand demonstrating students. This made nonsense of press reports that 'at most 300 of the School's student population of 3,500 took an active part in the sit-down' (Economist, 18.3.67). Again, it was completely false to claim that the 'mass boycott of lectures and classes ... was an almost total flop' (op.cit.). By Wednesday, careful checking revealed a 75% boycott. One can only presume that the Economist (and much of the rest of the press) were deliberately distorting the truth, or that reporters were being paid handsomely for sitting in the 'White Horse' or the 'George'.

At this point it seemed to many students that nothing could stop them winning. That evening, Caine appeared and spoke to a packed Union meeting, attempting to sell marginal concessions unrelated to the suspensions of Adelstein and Bloom. His veiled threat that those in the building after 10.30 pm would be suspended and thrown out was for real: that evening, three police coaches containing about

50 police were parked for several hours just round the corner; and MacRae, another academic Governor of the School and 'hard man' behind Caine, actually told guests at a party he was giving at the top of the building to expect some scuffles between the students and the police as they were carried out; he reassured his guests that they would be all right. The student reaction to this threat completely foiled the Administration. Expecting many students to leave rather than risk expulsion, they were staggered to find that more students stayed than ever before - some 500 students spent the night. Sinclair later admitted that they could not suspend and remove such large numbers.

But to some extent the jubilation of the students at their own solidarity and strength obscured the weakness of their position. The end of term was drawing near, and without them being aware of it, the choice facing them was between more radical action or the crumbling of the sit-in through fatigue and ineffectiveness.



THE SLEEP - IN

The staff

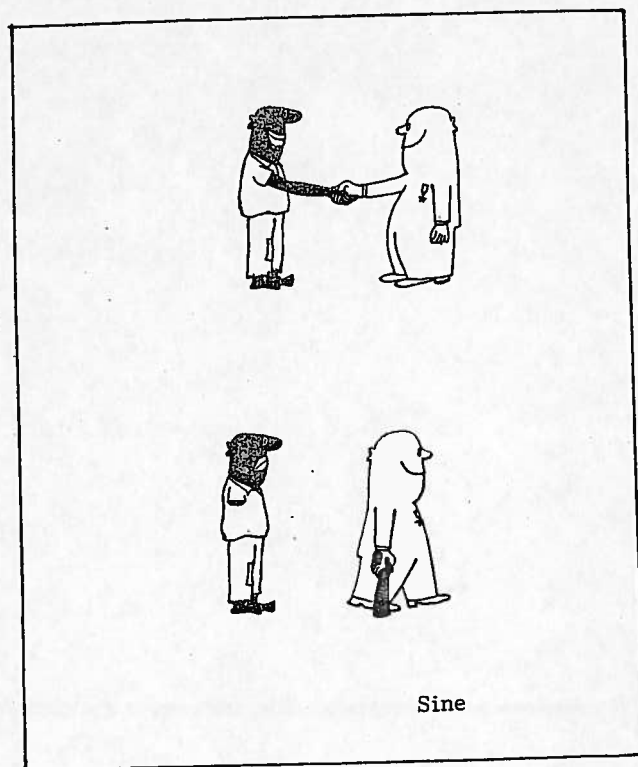
During the sit-in the students went out of their way to show a toleration which the Administration never matched. At lunch time meetings members of the academic staff, including many extremely hostile to the students, were invited to speak. This had some educational value: removed from the privileged positions of the lecture rooms, their arguments were seen merely as other points of view, rather than as 'revealed truths'.

Among the staff the demonstrations were causing real fear lest the 'greatness' and money-drawing ability of the School be damaged. Even those right behind the disciplining of Bloom and Adelstein were beginning to feel that the 'irreparable harm' (Times, 16.3.67) being caused by the conflict was getting too costly. This and the desire, above all, to return to a quiet life led many to seek means of a settlement. Some students misinterpreted this 'movement' as indicating increased support for the student cause. At the beginning of the sit-down a statement was issued by a group of 16 members of staff (later read out to the students by Dr. Miliband) who were 'shocked' by the sentences passed on the two student presidents; but the very next day, Professor Wedderburn (one of the 16) informed the Times that 'in his view the precise meaning of the statement was not as reported, the same as "a statement supporting the students".'

Most of the staff, however, had not even been concerned about Monday's suspensions, nor had they expressed any concern about the evident bias in the disciplinary hearings or the absurd nature of some of the charges. But now that the students had ceased to respect the established order of the School, a much larger group (finally between 80 and 100) felt compelled to make its presence felt. Its members began to push themselves forward as 'impartial' mediators. In so doing, the most 'radical' members of staff took up a position which coincided with that of 'moderate' student groupings, a position which, incidentally, also coincided with the Administration's 'intelligent' line (after Wednesday night the authorities had obviously decided that 'they could live with the sit-in' (Caine) as long as it stayed where it was; the advice from staff 'sympathisers' was to do precisely this). These 'sympathetic' academics saw the situation not as a power struggle, in which they themselves much as the students, were the dispossessed, but actually believed that changes could be obtained through an 'appeal to reason'. In fact, their attempts, how-

ever feeble, half-hearted and possibly honest, were seen as a threat by the authorities who dismissed them out of hand; the staff offered no direct pressure to back them up.

Many students, however, looked to the staff for help and tried every approach to win them over. In doing this they misunderstood the situation: firstly, they felt convinced that concessions could be obtained by whispering loudly into the Director's ear; and secondly, they thought the staff could whisper louder than they could (an over-estimation of staff power within the School). And so through Thursday and Friday many staff and students found themselves engaged in a meaningless charade - the latter seeking support and the former giving what they felt they could in exchange for the abandonment of more radical student action. In the end, staff assurances that matters were now in competent hands (i.e. their own) only played into the Administration's hands. Even those staff who wanted to were in no position to deliver the goods, the promise of which spread the false conviction that the students had already won their case. The one exception on the whole staff, a man who came out publicly in complete support of the students and their struggle, was Dr. Patterson. Since then there have been rumours of a secret report to the Court of Governors suggesting disciplinary action against him.



The sit-in ends

Thursday and Friday (March 16th and 17th) saw a decline in student militancy. The proximity of the Appeal (to take place Friday evening) and the 'movement' among the staff made many students feel that there was no need for further action. By now the Administration had taken a crash course in public relations: talk of 'provos' and 'Trotskyites' ceased; Sinclair began to talk to student representatives about matters concerning the running of the School building, as if it were normal for students to decide when doors could be opened, or who should pass through the lobbies.

Ways of 'saving the situation' began to be offered: odd MPs were dragged up from Westminster to spend five minutes displaying their ignorance and giving their advice to abandon the sit-in, and then to disappear; the myth of the 'independent inquiry' appeared on the scene. Some students felt that the Ministry of Education might suggest a way out - that is until Denis Howell (the man who swallowed his whistle in the 1963 Cup Final, and the present Minister of Sport and Secretary of State under Crosland) opened his mouth. On the night before the Appeal Court was due to meet he exploded into a tirade against 'foreign' students at the LSE and warned of the dangers of giving in to them. The illusions many students still possessed about the role of the press as an agency of change were also smashed pretty effectively: day after day of distorted reporting was enough to do that.

Official negotiations between student representatives and the authorities started on Thursday afternoon. This had far more effect in damaging the morale of students than had the open intimidation of the first three days. The new 'niceness' tended to obscure the real issues at stake. The authorities no longer insulted students. This in itself seemed like a victory and the question of Bloom and Adelstein was in danger of being buried beneath a mass of irrelevant, nominal concessions. For example it was announced that evening that the Connaught House suspensions of the 102 had been replaced by £5 fines to be paid to charity. Although students tended to be adamant that these would not be paid, one element uniting these students with Adelstein and Bloom had now gone.

