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ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY STUDENT WEEKLY

OCTOBER 5, 1987



IS LOVE THE DRUG?

FAUSA backs students for 88 Fee boycott

by Graham Hastings

Tertiary students across Australia will boycott payment of next year's \$263 administration charge, student representatives announced in protest marches across Australia last week.

The boycott is supported by the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA), whose members will treat boycotting students as if they were correctly enrolled.

The largest march was in Sydney where about a 1000 students from at least eight NSW tertiary institutions marched to the Town Hall where they stayed for over an hour despite the Sydney Council's withdrawal of permissions to meet there.

A number of speakers attacked increases in visa charges, deportation threats on foreign students, cuts to Austudy, privatisation and tertiary fees.

The general secretary, of FAUSA, Mr Les Wallis said that the union had passed a resolution stating that it would not take any punitive action against students who had not paid their tertiary education fee.

"We will not remove them from enrolment lists, or refuse to mark their exams, or check to see if they have paid," he said.

The acting Chair of the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee, Professor Brian Wilson, said the "barage of criticism" of universities by some politicians and public servants was uninformed.

He was responding to the Federal Minister of Employment, Education and Training, Mr Dawkins, who last week made wide ranging proposals to restructure higher education. The reforms included the tenure system and new funding arrangements.

Mr Dawkins had said that higher education planning should extend beyond the interests of "individual institutions and their clients" and be consistent with broader national interests.

But Professor Wilson said universities had been innovative despite She said that strategies for a



national boycott will be discussed at the national student conference to be held at Adelaide University in a fortnight's time.

Australian RESSOs (Research Education Staff in Student Organisations) have called for a comprehensive national inquiry occurred 23 years ago when the Martin Committee laid the basis for a consensus about higher education. Since then changes have been introduced in an ad hoc fashion without regard for long term implications of those changes, they claimed.

The Education Research Officer of the Flinders University Students Association, Ms Kathleen Weckley, said, "the business community and the federal government are using the rhetoric of economic rationalism to justify increasing intervention by market forces in education but rarely are the under-

lying assumptions defined or debated."

"For example changes are being introduced to make education more relevant to "national" industry priorities, but there has been no public discussion as to what those priorities really are and/or how education can most genuinely assist the kind of industry development that will benefit the whole community."

"The reconstruction of the Federal government departments and the establishment of the new Department of Employment, Education and Training means the need for a comprehensive review becomes more urgent," she said.

the highly-regulated environment and contracting government funding per student.

He said the universities had a track record of achievement even on shoestring budgets and what was really needed was more money to pursue existing activities.

The Government should be contributing long-term guidelines instead of imposing short term political priorities.

Representatives of post-graduate student organisations described the Government's plans as a "potentially devastating body-blow for post-graduate research".

The vast majority of students would be unable to afford to study for post-graduate degrees, they claimed.

In Adelaide the post-budget rally was much smaller. One of the state organisers of the National Free Education Coalition, Ms Lucy Schulz said that the response was smaller than expected because students weren't aware of the implications of Dawkin's higher education strategy. "We're going to need to run an awareness campaign that will hopefully involve ordinary students," she said.

Production Notes

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Vice-C's committee comments on budget

by Cathi Walker

The Federal Budget has provided for 5,000 extra places at universities and colleges, plus a significant increase in buildings and equipment.

This is to be welcomed if it indicates recognition of higher education's importance to the national economy, says the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee.

Acting AVCC Chairman, Professor Brian Wilson, said that the Budget contained indications of an end to the rundown of the university sector.

Despite this, there are inconsistencies between the May mini-Budget and the major Budget statement.

According to the AVCC's Assistant Secretary, Mr Terry Earle, the government took quite a lot of money from universities in May and has now just given some back, leaving universities with an overall increase of about 1.5 per cent.

In the world's leading economies, high priority is found to be given to technology development and export, supported by high participation rates in university education, the source of upper-level skills and the technology for new industries, said Professor Wilson.

Australia fell far short of Japanese and North American participation rates, and all Australians capable of university study should be given the opportunity and encouragement to undertake it.

"...we have a massive and increasingly unmet demand for higher education with up to 20,000 eligible students denied access nationwide in 1987," Professor Wilson said. "5,000 extra places in the next year is a small but welcome step in tackling that problem."

"Australia requires a carefully thought-out strategy to develop the talents and technology on which new brain-based export industries could be based, and which could add value to traditional primary products - allowing much more of the...profit-taking to be done in Australia," he said. Universities were willing to cooperate fully in this and take part in discussions with governments and industry.

The Australian university structure was vital and substantial, with an excellent performance record in developing technology and bestowing skills, limited only by the

resources provided for it.

It was cost-effective for investment, but building equipment and operating expenses have reached a crisis point. "We are trying very often to train students in tomorrow's technology with equipment older than they are," Professor Wilson said.

"The challenge for the Government is to follow the small positive steps in the Budget with other measures to provide stimulation and growth...it will have an early opportunity to demonstrate its commitment when it announces its decisions on the recommendations of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commissions for the 1988-90 triennium."

There had been significant changes within universities over the past ten years, which with other higher education institutions had shown their potential for industrial innovation. Although surrounded by diminishing funding and growing regulation, 40 technology broking companies had been set up to promote joint ventures with the commercial world and to provide alternative sources of income.

The Minister for Employment, Education and Training, Mr John Dawkins, said on Tuesday: "Universities have a very important part to play in transforming our economy." Priority in extra positions would be "heavily skewed towards things like computer science, engineering and technology," he said.

However, Professor Wilson warned against seeing only the economic aspect of universities' worth: "...they have many other contributions to [improving] civilised society...Our health and well-being, and our capacity to live in harmony with the global environment, depend on much more than economic factors. It is particularly important that these 'non-economic' areas also gain support because of the reduced scope for private sector funding."

Sufficient funds must also be supplied for basic research. "While basic research lacks...immediate commercial return, history has shown it to be the most productive of all research. Who would have guessed the commercial significance of electricity, the semi-conductor or the computer, at the time of discovery?" asked the professor.

Harassment review

by Cathi Walker

The Equal Opportunity Board is reviewing Adelaide University's sexual harassment policy and procedure.

It has set up a Working Party to look at how the University should carry out its responsibility to provide a work and study environment free from sexual harassment. The Working Party is to decide how effective present policy and procedures are and to consider whether changes are needed.

The Chairperson of the Equal Opportunity Board, Professor Marcia Neave, said that: "Not many complaints are made at the moment...we don't know how much [sexual harassment] occurs in the university".

Many people may be being harassed but not complaining. Criticisms of existing procedures had been made, she said - thus the check to see if the procedures needed any changes. Complaints are kept confidential.

Matters to be considered include:

- The most successful way of publicizing the information on the sexual harassment counselling and assistance which is offered.
- A possible need for more contact people within the University to help people with complaints of sexual harassment.
- Whether the Sexual Harassment Committee's existing structure should be kept.
- The role of the Equal Opportunity Officer in regard to sexual harassment.
- How proven complaints should be recorded.

The members of the Working Party are Professor Marcia Neave; Dr Ian Davey, Education; Ms Arna Eyers-White, Women's Officer, SAUA; Ms Judy Harrison, a member of the Sexual Harassment Committee; Dr Joan Kelly, Genetics; and Ms Jill Thomas, Registry.

A.G.U.A. PRESENTS!

THE 1987 ROCK 'N' ROLL SHOW

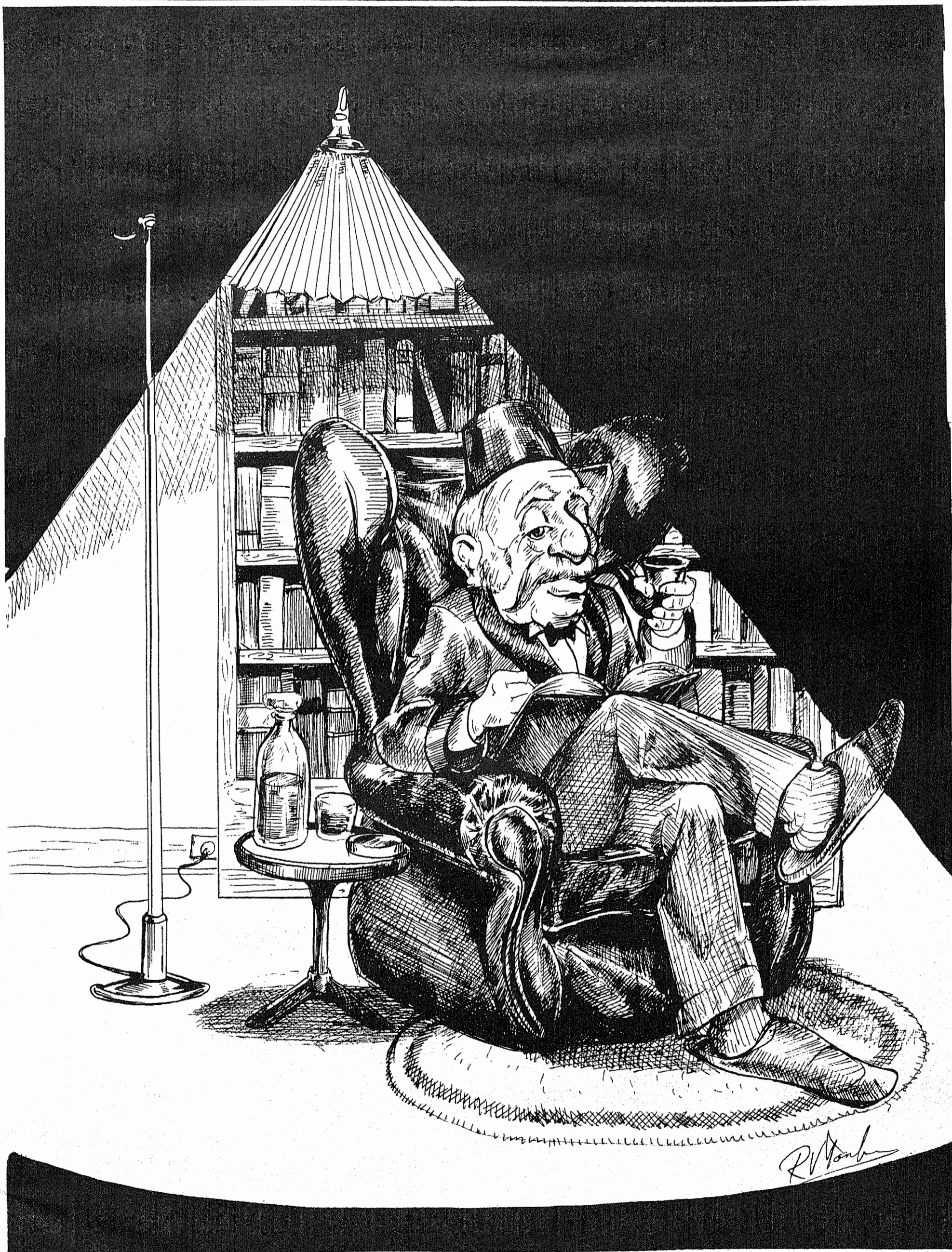
OCTOBER 11th

AT **LEOS** (OLD LION HOTEL)

7.30 PM

"DON'T MISS OUT"

FEATURES MAGAZINE



From Marxism to Monetarism

The Pearce Report on Australian Law Schools has hit out strongly at Monash and Macquarie Universities. WILLA McDONALD and JUDITH WHELAN report on Marxism and monetarism at two campuses.

The peaceful parklands surrounding the lecture theatres belie the real atmosphere of Macquarie University's law school.

Bitter infighting and an inadequate course are the reasons given in the Pearce Report (*Australian Law Schools*), published on July 7 recommending the school be phased out.

The media attention on the school's problems over recent years have given at least some of the university's academics a radical public image which sits strangely with that of its quiet students and the changing approach of the administration.

Sydney's Macquarie University, which began teaching 20 years ago, was born too late for a radical student body. Since a short burst of rebellion in the late 1960s (remembered fondly by the student union and commemorated by large black-and-white photos of crowded demonstrations on its office walls), there has been a contrast between the usually progressive, sometimes revolutionary approach of Macquarie's academics and the conservative behaviour of most of its students.

For many years it was known as "the mums' university". Those who snubbed it stereotyped its students as middle-class, North Shore women who enrolled to keep busy once the kids were at school or after the divorce.

Yet the challenge of starting a university completely anew attracted academics and administrators who want-

ed to take risks - who chafed at traditions, were bored with their jobs, or whose philosophies and aims did not fit with those of the more established universities.

That resulted in several new approaches to tertiary education starting at Macquarie. There would be an emphasis on part-time and external courses - even for technically difficult science subjects - small classes, and (copying the British approach) the award of an arts degree regardless of the subjects studied.

The last was because the new university was to be more adaptable and modern than the others. It was set up without faculties but with 11 schools which offered subjects all students, whether they wanted to major in chemistry, politics or geography, could choose to take. (These days there is also a Centre for Environmental and Urban Studies and a Graduate School of Management.)

The public didn't take to that system. Students elsewhere sneered: "If you want to be a doctor, go to Sydney (University). If you want to be an engineer go to NSW, but if you don't know what you want, try Macquarie."

Its newness, the absence of professional courses (until the law school was set up a few years ago), and the lack of front-line research, all helped to give Macquarie a reputation as a "Clayton's" university.

Now, its direction is changing. Small classes are no longer viable with reduced funding and a student-

body of 11,500, although Macquarie has managed to keep the numbers attending tutorials down. First-year



accounting lecturers recently staged lectures for 1,100 students which had to be broadcast simultaneously by video to separate lecture theatres.

The single arts degree has gone - degrees currently offered include law, science and economics - although students can still tailor most courses to suit their own needs and interests.

Also gone are the days when Macquarie's entry requirements always trailed behind the other metropolitan universities. Economics and financial studies, which has replaced education as the strongest school, has a cut-off entry mark for school-leavers of 378, the same as equivalent faculties elsewhere in Sydney.

But cut-offs for the law school are about 20 marks behind the other universities, possibly reflecting concern about the course. Professor Di Yerbury, the new vice-chancellor, said the allegations against the school contained in the Pearce Report were unfair. She said another review, by the Macquarie Review Committee, made up of professors from five Australian universities and others, had found the school to be excellent.

While the law school's reputation is still being debated, other schools are gaining recognition for the quality of their training. Macquarie's accounting graduates have a high success rate in qualifying as chartered accountants - 90 per cent, compared with the national average of 70 per cent.

Although Sydney University still has the best reputation in the metropolitan area for a general arts degree, partly because of the range of subjects offered, courses in Macquarie's humanities schools are respected and in demand. Psychology courses in the School of Behavioural Sciences are regarded as some of the best in the country. The school of Biological Sciences is similarly regarded.

Different schools have different reputations among the students. Karen Mather, 22, president of the Student Union and in her fifth year of sci-

ence/education, said the practical training of third-year education students had been cut drastically, affecting the quality of the school. She also mourned some third-year science and psychology subjects which are now only offered every second year.

Denby Angus, 25, in fourth-year earth sciences, said the chemistry laboratories were out of date, and he found some of the teaching staff were poor communicators. Unlike students

as a communist. "The university is supposed to have a broad liberal approach to the arts," he said, "but there's increasing pressure to move into hard science and other subjects."

Privatisation on campus is the SRC's main concern. It objects to students having to pay fees - enrolments are down by 700 since the \$250 annual fee was introduced. All those who pulled out are women from part-time and external courses. Other objec-

tions include the offering of courses to full-fee-paying overseas students (still being considered by the university council), and to sponsored chairs (professorships) which might affect the intellectual integrity of the schools.

Earlier this year Yerbury debated the issue of privatisation with Monash University's Professor Porter. Her position ranges from concern about the effects of the \$250 fee and defence of publicly funded education to support of sponsored chairs and scholarships - as long as they come without ties.

With her encouragement, the trend among heads of schools is towards entrepreneurial activities. The growth of the economics school is largely due to the work of Professor Carrick Martin who also presides over the Centre for studies in Money, Banking and Finance, and the Centre For Chinese Political Economy. Two

chairs in the school have been privately sponsored, one by the accountancy firm Price Waterhouse, the other by the Australia-China Council.

Until recently, Macquarie University took its motto, "And gladly teche", perhaps too literally, emphasising the education of students at the expense of research. The administration is trying to turn that around, not to improve the university's reputation and to attract top staff and research monies if it is to compete with other universities.

Research has already begun on ultra-thin pacemakers, lasers, polymers, genetic-splicing techniques, and a new form of pacemaker. The total research budget in 1987 was \$5.5 million.

Plans have also been mooted for the establishment of Macquarie as a research and development park which will work in conjunction with government research bodies and private medical, scientific, manufacturing and computing companies, many of which are already located within the environs of the university.

The issue was Vietnam. On July 4,



at Monash and Macquarie

1969, Monash University students, backed by members of Victorian unions, stormed the American Consulate in Melbourne. Students were arrested, mostly on charges of obstructing and resisting arrest. One policeman was injured as he interrupted a student in the act of cutting down the American flag. The demonstration was only one in a long series of protests about the Vietnam war.

Last month, the Monash Union Board showed just how far student politics had travelled. The board, dominated by a recently elected conservative coalition of Christian, Jewish and Liberal students, closed the student-funded Community Research Action Centre (CRAC). Spurred to stand for election to the board and the Monash Association of Students (MAS) by the CRAC's left-wing activities in 1986, the coalition had mobilised previously untapped voters and gained control of both student political bodies. They had then moved swiftly to close the CRAC, which last year funded a booklet on how to evade tax using the Australia Card, and a research paper supporting Palestinian rights.

The difference between the two incidents is indicative of the change in the character of Monash University over the past 20 years. In the 1960s Monash was known as the "hotbed of student radicalism", a breeding ground for revolutionaries. Academically it was volatile - a new school struggling to establish its reputation in a sceptical Australian academic community.

Now, the students at Monash display the conservatism that comes from a preoccupation with studies and a desire to succeed in an increasingly difficult corporate world. The university, too, favours the corporate image and encourages commercial involvement in both course planning and funding.

Monash was built at Clayton, in Melbourne's southwest, originally to service the children of the local lower-middle class families who had neither the marks nor the proximity to make it to Melbourne University. Its student population still comes largely from the suburbs in a two-to-three mile radius surrounding the campus.

Monash is not a pretty university. Ivy has had no time to grow on the walls of its red-brick and concrete buildings, classic examples of the '60s butter-box school of architecture. They stand clustered together on a wind-swept hill, surrounded by car parks and the playing fields that separate them from the suburban sprawl.

On the sliding doors to the main arts and humanities building are signs saying "Do not use on high wind days". Virtually every day in winter qualifies. Even with the doors closed, the foyer of the building remains a concentrated wind tunnel. At lunchtimes students cluster in the union building, overcrowded and shabby, in a concerted effort to stay out of that wind.

Stuck in the suburbs, the campus is a victim of appalling public-transport schedules and a student population that drives home by 6pm. There is only one off-campus watering hole - the Notting Hill Hotel, described by Matthew Harvey, 19, a second-year Monash arts/law student from East Brighton, as "a hole indeed".

Let's face it, Monash is bloody ugly," he said. "It will never go into the books for its beautiful architecture. But that's the cover of the book - what's inside is a different thing altogether."

The inside story of student politics reads as it does on most modern campuses - a swing in the last few years to right-wing forces. Most ordinary students at Monash, questioned on their social values, will either

express total indifference or small liberal ideals. The Left continues to predict a return to radicalism. Nicky Kepert, the ALP Club-backed chairperson of the conservative-dominated MAS, said that Monash was no longer as radical as in the '60s, simply because it lacked the issues to draw the student body together. "This year is the first that MAS has been controlled by conservatives. We're still hopeful we can win again next year."

But conservatives argue that the coalition managed to mobilise a formerly apathetic but large conservative vote over the CRAC issue. And this year, during orientation week, the Liberal Club managed to sign up a record 60 new members within three hours, although this may have been because they offered free wine and a badge that read "Socialism Sux".

The new conservatism is not limited to student politics. Professor Michael Porter's think-tank, the Centre of Policy Studies, which was set up within Monash University in 1981 as an economic "centre of excellence", had its Federal funding cut in February of this year. Ostensibly, the cut came from recommendations from the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission that COPS had too little impact on economic thought both overseas and in Australia.

But there was speculation within and outside the university that the likely reason for its funding cut was a growing reputation of COPS as a centre for New Right thinking. There were accusations from the ALP that Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen drew his flat-tax theory from Porter's work, and Porter himself has been prominent on the pro side of the private university debate.

Professor Mal Logan, Monash's vice-chancellor since the beginning of this year, divides the university's history into three periods. The first was the radical '60s. Then, in the '70s and early '80s, under the vice-chancellorship of Professor Ray Martin, the university consolidated its academic standing and concentrated much more on developing a reputation as a centre of research. During this time, many of Monash's most renowned academic centres were established - the Centre of Early Human Development, headed by Professor Carl Wood and Dr. Alan Trounson, Peter Singer's Centre for Human Bioethics and Porter's COPS among them.

In Logan's view, what the university must now do in the current third stage of its development is cooperate with the commercial world. It must at once attract private funding to boost limited public funds and give advice in return to the corporate world. The university will then be an integral part of the modern economic and social structure, while maintaining academic integrity.

For Monash, this means encouraging corporate-sponsored chairs, joint funding of research projects, and selling its ideas in the marketplace. The university has its own company - montech - which sells Monash inventions to private companies. One recent marketing exercise was of Chemmand, a computerised chemical stores management system.

The university is constantly exploring how far it can go in the sale of its intellectual property. The in-vitro fertilisation technique, developed by the Monash team, has been marketed in the United States by In-Vitro Fertilisation Australia Pty Ltd (IVFA) - a company set up solely for that purpose. The university plans to use \$300,000 of the payment received for two US clinics to equip the new Monash Medical Centre being built beside the university.

Monash began in 1960 with a strong



bias towards the sciences. Its first schools were in that faculty, and the official opening of the university took place in the science building's courtyard. The oldest piece of Monash folklore - the appearance of a capped and gowned skeleton on a roof behind Sir Henry Bolte, then Premier, as he gave the university's opening address in 1961 - was staged by Jock Marshall, the founding Professor of Zoology, on the science block roof.

But since the late '60s, Monash has had its current seven faculties - arts, economics and politics (known as Ecops by students), education, engineering, law, medicine and science, as well as the Graduate School Of Environmental Science. While it maintains its best reputation in the professional study areas of medicine, law and engineering, its economics teaching has attracted favourable attention from other tertiary institutions for its emphasis on real market conditions.

In such faculties lies the dichotomy of Monash's new-found conservatism. While the university may have a conservative image, its courses are not those of conservative thought. In its professional courses, such as law and

economics, it has abandoned the more traditional methods of basing study solely on theorists in textbooks, and broken new ground in practical-based market analysis. Yet such courses attract students who are interested in using the information for quick gain in the marketplace. Usually politically conservative, they concentrate all their time on study so as to guarantee a job after graduation.

Overall, Monash's professional skill faculties - medicine, law, engineering and economics - have such practical approaches. The university is more professionally oriented than Macquarie, which is a generalist arts and economics university. Both universities have a law faculty, although in the words of Professor Logan: "Law is considered to be good at Monash and bloody awful at Macquarie."

But every Monash faculty does not have such a shining reputation. Every first-year student in the place knows that English is dull. Darren Olney, one of the new conservative forces on the MAS, is instituting a survey of teachers in the university. Students will be asked to grade their lecturers on their teaching skills. The results will be published and teachers with

less than respectable ratings will be forced, in Olney's words, "to shape up or ship out".

Even Monash's Vice-Chancellor points out that the cut-off marks for students entering Monash faculties are lower than those at Melbourne. Monash does not attract as many students from the top private schools as does Melbourne, nor has it the variety of famous ex-students nor the heritage of the older Melbourne University.

Monash students admit to a chip on their collective shoulder. They admit that Monash runs second to Melbourne University in most things to do with ambience and tradition. They admit that outsiders regard their university as a suburban place with second-rate standards.

But they are fiercely proud of their university despite that collective chip. At lunchtime in the Small Caf (only recently dolled up in an attempt to kill its lasting image as the marijuana smokers' haunt on campus), we heard two debaters congratulating each other on a win "all the better because it was against those bastards from Melbourne".

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Skills and changing attitudes to equip the work

New Federal Education Minister, John Dawkins last week announced the 3rd Hawke Labor Government's plans for higher education in Australia. Here is an edited transcript of the speech he gave to parliament last week.

The ongoing adjustments required in the structure of our economy will place a much greater premium on technical knowledge and labour force skills, and likewise on quality, innovation and technology. These attributes will also be a vital factor in our productivity performance and in the speed of our adaption to future changes in economic circumstances.

We can no longer rely on established practices and institutional arrangements to meet these needs. Our traditional attitudes to education and skills formation in Australia have been conditioned by an economy which has been able to rely more on natural resources than on human skills to support our living standards and national development. Just as these circumstances have changed dramatically, so too must our attitudes and practices in education and training. This is not

to dispute or belittle the achievements of the past, but rather to signal the need for further progress, at a rapid rate, beginning now.

Our universities and CAEs are the main source of the highly educated men and women so essential to our continued economic growth. They provide the scientists, engineers and technologists we need to develop and maintain a modern industrial structure, as well as the teachers needed to expand the skill base of the workforce and to educate the next generation. We must also recognise the crucial contribution made by our economists, historians, philosophers and others in the humanities as Australian society works its way through the complex range of issues arising from the shift in our national economic circumstances.

The research activities of higher education are also vital. Universities provide the bulk of basic

research in Australia and together with advanced education make key contributions to applied research and development. Moreover, they train the young researchers who will be prime sources of the innovation and technological development needed for Australian industry to achieve and maintain greater international competitiveness.

The Government is not convinced that a perpetuation of our current funding arrangements for higher education would be in the best long-term interests either of the higher education system itself or of the nation generally. Over the next 12 months, therefore, we will be embarking upon a process of policy development and consultation leading to the establishment of a new set of arrangements for Commonwealth support of higher education from the beginning of 1989.

Our higher education system is a major national resource. Its component institutions - 19 universities and 46 colleges of advanced education across Australia - cater for a student population of 391,500, and employ a total of some 68,000 staff. Total expenditure on higher education exceeds \$2,500 million per annum, while the replacement value of our public higher education facilities has been estimated at more than \$5,000 million. Since 1974 the Commonwealth has invested over \$31 billion in higher education on behalf of Australian taxpayers.

In the thirteen years since the Commonwealth assumed full financial responsibility for higher education in Australia we have seen the number of students grow from 249,500 to 391,500, an increase of 57 per cent. Although the evidence is not clear-cut I believe that we have also seen an improvement, over this time, in the socio-economic balance of the student body.

The unfortunate legacy that is disguised by these figures, however, is the sharp decline in youth participation in higher education which occurred under the Fraser Government. The policies of that era were dominated by cost-cutting considerations alone, and a notable absence of any vision of the future. As a result of those policies, participation in higher education by young people aged 17 to 19 fell from 11.0 per cent in 1975 to 9.6 per cent in 1982. Had the higher rate been maintained, an additional 11,000 young people would have been undertaking higher education at the time that this Government came to office.

We continue to lag behind our international competitors on a range of significant measures of education and training performance, including the rate of retention to the end of secondary education, the level of youth participation in higher education, and the proportion of the workforce holding post-school qualifications.

Historically, also, we have given insufficient attention to the composition of our national skill base, and to the need for skills which directly contribute to the productive capacity of our economy. The Government has already begun to act upon these matters, but the recent sharp shift in our economic

circumstances demands that the pace of change be quickened.

A prime objective must be to achieve substantial increases in higher education participation, especially by our young people. The need to rectify the neglect of the late 1970s and early 1980s has left us now only slightly advanced on where we were in the mid-1970s in relation to youth participation in higher education. Many other countries, in the meantime, have passed us by, or have widened their previously existing advantage. We now languish towards the bottom of the league of OECD countries in this aspect of our educational performance.

It is more than coincidence that the world's most successful economies over recent years have given a high priority to basic education and vocational preparation of their young people. Australia has not seen this relationship so clearly, but the time has come to do so, and to act accordingly.

There is a growing realisation on the part of young people themselves of the benefits to them of further education and training.

In labour market terms, for example, the unemployment rate for persons holding degree-level qualifications stood at only 3.1% in February 1987, compared with 11.6% for those without any form of post-school qualification. The average duration of unemployment is also substantially less for those holding formal qualifications, while incomes and occupational status are significantly above the norm.

The number of young people transferring from Year 12 to universities, CAEs and TAFE colleges is increasing. Some 61 per cent of Year 12 students now proceed directly from school to further studies, while a further 14 per cent defer for twelve months before resuming their studies.

This resurgence of interest in education has coincided with a demographic bulge in the youth age group, which will have its peak impact on demand for higher education in the period to 1990. Taken together, the effect of these school retention and demographic pressures has been to create unprecedented demand for higher education places.

Despite the substantial growth in places made possible by the Hawke Government's policies since 1983, our higher education system has still not been able to respond fully to this increase in demand. In 1987, for example, between 13,000 and 20,000 qualified applicants were unable to secure places in our universities and colleges of advanced education.

Looking to the longer term, we need to consider also the further growth required in our higher education system to satisfy our future economic and social objectives. A plausible projection for the end of the century, if we are to close the gap on our international competitors, would see retention rates to Year 12 rising to around 80%, with appropriate provision being made in the higher education and TAFE systems for this expanded pool of school leavers to proceed to further post-school study. This would require a major expansion of higher education places for youth, possibly of the order of 75,000 places by the turn of the century. At present average values, this would entail an additional commitment of community resources of around \$750 million per annum by the year 2000.

In current budgetary and economic circumstances, however,

it is simply not feasible to achieve quantum leaps in participation in higher education by providing quantum leaps in public expenditure.

The Government is prepared to play its part in the process of growth and improvement, but so also must the other key parties in our higher education system - the institutions themselves, State Governments, the private sector, staff and students.

Significant improvements will be needed in the effectiveness and productivity of our current stock of resources for higher education. To the extent that further additions to resources will be necessary, the funding base for higher education will need to be considerably broadened.

The implementation of these and other measures will require changes in at least three important areas:

- Changes in attitudes, to reflect national imperatives and to ensure that the education system is more flexible and capable of responding quickly and positively to national needs.

- Changes in processes, in the way of doing things to enhance our ability to produce quality graduates with necessarily limited resources.

- Changes in structures, to remove impediments to change and barriers that dampen innovative approaches.

As part of this process of change we will need to give much closer attention also to the issues of quality of output and distribution of effort in our higher education system.

Even with the best information on likely technological and structural change, we cannot confidently predict the types and mixtures of skills that will be needed in the future. The emphasis, rather, must be on broad and transferable skills, an attitudes which equip the workforce to adapt to and influence change.

This applies both to 'generalist' courses in the humanities and social sciences, and to more directly vocational disciplines such as engineering and commerce.

The extent to which our higher education institutions are able to influence and respond to emerging skill requirements will be directly influenced by the involvement of industry in course design and monitoring. Industry must also play its part in turning the broadly-based skills imparted through higher education to the particular requirements of the workplace.

Japan, for example, has reaped the benefit of an educational emphasis which anticipates the requirement for persons with high levels of technological skills and knowledge as an integral element in its overall industry development strategy. In Australia, by contrast, the links between educational and industry policies have traditionally been weak, and while there have been recent significant shifts towards study in engineering and technology, these have occurred from a very low base. As a result, the proportion of our new university entrants enrolled in technology-based disciplines is still less than half of that in the United States, which in turn trails Japan.

An increased priority for technological studies in higher education will need to be accommodated within an expanding system which protects the important place of the arts, humanities and social sciences.

The quality of graduate teaching and research training also needs to be enhanced, through measures such as a greater concentration of

THE FLINDERS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA



POST-GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOLARSHIPS

Flinders University invites graduates to apply for Research Scholarships to undertake post-graduate study in 1988.

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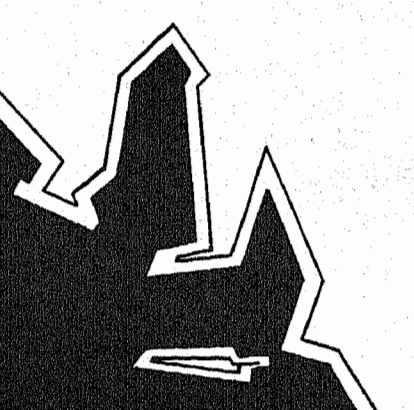
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Applications for Post-graduate Scholarships must be received by 31st October 1987.



force: the Dawkins shake-up for higher education

effort, increased mobility of both students and staff, better links with industry, and the attraction of additional sources of financial and other support.

The flexibility of the higher system is another issue of concern. Our institutions are increasingly caught up in a web of administrative and industrial entanglements which limit both the speed of their response and their attention to more substantive issues. The constraints imposed by the academic tenure system are another obvious source of rigidity.

The Government intends to issue a Policy Discussion Paper on Higher Education towards the end of 1987 as a basis for consultation and community comment. Following consideration of responses to this Paper, the Government will present its long-term policies in the form of a major Policy Statement on higher education, to be finalised in the 1988-98 Budget context and implemented from the beginning of 1989.

I have decided to commission the Policy Discussion Paper from within my own portfolio. The Secretary of my Department will establish a Task Force, with participation by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission. Consultations will be held with outside bodies as appropriate. The Discussion Paper will confront the range of concerns the Government holds about the current performance of our higher education system. Specific issues to be addressed will include:

- Desirable rates of growth in higher education, the resources required to achieve this growth, and the appropriate division of responsibility for providing these resources,
- General productivity issues in higher education, including the scope for more effective utilisation of teaching resources and more efficient use of our massive investment in capital facilities and equipment,
- The scope for further improvements in efficiency from rationalisation of the operations of institutions involved in multi-campus teaching and amalgamations of smaller institutions, bearing in mind the importance of an adequate range of higher education opportunities in regional centres,
- More effective use of limited resources by eliminating the "me too" approach to course developments in institutions and promoting greater concentration of effort in teaching and research. There is too much unnecessary duplication of course offerings resulting in small, uneconomic classes, in other cases again, courses provided are of dubious merit and value to the community,

Better definition of each institution's role and mission in teaching and research within a co-ordinated framework of national objectives and priorities. For example, not all institutions can be funded for research and a substantial number will not be, equally, no one institution will be funded in future for research across all of its activities,

- The future of the present 'binary' system of higher education, and removal of any distortions which this entails. Future funding arrangements, for example, should be based on agreed priorities for institutional activity, and performance against those outcomes, rather than on the vagaries of classification or nomenclature,

- Without prejudice to academic freedom, means of providing greater flexibility in the use of staff

resources in higher education, including for example:

Reform of the tenure system for academic staff, together with an increased emphasis on term appointments,

Schemes for selective early retirement, as a means of freeing up existing resources,

Staff management and appraisal systems in higher education, which should give appropriate emphasis to teaching performance as well as research capacity as a basis for appraisal,

Provision of greater incentives for performance, including the scope for greater flexibility in remuneration arrangements,

- A range of measures to better distribute resources across the system, based on efficiency criteria and incentives to achieve defined results. Over time, for example, the basis of funding should be shifted away from the current focus on input costs to a more competitive system which emphasises specified outputs and measurement of results, and allows institutions to bid for new places on this basis,

- Means of enabling institutions to increase revenue from private sources and hence their ability to deliver services, bearing in mind the Australian Labor Party's policy of opposition to tuition fees,

- Collaborative course arrangements with industry in a range of disciplines, along the lines announced recently in the information technology arena,

- Reform of institutional management and decision-making processes, including changes to the operations of governing bodies and academic boards and the improvement of management systems, particularly at the middle management level,

- Commonwealth/State relationships in higher education, and the problems created for institutions by divided responsibilities and accountability arrangements,

- The place of private institutions established under State auspices within the overall framework of higher education provision, and the relationship between public and private institutions,

- The balance in our approach to postgraduate education, especially at the doctorate level, between intensive but highly specialised programs on the one hand and a more broadly-based and multi-disciplinary emphasis on the other,

- Future requirements for teacher education resources in higher education, having regard to demographic trends, likely future increases in school retention rates, and the need for greater attention to mathematics and science within the secondary education curriculum,

- The appropriate relationship between higher education and TAFE; especially in matters such as the provision of higher education in small regional centres and arrangements for credit transfer between the sectors,

- The potential for providing increased higher education opportunities through external studies arrangements and possible rationalisation and concentration of existing providers of external studies.