Howell o.g.

IT WAS A BIT ODD yesterday to find Denis Howell, our benign Minister of Sport, lecturing the LSE protesters like some referee sending a foul inside-left back to the dressing room. Howell isn't officially concerned with the dispute; but he does have at least one trusted Sports Council colleague among the School's academic hard-liners. Maybe, therefore, it isn't too surprising to find him reiterating the familiar academic hard line about subversive overseas students and the like; though what his sports audience at Norfolk Referees' Association annual dinner made of it all provokes ripe speculation.

Miscellany, Guardian, 19.3.67.

Goldstone

Playing for Goldstone's men is not the only connection Dr. Donoghue has with sport. He is a member of both the National Sports Council and the Commission of Inquiry into Football. The Sports Council is responsible for advising the Government on all aspects of amateur sport and recreation under the Minister of Sport, Denis Howell. This work includes supervision of finances for olympic and other foreign tours, building recreation centres and even the reclamation of canals for "pleasure uses". The Football Commission is inquiring into association football and hopes to draw up a plan guiding the development of British soccer.

BEAVER

December 8th, 1966

Surprisingly enough, Dr. Donoghue is an intransigent member of the two main staff/student negotiating committees.

The students were negotiating with the Director and Professor Ben Roberts and Miss Seear, two members of the Standing Committee, which was to hear the appeal the next day. They offered to argue before the Appeal Board that the sentences should be suspended in the long-term interest of the School - conditional upon the abandonment of the sit-in. The arguments for calling off the sit-in, mainly a fear of violence and damage to property, were regarded suspiciously by students and, in fact, Friday's events showed them totally unfounded. All the same, the student negotiators came away believing that self-control on the Friday would lead directly to substantial concessions by the Appeal Board.

The 'moderates', however, didn't wait for the concessions to materialise before preparing motions to call off the sit-in; even normally militant elements in the student population succumbed to the general feeling of euphoria. Some of these actually felt that the mere possibility of the Administration making concessions should not be endangered. They didn't realise that the maintenance of the status quo only gave the Administration time (the end of term was five days off), while the introduction of other issues only served to split them. The Administration were deliberately treating 'outside' student support as a major problem. Thus by Friday afternoon the situation had degenerated to the extent that after a mass rally (attended by 3,000 students from all over the country) an LSE student advised them 'to go home if possible'. In the college, marshals posted on the main doors directed visitors to a different building!

UNIONS IN AMERICA - A BRITISH VIEW
B.C. Roberts (pp. 43-44)

'Every union must be able to exercise certain powers of discipline over members who carelessly, or intentionally, violate the rules. In cases where members deliberately refuse to accept decisions constitutionally arrived at, and behave in such a way as to threaten the stability of the organization, it is perfectly legitimate that they should be expelled. The power of expulsion is a drastic weapon and it should only be used when it can clearly be proven that the member concerned has wilfully broken the rules to which he subscribed when joining the organization. It is essential that a man should not be expelled on vague and dubious charges of promoting "dual unionism" merely because he has exercised the right of criticizing the incumbent leaders and of seeking to promote opposition to them. In order to safeguard the interests of the member in this respect, the rules of a union ought to make provision for a trial and appeals procedure which satisfies the rules of "natural justice", or, as it would be put on this side of the Atlantic, "due process" ... Above all, he (the expelled member) should be allowed to appeal to a body which has no vested interest in the outcome of the case. It is entirely contrary to the rules of natural justice that a union executive board should act in a capacity where, like Old Fury, it is involved as both judge and jury in its own cause.'



THE DEATH OF
MARAT
AS PERFORMED
BY THE
INMATES OF

THE LSE ADMINISTRATION

When the results of the Appeal reached a Union meeting towards midnight, there was little to justify expectations of genuine concessions. Professor Roberts, universally mistrusted by students, had not sat in on the Appeal, a move interpreted initially as a gesture to the students. In fact, his absence was due to the threat that if he sat, evidence would be produced to the effect that he had been heard coming out of an Academic Board meeting saying that if he was going to 'get' anyone, it would be Marshal Bloom. Even without him, all the Standing Committee (under the chairmanship of Lord Tangle) did was to lighten the sentences in the final month - after May 31st, they would be 'allowed' to use the library and visit their tutors, while still barred from lectures and seminars. In addition, 'the Director will use his best endeavours to procure that the University of London will allow Mr. Bloom to sit his proposed examinations'.

Split begins

Convinced that they had won, many students didn't know how to react when it became clear that they hadn't; for over an hour they searched the verdict in vain for real concessions. Those who had prepared a resolution calling for the end of the sit-in, however, still put it forward. Previously their argument had been that the School was giving way; now they argued that it had become clear that the School would not! The Union meeting went on until 2 am, and then continued after a recess at 1.30 pm on the Saturday. The feeling that the School would never

give way was then reinforced by a new statement (see inset) from Bridges, Caine and Kidd, as well as more advice to this effect from 'sympathetic' staff. After Kidd had read the statement, he left the meeting and the 'moderates' resumed their attack. Their

A quick fix

On Thursday evening, March 16th, 'discussions' took place between Sir Sydney Caine, Professor Ben Roberts and Miss Nancy Seear, and ten students (eight members of Union Council and two students elected at a Union meeting). Roberts and Miss Seear promised to resign from the Standing Committee of the Court of Governors if the students called off the sit-in and the next day the Appeal Court failed to grant genuine concessions.

On Saturday afternoon the statement read by School Secretary Kidd and signed by him, Lord Bridges and Caine stated: 'The decision of the Standing Committee on the suspensions of Mr. Adelstein and Mr. Bloom will stand; they have never been and will not be a matter for negotiations'.

On Wednesday April 5th, told by student members of the Staff-Student Negotiating Committee that they refused to discuss other issues before dealing with the suspensions, Caine replied: 'What would you give if we suspended the suspensions? Would you stop agitating?' This meeting jointly recommended that the Court of Governors hear a plea for an amnesty.

On Wednesday and Thursday, April 13th and 14th, the Court of Governors (Chairman Lord Bridges) negotiated the text of the statement by Adelstein and Bloom. Amendments and counter-amendments were carried back and forth by Kidd.

arguments gained weight because of the apparent difficulties of continuing the sit-in after the end of term on Tuesday - they could pretend to be tactically realistic. But it was apparent that this 'realism' hid a willingness to discard principles. In particular, the School's professed desire to enter discussion on unrelated issues was seized on as a good reason for 'forgetting' the victimisation of Adelstein and Bloom. However, most students still wanted to fight on, their determination increased by the Administration's lies.

At the end of the meeting, after a further six hours of debate, a resolution to call off the sit-in on the Monday was defeated by 280 votes to 210. A motion to continue it then received 347 votes to 116. The students had opted for a continued policy of militancy. The difficulty remained to define what this meant. The divisions among the students and the proximity of the vacation made any effective action difficult. A committee of 34 elected at the meeting to organise the continuation of the protest produced few meaningful suggestions: it was too large; many of its members were opposed to continuation; it had appeared on the scene too late. Instead of seriously considering how to translate the student solidarity into action damaging to the Administration, it became obsessed with utopias like the 'free university'. What had been originally suggested as a means of preventing those sitting-in getting bored, while incidentally subjecting to criticism the ideas of their opponents on the staff, now became for many people a convenient alternative to fighting against victimisation.