Many of these issues have been considered in the context of the recent Review of Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education. The Government agrees with many of the directions recommended in that report, which provides a useful base for future policy discussions.

The Government has also considered some of these issues in rela-



tion to research in higher education, as part of its examination of proposals to establish an Australian Research Council (ARC). The Government has decided that we must concentrate our research resources and plan for strategic directions in the future with defined objectives in mind. The ARC will be the key source of advice on means of increasing the effectiveness of research expenditure in Australia.

There is a limit, however, to the scope of Government action. Much will also depend on the commitment to change on the part of the higher education system itself. Many within the system do accept the need for rapid change, and I have been heartened already to receive their encouragement and support of the Government's directions. On the other hand, there are those who have a vested interest in protection of the status quo, regardless of the wider national interest.

We will not be deterred, however, by the entrenched attitudes of a

few, and I am sure that we will find in the academic community generally a real concern for the future economic performance of the country and a desire for change in the role of the higher education system in responding to national needs. I will be actively seeking the views of concerned people on all of these issues in coming months.

Pending the resolution of these issues we must maintain the momentum that has been built up over the past four years. The last thing that the Government would want would be to have 1988 considered as a pause in the development of the system. It will not be a year for standing still. Some 5,800 additional places for young school leavers will be sought for 1988. Funding will be provided for an extra intake of 3,500 to 4,000 students - the highest level of intake funded since this Government came to office - and the remainder will be sought by adjustment to the profile of intakes by institutions.

We have taken some early steps in the process of reform. Research

funding will be less the exclusive province of the universities, and some existing research funding will be redirected through targeted schemes.

The Government will also relax the prohibition on fees for a limited range of postgraduate courses involving professional upgrading for people already in employment, as for example in the case of specialised postgraduate courses for medical practitioners.

This latter measure responds to requests made by a number of institutions which wish to expand their course offerings and revenue base. Fees will be charged at the discretion of individual institutions, subject to my approval, and the Commonwealth will not reduce the level of its general funding for institutions on account of revenue generated by fees.

There are critically important challenges ahead if Australia is to achieve the standards of intellectual capacity essential for success in an increasingly competitive world.

Ripping Yarns: Bob

Famed Australian writer Bob Ellis has just released his new book, *Letters To The Future*. Here is an extract from the book where he reminisces on his days as a student at Sydney University where he says he stayed far too long....

I took my little son through Sydney University recently, to make him want to go there like his dad. Much had changed, and many a big square glassy building stood athwart old, happy memory, but enough was the same, looming and sandstone, grass and gargoyles, silent, forbidding, to make both him and me afraid. It was a place I never conquered, not yet became a member of, all alumnus, or incidental fungus, anything: I was a brief ghost, soon gone.

I came there a 16-year-old Seventh Day Adventist, and commuted on trains from the Moore Park Road boarding house of an old family acquaintance, Dot Hickey, once of Murwillumbah.

I had a teachers' college scholarship, acquired late with low marks on the last bounce, and I enrolled in English, ancient history and psychology instead of my preference, philosophy, which the teachers' college wouldn't let me do for fear it would make me rebellious. I signed the papers (proposed age of retirement:65), started going to lectures, fell routinely in love with Lesley Pett of Bondi who shared several of my classes, began to pester her, and studied with diligence, going to church at Stanmore and attending the SDA club meet-

ings in the medical school.

I found old school friends who had moved from Lismore and attempted reacquaintance. I started going to the pictures with them on Saturdays, Sabbath-breaking for the first time, feeling less and less like an Adventist, a faith I lost more of in ancient history when told that the Red Sea crossing was a mere negotiation, probably a swamp.

Two terms passed without great event until Dot Hickey was evicted by her landlord and the boarding house broke up. I took a room in Bondi Raffles Hotel with Trevor Davis, one of Dot's foundlings, near Lesley Pett, whom I pestered more and travelled in with on the tram.

The hotel's landlord, Abe Saffron, not yet a prominent Sydney businessman, I saw every morning at breakfast with his jaded brunette wife, who at all hours wore tight, leopard-skin leotards. Dutch air hostesses from KLM would stop there, and there was talk in the corridor of orgies.

Then Trevor went home to Foster and around October 1959, I advertised on the university notice board for a new roommate and got Les A. Murray. Now Australia's foremost lyric poet, he was then, not much

different - intelligent, overweight, bubbling, epigrammatic, a determined Catholic convert and dedicated poet. The Catholicism was a worry and one religious difference I remember ended in a fist fight. The poetry was a bit of a worry too. It didn't rhyme, but it was good; he burnt a lot of it, when dissatisfied, on the bathroom floor. I shyly showed him the short stories I was then attempting to write for the *Women's Weekly*; he didn't like them at all, and said so.

Parties began to be held in our little room, with liquor (of which I did not partake) and women. One night ended with Mick Molloy, a lean and cheerful Cinesound cameraman (later [Stanley] Kubrick's director



of photography), and Murray in the two single beds with twin sisters, and me curious and frustrated on the floor between, until it ended chastely and in good humour with everyone aroused, especially me.

I studied hard, and failed ancient history; Murray hardly studied at all, and breezed through all his. I couldn't believe the injustice.

My second failed subject meant I'd have to go to a cram course at Sydney Teachers' College and come out at year's end as a teacher, second class, or I would have to improvise my way through the four remaining subjects on my own and my father's money in one year flat, while rehearsing, writing, drawing, painting, planning, filming, debating, womanising and gatecrashing student politics.

I chose the costlier course and entered a glimmering maelstrom of wake-up drugs, missed lectures, filthy duffel coats, dandruff, rhetoric, egomania, coffee, steak and chips, pilfered library books and at long last, at 19, sexual intercourse - in a Tennessee Williams hotel near Central, with an older woman (she was 21).

I lost Murray that year; he was replaced in the adjoining bed by a Korean encyclopaedia salesman who each night on the point of sleep tried to sell me the Britannica. I moved out, to the Lalla Rookh, a small Georgian pub on City Road, now long vanished into air, just across from the uni gates.

The following year I was featured editor of *Honi Soit* and, after a sort of unplanned coup that evicted Walsh and Grose, co-editor with Laurie Oakes, Dignam wrote theatre crits and Beresford film crits, Lehmann a marvellous debunking piece of Bob Hughes's alleged plagiarism of Dylan Thomas. John Tranter published his first poetry and Martin Sharp his

first cartoons, which, of course, I didn't much like. It went well for a while, till Oakes and I fell out, and stood against each other the following year. Oakes won, then resigned, and Jim Coombs, Nugget's son, and I took over, and in chaos and hysteria wrecked *Honi Soit* for a generation by letting in the earnest lefties - Hall Greenland for one - and ending its literary ebullience. Mungo refused to write for it, and Clive James, and they both went on a boat for England and we saw them off, and I stayed, stayed on.

I've never known when to leave a stage, and I stayed too long at university, becoming an unloved cardboard figure in its landscape, blackcoated, unshaven, dandruffed, slouching, grinding my teeth with the methedrine...

I failed exams, passed some, slept between lodgings, on park benches or under the Roman columns on Bondi golf course (to be nearer Lesley Pett) or on Murray's floor, and he on me. We had a kind of soiled and derelict brotherhood. I loved and sometimes resented him and his Falstaffian cheer, and he was fond and forgiving of me. Our bonding has endured. He was my best man and we correspond still.

The next year, moved by Murray's gaiety, ebullience, bibulousness and dazzling articulateness, I determined to do more and so joined SUDS, the Sydney University Dramatic Society, then run by Bill Pinwill, and Sydney University Players, then run by Leo Schofield, and the same week put in a short story to *Honi Soit*, which was published. Life moved into top gear. I was cast in two plays - *Twelfth Night*, directed by Ken Horler, as the Second Officer (the First Officer was a tall, hearty, handsome boy with square shoulders called Bruce Beresford), which starred John Bell as a spluttering Malvolio and John Gaden as a burping Belch; and as the butler in Anouilh's *Traveller Without Luggage*, directed by Pam Trethowan, starring Arthur Dignam.

Honi Soit was another matter altogether. With its urgent deadlines, slashed copy and brutal responses (Bob Hughes, the illustrations editor tore up my proffered cartoons and called them rubbish), it had a veneer of hard-nosed apolitical professionalism about it.

Boasting already Clive James, Mungo MacCallum, Richard Walsh, Laurie Oakes, David Solomon and Peter Wilenski as director of Student Publications, with Les Murray and Geoff Lehmann and Ron Balair as occasional contributing poets, and of course ... others, the ones who were my closer friends, and girlfriends, Peter Barden, Ken Welton, Gillian Hadley, Jackie Campbell, Penny McNicoll, Gillian Trethowan, Paul Thom, Dawn Willis, Graham Baker, Alan Walker, Phil Chambers, Lock Blackett, Vashti Farrer, Tony Stembeck and Margaret Pender (Tony later married Marg, and, thwarted of Labor pre-selection and other things, blew his head off in the kitchen in front of her), it was a full french letter of missed lectures and high overvaulting projects, the Mephistopheles after which my frail soul hankered, posterity-famished for far too many years. The people I liked were the ones not eventually famous, and the fame-bound ones I mostly hated for the very qualities, already evident, of selfishness, power madness, manipulativeness and Napoleonic resolve that in due course got them there.

Clive James I hated a lot. His sprightly smart-arse poems, so infected by Fitzgerald, Auden and Cummings (and so accomplished that

I can quote by heart about eight of them today), were not so much written as paraded, and his revue sketches, in several of which I appeared, extremely unfunny. After one disastrous rehearsal he upbraided the cast for our lack of appreciation of the greatness of the dialogue we were uttering. "If I were speaking lines like this," he said, in his affected mid-Atlantic voice, "I'd be proud." He was easy to hate, and many availed themselves of the option.

Others I was undecided about. Mungo MacCallum, a lank, sour trifid, overburdened then as now with a huge despairing brain, I played pool with and was always cravenly polite and admiring of but never got on with, and I regret it. Richard Walsh, then as now a chirrupy, stingy squirrel, I resented in part because I was often physically mistaken for him, and I got him sacked from *Honi Soit* and, with Laurie Oakes, replaced him. Ron Blair I found affected and sent up in print. Peter Grose seemed handsome and dull, Richard Wherrett an effete and pouting personality whose lips, in Simon Templar's words, looked as if they had been freshly skinned.

Our lives were all different, but certain things were self-evident. The pre-eminence of conversation was one, and the need to drink coffee while talking. The genius of Peter Sellers was another, and the need to have his satirical records. Peter Ustinov was likewise revered, and Alec Guinness, Dylan Thomas, Oscar Wilde, and T.H. White's book *The Once and Future King* and later *Lord of the Rings* and *Lord of the Flies*, and *Catcher in the Rye* and *Catch 22*. The *Hustler* became a cult film, and Jules and Jim and *Black Orpheus* ... Jazz was very big especially Dave Brubeck and Duke Ellington, and Michael Charlton's witty cricket commentaries, and Garfield Sobers and Wes Hall.

Through all this pulsed the drudgery of our lifestyles; the 12 pounds a week scholarship allowance, five or six of which went on board and lodging, the tram rides, the encounters with Bea Miles, the coffee shops, the lectures and pretentious tutorials, the power games in the societies, the books routinely stolen from Fisher Library, the cramming, the methedrine taken while cramming.

Money was scarce, and when I started taking out Penny McNicoll, who sometimes drove her father David's Jaguar, the lack of it shameful. Other shames afflicted us, too. The Pill had just been invented and was available only on production of a marriage certificate. The squirming half-measures, legal and sexual, the most popular known as *Getting Off At Redfern*, and the Engagement Ring, are not to be thought of now. Suffice to say we coped, and the gonorrhoea that once ran rampant through SUDS was hushed up. Female orgasm was unheard of. What stoic, generous girls they were.

Murray and I were evicted from Bondi Raffles Hotel for encrusted filthiness in September 1960, and moved to a private hotel in Strathfield. I saw less of Lesley Pett whom I nonetheless decorously pursued for nine more years, the nice girl next door to whom I returned after long and filthy detours. She didn't much like me, twice refusing my proposals of marriage.

I turned 18, stood with Peter Barden for co-editor of *Honi Soit*, was defeated by Walsh and Grose, got a vengeful credit in ancient history, passed English and education, and utterly failed anthropology, after attending only three lectures.

I pursued and secured the favours

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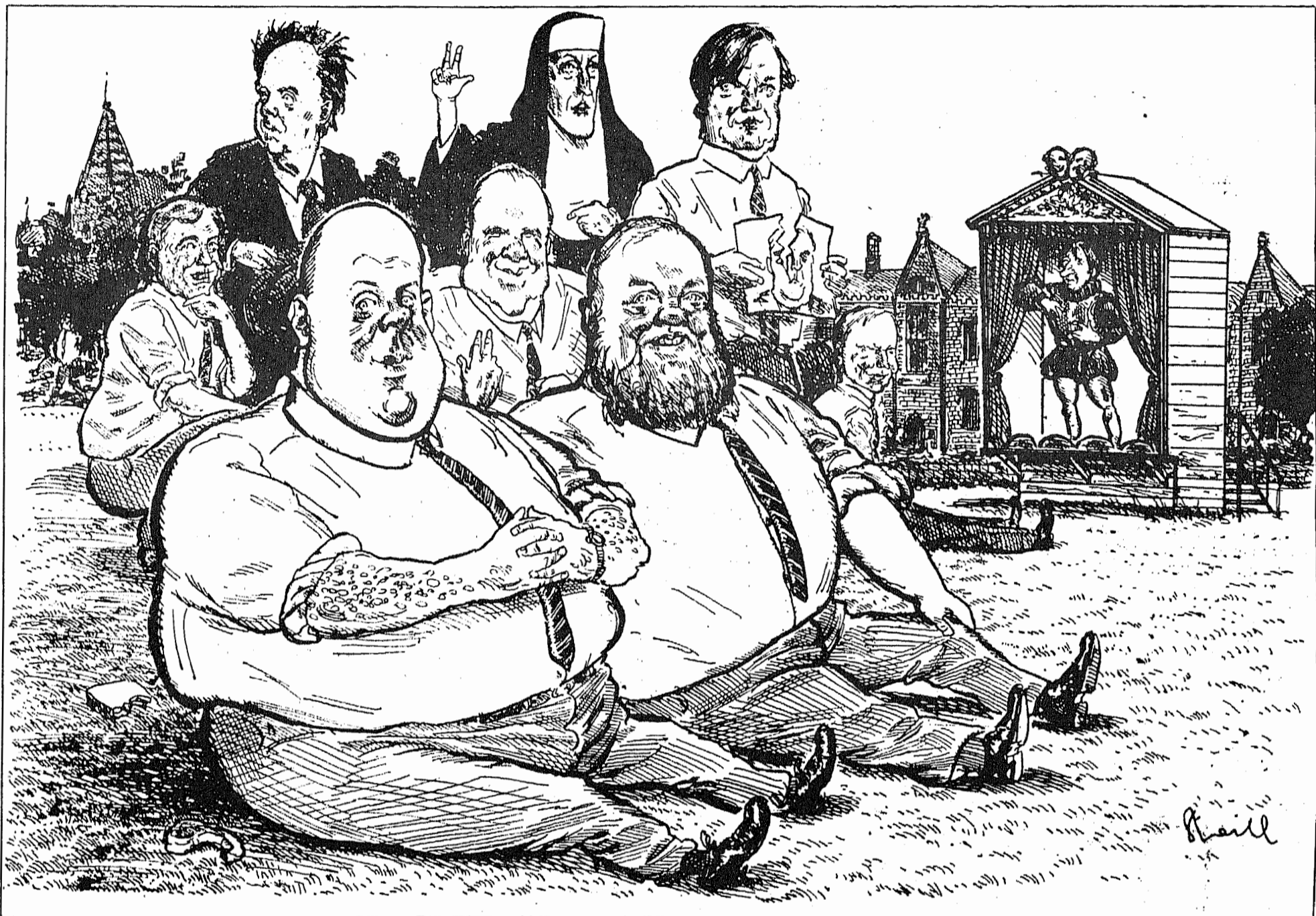
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THE ADELAIDE CHURCH



Ellis' old university days



of a few good women, proposing to many, only half sincerely, always in vain. Penny McNicoll, to whom I was for while in fact engaged, I persuaded to drive west with me in her father's car across the Blue Mountains, melodramatically, by night, at the time of Cuban missile crises in 1962 because I was convinced in my grinding grey methedrine haze that Sydney would that night be bombed. We waited for the mushroom cloud that never came, and watched the sun come up.

On returning his daughter, I had to explain to David McNicholl, as formidable then as he is now and as white-moustached and baleful and disapproving, why I hadn't invited him along. He formed a low opinion of me and later prosecuted me for trespass on his land and harassment of his by then ragged and shell-shocked daughter. My solicitor, Michael Kirby, of late years chairman of the Law Reform Commission, and in those days the gently authoritative president of the SRC, gravely soothed me into a promise before the court not to further trouble the girl or enrage her apoplectic, blimpish father and thereby saved me from imprisonment, I now surmise.

I failed two subjects that year (Government, I think, was one of them, despite the seductive tutoring of Peter Westerway). I secured a job in advertising to fund what became my penultimate student year....I lasted only a month, being fired for my unsavoury appearance, uncivil demeanour, preposterous ads (in one I proposed filling Sydney Harbour with soapsuds) and my habit of listening to the Test cricket at my desk in the hall and eating thick milkshakes with a plastic

spoon.

Stunned and exhilarated by my abrupt unshackling, I secured within hours a job as a proof-reader's copyholder at ally Typesetters where, between six at night and three in the morning, I read aloud in a pleasing voice death notices and Walton's ads and bus timetables to an affable Cockney who corrected the spelling. This allowed me to go to university by day, and not sleep or womanise before dawn.

The Penny McNicoll matter had wounded me deeply and my compensatory pursuit and pillage of womankind was ravenous. I discovered the valuable fact that the thing which most assures an eventual f... is the smell of the last one on you. This explained, I decided, the sexual success of Dylan Thomas and Dirty Dick and Rasputin, and the countless unwashed Jimmy Porters of the time before whom proper middle-class girls went down as lucerne before the scythe. I dreamed of middle-class girls; I really wanted to soil them. I was a social climber, I guess.

Germaine [Greer] turned up that year from Melbourne and within months was cast by Ken Horler as Mother Courage and began to be heard in that land, harassing and challenging, cool and brilliant, beautiful, brazen, shrewish and kind. She shone, of course, in revue. I remember her coming on stage once dressed as a nun, in a halo of stained glass light, then slowly and gravely shimmying into a strip tease.

Her mocking nemesis, Barry Humphries turned up that year too, and astonished us with his first stage show. Germaine, he said, had been using at parties his Norm and Edna

material as if it was her own. A bit of a jackdaw, the old Germaine.

Her gladiatorial arena, The Push, was, in the Bogle-Chandler afterglow, at the height of its eminence. Harry Hootan was dead, after giving his famous lectures on what it was like to be dying, and his grieving young mistress, Margaret Elliott, was pursued and wed by Leon Fink, the deflowerer of Germaine. Frank Moorhouse had begun publishing a writers' magazine.

I was very tired in 1963; my baggy-eyed appearance deepened that year, and never left my face; Lincolnnesque, some fool woman called it. I became again co-editor of *Honi Soit*, and wrote an article against abortion, vivid in its description, that caused our eviction from the *Herald* printery on the grounds of its obscenity. And thus it was I fetched up, flotsam on history's tide, at the Anglican Press, and there met my Merlin, Francis James. He saved my life, I think, in that bad year, giving me an ill-fitting job as editor of the *Anglican Year Book*, a portentous official register of Australian parsons.

I introduced James to Walsh and Gorse and Richard Neville, the relaxed and affable editor of *Tharunka*. He subsequently agreed to publish *Oz*, their new magazine, and thus precipitated his board of directors, four dismayed bishops, into the dock for obscenity.

Things went bad and rancid for me in 1963; running two women and five careers was onerous, as was the rent. I missed lectures and behaved oddly on the Students' Representative Council, shouting and climbing around the table. A new, young, sleek representative, Geoffrey

Robertson, exactly the same then as he is now, avoided me.

I overspent the *Honi* budget by an astronomical 3,000 pounds, was arraigned before the council and acrimoniously dismissed. I went into a tailspin of self-doubt and self-promotion and methedrine. I began to predict things with the air of a seer. John F. Kennedy, I said, would soon be murdered. When, to my surprise, he was, I relayed the news to a dismayed Bruce Beresford. Kennedy's been shot dead, I said. What, he said you mean Graham is no longer with us?

Beresford left that Christmas for England. I was supposed to go with him but didn't, since I owed 500 pounds bond money to the Education Department. I stayed, too long. Richard Neville went hiking in the Himalayas. I corresponded with him and stayed, stayed too long. Not to go in those days was a failure.

I passed one more exam, and leaving Francis, at his wish and to his relief, got a job on the *Herald* on the shipping column. Eleven days later 500 people missed the *Orcades* because of two pieces of transposed copy paper, one saying today, the other tomorrow. This just shows how much, in those days, the word of the *Herald* was trusted. No more. I was (oh dear) fired, and the appalled passengers flown to Brisbane to join the ship, at Fairfax expense.

I was fired on Friday and on Monday began work at the ABC as a news cadet, a job I'd turned down a month before in a letter I'd forgotten, characteristically, to post. I was lucky, and stayed with the ABC seven years. Peter Best, the film composer of *Barry McKenzie and Crocodile Dundee*, whom I'd known at university, Bob Connolly,

later of *Big Country* and Mike Carlton were my co-cadets.

I got my degree in February 1965. Two credits, seven passes: 17 exams, I was still sufficiently normal to want and value it, but in the getting of it I have been changed, changed utterly, into a kind of defiant, eloquent cockroach, full of self-loathing and self-promotion and remorse and bitter laughter. I even began to write of myself in the third person, a sure sign of megalomania.

I'd say now with great conviction that to leave home is a trauma, and to go to a big city from a country town an emotional catastrophe, as bad as a death in the family. It can send you mad or it can distort you for life; it will never do less, it may do more, like kill you. Studenthood is therefore a terrible thing, an ailment like herpes that stays uncured lifelong. I would sit up gloomily at night in the Raffles Hotel in that first year trying to find 2LM, the Lismore station, among the static. I'm still doing something like that. The static has overwhelmed me.

For 10 years after, I dreamed of going back under an assumed name, for I still looked very young, and this time doing it right. But that great place mocks like Ozymandias's memorial to all our puny endeavours. We will never live up to its promise. We will always crawl, angry cockroaches under its gaze, shaking our feelers at its vaulting spires, cursing our littleness. That day with my son I felt the fear come back from the ornate sandstone. That fear is eternal, and we are just passing through.

From *Letters To The Future* by Bob Ellis, published by Methuen Haynes (RRP \$14.95).

SPRING FEATURES

ABOUT THE HIST- FROM DEMOS

Should students study hard and not waste their time with political action? DESMOND MANDERSON writes that if we deny students their right to activism, we will lose a very important tool of reform.

There is much criticism in Australia today about student behaviour at tertiary institutions.

Universities' vocational role is emphasised at the expense of any political or social role they may have: nowhere is this better shown than in the federal government's decision to move responsibility for Technical and Further Education Colleges from the Department of Education to the Department of Employment in the May Economic Statement.

Students are being urged to study hard, and not to waste time in political action. Demonstrations by students - whether about political issues or educational fees such as the Hawke government's Higher Education Administrative Charge (HEAC) - are criticised and scorned.

Evidence that students today are more conservative and "bookish" than they used to be, is dwelt upon, and even gloated over. In this article, I want to consider briefly the history of student protest around the world, in order to emphasise its traditions, its importance and its value to society.

Examples from outside Australia are relevant to help people in Australia better understand the traditions and importance of student protests, and their value to society.

University students have been protesting about ineffectual teachers for as long as there have been teach-

ers. They have been protesting about the need for accessible education, social justice and reform, for just as long. The notion that students should go to university simply to study and get a job is by no means a new one. Current demonstrations - about university fees in Canberra and Sydney, US bases and nuclear weapons in London or Bonn, or democracy and repression in Seoul - are part of a great tradition of dissent within universities; a tradition in which immediate student concerns are expressed alongside broad concerns about the nature of society. To deny students this activism, as current trends in Australian education policy and by some political parties is tending to do, is to deny them their historical role and, indeed, duty.

The first universities

Universities evolved in Europe from about the eleventh century; Oxford and Cambridge were both clearly deserving of the title 'university' by about 122, and their position was further enhanced with the establishment of Colleges by wealthy benefactors that century. For example, those of John de Balliol and Walter de Merton in the 1260s. It can be said that the early institutions were training grounds for those who supported the status quo; administrators and clerics.

Oxford and Cambridge were given Crown charters and right into the nineteenth century their senior office-bear-

ers were political puppets. There is no record of any student sit-ins over Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries; Oxford did not march on Westminster crying "What do we want? Antidiseestablishmentarianism!"

When do we want it? Now!" It is no coincidence that Oxford, not London, was Charles I's headquarters during the English Revolution. Oxbridge retains its establishment leanings to this day.

The universities of Southern Europe were much more volatile institutions. Take for example, the student strike at Bologna. The law students at Bologna from the eleventh century were perhaps like their modern parallels in their penchant for Spaghetti Bolognese (they presumably ate it with meat and not lentils, but the Enlightenment was still 700 years away, and Pritikin a further 200) but they were mainly foreigners, paying for the privilege of a degree yet suffering under harsh discriminatory laws and taxes.

Recognising the prosperity they afforded to the town, they eventually organised into a guild which was called the *universitates*, and in 1217 they withdrew en masse from the town. They went on strike - for three years - and in the end their victory was total. They gained not only immunity from xenophobic laws, but the right to run the university themselves, design the courses and even appoint the professors!

Two more recent instances of student activism (as case studies) may be valuable in allowing one to assess the power and weaknesses of student organisation, and to emphasise the importance of student action in the recent past.

Paris '68

May 1968 was a thrilling time to be a student in Paris, as anyone who was there will tell you (probably at considerable length and over and over again). Students had since Napoleon been suffering under an oppressive education system that emphasised cramming, rote and abstract learning and positively discouraged any sort of genuine contact between teacher and student. The result was irrelevance and alienation. But when tension exploded that month, the students did not merely demand wholesale reform of the education system, but, under the influence of Cohn-Bendit, the destruction of capitalism and consumerism.

Here we can observe one of the essential features of student protest throughout the world: demands are directed at particular student concerns, but also encompass all sorts of general social and governmental issues. Students have never been concerned only with so-called "student issues". The specific issue is often a necessary catalyst to widespread protest. But a balloon when it bursts does not just burst a little bit; all the pent-up energy within it is released.

Much happened that month, and at times it looked as if the government would fall to the revolutionary forces. Most importantly, the students managed to achieve an alliance with the workers (although not with the institutional hierarchy of the trade union movement) and at its peak a general

strike mobilised by youth, was being supported by 10,000,000 workers: Renault, Michelin, Peugeot were on strike, the mines silent and the ports paralysed. When the government attempted to divide and rule, and offered the workers a 10% pay rise (accepted by the trade union organisations) to end the strike, a spokesman for the strikers replied, "We are no longer at that stage. We want the collapse of the regime." The students and workers formed action committees all around the country. Workers took control of factories, and hospital staff at hospitals. Joint student-worker committees were set up in many places. The Sorbonne was occupied and, in a remarkable show of solidarity, 58 professors at Nanterre (a university overspill centre of drab steel and glass in outer Paris which was the heart of the uprising) declared that they no longer recognised the French education system. On 13 May, as the general strike reached its peak, one million people demonstrated through Paris. The same day, the Left Bank was evacuated (thus saving the lives of many innocent pedestrians from maniacal French drivers).

Although the power and potential of the student uprising was unique in European history, one characteristic of the events of May is all too typical: the massive government reaction thus provoked. On May 5, 60,000 demonstrators were confronted by French riot troops. The result was the hospitalization of 739 marchers. The headline in the following day's paper was, with typical journalistic restraint, "MAS-SACRE IN THE LATIN QUARTER". On 24 May, General de Gaulle arranged with General Massu for the West German army to provide support for the government if required. Over the following days, battles between riot troops and students left another 500 wounded.

Not only the State apparatus behaved in such a way. On 30 May, 1 million people demonstrated at the *Place de la Concorde* in support of the government, carrying slogans including "Cohn-Bendit to Dachau", and "Students to the gas ovens". Never was the *Place de la Concorde* more inaptly named. The Sorbonne was retaken on June 16, and on June 30 the Gaullists resoundingly won the general election. The students had lost, defeated by State repression, conservatism and the hostility of the parties to the left, who resented the power of youth and the lack of dogma in their commitment. The bosses of the trade union movement, the Communists and so on, were all (as is so often the case) implacably opposed to the students. Said Georges Marchais on the first day of the disturbances, "The pseudo-revolutionaries at Nanterre and anywhere else labour in vain, they will change nothing of historical reality".

Was May 1968 a failure? As far as its narrow goals were concerned, undoubtedly not. Universities were abolished and asked to reform themselves, by democratic vote of the staff and students. They were democratised and decentralised: the Sorbonne divided into 7 campuses - the right wing of the Mathematics Department went to one, and the left wing to another! The events of the month had transformed sterile institutions into places rich with political atmosphere and real human feelings; although the intensity of this decreased, it did not disappear. Said one teacher, "I don't want to sound old-fashioned, but there's been a huge increase in what you might call 'vulgarity' - girls playing the guitar in the corridor and so on".

No revolution occurred in France. There are those who believe that the student radicals were not committed enough; that they were merely playing

a game. Indeed, many of them have not evinced much political activism since 1968, and the failure of the students' radical programme is a salutary lesson that real change takes time and continued effort - one demonstration or one month is not enough. Yet the fact of those demonstrations and that time must of itself do something to make people question their values. The changing of how people judge their society requires the occasional flare as well as continual burning coals.

OHIO 1970

May 4, 1970 is another important and tragic day in the history of student dissent. On that day four students were shot and killed by National Guards at Kent State University, Ohio. Again we see the conglomeration of narrow student interests with broader social concerns; again we see how seriously the State takes such demonstrations by the violence of their retaliation. Undoubtedly the Vietnam war was a particular issue for students, but the events at Kent State were in immediate response to Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia. It was therefore a protest against the conduct of American foreign policy, and it was a protest in which the Black United States were also involved, expressing their particular concerns alongside those of their fellow students.

The events at Kent State were not organised; there was no programme for reform or list of demands. Rather it was an outburst of frustration and rage, expressing itself in broken windows, rock-throwing and so on. The violence reached its height when the ROTC building, the visible expression on campus of the Vietnam war, was burned. The building was worth about \$50,000: it was small, wooden and old (which was why it was so easy to burn in the first place). The response of Governor Rhodes, however, would have been laughable were it not so terrible:

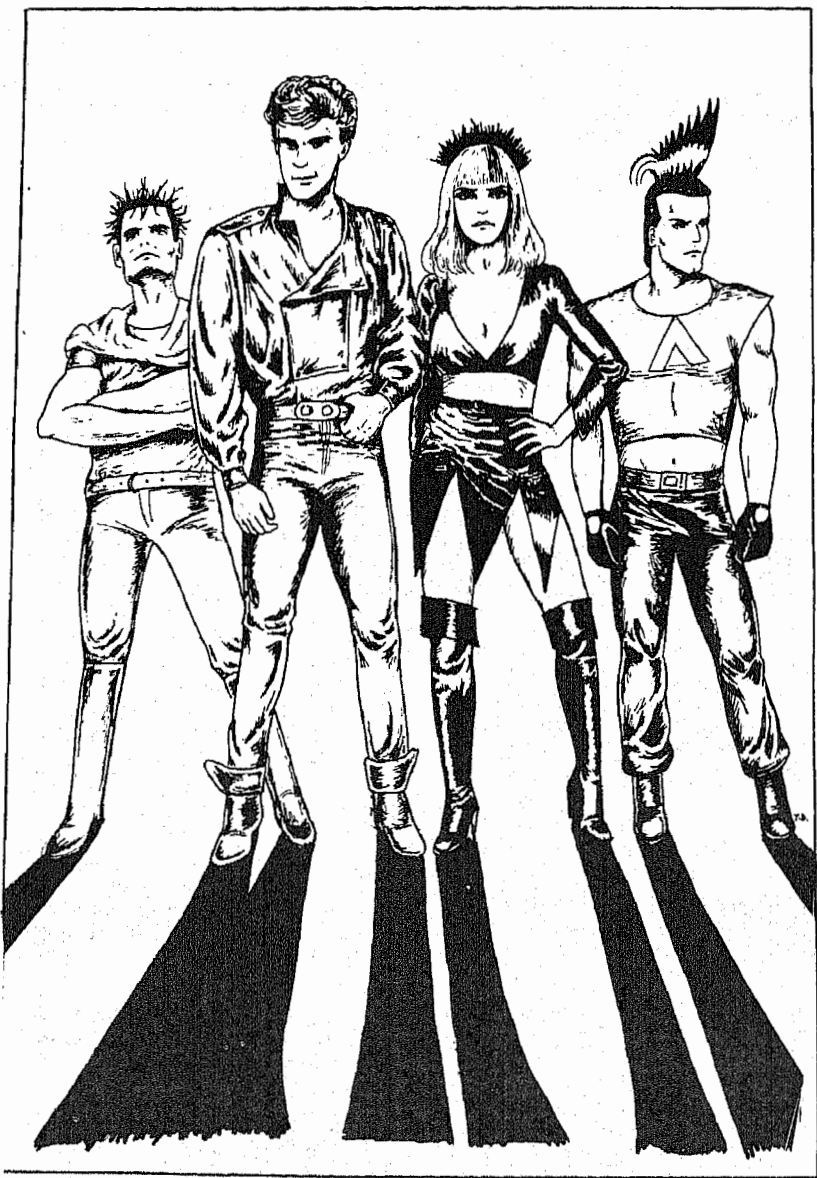
"We are going to employ every weapon possible ... You cannot continue to set fire to buildings that are worth \$5 million and \$10 million. I think we are up against the strongest, well-trained militant group that has ever been assembled in America. We are going to eradicate the problem ... There is no sanctuary. It's over with in Ohio."