Moderates

On Monday, the 'moderates' were again in a position of strength. Many students who had not taken part in Saturday's debate came in to the School, and many of those who had spent the weekend in the building went home to wash and sleep. Faced with the end of term the following day, some of the previously solid liberals decided in favour of suspending the sit-in until the beginning of the Summer Term. At the Union meeting that evening, the 'militants' could do little more than point to the grave faults in their opponents' arguments. They could pour scorn on those who, fed-up with the sit-in, attempted to justify their surrender by talk of mythical 'outside agitators'; they could effectively expose the dishonesty of those who, having originally opposed the sit-in, now called the failure to secure any concessions a 'moral victory'; or they could point out the difficulties involved in trying to get the sit-in started again next term. But it cannot be said that they presented many feasible alternatives. All they had to offer was the continuation of a tactic that had already proved ineffective.

Yet despite this, after eight days during which many of them had hardly been home, and during which for most six hours had been a long night's sleep, 177 students voted for continuing the sit-in. But the 232 majority against carried the day. Even for these, though, the verbal commitment to resume the sit-in and boycott on the second day of the Summer term remained (later this was to be a crucial factor). When the vote was announced, it was greeted with shouts of 'sell out', 'scabs', etc. For some of the 'moderates' this was certainly the case. They had put their own feelings of weariness and concern for their own futures before solidarity with elected representatives. But many others voted to call it off then for the lack of an alternative. Altogether, a large number remained determined to continue the struggle next term if necessary.

Victory

The eight days of struggle had been marked by new forms of relationships among the students. The fight itself contained a process of self-change. With the creation of a community of opposition, people seemed to reach inside themselves, and draw out completely new dimensions to their individuality. This was only possible through collective action.

However, the sit-in contained a major contradiction. The authorities had persuaded the students that it caused them no trouble, and that they could incorporate it in the routine of 'business as usual'. By the Tuesday night the students were highly demoralised and apparently defeated by their own tiredness and the end of term. What was not known, however, was the position of the School authorities. The anti-democratic power structure of the School precluded this. Consequently, during the protracted negotiations, they were able to bluff far more effectively than the students.

This gave rise to a feeling of impotence among those students remaining at LSE during the first weeks of the vacation, which was reflected in what happened to the idea of the 'free university'. This had originally been suggested as a means of maintaining student morale against the threat of boredom during the sit-in. The large numbers then involved were of necessity cut off from the normal pressure of work. Here was a chance to criticize the ideas handed down to them during their normal courses by the powers that be. Now that the struggle against the authorities was over - or at least suspended - its possibilities were radically reduced.

Without going into a long analysis it is easy to suggest why this was so. Most students were prepared to forget their examinations for the sake of defending elected representatives, but not merely in order to discuss ideas. Those interested were no longer the majority, but a smaller group within it. More importantly, the context in which it was operating had radically changed. It was no longer a direct weapon of struggle. Some people had suggested that it would represent a 'continuation' of this 'in a different form' during the vacation, or at least provide a focal centre of activity from which a new movement might spread, and which could respond to any forceful moves from the administration. In fact this was far from being the case. The authorities seemed quite prepared to live with the 'free university' ... providing it kept to normal school hours. It seemed to become little more than a liberal adjunct to the other courses. Significantly it was now called the 'open university'.

The seminars it offered were extremely varied. Perhaps too much so, although general themes were discernible. Some were informative, some analytical. Intense discussion was not often provoked. The later weeks were marked by an emphasis on the personalities who began discussions, rather than on the topics themselves. Administratively this was paralleled by a growing separation of those organizing the open university. However, for most students it gave some relief from the usual boredom of the School during vacation.

Negotiations

Meanwhile, student representatives continued to conduct negotiations behind closed doors in isolation from the mass of students. On the committee discussing amendments to the School's rules, most of the students failed to stand out for significant concessions. They were ready to agree to a mere rephrasing that touched none of the Director's absolute power (see insert) and which only made it more explicit.

A more militant committee faced the Administration over the more general question of School organization. This committee, for instance, demanded that Roberts be dropped from the staff side on the grounds that - in Adelsstein's words at the union meeting of 18th March - Roberts was known to the students to be a 'liar'. However, this committee seemed to be merely consuming time until the issue of the suspensions would be stone dead. It was however agreed that Watherston would address the standing committee of the Court of Governors asking for an amnesty.

There seemed little hope of this. The authorities had claimed that the suspensions were not negotiable. The feeling was strong among the students that this was the one issue upon which there would be no concessions - at least without much further struggle. Leading members of the staff sympathetic to the sit-in (for instance, Dr. Miliband - on the Saturday of the sit-in week) had encouraged the belief that the authorities would never relent.

However, the Governors eventually agreed to hear Watherston, and a statement was submitted by Bloom and Adelstein. This statement indicated that while Bloom and Adelstein thought all sides to blame for the events that had occurred, they regretted them. It went on to say 'we wish to work with the School authorities and to use our best endeavours to do whatever lies within our power to help to get the School back to normal'.

A process then began which cannot be described as anything other than negotiation. The Governors, it seemed, would grant an amnesty if there were a few insignificant changes in the wording. They wanted the sentence beginning 'we wish' to be replaced by 'we will work with the Director, his successor and the School authorities through constitutional processes'.

Among students still in the School this provoked both shock at the willingness of the authorities to begin to give way on the sentences - and tense discussion on whether to accept the changes they were suggesting. Bloom in particular felt that to change 'wish' to 'will' would be to admit that they had been wrong to take direct, i.e. 'unconstitutional', action in the past. The reference to the Director's successor seemed designed to bind the student body over the Adams issue. Those members of the staff sympathetic to the students - including their legal adviser - thought the changes insignificant and something upon which the Governors would make no further concessions. Tense hours followed, until it was finally decided to put in a different draft using 'wish'.

The next day students in the School began to hear rumours of an amnesty. Then the following notice appeared:

'The Court of Governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science have heard a plea by the President of the Students' Union, Mr. Peter Watherston, for the suspension of the penalties imposed on Mr. Adelstein and Mr. Bloom. The Court have also received the following statement from Mr. Adelstein and Mr. Bloom.

'We sincerely regret that events have arisen which have led to conflict within the School and we hope that this conflict can now be ended.

We, for our part, take full responsibility for our share in these events. We are intent on working with the School authorities through constitutional processes. We hope to see the re-establishment of good relations in LSE, and we will use our best endeavours to bring this about on the basis of cooperation and mutual respect between all sections of the School'.

(Signed) D.L. Adelstein
M.J. Bloom.

In the light of the undertakings given, the Court of Governors have decided on an act of clemency, and have accordingly, during the good behaviour of Mr. Adelstein and Mr. Bloom, suspended the penalty imposed on them.'

14 April, 1967.

The aptest comment on this document seems to have been made by a senior member of the academic staff, opposed to the students. He made the point that he, for one, had searched the statement of Bloom and Adelstein unsuccessfully for the 'undertakings' referred to in the final paragraph.

The students had obviously won a substantial victory. Beneath the smokescreen of conciliatory talk and references to 'clemency' the Administration had given the students everything they were fighting for. The only problem for the students was - why?

There is only one possible explanation. The facade of friendliness shown by the authorities (from the fourth day of the sit-in) had not only concealed their bitter opposition to the students, it had also obscured much of the real harm it was doing them. They could tolerate this for a time, but not for ever. The vacation had destroyed the continuity of the sit-in, and there were likely to be difficulties in re-starting it. But returning students, refreshed by the vacation, might be prepared to stage 'guerrilla' sit-ins at short notice. Caine seemed sufficiently worried by this possibility to threaten to close the School until October, were they to occur.