As Marvin Holsey (a black sociologist at Kent State) commented, "Man, They're always telling me about those outside agitators. I think I'll become an outside agitator myself, and see the world."

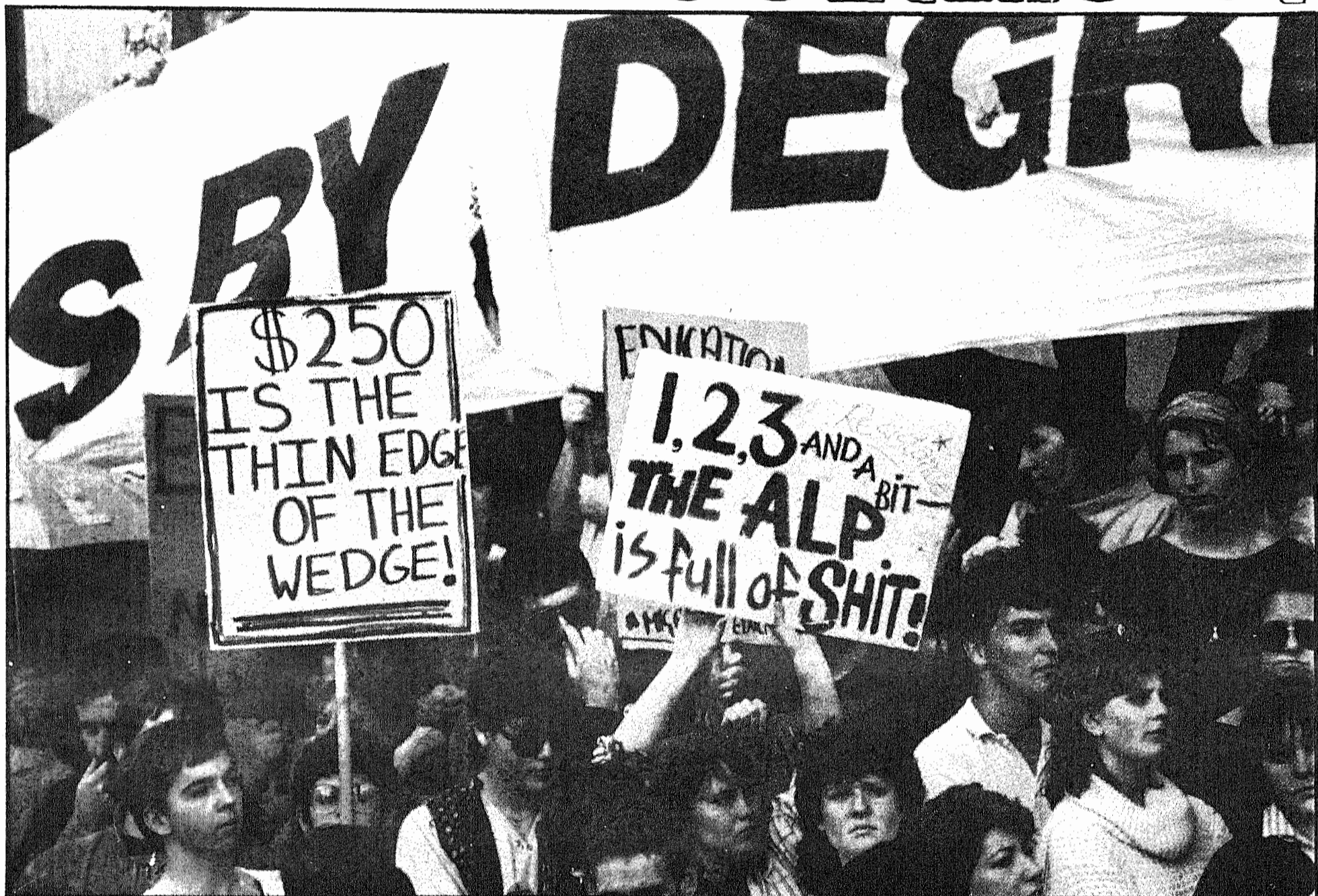
On May 4, orders were given for the National Guard to break up all assemblies, peaceful or not, by any means at their disposal. 20 soldiers, without warning, without warning shots, and without informing anyone that they had live ammunition fired into a crowd of 500 demonstrators. 9 were wounded and 4 killed. Accounts of the incident tend to emphasise that the four who died were not student activists, but 'innocent' students - as if it would have been OK otherwise.

US PROTESTS IN THE 60's

Unlike May 1968, at Kent State there was no effective student organisation and no programme for reform. The events of Kent State clearly demonstrate the importance of those factors. However, it is necessary to go beyond that particular incident to the achievements of the student protest movement in the USA in the 60s as a whole. Undoubtedly, student activism lay at the heart of the social reform movements that so shook America. The anti-Vietnam movement provides, of course, the classic example. It demonstrates that students, while



ORY OF STUDENTS TO DEMOCRACY:



often catalysed by particular self-interests, like conscription, are concerned with much broader issues, too. The 500,000 people who marched on Washington, were not just there to protest against the draft, but against the "morality of absolute self-assurance fired by the crusading spirit" (Fulbright) that characterised American foreign and domestic policy. They were as one with students who protested against the House Un-American Activities Committee ten years earlier.

Student protest in the US was not just limited to the anti-war movement. Organisation such as Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee were in the forefront of civil rights activism in the 60s. Indeed the black civil rights movement gained much of its impetus from the college sit-ins of 1960 and the activities of the SNCC. "To be with them, walking a picket line in the rain in Hattiesburg, Mississippi or ... watch them walk out of the stone jailhouse in Albany, Georgia ... is to feel the presence of greatness, a greatness that comes from their relationship with history."

Much of the student activism of the 60s was negative in the sense that while critical of social values and trends, it did not offer concrete programmes for change: the violence at Kent State and other similar incidents such as those at Jackson State and at Orangeburg demonstrate that student protest is often borne of anger, passion and impotence. The nihilism of student protests is still often the subject of disparaging comments: Why are they always against things? Why

can't they be for something? But negativity is itself a valuable exercise. It forces other people to think of how things should be changed and to question their values. That questioning process, once begun, cannot be undone, and it goes on although the 60s are long past. Cries that "students today are more conservative" reveal a desire for reassurance in conservative values which confirms that memories of the 60s still cause discomfort, and its purgative effects are still continuing.

AROUND THE WORLD

The same pattern of student dissent can be seen around the world today: a concern with "student issues" and with social reform, powerful and effective protest, massive state retaliation. The violence inflicted upon students is often brutal.

When students in the Central African Republic demonstrated against the compulsory uniforms they were required to purchase, over 50 of them were personally beaten to death by Emperor Bokassa. State reprisal, though often in an admittedly less bizarre form, is typical of governments' reactions to student demonstrations wherever they occur.

In South Korea, it is the students who are in the forefront of the struggle for democracy and freedom, in return for which they receive teargas and bullets.

In South Africa, too, the schools and universities are the focus of discontent. There, by the governments' own admission, some 1500 students between the ages of 10 and 18 are currently being detained without trial.

Whenever a regime faces popular

discontent, almost its first reaction is to close down the universities. Students play a vital role in the mobilising of mass resistance, and their repression is of prime importance to the survival of the totalitarian government. In such societies, students are fighting not just for themselves, but for the country as a whole.

The power of students in a popular revolution can be seen time and time again. It was the students who were the leading force of resistance to the Machado regime in Cuba in the 1930s, and again against Batista in the 1950s. Indeed, in 1933 the prime student body, the Directorio, in effect appointed the government of Dr. Grau (a university professor) and participated in the day-to-day formulation of government policy.

Why are those at university so often called upon to perform such important work in fighting repressive governments or demonstrating against the injustices they see? It is not just because they are young; such an explanation would have you believe that radicalism is something that one grows out of, like Bob Dylan or roller skates. There are other, more real, reasons. Students learn, especially in subjects like history, sociology, anthropology and political science, about oppression and the structure of oppression when they have the time and energy to try and do something about it. Further, students are to some extent outside the culture of the rest of society. Values which are accepted in "the real world" need not be accepted at university. Moreover, students are not yet wholly incorporated into the economic system. Their expression of dissent does not therefore carry the

same risks for job and financial security that inhibit protests by everybody else in a society.

Students, then, have a unique perspective and are in a unique position to see injustice and to act upon it. To ask people who go to university, to learn about cruelty and see the need for reform, and then to expect them to remain silent, is rather like telling somebody to go on a diet in which they can eat whatever they like, but they can't swallow. Because students are so specially placed, their activism must be seen not only as historically natural; to some extent, it is their duty. Australian students, like those elsewhere, are not just at university to get a useful education - they are also there to criticise, to think, and to act. If they did not do so, they would not be exploiting the nature of their position in society fully and they would be letting down those who need their support.

When students are needed to fight for social justice, when they must face an oppressive government, they can only act effectively if there is a tradition of dissent within the local student population. 'Student revolutions' do not come out of nowhere: there must be a local history of demonstrations, organisation and activism. The Philippines has had a long history of an active student movement. In the 100 years from 1869, there were 94 demonstrations on 'student issues' including 49 protesting about university fees being raised, and 141 on 'non-student issues'. Many of these demonstrations failed: in 1939, high school students demonstrated against the imposition of a \$P5 "Laboratory Fee". Like the Hawke Government's "High

Education Administrative Charge", a rise in fees was sought to be concealed by terminology. The students won, in that the new charge was dropped ... but a \$P5 increase in tuition fees was imposed instead! Many protests failed more tragically. In 1971, demonstrations against Marcos left 38 students dead. But in a real sense, these demonstrations were of value, for they created the habit of student dissent. It was this culture of political protest and involvement that was so important in the events of 1986. It is not surprising that the students were so effective in the front line of the 1986 revolution. Demonstration was in their blood. One hundred years of student demonstrations left them very much in practice, and the people of the Philippines have, in consequence, much to thank them for.

A students' role has never been simply to study. The history of student dissent is a potent, impressive and long one which should not be belittled or somehow questioned as being inappropriate behaviour. If Australian society so emphasises academic learning or the getting of a "vocational" degree that the broader nature of being a student is lost, we will have lost a valuable tool of reform. And if we deny students their right to activism - so that in the future, when they are needed to fight against repression on behalf of us all, their reaction is merely to wonder what they should do, or to observe passively and go back to their books - we will have none to blame but ourselves.

Desmond Manderson is an author and tutor in history at the Australian National University.

NCC = A VOLUNTARY

Ever since Australian Student News hit campuses in September 1986, harried student newspaper editors and student politicians have been gnashing their teeth at the paper's reported connection with the National Civic Council (NCC). Students at Queensland University are suspicious of the aims and objectives of the secret organisation. JOHN JIGGENS retreads old ground to present a layperson's guide to the National Civic Council and begs the question, "What is the NCC?"

"In the tense melodrama of politics there are mysterious figures who stand virtually unnoticed in the wings, invisible to all but a few of the audience, as they cue, Svengali-like among the actors out on stage. Such a figure appears to be Bartholemew Augustine Michael Santamaria, of politics, but not in them, a man dedicated to an unrelenting crusade against Communism reputed by his enemies to exercise a major influence on the course of Australian politics, yet out of the public eye and seemingly a bystander. When his name is mentioned, as it frequently is by politicians, it is usually in a guarded whisper behind a hand muffling the mouth, for they appear to fear speaking aloud of him, just as medieval men feared to speak aloud of bogies..."

Alan Reid 1954

Alan Reid's suitably melodramatic description captures much of the aura that surrounds the NCC's leading light, B.A. Santamaria - Santastileto, Mr. Cloak and Dagger. The splitter of the great split - an aura of mystery, and suspicion. The same aura surrounds his creation - the N.C.C. (National Civic Council).

B.A. Santamaria, through his long association with Archbishop Mannix, has had a major influence on the Catholic church in Australia, and through it, on the Australian Labor Party. To understand Santamaria and his Movement it is necessary to understand the Catholic experience in Australia.

Catholics in Australia (and particularly Irish Catholics) were heavily discriminated against by the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) power elite: an early decree of Governor Phillip suppressed the Catholic religion in the infant colony; their poverty and largely Irish background ensured that they experienced oppression and injustice for generations.

From this persecution developed a fierce tribal loyalty and a particular Irish/Australian nationalism. Because they were mainly working class, they emphasised social justice for the poor: so prior to the Second World War, Catholics provided a significant proportion of the ALP's membership and voters.

The 1930's were a decade of crisis: in Australia both Fascism and Communism grew. B.A. Santamaria, who at the time was the National Secretary of the National Catholic Rural Movement, and a supporter of the Franco coup in Spain became convinced of the possible takeover of a number of trade unions by Communists. By 1945, Santamaria was able to convince Melbourne's Archbishop Mannix that there was a need for a national organisation of Catholics to fight Communism. Thus was the Catholic Social Studies Movement, more popularly known as 'The Movement' born.

As Director of The Movement, Santamaria chose to fight Communism with tactics remarkably similar to Lenin's: cells were formed; organisations infiltrated and captured.

The Industrial Groups that the

Movement perfected as a highly efficient machine for working within the unions against the communists were turned inwards against the radicals of the Labor Party. The fear in the Labor Party grew that there was a sem-fascist, clericalist plot to capture it and turn it into an organ for introducing a Mussolini-style corporate state.

In 1954, Evatt, the leader of the ALP, made his famous statement denouncing: "a small minority group of members located particularly in the State of Victoria which has since 1949 become increasingly disloyal to the Labor Movement and the Labor leadership ... the activities of this small group are largely directed from outside the Labor Movement. The Melbourne News Weekly appears to act as their organ..."

Evatt accused The Movement of "adopting methods which strikingly resemble communist and fascist infiltration."

An ex-minister claimed that Santamaria controlled the Victorian Labor Party Executive Evatt's move against 'The Movement'. The Movement moved against Evatt. This led to the famous ALP split. The Labor Party lost government and Victoria (where it had to wait till 1980). Federally, the ALP was to wander in the political wilderness till 1972. A spirit of hatred disfigured the Labor movement for a generation. It still festers. For many ALP supporters the name B.A. Santamaria is still worse than poison.

In 'saving' the ALP from communism, B.A. Santamaria destroyed it for a generation. A similar fate has befallen the Australian Union of Students and other organisations that Santamaria and the NCC have tried to 'save'. Given the NCC's current interest in student politics we should consider why this happens.

The turmoil these events provoked convulsed the Australian Catholic Church. Support for the movement came from Archbishop Mannix in Melbourne; the opposition centred on Cardinal Gilroy in Sydney. Both appealed to Rome; "to lay before His Holiness the present situation and seek his paternal direction". Two letters were received from the Sacred Congregation for the propagation of the Faith under the signature of Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi. The interpretation of these letters is the sort of thing people write books about. Briefly, it looked like Santamaria was going to lose, but he came up with his usual brilliant and self-serving interpretation that managed to convince his followers that an organisation like 'The Movement' was a necessary tool against communism. Despite the ambiguity of the Cardinal's letters, Santamaria continued the movement under another name: The National Civic Council - the rest is history.

AIMS OF THE NCC:

In a pamphlet entitled The National Civic Council: Acting in the interests of Australia, the Queensland division of the NCC answers the question: what is the NCC?

"Technically, the NCC is a voluntary

mentators would describe the NCC as belonging to the far right: the NCC sees itself as being 'moderate'.

The methods used by the NCC is its constant battle against the political 'left' are the subject of national controversy; its critics claim that the NCC is a secretive, clandestine, reactionary organisation; the NCC sees itself as being in the forefront of the fight for freedom.

The National Civic Council trains 'operatives' to work within trade unions, tertiary institutions, government agencies and community organisations to combat the 'subversive, pro-communist left'. However, NCC operatives do not reveal their association with the national Civic Council. Their method of operation is often tagged as unscrupulous.

In Brisbane, the NCC operate out of an old two-story ex-bank building in Ann Street, Fortitude Valley. Downstairs, Brian Mullins, the State President has his office. He shares this floor with the NCC fundraiser. Being an ex-bank, it has a vault. The contents of this vault are probably well stocked. Over the past decade

the 'New Right' has been a growth industry and the NCC have been in the business longer than most. Upstairs is the research office, which liaise with the operatives, other political parties and the other groups of the Catholic Right such as "Women Who Want To Be Women" and "Right to Life".

The NCC is a well-funded organisation. It produces and distributes litera-

"The NCC is a well funded organisation. It produces and distributes literature, recruits operatives and funds training programs ... it has extended the activities of its paid organisers to infiltrate student unions, the women's movement and other organisations of social consciousness and change ..."



SECRET ORGANISATION?

The decline of AUS



The Australian Union of Students (AUS) died officially on the 15th December, 1984.

In pursuit of its goal of "anti-communism" the NCC exerted enormous pressure against the Australian student movement, it infiltrated local student movements and AUS. The NCC wants to see campuses purged of political activism; they've been able to find hundreds of thousands of dollars to support this cause.

Before he resigned from the NCC in 1980, John Herzog was the NCC's main student organiser in Queensland, in the Election Semper John Herzog wrote:

"The demise of the AUS did not just happen because lots of average students said 'enough is enough'. To think that would be very naive - nearly as naive as I was when the National Civic Council's student organiser began recruiting me in 1976 ... The destruction of AUS was a carefully planned and executed strategy."

Herzog's carefully planned and executed strategy seems to be this. The Liberal Students Association took AUS to court over the right to spend funds on what they called 'outside causes'. Effectively, this tied up a lot of AUS's funds and personnel in court appearances; meanwhile, the NCC stu-

dents posing as 'moderates' would contest student elections. The NCC claimed that 'procommunist leftists were wasting 'hundreds of thousands of student dollars' on 'outside political causes'.

The success of the NCC in infiltrating AUS can be documented from NCC sources. Theresa Monaghan, at her NCC Youth Group report to the NCC Victorian State Conference on 21 and 22 October, 1978, said:

"At the last AUS Annual Council in January this year, we won a number of significant victories. A Youth Group member was elected Vice-President of the AUS. Two other NCC people were elected to the AUS executive and two more were elected to other positions in AUS. Other moderate students, with our support, were also elected to a number of positions. The AUS executive is now evenly split between moderates and the left. Therefore, the power of the left on the executive of AUS has been broken."

Herzog became convinced that the NCC would never be able to capture AUS. Instead, he masterminded a new campaign. He would cripple AUS by a campaign of secessions.

By 1980, the final plans were laid to bring AUS to its knees. The campaign grew. Campus after campus was dis-

affiliated. Like a spy network, it is very much a closed organisation. The organisation is overwhelming Catholic (and Catholics in Australia have their own schools as well as churches). Many of them will have had fathers who were in 'the Show'. There is also cross membership with the Catholic secret society, The Knights of the Southern Cross.

Like an intelligence organisation, it operates on a 'need-to-know' basis; there are levels of operation and one rung or tie is not party to decisions made on a higher level, nor do they know the motivations for those decisions. The inner machinations are very closed.

An air of secrecy and mystery is deliberately fostered. Operatives are encouraged to keep their operatives working in a particular area are often not told of the identities of operatives in other areas. A James Bond style spy-like atmosphere abounds and this encourages operatives to act in ways that are clandestine and dishonest.

Like a spy organisation it sees its task as fighting 'subversion' in 'the national interest'.

Like an intelligence agency it spread disinformation as well as information; critics of the NCC often accuse it of lies, smears and slander.

In his book *Rockchoppers: Growing up Catholic in Australia*, Edmund Campion gives an extensive resume of the methods of collecting information, used both by the Movement and the NCC. Through the gathering of such dossiers, information on known communists as well as anyone suspected as being on 'the Left' was compiled:

"In the early days, more time was spent on building up a profile of the Catholics in the parish, where they worked, what union they belonged to, what sort of Catholics they were, whether they were 'reliable'. This information gathering was known as the Census. For The Movement, the Census was basic raw material, because it was these lists which the Movement group in a particular union consulted for their primary support. With accurate information fed from parish groups to Movement groups in the trade unions, individual unionists could be contacted and brought on side".



A more sinister use of the information gathered by the Movement has been revealed by Richard Hall in his book *The Secret State Hall* claims that information has been shared between Movement members and ASIO (Australian Security Intelligence Organisation) over a long period of time. In an article in the *National Times* in 1983 the same claim was made. Mr Justice Hope, who headed a judicial enquiry into Australia's intelligence organisation, criticized ASIO's Special Project Section for regularly supplying information on people to the media and to sympathetic right-wing politicians. Hope regarded this as 'improper in the extreme'.

In 1983, the Queensland Association of Teachers in Independent Schools (QATIS) came under attack from the NCC. Richard Shearmen, President of the Union, claimed that information about his activities as student at Queensland University, printed in *News Weekly*, could only have been obtained by the NCC from the file on him held by the Special Branch of the Queensland Police. (Incidentally, in the course of researching this article, I was told that the NCC has members of the Special Branch. Whether this claim is true I shall shortly find out. Stay tuned to the next exciting instalment!).

Curiously, the NCC argue that they are the defenders of democracy and an 'open society' against the evil, totalitarian communists. But the NCC doesn't even approach the level of democracy of the Marxist-Leninist groups.

The Marxist-Leninists don't seem to need to hide who they are. The papers they sell all have obvious names like 'The Socialist, The Battler and Direct Action'. They openly proclaim that they are published by such-and-such revolutionary group; their members openly admit that they belong to these Marxist groups. In other words they attain the basic minimum level of honest political behaviour.

how do you justify fighting for democracy and the 'open society' with secrecy. The same way the Spanish inquisition could justify torturing people, and burning them and flaying them alive and boiling them in oil: it's the doctrine of 'the greater good'. Their sins are all absolved.

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IS LOVE THE DRUG?

Can people be addicted to love? Is love the drug for people with hollow hearts looking for self-fulfillment? MEG LEGS and MELANIE GRIFFITH report.

Can a person need love and intimacy like an addict needs his fix? Scientists in America have interpreted drugs to be a kind of substitute for human ties. They say that the roots of drugs addiction come from childhood dependency needs and that "addicted love" apart from "genuine love" is linked to the sources of "addiction" in peoples' lives.

According to Freud in *Being In Love and Hypnosis*, a person's self-love can be transferred from the person's own ego to a loved object.

The lover's ego is "impoverished, it has surrendered itself to the object, it has substituted the object for its own most important constituent."

Stanton Peele and Archie Brodsky say in *Love and Addiction* that a person can fill a void in himself by making a partner the centre of his or her own life.

"He returns to it more and more, until he needs it to get through each day of his otherwise stressful existence."

When you need a constant exposure to something to make life bearable, an addiction has been brought into effect.

Withdrawal, in this case, creates romantic craving.

Peele and Brodsky say: "Someone who is dissatisfied with himself in his situation can discover in such a relationship the most encompassing substitute for self-contentment and the effort required to attain it."

Erich Fromm in *The Art of Loving* described a mutual need within an unequal relationship: "The sadistic person is as dependent on the submissive person as the latter is on the former; neither can live without the other. The difference is only that the sadistic person commands, exploits, hurts, humiliates, and that the masochistic person is commanded, exploited, hurt, humiliated. This is a considerable difference in a realistic sense; in a deeper emotional sense, the difference is not so great as that which they both have in common: fusion without integrity."

He says two people fall in love when they feel they have found the best object available on the market, taking into consideration their own exchange values.

"In a culture in which the marketing Orientation prevails, and in which material success is the outstanding value, there is little reason to be surprised that human love revelations follow the same pattern of exchange which governs the commodity and the labour market."

Dr. Erich Fromm is a social critic who wants to educate his readers about the harmful effect capitalist society can have on inter-personal relationships.

He says love is like literature, paintings, sculpture - it is like an art and must be mastered to be perfected.

Two people who let the walls between them breakdown and feel close, he says, "is one of the most exhilarating, most exciting experiences in life."

"If a person loves only one other person and is indifferent to the rest of his fellow men, his love is not love but a symbiotic attachment, or an enlarged egotism."

Fromm notes that two passionate lovers who "take the intensity of the infatuation, this being 'crazy' about each other, for proof of the intensity of their love, while it may only prove the degree of their preceding loneliness."

And most profoundly ... "the search for the sexual orgasm assures a function which makes it not very different from alcoholism and drug addiction."

D.H. Lawrence encapsulated the emotional state of withdrawal from love. It is like "schizoid alienation" in which the individual is so detached from the self that they cannot formulate a real-sense of their selves.

Lawrence writes: "But as the fight went on, and all that he had been and was continued to be destroyed, so that life was a hollow shell all around him, roaring and clattering like the sound of the sea, a noise in which he participated externally, and inside this hollow shell was all the darkness and fearful space of death..."

D.H. Lawrence described it as an *egoisme-a-deux*, an overgrown quasi-permanent connection between two partners. "The two haven't yet come to the stage of self-fulfillment, self-awareness and self-completeness to have a one-to-one relationship. Problems such as self-centredness, selfishness, lack of empathy, conflicting and unrealistic expectations, shyness or aggressiveness are usually the common reasons for intimacy problems according to *Masters and Johnson*."

Helen Kaplan in *Disorders of Sexual Desire* said: "Such couples long for closeness with each other, but when they achieve a certain point of contact they become anxious. Then one or the other will behave in such a manner as to create distance. When distance reaches a certain point, anxiety and longing for closeness will be evoked in the couple. They miss each other and move closer to each other again - but not too close. Then the see-saw will move in the other direction."

Masters and Johnson describe what is known as "pseudo-intimacy" which is more of a manipulating pretentious relationship than an open sharing one.

- One person looks to the other to meet most or all of his or her needs rather than taking the responsibility to meet these needs.
- There is a big gap between what is said and what is done.
- Mutual trust is missing from the relationship or has been deliberately and repeatedly violated by one of the partners.
- The commitment in the relationship is either one-sided or illusory.
- One person in the relationship persistently acts in a selfish fashion and shows little interest in giving.

- Communication is one-sided (one partner monopolizes the talking or has little to say).
- One or both partners order each other about and criticize each other for not following these demands.
- Conflicts and arguments consume much of the time and energy of the partners with little or no resolution of key issues typically occurring.

INTIMACY

The word "intimacy" comes from the Latin *intimus* meaning innermost or deepest. The quest for an intimate relationship with someone would be familiar to everyone. Being in one and sustaining it is a lot harder feat to achieve. *Masters and Johnson* define it as "a process in which two caring people share as freely as possible in the exchange of feelings, thoughts and actions". It is usually marked by a mutual sense of acceptance, self-disclosure, caring, sharing, honesty, commitment, tenderness, empathy and trust.

"It is sometimes situation bound: it is defined by a set of circumstances that leads to openness with no commitment or tenderness necessarily present," they say.

"These components do not usually exist separately from each other but instead are blended in a unique amalgam in which each strengthens and solidifies the others."

Caring is a feeling you have for another person which is indicative of the positive feelings you have for them. The mutual characteristic of caring only occurs when the intradyadic bond is strong and the two people share and interact together.

Thus in order to achieve this, self-disclosure (the willingness to tell the other person how you are feeling and what you are thinking) is tantamount.

"The sharing of thoughts, feelings and experiences that accompanies the growth of intimacy in order to learn about each other requires spending time together without the ordinary barriers with which people protect their privacy."

"Because there is no certainty that the other person will be interested in what you have to say, and because it takes some time to establish the trustworthiness of the other person, most people begin the process of self-disclosure gradually."

But people are adept at developing personal openness quickly. They are more likely to respond as the trustworthiness and interest of the other person is reciprocated.

But sharing feelings which are not always positive as well as uncertainties, worries, personal problems is essential for the growth of intimacy and is a constructive process towards communication between two people.

Also sharing mutually rewarding experiences develop and sustain the relationship. Sharing experiences such as recreational activities, good times, bad times and hard times are just as important as sharing feelings and thoughts.

But the couple should regularly experience extradyadic activities away from the intimate system. Although it may work for the few, most couples need to develop and maintain their individuality and independence some of the time.

They say: "A particular activity or experience doesn't always provide equal rewards to each partner. Forcing each other into activities that are not mutually enjoyable is unwise."

"Maintaining an identity independent of an intimate relationship is also important to the longevity of the relationship. Pursuing individual interests and maintaining a circle of friends gives a person a chance to process the

feelings generated in intimate interactions."

"Such independence allows people to bring new experiences and thoughts to their primary relationship, which can also help it grow."

Trust can be seen as the measure to which two people can share thoughts and feelings. The more two people trust each other, the more things they can share.

"People trying to form an intimate relationship usually have to make some initial assumptions about trusting each other. Trust solidifies when a partner's behaviour matches his or her own words."

"Once trust grows, two people are able to share even more information about their thoughts and feelings without fear that this will be used against them in some way."

Trust is a necessary ingredient for intimacy and can only develop over time.

Commitment to one another is reflective of the amount of caring, sharing and trust they have experienced together.

"Commitment requires both partners to work willingly to maintain their intimacy through periods of crisis, boredom, frustration and fatigue as well as through times of joy, prosperity and excitement."

Intimacy that is apparent only when you're "on the upswing" is fleeting and false.

"Commitment should be regarded as an attitude that states current intentions without being an irrevocable guarantee of the future."

For some people, committing themselves to one person is a very hard task indeed. Some don't react well to being "tied-down" in a relationship. If that is the case, then they shouldn't be in one.

Honesty is related to trust and self-disclosure. It is also a necessary part to intimacy but too much can be bad.

"There is a decided difference between keeping some things private (setting limits on self-disclosure) and deceit."

Where the couple set their parameters, depends on the relationship. But deliberate deception generally undermines the quality of information exchange and alas undermines the intimacy and the relationship.

Empathy is the ability to understand and relate to another's feelings, moods, insecurities and points of view. Each must feel accepted, understood and listened to in order to feel empathy for one another.

"It enables each person in an intimate relationship to act in ways of support and help the other and to avoid or limit destructive, irritating or alienating attitudes."

Tenderness is a pure expression of intimacy. It can be achieved by a verbal message or by physical contact i.e. hugging, kissing, cuddling, smooching, necking. Both components are necessary for romantic intimacy.

Not surprisingly, nonverbal messages apply in a special way to sexual interactions. At times, they indicate displeasure or resentment. For instance, if your partner's body tensed up with your tongue, you may begin

fortable with this caress no matter what is said. Likewise, if your partner usually moans with passion as you make love together, the sudden absence of such sounds may make you feel as if you were doing something wrong. At other times, nonverbal messages convey a sense of pleasure, involvement, warmth, or similar feelings. In addition, nonverbal communications during sex can help your partner see what you like without breaking the mood by words. And taking your partner's hand and guiding it on your body, or showing your partner exactly how you'd like to be touched, can be a true gift of sexual intimacy.

"People who are able to relinquish such defenses in favour of being themselves, authentically and spontaneously are apt to finding intimacy more rewarding."

COMMUNICATION

It is through a healthy communication system that a couple may achieve the intimacy previously described. Communication is almost the cornerstone of any interpersonal sexually-related intradyadic relationship, yet few of us have mastered it as well as say our essays or tutorials.

Communication is the intent to which people convey information to each other. This is certainly not easy

in relationships. Sometimes the sender or the receiver doesn't quite say or hear what they intend. Such is the nexus between humans and communicating.

Sometimes people do not say exactly what they mean. They may not be able to find the words to match their feelings (people are limited by their vocabulary) or may want to avoid hurting someone's feelings so they won't risk being rejected.

Also, people receive mixed messages where the content of the verbal message doesn't match their body language. This can be another example of not saying what you're thinking. Sometimes verbal messages contradict themselves. Generalizations, vague statements, and unspecific verbal messages also hinder the quality of communication between a couple.

Masters and Johnson suggest:

- think through what you want to say and how you'll say it particularly if it is an important or emotionally charged message.
- let your partner know what your priorities are; try not to crowd in so many requests and instructions that it is difficult to grasp your key points.
- be concise. Long-winded discussions are more likely to confuse than clarify. On the other hand, being concise doesn't mean being simplistic or superficial. Don't leave out important information about your feelings or desires in order to be brief.
- don't talk at your partner. Give him or her a chance to respond and interact.
- try not to begin communications by criticizing or blaming your partner. Starting on a negative note puts your partner on the defensive and makes objective listening difficult.
- don't be afraid to put what you need to say in a letter if you're having trouble saying it *vis-a-vis* writing it down shows that you cared enough to take time to say it carefully.
- ask for feedback from your partner to be sure you've been understood and to get their reactions.

Non-Verbal Communication can be more powerful than spoken words alone.

"If your partner usually moans with passion as you make love together, the sudden absence of such sounds may make you feel as if you were doing something wrong."

They can convey a sense of pleasure, movement, warmth and feelings.

Masters and Johnson maintain that taking your partner's hand and guiding it on your body, or showing your partner exactly how you'd like to be touched, can be a true gift of sexual intimacy.

With an intimate relationship, you can make the assumption that neither of you are going to hurt each other, an assumption that can't always be made with social acquaintances.

This can provide "a safety net of trust and support that allows each person to become uniquely vulnerable in an intimate, caring relationship."

"The willingness to risk being vulnerable, which is at the essential core of intimacy, and the trust that makes it possible, encourage people to say what they are feeling or thinking."

"They feel free to reveal things about themselves - including fears, shortcomings, and failures - without worrying that this information will be used against them at any time."

"I" Language is to do with each partner expressing themselves in the most articulate way to their partner. Intimacy requires that a person open up and express his or her own feelings without beating around the bush.

"I Language" provides an excellent means for one partner to push his or her own emotional cards on the table in intimate dialogues instead of coyly fencing around. This openness, in turn,



tenderness or affection to each other. In many situations, a long, tight hug says more about the way people feel about each other than a ten-minute dialogue. Likewise, stroking a partner's hair or face, or leisurely kissing or performing a sensual massage can convey a sense of caring and pleasure that goes beyond words. On the other hand, if people confine their touching to sexual situations, they compartmentalize the physical side of their interaction, sometimes making sex seem like a bartered commodity used to attain closeness.

Vulnerability and Trust
Communication between a couple is markedly different to the way we communicate with people in our daily routine.

When to keep quiet about trivial matters, for sake of civility, and how to argue about important ones, for the sake of personal autonomy and growth.

In the final analysis, managing anger depends on taking responsibility for one's own emotions and one's own actions: on refusing the temptation, for instance, to remain stuck in blame or fury or silent resentment.

Masters and Johnson give these pointers for couples on the art of listening:

- effective listening requires your undivided attention
- effective listening is an active rather than passive process
- effective listeners are patient in their listening style
- effective listeners avoid putting undue emphasis on one word or phrase in a message and wait for the message to be completed before they react to it.
- effective listeners are attuned to their partners even when there's been no request for a discussion
- you don't have to agree in order to listen

invites the other person to speak openly as well."

"I Language" should be seen as a potential way of achieving clarity in intimate communication instead of as the only correct way of communicating with your partner."

Expressing Affection should not only appear during sex. "It can lead a person to feel as though it's a limited or conditional affection - in other words, "I love having sex with you" rather than "I love you". Sex is an expression of love, not vice-versa.