After their initial stunned reaction to the victory many students began to understand this. For a brief period united action had destroyed the authoritarian structure which transmitted the arbitrary justice of a powerful minority at the top. The disbanding of the sit-in had produced the possibility of dispersal of broad based opposition. But a lingering threat of resurgence remained. More importantly the legitimacy of their authority had been discredited. The central problem of the Administration is to reassert this. The supposed largesse of 'clemency' hides a student victory. To deny this is to aid the (as yet uneasy) reimposition of the old power structure, albeit in some new form.

2. EDUCATION AND POWER

Historical background

Before moving in detail to the process of the ruling class' penetration into LSE, it is informative to consider the 'special' history of the School. Some people have felt that the authorities have broken with the tradition and purpose of the School as conceived by the Webbs and embodied in the work of Harold Laski. This slots in with a mythology of LSE as a left-wing institution that proceeds from an artificially engendered reputation (e. g. in the Beaverbrook press, prior to the 1945 election) and a serious misconception of Fabianism.

The School was founded in 1895. Its first two Directors were both protectionist Imperialists; its third a free-trading Imperialist. In 1894 a member of the Fabian Society died leaving £9,000-10,000 in the hands of 5 trustees, to be spent within 10 years on 'the propaganda and other purposes of the said Fabian Society and its Socialism and towards advancing the objects in any other way they deem advisable'. Sydney Webb was Chairman of the Hutchinson Trust and he knew exactly what he was going to do with the money. Beatrice Webb wrote in her diary: 'Above all, we wanted the ordinary citizen to feel that reforming society is not a light matter, and must be undertaken by experts specifically trained for the purpose'. Sydney Webb's own belief that in establishing the LSE he was not misusing the funds was sincerely based on the following argument, as expressed in a letter he wrote in 1903:

I remember going to Sir Owen Roberts in 1895 to try to interest him in the School, and telling him very candidly the ideas that I had on the subject. I said that, as he knew, I was a person of decided views, Radical and Socialist, and that I wanted the policy that I believed in to prevail. But that I was also a profound believer in knowledge and science and truth. I thought that we were suffering much from lack of research in social matters, and that I wanted to promote it. I believed that research and new discoveries would prove some at any rate of my policies right but that, if they proved the contrary, I should count it all the more gain to have prevented error and should cheerfully abandon my own policy. I think this is a fair attitude'.

Within this framework, then, it was quite justifiable for Webb and W.A.S. Hewins (the first Director) - whom Margaret Cole describes as having 'no leanings towards democracy or collectivism' - to choose a conservative staff for the LSE, and for Hewins to promise the London Chamber of Commerce that 'the School would not deal with political matters and nothing of a socialistic tendency would be introduced'. What mattered was research within and for a given system, and the production of experts. This conception of the University was indeed a radical one, when the idea of a 'liberal education' for the 'leisured classes' was the dominant one. Fabianism cannot be equated with any genuine vision of socialism, except with a total deformation of the

latter. Their 'socialism' involved an anticipation of the movement of capitalism toward statification and the Fabians 'thought of themselves as a small elite of brain-trusters who would permeate the existing institutions of society ... and guide social development toward its collectivist goal ...' Fabianism was 'through and through managerial, technocratic, elitist, authoritarian, plannist'. (1) They founded the School to ensure they would not die childless.

From Graham Wallas through Laski to Miliband there has been a 'radical' tradition at LSE, consisting of one or two 'rebels'. In some senses the preservation of these 'eccentrics' has helped to serve as a smokescreen behind which the 'substantial body of firm, intemperate reaction' on the staff (Sinclair, 5.4.67) could operate unchallenged.

1930 'provos'

The following series of events illustrates just how little the School has changed over time. At the beginning of the Lent Term in 1934, the School announced that it would run a series of public lectures on 'Marxism'. Immediately the student Marxist Society (founded 1931) decided that it would do the same. The authorities jumped in, placing considerable restriction on the use of rooms that students had previously enjoyed, and banning outside advertising of student society meetings. (This is still in force.) The authorities then announced that they would impose on students a code for room-booking. Later in the term, the Director (Sir William Beveridge) suddenly forbade the sale of periodicals within the School without his prior permission. (This ban is also still in effect, though usually ignored.) The immediate cause of the ban was an article in the then current issue of Student Vanguard (a marxist student journal) which, according to the Director, carried a statement offensive to one member of staff. Many students saw this ban as a further attempt to limit freedom of speech and assembly, and directly connected with the growth of the Marxist group in the School. (Professors Hayek and Postan, among others, were - according to Clare Market Review - devoting considerable chunks of their lectures to direct anti-marxist propaganda). The President of the Union, Frank Meyer, two members of the Union Executive and two members of the Union decided to take up the Director's challenge, and began selling Student Vanguard within the School.

For this action they were immediately suspended, and that evening, Wednesday 28th February 1934, Union's reaction was to pass the motion (as a result of right-wing filibustering) 'that this Union regrets the circumstances which have led to the suspension of the President and four members by the Director'. The split among the students, and the speed with which Beveridge acted, virtually allowed the Emergency Committee of the Governors (our Disciplinary Board) a free rein when it met the following Tuesday. It refused to hear all of Meyer's defence, and expelled him and one other student (John Simons); the other three were allowed conditional readmittance to the School. Union then passed the following motion:

'This Union expresses its grave concern and deplores the extreme and unprecedented severity of the decision and the measures taken against the President and a member of the Executive of the Union and appeals to the Director and through him to the appropriate authorities to reconsider the decision and to permit the return of the students concerned.'

By this time, the Easter Vacation had almost arrived, and so the students elected a Committee of 30 to negotiate with the School during the vacation. The Governors, hearing this appeal, decided that the fate of Mr. Simons should be left to the Director, who changed the expulsion into a suspension until the first week of June. However they confirmed the expulsion of Frank Meyer. Most of the Summer Term before exams was taken up with agitation over Meyer's expulsion, and his subsequent deportation. (As an American citizen he was deported on expulsion.)

The right-wing and the 'moderates' were able to overcome a decapitated 'left' and prevent any demonstration on this issue, other than in the form of Union motions. (The same vacillation was not allowed to triumph at LSE this time, except in the fragmentation of the sit-in. Consequently the outcome was notably different.)

At a Press conference called by the Governors last night, Mr. Donald Tyerman, former editor of the *Economist* and a member of the Court, said that if Adelsstein and Bloom broke their undertakings, their sentences could be reimposed.

It would be a mistake to talk about a victory for anyone—"this is a victory to the School."

Another Governor, Prof. Donald MacRae, Professor of Sociology, said the "sit-ins" had nothing to do with the decision. It was, not because of "pressure present, pressure future or pressure past."

The Daily Telegraph, Saturday, April 15, 1967

(1) Hal Draper: The Two Souls of Socialism.

Education and capitalism

Throughout the story or the sit-in, the analysis has been in terms of what this or that person with 'official' power did at this or that point in the students' struggle against that power. However their power is not, and must not, be considered as contingent on their personal magnetism - it is clearly derivative. In order even to begin to explore the full meaning of the authoritarian structure, it is absolutely vital to explore its context. In analysing the incidence of power at LSE and its relationships to the wider society, we do not of course start from the belief that LSE could not be other than it is because of 'purely external constraints'. The constraints must be identified which define the aims of education, by examining educational policy in theory and seeing how it works itself out in practice.

The labour market

The paramount determinant of education, both in quantity and quality, has always been the labour market. As a process, it is an input to a given economy. Accordingly it has been inherently manipulative, and changes in the manipulative forms have always been closely allied to changes in the content of the demands imposed on the educational system from outside. The mythology of a liberal education only touched reality within the ruling class and even now is in the process of being rapidly abolished.

Until the second world war education was virtually the prerogative of the middle-class child. But the rapidly expanding demand for skilled, technical and technological workers could not be satisfied with such a narrow intake. As the occupational structure of the country changed, the three-quarters of the population whose children went to elementary schools until they were old enough to work had to be (partially) tapped. This is revealed in the censuses of 1931 and 1951 which show the following expansion in the professional occupations:

	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>
Engineers	35,600	107,400
Industrial designers/ draughtsmen	47,600	110,100
Laboratory assistants	7,900	47,600

The 1944 Education Act was designed to meet this demand by abolishing fee-paying in secondary schools. What is interesting here, as with the recent changes in education, is how educational theory tries to balance concepts of 'human justice' and 'economic self-interest' with what happens in practice. The opportunities available to the post-war Labour Government to open education even within the framework of the 1944 Act were not taken up, and the 11+ selection system congealed out of the flux of ideological postures following this act. The grammar schools became a channel of social mobility for a tiny section of working class children.

Robbins

To understand developments since then it is necessary to look at the Robbins' Report on Higher Education (1964) and the (forgotten) Newsom Report of 1963. The latter starkly revealed the deprivations suffered by some two-thirds of the 11-15 age group who attend secondary modern schools. Only 21% of school buildings were 'generally up to present standards'. 41% were 'seriously deficient in many respects' and 38% 'less seriously deficient' than those. An extraordinarily high turnover of teachers in the older working class areas slots cynically with the report's finding that it is precisely in these areas that children have the greatest need for stable contacts with teachers. Many of these schools are 'grossly overcrowded' - including nearly half of those built after 1945. It is not important to provide good teaching and conditions for the children who will become the semi-skilled or unskilled workers of our society.

The main recommendation of the Robbins Report was the expansion of higher education by 1980, from 8% to 17% of any age group who currently received it. Its terms of reference were to 'higher education' only: the school system was taken as given. So the input is relatively fixed; the output, to the industrial system, was again taken as given. Within this framework the universities are mere middlemen who must adjust to the exigencies of this system.

This document, like the others, is 'liberal' in conception. But in a speech on 'Recent Discussions on the Problem of Higher Education in Great Britain', Robbins lays bare the ideological pressure of the environment in which this expansion is occurring. 'At first sight it seems only common sense

to argue that estimates should be made of the "need" for different types of skilled manpower at successive stages of the expected expansion of the economy and that the educational plan should be based upon these'.

Streaming

Robbins and his committee had an awareness of the contradiction involved in directly task-specific education: with rapid technological advance, jobs are created and disappear within a fairly short period of time, so some flexibility must be maintained in education, and a surplus of trained personnel produced. They side-stepped this approach and referred instead to the 'pool of ability' already produced by the school system but as yet untapped. Even in their terms, considerable 'resources' will have to remain incompletely 'tapped'. The report completely evades recognising that this pool of ability is itself highly dependent on the existing school system. We know that classifying people into streams is a highly effective way of getting them to behave as though their innate abilities were such that they ought to be in that stream. Streaming and selection prove to be self-fulfilling prophecies to a large and unmeasurable extent. What Robbins did was to produce an extremely conservative critique of education: to show that the technological demands for 'qualified' workers can be satisfied within the existing structure of education if only more money were spent on higher education.

This concern, and the concern with education in general in recent years, is quite directly linked to changes in British capitalism, to the increased technical rationality with regard to means, and the increased irrationality about ends. British capitalism is backward as compared with the American or French industrial systems. Wasteful modes of exploitation must be replaced by more productive modes of exploitation, as we are reformed in the white heat of Wilson's technological revolution. The increased need for overall coordination reveals itself in the growing integration of government spending with the investment of large corporations. The state becomes the regulatory mechanism, combatting the centripetal tendencies of corporate investment. This is expressed as capitalism's need for an 'overall growth' (the only reason for 'overall growth', it seems, is to maintain overall growth...). The planners are the corporations, the managers of production, the managers of investment and their 'academic' advisers.

Two of the elements in this state planning are vital here. Technological modernisation under capitalism depends on a higher degree of labour mobility - labour must be available where required, redundant when required. It also depends on maximum predictability in terms of 'control of resources', the crucial imponderable here being labour costs. That is, as the drive towards neo-capitalism or corporatism advances, labour must be increasingly controlled both in its production and movement, and in its places of application. The incorporation of the trade union bureaucracy in the state machine, the control of wages ('incomes' policy) and the changed nature of higher education are two moments of the same movement in the society.

Robbins outraged

In the drive towards technical rationality even the expenses advocated by Robbins are too much. Britain can't afford to remain an imperial power and to transform the educational system into the type of unselective system obtaining in Sweden and the US (especially in California), namely a system where selection for elite positions is postponed until 18 or even 22. Robbins wished selection to take place at the graduate level ('I do not think it is morally good for very clever young people to be marked out as an elite and segregated as such in their early years' - *The University in the Modern World*, p. 8). Instead the Labour Government has developed the binary-system of higher education - even conservative liberalism is too much for a ruling class which prostrates itself before the imperatives of their new technological order. The liberal attempt to mesh a concept of 'human justice' with 'economic self-interest' is being rapidly resolved, so that Robbins himself has been morally outraged that 'we are now confronted with the prospect of an educational caste system more rigid and hierarchical than before' (Speech to the House of Lords, 1.12.65).

Robbins' attempts to identify the causes of this are woefully inadequate - he attributes it to jealousies on the part of the local education authorities and the Department of Education and Science, and to the belief that the universities must be kept pure. He cannot put the blame where it self-evidently belongs: on a backward British capitalism attempting to make a direct leap to a system of total domination.

The ideas of a corporate society are being increasingly accepted: the organic totality of nation and state is supported by the trade union bureaucrats.

In 1963 the TUC welcomed the National Economic Development Council's report which stated 'A successful growth programme involves the identification of government, management and the trade unions with an agreed objective!'

The idea of a complete 'conciliation' of class interests is increasingly poured out in political and sociological writings, with no regard to the realities of class society. The state is deified as the institution above corporations and unions, which will determine 'the national interest'. And this 'national interest' - the synthesis of but one determination - turns out to be 'overall growth', the preservation of the present distribution of income, the protection of private property, etc. The state, in the guise of neutrality, is throwing its full weight behind corporatist norms and modes of organization, and backing the union leaders in their moves to incorporate their members in new vertical structures of repression.

LSE does not stand apart from these wider tendencies. As the main centre of the 'social sciences' in this country it participates in them fully. It produces a growing number of new technocrats - specialist economists, public administrators, lawyers, accountants and personnel managers - to service the new capitalism. Its research is oriented to the needs of those who own industry and commerce; its professors are expected to provide them, and their state, with the information and advice they require. It houses some of the main apologists of the existing social structure, who devote a considerable amount of time to the 'refutation' of critical social theories. In order to understand why this is so, we have only to look in detail at the sort of people who hold ultimate power in LSE.

EXPLANATIONS of how chaos has come to the London School of Economics are easy to pick up; the trouble is that no single one of them seems to fit. On the face of it, the situation in Houghton Street is impossible.

At the one end of the puzzle there are the student pickets, pale, bearded, dressed in jeans and any old jacket. At the other is a Court of Governors whose 80 members span the top of British society: the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Robens; Professor Cairncross and Lord Plowden; Lord Butler and Bernard Hollowood; Reginald Maudling and Donald Tyerman—it is hard to say who is not on the list. Have these men failed?