Social Psychologist, Carol Tavris had these words to say about expressing anger:

Couples who are not defeated by rage and the conflicts that cause it know two things:

when to keep quiet about trivial matters, for sake of civility, and how to argue about important ones, for the sake of personal autonomy and growth.

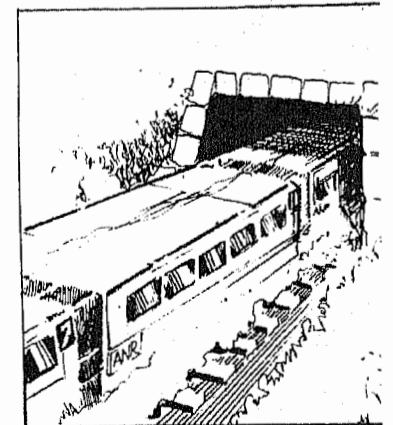
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And on talking about sex ...

- talk with your partner about how and when it would be most comfortable to discuss sex
- consider the possibility of using books or other media sources to initiate discussions
- use "I Language" as much as possible when talking about sex together and try to avoid putting blame on your partner for your own patterns of response (or lack thereof)
- be aware that sexual feelings and preferences change from time to time
- don't expect perfection from your partner



Love and Addiction, Stanton Peele and Archie Brodsky, (Signet, 1975) \$12.

The Art of Loving, Erich Fromm (Unwin, 1986) \$6.95

Masters & Johnson On sex And Human Loving, William H. Masters, Virginia & Johnson, Robert C. Kolodny (Macmillan, 1986) \$49.95



AZ of sex & sexual etiquette

Are you into Danish or Dialectical relationships? Does Madonna, muscles and Mayonnaise provide the perfect ingredients for a dirty movie? And why is the word Arndt often associated with sexual etiquette? GAUDY FERRARI took this A to Z trip of sex and sexual etiquette.

A: The term ART is probably one of the rudes around, conjuring up images of near-naked Botticellian women standing in sea-shells; Lautrec's can-can dancers; or David Hamilton's pseudo art, soft focus photographs of girls in lace with no underwear. You call that Art? It's filth. Should be prohibited. Then there's ARMPIT, a noted erogenous zone and scene of the great to-shave-or-not-to-shave debate. Also: ARNDT; a term often associated with sex and sexual etiquette, eg: "Arndt you the person what writes those filthy articles about female sexuality for the Melbourne Truth?" Perhaps of significance is the expression ACHILLES HEEL which, it should be noted, is often to be found behind a FLY (q.v. ZIPPER).

B: BIGAMY is when you have a finger in two pies, so to speak, as opposed to BUGGERY (n) which is where one may be told to go for doing it. To BUGGER (v), it should be noted, can also lead to BOTTOM GERMS. BESTIALITY is what you may have to resort to after enduring BACHELORHOOD for too long, and the BACKSEAT is a 1950s invention for disposing of virginity and is still being used today. The BICENTENNIAL is a celebration of 200 years of fucking another culture and will be accompanied by BALLOONS and BLOODY STREAMERS and has nothing to do with the term BISONTEENNIAL which is a North American form of BESITALITY (q.v.) (NB: THE BIRDS AND THE BEES is a slang term among Wilderness Society-type people for besitality in general).

C: CELIBATE - despite its similar scanning, rhyming and assonant properties - has nothing to do with HALIBUT, which is a philosophy of sexual freedom (eg: "Why am I sexually active? Just for the halibut, I

guess.") CHASTE, CHOCOLATE and CHARLIE CHAPLIN are also well-known expressions related to the niceties of sexual etiquette (think about it).

D: DENMARK, DANISH, DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIPS and DIANETICS. All DISGUSTING words, especially the last one which is also a DIURETIC.

E: EROTICISM is one of the most erotic words in the language. If you don't believe me, just say it. Go on, roll it around your mouth, elongate the syllables: eeeeeee-roooooo-tiiiiiiiiic. Ooh! it makes my kneecaps tingle, it does. EXHAUSTION: a rather pleasant state of physical being often accompanied by cigarette smoking and is in this respect quite similar to EXHAUST, the stuff that comes out of cars. A EUNUCH has a good excuse for CELIBACY (q.v.) and would pose little sexual threat to anyone caught in an ELEVATOR with him (the scene of many an INTIMATE sexual ENCOUNTER).

F: FOREPLAY is a form of hors d'oeuvres before the main course (sic) and differs slightly from FOURPLAY which is what you might hear on the radio when you turn it on to drown out the noises you hope to be making after the entrée. A FETISH is a form of seasoning one adds to the meal to make it more zestful, and a FOREIGN FILM is what you might watch hoping to learn a new recipe or get inspiration for a few new ingredients, eg, FRILLY UNDERWEAR, a FRENCH ACCENT or FENNEL AND YOGHURT SALAD (add diced apple to taste).

G: GOD: is an extremely useful word to be used at the point of orgasm when you forget your partner's name, especially when prefixed by "Oh". G-SPOT (a nice little beach up on the north coast I like to go to every now and then). GROPE (a type of fish you can catch of the rocks at G-SPOT). GUACAMOLE (a slang expression for a Mexican woman who gets around a lot).

H: HALITOSIS is a word more likely to be found on a shopping list than in a glossary of sexual terms, eg: soup, a cauli, fridge, elastic, eggs, peas, HALITOSIS. HETEROSEXUALITY is a rather outdated expression for an outmoded type of sexual preference, but still a popular means of procreation and quite often accompanied by HEAVY BREATHING and - if it occurs too frequently - an HYS-TERECTOMY.

I: INDIFFERENCE can be major stumbling block to one's desire to have close INTRA-PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS (very similar to INTER-PERSONAL) with someone of the opposite/same sex/species. Such an obstacle can be overcome through the use of public INSINUATION, social INTER-COURSE, an INVITATION TO A WEEKEND ON YOUR YACHT or

"BESIDES...JUST HOW FAR DO YOU THINK YOU CAN GET IN TODAY'S WORLD WITHOUT A GOOD EDUCATION?"



by bringing to bear other forms of INFLUENCE. Blackmail is quite useful in this respect.

J: JERK (n): the sort of person you'd prefer not to share a bath-tub full of yoghurt with.

K: KINGKY is exactly the same as KINKY except that it has an extra "g" in there. But don't let that bother you.

L: There are far too many absolutely filthy words beginning with the letter "l" so I'm not going to tell you about them. I'm sure you've heard them all before, anyway. In fact, you probably know more of them than I do, you LIBIDINOUS and LICENTIOUS pervert.

M: MADONNA, MUSCLES and MAYONNAISE. The perfect ingredients for a dirty movie. I mean, did you see her strutting about on stage last week? Filth.

N: The big one for "N" is NEROPHILIA, the desire to make love to Roman emperors, and is similar to NECROPHILIA in that they are all dead (with the exception of John Laws). And let's not forget NARCISSICM, the realisation that you are far more beautiful and worthwhile and sexually stimulating than anyone else (q.v. WANKER).

O: The first "o" word for today is OMNIMPOTENCE which is another way of saying that God can't get it up and is infinitely incapable of having sex. Oh, by the way, did you know that the terms ORGAN, ORGY and ORGASM all come from the same Latin root? Well, they don't, so there. They come from the Greek. The first is based on the Greek word organon, meaning "tool"; the second from the term orgia, referring to a debauched secret rite in worship of Bacchus or other ancient deity; and

the last form orgao, meaning "to swell". Right, I want you all to learn that because we'll be having a quick test on it next lesson in my office. Class dismissed.

P: PEDERASTY (the desire to play with boys' bottoms) is not the same as PEDOPHILIA (the desire to play with children in general) and has nothing at all to do with PODIATRY (a science relating to the health of feet) but which is much closer to PEDIATRY (a science relating to the health of children) as opposed to POETRY (a silly past-time involving words that rhyme) or POSTERITY (a word which has got something to do with Time) and quite a long way from POTSDAM (a place where they hold historical conferences) and nothing at all to do with PETULANCE (a rather childish way to act) and is vaguely related to PREGNANCY (in that it had to occur at some time in the past, and led to the PITTER PATTTER of little feet and POO POOS and the like). Also PANT (the singular of "trousers") could probably fit in there somewhere.

Q: QUEENS, QUEERS and QUADRATIC EQUATIONS are all extremely sexual and sensual entities, except when encountered in the form of examinations when they are more likely to make you go all QUEASY.

R: R is, in itself, a word often found in financial transactions all over the world as evening descends: Person 1: R you free tonight? Person 2: No, same price as usual.

S: SEX, SLEEP WITH SEDUCTION, STROKE, SLIDE, SUSPENDERS, SYLVESTER STALLONE, SCANDANAVIA, SULTRY, SLEAZY, SAUSAGE, SANDANISTA, SPONGE, SALVATION ARMY, SOCKS.... Need I go on?

T: I once met a TRANSVESTITE on the TRANS-SIBERIAN railway who said he was a TAX CONSULTANT exploring TRANSCENDENTAL corporate TAKEOVERS. I didn't believe him - his petticoat was showing.

U: UNILATERAL SEDUCTION can lead to bilateral disrobing and UNCTUOUS speeches in the UNITED NATIONS on the need for others to follow suit. U know what I mean.

V: VARICOSE VEINS can make one hideously unattractive (see WRINKLES) and unsuitable for pantyhose advertisements or picking up young chicks at the VOLLEYBALL (see WIMBLEDON) with their short skirts and lithe forearms. I've also heard reports in quite imaginative, umm, ways.

W: WRINKLES (not the same as stretch marks) can be a problem for the hopeful seducer/tress (see VARICOSE VEINS) especially if you go to WIMBLEDON with love in mind (see VOLLEYBALL) and if pain persists (see YOUR DOCTOR).

X: XTACY is what you might EXPERIENCE during the night after an X-RATED film which could lead to X AND HAM for breakfast. Know what I mean? X-ACTLY!

Y: Common first word of opening lines in bars, eg: "Y don't we..." Also begins many responses to such lines, eg: "YOU must be joking," or "YES, let's".

Z: "You will meet a tall, dark stranger at the ZOO today outside the ZEBRA cage who reminds you of Zsa Zsa GABOR or her husband, who was captain of the ill-fated ZEPPELIN," is what your ZODIAC says for tomorrow. (Don't believe it: Zsa Zsa Gabor's husband wasn't captain of the Zeppelin - he was captian of the Titanic).

Tharunka

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SEPTEMBER

9 PERSONA 1966 Sweden. Dir. Ingmar Bergman. Liv Ullman and Bibi Andersson.

16 YOJIMBO 1961 Japan. Dir. Kurosawa

23 HORISHIMA MON AMOUR 1955. France. Dir. Alain Resnais. Guest Speaker Noel Purdon.

30 LAST YEAR AT MARIENBAD 1962. France. Dir. Alain Resnais. Guest Speaker Noel Purdon.

OCTOBER

7 L'AVENTURRA 1961. Italy. Dir. M. Antonioni. Guest Speaker Micheal Baldwin.

14 BREATHLESS 1959. France. Dir. Jean-Luc Godard. Guest Speaker Dr. Blandine Stefanson.

21 HARDWARE WARS (13 mins) 1978. US.

FLASH GORDON: Space Soldiers

Invasions of The Universe 1934. US. Guest Speaker Shane McNeill. Film Tutor.

28 VIRIDIANA 1961. Spain. Dir. Luis Bunuel. Guest Speaker Noel Purdon.

NANCY REAGAN TALKS TO ON DIT

On Dit: Nancy Reagan, thanks for giving Australia, some of your time.

Nancy: Oh no problem! I just love Mick Dundee.

On Dit: Nancy, what's it like living with the man who could wipe out all life on earth?

Nancy: It gives me a warm feeling, Trevor. I've never slept better than since Ronnie got his finger on the button. I know my country's safe with my man sitting minding the nukes.

On Dit: What were the old movie days like Mrs Reagan?

Nancy: Oh gosh. They were so wonderful. I remember Ronnie and I first met on the set of Submarine Commander, and Ronnie just looked so dashing. We met and went for a milkshake and a chocolate sundae and Ronny proposed to me right there in the milkbar! It was so romantic!

On Dit: And then he divorced his first wife?

Nancy: Yes he never got on with her. She didn't understand him.

On Dit: Nancy it's been said that you as First Lady wield 'behind the scenes' power with your influence over the President.

Nancy: Oh no! Ronnie is a real man and he'd never take advice from a woman! Dear me no, he's as keen as mustard every day to get out and face the world! Sometimes we discuss things but he never needs my help! I do important work in my own sphere however. Recently I appeared on Diff'rent Strokes as part of my campaign against the harshness and immorality of drug abuse.

On Dit: Oh?

Nancy: Yes. The little black fellow was awfully cute. He was black though.

On Dit: Did you discuss the Iran/Contra affair with your husband at all?

Nancy: Well, we did a bit: I've always thought the Iranians were very harshly treated.

On Dit: In what way?

Nancy: Well, they are violent and irrational, but they are a very religious people, and that's what brings you redemption in the end, isn't it? They are dark and uncivilised and savage, I know, but you must admit, they handle their criminal element well! If you rob someone, off your hand, no dilly-dallying around! If

you're naughty, you take your medicine! So Ron and I sent them a cake with a bible in it, as a personal gesture. I sometimes wish the press corps sharks were that religious.

On Dit: Do you feel the media has been unduly harsh in treating your husband?

Nancy: Well, if we have a weak, or unsure or impotent president, you know where the blame must rest!

On Dit: Nancy, what about...

Nancy: Oh dear, did I say 'impotent'?

On Dit: Nancy there has been criticisms that your husband is a weak president. Critics say he's indecisive and vague in matters of importance.

Nancy: Well...

On Dit: Some critics have said that you seem better informed of details than he is.

Nancy: Well, we do discuss things quite a lot, and in some respects we do form a team....

On Dit: Like how?

Nancy: Well, I tell him what ordinary people think, suggest courses of action, remind him of things he might have forgotten....

On Dit: Does he forget things often?

Nancy: Now and then. He is 78 years old.

On Dit: But look, Mr Reagan is President, isn't he? His performance...

Nancy: He has the whole White House to make sure everything he does is proper and correct.

On Dit: Sure, but is Reagan on the ball? It's important that our readers know that the President is 100%.

Nancy: Look, I really resent all these references to the president in terms of our accomplishments...up here at the White House, we work as a team. All for one and one for all. Everyone contributes, y'know? We both...we both...oh for fuck's sake, cut all this Ronnie shit! He's brain dead OK? I run the show, the whole thing goddamit!

On Dit: Um, I...

Nancy: It's me! I do all the memos, the Pentagon hotline, the chiefs of staff, even the signature. Shit, the guy's a corpse. Wouldn't last 15 minutes outside the life support system.

On Dit: The President?

Nancy: I control the goddamned White House! I do the damned work! When the Pentagon wanted

to waste Libya it was me they asked! All I ever hear is this crap about Ronnie getting America back on its feet!

On Dit: You?

Nancy: Yes me! Dumb old Nance! I did all the paper work for the Contras! I organised it all! Swiss bank accounts, airline flights from Honduras to Miami, getting old CIA agents out of bed at 5 in the morning! Me! I'm the one who controls America. I'm the one who's got the little red button! I'm the nuclear menace! It's me!

On Dit: Um, what did Mr Reagan...

Nancy: I ordered them to invade Grenada! And get rid of Marcos! You don't believe me. Do you?

On Dit: Well, maybe we....

Nancy: I could press it you know! If I felt like it right now and then KAPOWIE!

On Dit: DON'T PRESS IT!! I BELIEVE YOU!! DON'T TOUCH IT!!

Nancy: Any damned Rusky wants to be clever and invade West Berlin, I'm all ready!

On Dit: PUT IT AWAY!! PLEASE!! I BELIEVE YOU!! HONEST TO GOD!!

Nancy: And I love it! Nuclear warfare is the best thing that ever happened to this country!

On Dit: OK. Just put the button down, on the table...

Nancy: And damn it, why shouldn't America be proud of her nuclear bombs? We've got a lot to be proud of! Brand USA and second to none!

On Dit: Just on the table, gently....

Nancy: We're a God-fearing nation and damn it, we have a right to world supremacy. I'm white and Christian and American and I'm proud of it! If I was black and communist and Vietnamese I'd be ashamed as all hell!

On Dit: My God....

Nancy: I'M AN AMERICAN!! It's written in the bible! America and Russia will have a huge nuclear war and Russia will get blown to hell!

On Dit: Nancy, why don't you put that button down!

Nancy: In the bible it tells of plague and war, and now we've got AIDS killing the queers and bombs in the silos!

On Dit: Gee, Nancy, I'd really appreciate....

Nancy: You know Trevor, I'd like to see a world where everyone was kind and gentle and we had corner stores and good old fashioned virtue. But with all those foreigners menacing liberty and life everywhere, and the bible saying "Get that button handy", well....

On Dit: Nancy....

Nancy: We're just forced into CIA coups and troop landings and strategic defence systems. Gosh, no one wants to devise bigger and better bombs, but unless we want to learn Russian and start mining salt and see our children sold to labour camps in Siberia, well that's the way it's gotta be....

On Dit: Certainly. Nancy, why don't you give me that button, and we'll....

Nancy: But don't forget that this time is but a prelude to even greater things!

On Dit: Right! Nancy....

Nancy: It has been written that once AIDS has come and gone, then shall come MX and Cruise and SDI. You see.

On Dit: Nancy, why don't we....

Nancy: A gentle loving God. And I firmly believe that love and prayer and reading the family bible will see every wave of US bombs victorious, striking with pinpoint accuracy on



the godless soil of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi! Whoops!

On Dit: Ooooooh.

Nancy: Oh dear, dropped it. Better tell High Command, just in case.

On Dit: In case....