Financial Times

15.3.37



MAC, EDEN, BRIDGES AND BEN GURION

WAITING FOR WINNIE

Power in LSE

Formal power at the LSE lies with the Court of Governors (1) which meets but twice a year. Real power, however, lies with the Standing Committee of the Court, to which is delegated all power not directly vested in the Director (he is an ex officio member of this thirteen-man committee.)

(1) 'The supreme governing body of the School is the Court of Governors, a body of about 80 members, identical in membership with the corporation which, in the eyes of the law, is the School. The Court is a self-perpetuating body which itself fills vacancies in its own membership and appoints additional members'. (Staff Manual, 1966) There are also 5 representatives of the Inner London Educational Authority, 3 of London University, 1 of the LSE Society (former students), and 5 'Professorial' governors (not necessarily professors), elected by the Academic Board.

The banker never wears a mac

A look at this Standing Committee over a number of years is, as they say, revealing. There are now three members of staff on it (the three senior professorial Governors) and three *ex-officio* members viz., the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Court, and the Director.

Lord Bridges (Director of Babcox and Wilcox Ltd., Brazilian Traction Co. Ltd., Equity and Law Life Assurance Society Ltd.) has been Chairman since 1957.

F. E. Harmer has been Vice-Chairman since 1954 (on the Court since 1947 and on the Standing Committee since 1948). Mr. Harmer is Director of P&O Steam Navigation Co. (dep. Chmn & Mngr), F. W. Harmer (Holdings) Ltd., Federal Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. (Chmn), Gray Dawes Westray & Co. Ltd., Hain-Nourse Ltd., London Life Assurance Ltd., Metropolitan Life Assurance Soc., New Zealand Shipping Co. Ltd. (Chmn), P&O Fund (Insurance) Ltd., R. & H. Green and Selley Weir Ltd., Tradist Tankers Ltd., Westminster Bank Ltd., Westminster Foreign Bank Ltd., William Cory and Son Ltd. He is also Government Director of B. P. Co. Ltd. and some subsidiaries; in 1964-65, B. P. donated £6,435 for 'other purposes'.

The additional members (though not necessarily the three staff members) are drawn in the main from the same closed social field.

W. M. Allen, a member since 1954 (excluding 1961-4) is the Executive Director of the Bank of England.

Lord Tangley holds the following directorships: Bermuda Broadcasting Co. Ltd., Broadcast Relay Service (Overseas) Ltd. (Chmn), Century Power and Light Ltd. (Chmn), Cilgin Ltd., City Commercial Real Estate Investors Ltd., City National Investment Trust Ltd. (Chmn), Cross and Herbert (Holdings) Ltd. (jt. Chmn), Edifice Trustees Ltd. (Chmn), Electronic Trust Ltd., Imperial Continental Gas Assoc. (Chmn), Independent Film Distributors Ltd., Industrial and General Trust Ltd. (Chmn), London and Buntley Property Co., London Maritime Investment Co., London Merchant Securities Ltd., Portman Buntley Estate Co., Rediffusion Holdings Ltd., Rediffusion TV Ltd. (deputy Chmn), Sanitas Trust Ltd., Second Industrial Trust Ltd., Technology Investment Ltd., Mount Everest Foundation, Trans-Antarctic Expedition Ltd., Trust Union Ltd., Trustees Confederation Ltd. (Chmn), Ultramar Co. Ltd. (Chmn),

Walter Wangler Productions Ltd., Wembley Film Studios Ltd., William Deacon's Bank Ltd. (deputy Chairman), Yorkshire Insurance Co. Ltd. (joint deputy Chmn).

Frederick Seeborn holds the following directorships: Bank of London and Montreal Ltd., Barclays Bank D.C.O. (Chmn), Barclays Bank Ltd., Century Insurance Co. Ltd. (Chmn), Century Insurance Trust Ltd., Credit Congolais S.C.R.L., Friends Provident and Century Life Office (Chmn), Gillett Brothers Discount Co. Ltd., Merchants Trust Ltd.

The pattern which emerges is one of heavy, direct involvement in business and finance. For instance in previous years Sir Paul Chambers (ICI and insurance) and Sir Jock Campbell (owner of Guyana, etc.) have been on the Standing Committee for 5 year periods. At present people like Sir Alan Hitchman, Director of the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority, and Dr. L. Farrer-Brown, Director of the Nuffield Foundation (1944-64) make up the rest with the odd person thrown in for their 'educational' interests. That is, a majority of the Standing Committee at any time come from an extraordinarily narrow social stratum: the directors of finance, insurance, banking, the press and television, the higher Civil Service, members of London's Clubland (the Reform and the Atheneum that is). It is this segment of the ruling class in our society who also control general educational policy within the LSE.



(Edinburgh, Wolfenden, and Bridges)

THE PUFFS'
BALL

After a similar analysis of the Court and Standing Committee, an article in *Beaver*, the LSE student newspaper (9.3.67) stated that 'there is nothing to suggest that this power elite ... has any awareness or understanding of the debate regarding the future of education today'. This is not just to miss the point, but to turn it on its head. It isn't that the 'Pedagogic Gerontocracy' doesn't understand the debates on education, but that the ruling class integrated into the governing bodies of the School understand them all too well. The world for them is as it ought to be. They correctly see it as very much their world. This becomes clear in their formulation of a new structure for the School. The Director's proposal for LSE's future machinery of government will (if implemented) transform the situation in a number of ways. Firstly, the Academic Board (i.e. all the staff) is to be stripped of its conventional powers, which are now in the main given to an Academic Senate of senior Professors and convenors of departments, elected by no-one and responsible only to Council. Secondly, the Standing Committee will be replaced by this Council, a body somewhat larger than the Standing Committee, and composed in equal parts of members of the present Court of Governors and of members of the Academic Staff - the latter to include the professorial members of the Court and Chairmen of major committees ex-officio. The aim is to ensure that a larger proportion of members of the Court of Governors than at present should actively participate in the decision-making of the School.

Committee chairmen will almost certainly be appointed from above rather than elected. Thus, any pretence of autonomy will be further reduced, and the societal values of the ruling class will be brought into a much more direct relation to, and control of, the School.

Proposals for a few students to sit on the most trivial committees of the School are now being made. The one exception to triviality is the Disciplinary Board. In future, two students will sit, with four other members, to deal with future recalcitrants. (Decisions will be by a straight majority vote.) The incorporation of students in the vertical structures of oppression is expected to carry with it a willing acceptance of those structures. Next time, there will not just be legal victimization, but participatory victimization!

It's a clean machine

The School is a direct employer of labour. The Porters, badly paid, and fortunately (in the School's view) frozen at that level by another segment of the ruling class, are used in crisis situations as an internal police force. A vicious anti-unionism is displayed towards the Canteen Staff, who get two

weeks paid holiday a year, one week paid in advance of that holiday, the other if they return. (Their wage rate is approximately 3/9d per hour - also 'frozen'.) The manipulation of grades of work was used to counter the full effect of pay and holiday claims made by Research Assistants. When their Association passed a motion urging reconsideration of the Adams appointment, they were promptly told that the motion was invalid. In further attempts to suppress free discussion, Kidd threatened to withdraw recognition from the Association. The boundaries of the life-situation of these groups are drawn by the same power structure. They receive much worse treatment than the students. Their oppression is permanent.

Ideology

We are not claiming that any immediate relationship exists between the type of sociology or economics institutionalized at LSE and Lord X's presence on the Standing Committee. This would be to trivialize the deformation of knowledge in our society. The full extent of that deformation can only be understood by the seizure of knowledge in the context of its elaboration - human action in the world. The deformation of knowledge is only meaningful in the deformation of real, living man. The knowledge offered at LSE is ideology precisely because it does not and cannot know its relationship to an overall social practice. All the masquerade as 'science' and as 'value-free thought' simultaneously makes sense and is dissolved within this context. Only by restoring to thought its specific humanity can the overall loss of humanity be understood. The university has, over time, been brought into symmetry with a total mode of domination. This does not imply that there was ever any validity in the myth of a 'liberal education'. Liberalism can scream at the state regulation of the heavenly abstractions 'art' and 'science' precisely because the freedom of these realms is illusory. It can do nothing to counter or even understand the mode of domination of life as a whole. The idealist critiques of education are redundant because they conceive of a special form of freedom in this segment of life - so domination of it becomes special and unsituated. There is no possibility that education can float off, in content and aims, from the society within which it has developed. Indeed, it derives its reality and meaning from its integration within an overall social practice. Transformation of the aims and content of education are co-terminous with the transformation of this total system of human action.

3. OUT OF CONFUSION

During the recent events we were exposed to an unusual kind of knowledge, a knowledge not usually available at the London School of Economics - the knowledge of a situation we actively attempted to change. A world cannot be understood and then changed; only in the changing will it be understood. Knowledge, however, can never emerge as some passive product of experience, nor will such experience yield to the sterile imposition of categories quite external to the situation. Such approaches are abundantly available and endanger a genuine interpretation of events. However, many who have participated will instinctively mistrust a good deal of such prognostication. In this they may even experience a practical lesson in the poverty of this particular style of thought. It is no accident that an eminent professor in human manipulation was the least able to manipulate. Perhaps our educators themselves have yet to be educated.

Two points can be made about many of the interpretations that have so far been offered for our consumption. Firstly, they dehumanize a human situation, and secondly they trivialize a significant situation. This also is no accident - there are obvious historical reasons for the political castration of contemporary social thought. We live in a world where knowledge must also be ignorance. To reduce man to a machine is to lose him as a man. The main characteristic of the machine is subordination.

Popular offerings

We must now attempt to confront some of the more popular offerings. Several explanations commence with the vision of a community of men of good will. Our situation is then explained as a regrettable breakdown of this community, due to some extraneous, non-sinister factor. The list has included items of two types. The first centres on problems of space, size and geography. Victimization, it is implied, would be acceptable given the provision of more seats in the Library. The second

group includes insufficient communication, and temporary aberration from a common rationality - a crass utilitarianism with students or administration seen as having chosen the wrong means to reach goals held in common.

Community, communication and rationality are closely linked, in that community implies a single rationality - and communication will therefore aid in its elaboration. The elementary question of how an authentic academic community could conceivably exist in our society is not even seen as a problem. It is merely taken for granted. In the absence of community, however, the situation is entirely different. Two rationalities will exist, the rationality of those who have power over and against the rationality of those who have none. Communication can only clarify this situation. Lack of communication, lack of rationality explains subservience, and not rebellion. An increase in communication serves only to emphasize the one-sidedness of power. The 'mistake' or 'breakdown' analysis represents the maximum possible misinterpretation, emerging as it does from a totally false conception of the situation. The breakdown of communications is imposed to explain a situation where communication has just begun; the end of community is the discovery of its non-existence, and the realization that it remains to be created. Community excludes domination. A corporatist solution offers little but the invitation to collaborate in our own domination.

A particularly prevalent brand of explanation, first presented in the New Statesman, totally ignores the situation as such in favour of an abstracted, idealistic transformation. Students, it was claimed, had redefined their situation - education once a privilege, was now considered a right. Real people, in this explanation, are replaced by non-real ideas, and their history is reduced to a conceptual transition. No account is given of how this has occurred, if indeed it has, nor of how such a change is relevant to the struggle which took place.

Alternatively, the emphasis on age reflects a particular view presented by the students themselves in the slogan 'Beware the pedagogic gerontocracy', or the slightly more sophisticated form offered by a member of staff in the phrase 'Inter-generational conflict'. These theories translate a problem of domination into a problem in the age of the dominators. The whole approach involves a social thought unable to locate significant social divisions, and is a product of the mystification of those divisions, thereby elevating the insignificant to the centre of social explanation.

A whole cluster of explanations misuse the concept of alienation. Students lack community, experience estrangement, suffers the ills of an urban environment, have too little paternal contact with the institution. Such factors, in varying combinations, are said to represent alienation. However they do no such thing. Alienation involves an historic vision of freedom, a realization of human potentiality through a total overthrow of repressive structures. The above approaches, on the contrary, imply insufficient integration into a given system, the solution to which is more perfect control and further domination, albeit in a corporatist guise. They are dangerously counter-revolutionary and must be understood as such. (1) Estrangement exists, but in a form these approaches systematically avoids - a specific estrangement from power and the ability to control and shape our own lives.

(1) Footnote for bourgeois sociologists. They approximate the concept of anomie in the conservative sociology of Durkheim, and bear no relation to the profoundly revolutionary work of Marx. The former is of course gospel at LSE.

We must next examine the agitation theory, which was naturally the most popular explanation on the authorities' part. Agitation is endemic, necessary and totally justified in a world of general domination. The attempt to reduce the work of those committed to struggle against such a world to the status of a social disease reflects only the poverty of those who specialize in such prognosis, and their complete inability to envisage human action without manipulation - a crude materialism which neglects the concept of self-changing. Even their manipulation of us requires some human response irreducible to mere mechanism. Agitation is produced and necessitated by a specific situation, but it cannot of itself create a wide responsiveness. That stems from the same source as the agitation itself.

Finally, a more serious range of theories centred on the concept bureaucracy. There are two main sources for the critique of bureaucracy. In one, the petty-liberal concern for efficiency combines with a Jacobin analysis of freedom to define bureaucracy as the enemy. Freedom and efficiency are viewed, tragically, as incompatibles - a profound quiescent pessimism results. This approach, best illustrated in the work of the sociologist Weber, assumes a crystallized common rationality and, in the sense we have considered, is profoundly reactionary. In Marx, however, the analysis stands opposed: irrationality and conflicting rationality remain his point of departure in the understanding of capitalism. The second critique, socialist concern with the East European state-capitalist economies, has resulted in the analysis of bureaucracy fused with a mode of total domination.

HINT OF 'PROVO' INFLUENCE

Christian Science Monitor, 16.3.67.

'This agitation is definitely politically inspired', declared Professor Benjamin Roberts, an authority on Industrial Relations. There is a hard core of militants who are against any form of authority. 'Among them are anarchists or trotskvites'. Among them one also finds admirers of the Dutch "provos", whose declared aim is a society without restraints. Twelve others of the leaders are said to be American graduates, who declared themselves to be members of "the New American Left"... In student politics a "motivated anarchy" results.'

'The hard core'

Asked if the hard core was communist or leftwing influenced, he said: "I do not think that anyone can be attributed absolutely to any political influence." The movement was political, but not in the sense that it was allied to any core would be rebels in any society. They are opposed to the constitution, said: "It is nearer anarchy than any discipline of any kind. They put these views very clearly."

Prophetic or pathetic?

The present situation was foreseen as long as nine years ago by another LSE teacher, Professor Donald Macrae, a sociologist and a former visiting professor at Berkeley. Some LSE students, he says, specifically admire the Dutch provos, and he agrees that, to some extent, they are looking for a flag to gather under. This is perhaps the root of the militancy.

The petty-liberal approach to bureaucracy is a tragic, ideological acceptance that the world cannot be other than it is. The socialist analysis, on the contrary, applies in the specific historical context mentioned above. But neither analysis is relevant here. There is no problem of freedom from or efficiency within the bureaucracy at LSE. There is no fusion of bureaucracy and domination. Bureaucracy exists not at the centre, but at the periphery of the university activity, providing on the whole an efficient service, as much subject to the source of domination as the students themselves.

The only available interpretation of any viability commences from within the situation as experienced. The particular victimization of two students becomes a possibility in a situation where some

people monopolize power over others, a situation of domination in the precise, technical sense of the word. This situation becomes important not in its uniqueness, but in its typicality. The lopsidedness of power we have experienced is but one incidence in a global imbalance. No attempt to obscure these issues by any combination of the previously enumerated approaches can seriously be entertained. In confronting power at LSE we face a classic situation; we confront the ethos of a ruling class as it penetrates the university and manipulates its minions. No understanding in terms of impersonal bureaucratic imperatives, in terms of conceptual transitions, in terms of environmental disturbances, or individual mistakes, which ignores this major historical dimension will suffice.

4. CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that the decision of the Court of Governors to lift the sentences on Adelstein and Bloom was a victory for the students. By counterposing their power to that of the authorities, the students forced the latter to make concessions. The idea that the authorities are basically on the same side as the students and would come round to their point of view through reasoned discussion - an idea that had previously been virtually unchallenged among student organizations in this country - was proved wrong at every stage of the struggle.

But the situation at LSE was neither purely accidental nor unique. In Part II, we have attempted to show how the power structure at LSE is intimately tied up with the overall structure of British society. At other universities this may not be so immediately transparent, but at these as well students are denied control over their own life situation: individuals with the same backgrounds and interests as the Governors of LSE are found wielding ultimate power. There is no reason whatsoever why students fighting them should not learn the lessons of LSE. Direct action does work: the monolith can be moved.

It would be wrong, however, to believe that students alone can do more than marginally improve their situation. At LSE we have been able to defend our representatives, but we have not been able to remove from the authorities their power to appoint their new Director. The reason is clear. Their connections with the British ruling class give them resources which we as students

cannot match. Ultimate success in the student struggle for control over their lives obviously depends on the wider struggle against the power of the ruling class.

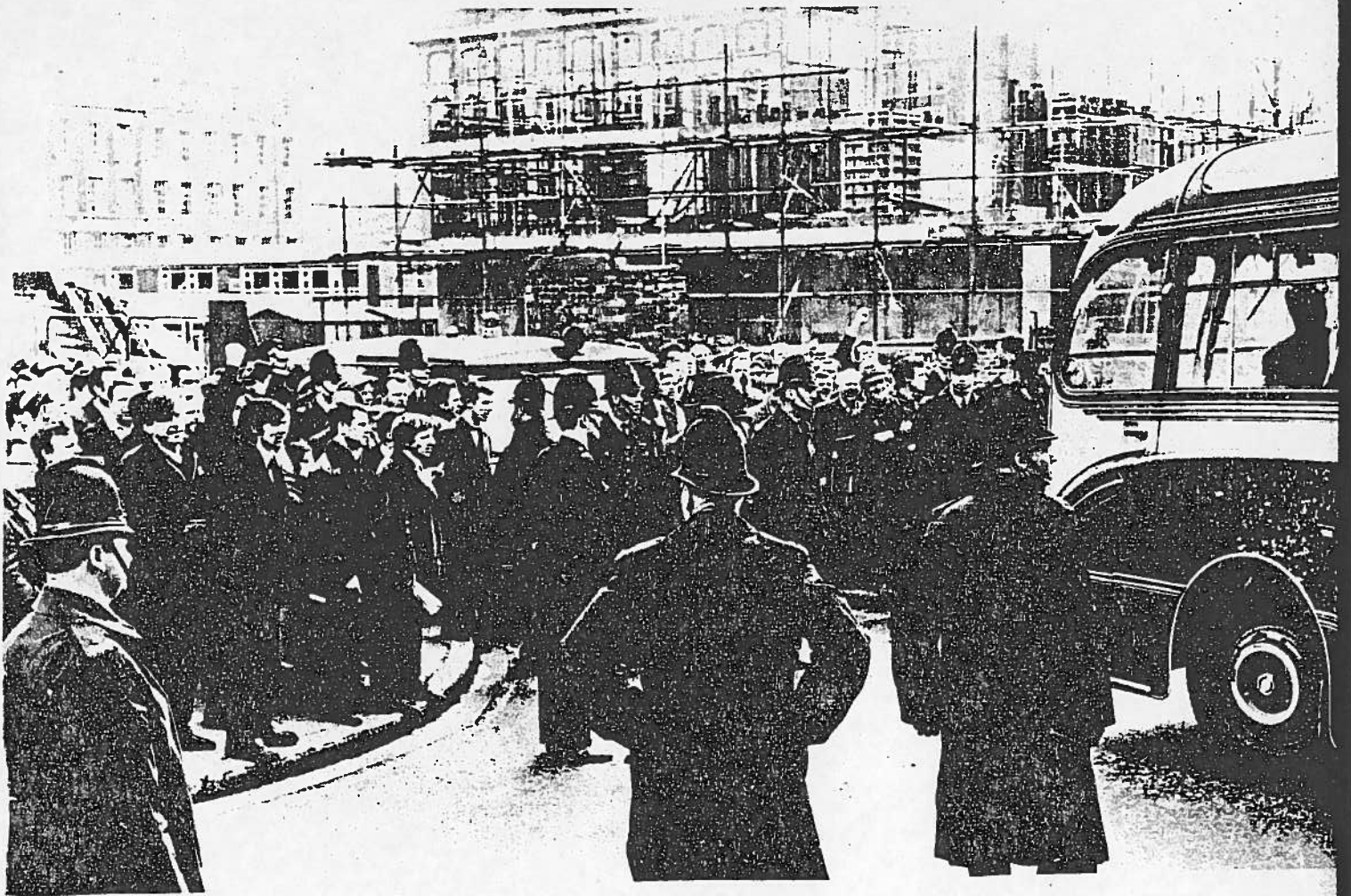
For as long as there is a ruling class there will be those who continue to fight it. No-one expected such a struggle to break out at LSE. No-one can predict where the next flare-up will be. The British ruling class and its fellow oppressors, East and West of the Iron Curtain, are continually confronted by such struggles. On the streets of Budapest, Watts or Aden, in the paddy fields of Vietnam or the tin mines of Bolivia, men have fought and will continue to fight to control their own lives.

Nearer home, albeit in a different form, similar struggles occur. That is why we print an appeal on the back cover of this pamphlet for the strikers on the Barbican building site. They have been on strike for six months for the same reason as the students at LSE: the defence of elected representatives and a minimal control over their own situation. Their enemies are intimately linked with ours.

Such struggles may be isolated from one another in time and space, and limited in the demands they make. But they point to a unified struggle in which the working peoples, firstly in individual countries and then throughout the world will take power into their own hands. For us the outcome of this struggle - democratic collective control of the means of life - is socialism. That is why we fought the LSE. And that is why we have written this pamphlet.

April 26th, 1967.

Myton Men in Direct Action



Scab labour is repelled at the £5½ million redevelopment scheme. Strikers who - despite opposition from union officials - have held out for over six months, were assisted by the solidarity of workers on adjacent sites in this defence of elected site stewards. Strike fund donations to: M. Houlihan, 94, Gayton House, Knapp Road, Bow, London E.3. Join the picket from 7.30 am weekdays. Tube: Aldersgate.

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