Nancy: Hello? Yes, could you cancel that? Sorry. Oh fine, thanks, bye now. Yes, it might have been a smidgen unconstitutional, but I took control.

On Dit: Took control....

Nancy: Yes, Ron's a nice guy but he was just screwing up all over the place. Forgetting staff member's names, falling asleep during State Banquets, wetting his pants. My duty was clear.

On Dit: Duty was clear....

Nancy: The Democrats would have loved another screwed President, so I took control. A few people noticed, but not many. And hell, most people were glad to let me take over. Hell, Ronnie's OK, but he's pretty useless, when you get down to specifics. During the NATO briefings he kept saying "Okay Tex, what's the game plan?" and "Round up the hostages, we're gonna have us a party..." So I decided that we weren't likely to find another suitable candidate with the proper ideas in a hurry and took on the job. Late '82 I think it was.

On Dit: Think it was....

Nancy: Sure, some people got annoyed, but they were arseholes. Dammit, Jerry Falwell and Richard

Nixon both said I was the only person for the job and why not, for God's sake?

On Dit: Why not....

Nancy: After all, we need someone who's not afraid to press the little red button!

On Dit: PUT THAT DOWN!!! DON'T PRESS THAT BUTTON!!!!

Nancy: And after all, why shouldn't we use our power? We are blessed by God with natural abundance and an elite armed forces division. You know, I worked on the anti-drugs campaign for a while, travelling the country, seeing doctors and nurses who had to handle drug addicts and stuff, and I was really impressed. Our country is awash with evil and immorality!

On Dit: Evil and immorality....

Nancy: And do you know? I think after every hardship there's a smile, and after every rainbow there's a pot of gold. And in every life some rain must fall.

On Dit: Rain's a-gonna fall....

Nancy: And, you know, we're not such a bad country. There's a lot worse things we could have done. On the whole, I think I've done a pretty good job.

On Dit: Pretty good job...

Nancy: Well, I must be going.

On Dit: Must be going...

Nancy: It's been a real pleasure

On Dit: Been a pleasure....

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE ELDER CONSERVATORIUM OF MUSIC ELDER HALL, CONCERT GALLERY

Monday 5 at 1.10 p.m. admission free

FRANZISKA AMMER ('Cello)
Associate artist: STEFAN AMMER (piano)
R. Strauss: Sonata for Violoncello & Piano Op.6
Prokofiev: Sonata for Violoncello & Piano Op.119

Tuesday 6 at 1.10 p.m. admission free

LEANNE CHESSON (Oboe)
Associate artist: DANNY WONG (Guitar)
Programme to include works by Louillet, Napoleon, Coste, Bozza, Satie, Ibert & Ravel

Wednesday 7 at 1.10 p.m. admission free

TAMSIN BAILEY (Violin)
Associate artist: MERRYN BROSE (Piano)
Programme includes - Khachaturian: Concerto Bach: Fugue in G minor
Saint-Saens: Introduction & Rondo

Tuesday 13 at 1.10 p.m. admission free

DEBBIE PEAKE-JONES (Mezzo soprano)
VANESSA BENDER (Mezzo soprano)
Associate artist: ANNE ADAMEK (piano)
Miss Benger will sing works by Scarlatti, Schubert, Dvorak & Kabalevsky
Miss Peake-Jones will sing works by Bach, Mozart, Schubert, Brahms, Wolf,
Thea Musgrave, Hughes & Britten

Wednesday 14 at 1.10 p.m. admission free

MARGARET BLADES (Violin)
Associate artist: JILLIANNE BARTSCH (Piano)
Programme includes - Mendelssohn: Concerto & Ravel: Sonata

Central America:

The Arias plan could bring peace to Central America and turn the US backed Contras from the use of terror to participate in Nicaragua's political system. However, the United States reaction is critical – the record and rhetoric of the Reagan administration have created scepticism about its willingness to give peace a chance. DAVID PENBERTHY reports.

Costa Rican president Oscar Arias was met with adulation on the 9th of August when he announced the Central American peace accord. His announcement represented the combined efforts of the presidents of five countries who reached the agreement after a two day summit.

Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica were united in proposing that Latin America endeavour to solve its problems without resorting to violent means.

Conditions of the agreement stipulated that peace be achieved and maintained in the region by the introduction of ceasefires and the cessation of military assistance to rebel groups. Election procedures would be closely observed to help prevent continued social disturbances caused by voting abuses and injustices that have been prevalent in Central American elections.

The importance of independent decision making was stressed in the argument. The Arias plan demands

that countries stop using their territory to attack other nations and, in particular, that governments outside of the region stop supplying and training rebel guerrilla groups fighting in various parts of Central America. Only four days before declaration of the agreement President Reagan outlined a similar plan that was unanimously rejected at the August summit. However, the Central American presidents were of the belief that the President's plan was geared towards intimidating the left wing Nicaraguan government and not towards reaching a ceasefire.

The Reagan plan calls for immediate suspension of the state of emergency in Nicaragua, claiming that the Sandinista government is using emergency law to quash the subversives, and not as a genuine means of protecting the population from the ravages of civil war. Nicaragua would have to establish a multi-partisan electoral commission to create a programme for regular

democratic elections. The third and most nebulous condition in Reagan's plan is that the Sandinistas take steps towards the "renovation" of civil rights in Nicaragua.

Central America rejected the Reagan plan on two grounds. Firstly, it is based on the questionable claim that Nicaragua is not a democratic country. Secondly, it does not discuss the plans Reagan and the US Congress have for the funding of anti-Sandinista Contras. Despite ideological differences between the revolutionary Sandinista government and the four more conservative signatories to the agreement, not a single Central American nation was prepared to accept the accusations levelled at Nicaragua by the Reagan administration.

The Central American countries refused to end the state of emergency in Nicaragua as the conditions of the Reagan plan had stated. The state of emergency has been caused by the presence of US-

funded Contra forces fighting in the region. Nicaragua needs the state of emergency because Contra attacks have not been confined to El Frente Sandinista, Nicaragua's popular army the Sandinista Front. Peasants have been killed and had their crops and houses burnt by the Contras in an effort to create discontent with the Sandinistas.

As for the supervision of elections and the "restoration" of the civil liberties, the Central Americans agreed at the summit that, given the extra burden of civil war, the Nicaraguan track record had been admirable since the revolution in 1979. The results of the internationally observed elections in 1984 revealed there had been no tampering and indicated popular democratic support for the Sandinistas.

The August summit was the first time Central American governments met to discuss peace initiatives. Since 1983 several feeble agreements have been reached by the United States and Central American Governments. None of the agreements have halted the bloodshed in Central America. The Arias plan is the first comprehensive proposal to be constructed without involvement from the United States. Delegates from the Summit were generally optimistic about the cooperation displayed by the five presidents.

Nicaragua originally rejected a clause stipulating complete supervision from the Organisation of American States. The United Nations and governments from countries who will act as a kind of third party. Conditions of the peace agreement will come into effect within ninety days of its declaration. The ceasefire begins in early November and the presidents will meet in January to analyse what has been achieved.

Despite the constructive nature of the Arias plan the immediate future of Central America is by no means secure. Speculation in the Latin American media has been sceptical with political analysts saying that the success of the plans depends as much on the response of the guerrilla forces as on the attitude of the Reagan administration who is always quick to brand the Sandinistas as the cause of most unrest in Central America.

The absence of the insurgent forces from the August Summit was glaringly obvious. The Contras in Nicaragua, the leftist *Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front* (FMNC) in El Salvador, and the leftist *Guatemalan United National Resistance* (GAM) did not attend talks. Whilst no immediate response was forthcoming the Contras have now voiced their views. Counter-revolutionary Alfonso Robelo saw the accord as a test for the Sandinistas. "We are willing to put the Sandinistas to the test of what they sign," he said, adding that the Contras agreed with the principle of a ceasefire but demand that the conditions be framed so as to suppress operations by the Contra forces.

A few hours after Alfonso Robelo responded to the accord news came through from Tegucigalpa - the Contras had shot down a Soviet-built M1-17 helicopter in one of Nicaragua's central provinces. The helicopter was destroyed by a redefyde surface-to-air missile provided by the US for the Contras in a \$143 million assistance package. The actions of the Contras make Robelo's words sound hollow. It begs a question - is there any chance of securing peace given the sporadic warfare and political instability that

Latin America is cursed with?

Diplomats and regional experts from Central America began to express their doubts within twenty four hours of the declaration of the Arias plan. "There's not going to be a peace in Central America unless the United States abides by the terms," a Nicaraguan official said, reflecting the views of the five signatories to the plan.

The success of the peace pact ultimately rests on the United States. William Goodfellow, director of the Centre for International Policy in Washington, said "The United States has veto power over the peace process. The success of this plan depends on the acquiescence of Washington." Mr Goodfellow continued to say that the new agreement gave Central America a real chance for self-determination and that the five Presidents unanimously rejected the Reagan plan in favour of an agreement reached and declared entirely in the region.

Whilst many US officials say that the ideal solution for peace is an agreement formulated by the Central American nations that are in conflict, President Reagan and his fellow pro-Contra Republicans have shown no interest in cooperating with the conditions of the Arias plan. Analysts believe that Reagan's plans may be thwarted by the Democrats who now have a majority in both the House and the Senate for the first time since Reagan took office.

The reaction from President Reagan seems to be based on the misunderstanding that the Arias plan is consistent with the interests of the US and the Contra rebels. Reagan said he welcomed the commitment to peace and democracy in the plan, adding that much work would be needed to implement it, and great concessions made by nations not complying with the conditions of the plan.

The Reagan administration sees the Nicaraguan government as not complying with the conditions of the plan. On August the 14th Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega flew to Havana to meet with Fidel Castro and discuss the removal of Cuban military advisers from Nicaragua.

Ironically, on the same day Washington released a statement that did not outrule the possibility of the US sending a further \$US100m arms package to the Contras. President Reagan complained that Ortega would not remove Cuban and alleged Soviet advisers from Nicaragua because there is no condition in the plan compelling him to do so. Reagan said the plan "...must be consistent with those fighting for freedom in Nicaragua." Contra support is ensured by the President "until we are all satisfied that there is a peace plan that will insure the peaceful reintegration and democratisation of Nicaragua. All we are saying is: "give democracy a chance".

Exactly what type of "democracy" Mr. Reagan wants in Central America is unclear. It is unlikely that he will simply let the Contras dissolve and accept the proposed ceasefire and cessation of foreign funding to rebel groups.

U.S. support for the Contras will continue until Nicaragua undertakes a plan of "democratisation" on a scale broad enough to please the Reagan Administration. The Sandinistas responded that if the President gives no guarantee of an end to Contra funding Nicaragua will be forced by military necessity to use "emergency measures" and counterattack the Contras, although the Arias plan specifically

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**CONTACT STUDENT
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Hard road to Peace



calls for an end to this type of combat.

President Reagan refused to participate in direct US-Nicaraguan talks. This action resulted in the resignation of his special negotiator Philip Habib, forcing the administration to find another negotiator. Since the declaration of the peace plan the U.S. has sent one delegate to conduct direct talks with Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega was infuriated when, on September 1, the US Senator Robert Dole refused to speak for any longer than four hours. Dole expressed dismay at what he considered were the "communist injustices" of Nicaragua. The US was interested in seeing that Nicaragua tries to foster "all the freedoms that any other country may have that's not dominated by communism," Dole said. Understandably, Mr. Ortega was furious at the unproductive nature of the discussion, saying that the US delegate went to Nicaragua on a propaganda mission with no intention of discussing the Arias plan. He believed that Senator Dole went to Nicaragua "with the objective of returning to the US to say.... 'I'm convinced that it's a totalitarian communist regime and we'd better keep funding the Contras.'"

After an initial wait, the Contras spoke with the Central American governments and proved themselves to be more forthcoming than their supporters in the Reagan administration. On 23 August, Contra leader Alfonso Robelo announced a pledge to accept the conditions of the Arias plan provided that the Sandinistas take no action against them. Robelo said that the Contras demand political security, freedom of movement, and unconditional use of the press for members who choose to accept the amnesty and return to Nicaragua.

In effect the treaty would force the Contras to transform themselves from a guerrilla army into a political force prepared to fight the Sandinistas through democratic channels. Such a

change is promising as it will prevent continued bloodshed without repressing the Contras and consequently forcing them to return to the use of terror and violence against the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinistas. It may also be an inevitable change, as without US funding, the Contras have no hope of surviving as an armed force.

The Contras also demanded that the Sandinistas institute a democratic observance committee consisting of members of the Roman Catholic Church in Nicaragua. In late August the Sandinistas promised the Contras that they could reach a compromise and that by mid-September reforms would be made and a special peace plan be proposed concentrating on finding a resolution to the Nicaraguan civil war.

This pledge from the Sandinistas was promising and increased the chances of a successfully negotiated peace in Central America. The Arias plan was given a further boost earlier this month when the revolutionary groups in El Salvador agreed to the conditions of the ceasefire as stated.

President Cerezo of Guatemala and President Duarte of El Salvador lead governments which have received the encouragement and endorsement of the Reagan administration. However, the human rights records of the two countries is appalling, especially in Guatemala. Amnesty International reported in their April 1987 newsletter that "Tens of thousands of men, women and children have been victims of human rights violations in Guatemala over the past two decades. In the countryside, Indian villagers were massacred by government forces in their thousands and catechists, priests, teachers and peasant community leaders were abducted, tortured and secretly killed. In the towns, trade unionists were dragged out of their offices, students shot dead on campuses and doctors, lawyers, housewives, journalists and nurses were seized in their homes or on the streets."

Guatemala has no solid united front fighting the Cerezo regime, but opposition to the government is widespread given the indiscriminating nature of human rights abuses there. There is a left-wing guerrilla force fighting against Cerezo but the majority of discontent in Guatemala is expressed through strikes and sporadic acts of violence. With no assurance of agreement with the ceasefire from the leftist rebels and no signs of popular support for Cerezo, it is difficult to see Guatemala becoming a peaceful nation simply because of the Arias plan.

Atrocities of this nature are not confined to Guatemala. In El Salvador, AI reported in July 1986, that relief groups established to comfort the families of people taken by the government for their political activities had been attacked and had its members abducted. In El Salvador the main opponents to the Duarte regime are the FMLN, the *Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front*, a left-wing guerrilla force who have taken control of various Salvadorean provinces. President Duarte has scheduled peace talks with the rebels at the Catholic Church headquarters in San Salvador for October 4. If the FMLN accept Duarte's offer the Arias plan will be one step closer to becoming effective.

There was a breakthrough of a more significant nature earlier this week when the Sandinistas announced a list of radical reforms designed to satisfy the calls for "democratisation" emanating from the US.

Following up their decision last month to return three Roman Catholic clerics from exile for opposition activities (and the talks between President Ortega and General Castro about the removal of Cuban military advisers from Nicaragua), the Sandinistas have dropped their media censorship laws to demonstrate their willingness to comply with the conditions of the Arias plan.

Last Monday in Managua the Sandinistas announced that the opposition paper, *La Prensa* could renew its publication without any interference or censorship. The paper was closed down on June 26 last year, accused of publishing lies about the actions of the Nicaraguan government and creating civil disturbances by reporting food shortages and rationing that did not actually occur. The paper was closed down a day before the US Congress voted to send the \$US100m in aid to the Contras. At the time, Nicaragua's Interior Minister, Tomas Borge, said that the Sandinistas had enough problems fighting off Contra attacks without the extra burden of a daily paper devoted to creating social unrest by misleading the population about their food supply. It was suspected that *La Prensa* had been receiving financial assistance from the CIA.

When President Ortega met with the head of *La Prensa's* board of directors, Mrs. Vileta Chamorro, he assured her that as of October the first *La Prensa* could begin publishing "without any restrictions except those imposed by the exercise of responsible journalism".

At a news conference last Tuesday, Mrs. Chamorro said "I'm very happy. There will be no self-censorship". She went on to express her satisfaction with the pledge made by the Sandinistas, that *La Prensa's* directors be given full access to newsprint and that its staff are guaranteed complete safety from harassment and any form of government intervention.

The Sandinista extended their liberalisation of the Nicaraguan media to *Radio Catolia*, the Catholic radio network in Managua run by the archdiocese, that was closed 21 months ago because of the anti-Sandinista nature of its programmes. Tomas Borge expressed his wishes to the archdiocese and the radio programmers and said the station would not be subject to any government censorship or

excessive scrutiny.

The reopening of the opposition media, the talks concerning the proposed removal of Cuban advisers from Managua, and the return of Conservative Catholic ministers from exile all seems to indicate a positive commitment from the Sandinista Government to the conditions of the Arias peace plan. Only last Wednesday the Sandinistas expressed their unconditional and whole hearted support of the peace initiative. They stand by their promise of a ceasefire and over the next week will announce the first of a series of no-combat zones which will ultimately extend throughout the country, creating, for the first time in many years, a peaceful Nicaragua.

The extent and strength of this peace is still uncertain. The Reagan Administration still refuses to conduct direct talks with Nicaragua. President Reagan is yet to say whether the Arias plan is conducive to US interests in the region or whether the recent reforms in Nicaragua constitute a satisfactory "democratisation". Despite assurances from the Contras that "we won't fire unless we're fired at" there are still problems ahead in Central America.

With no sign of an end to human rights abuses in Guatemala or El Salvador it is difficult to see the Arias plan causing vast and peaceful changes in either country. With no concrete endorsement of the Arias plan forthcoming from the Reagan administration, and the possibility of renewed Contra funding in October, it could be a question of 'wait and see' for Central America.

The Sandinistas have showed their genuine willingness to see peace achieved in Central America. However, Central America must wait with baited breath to see how the US responds, and for now hold on to what can at best be called a fragile peace.

Dartmouth Summer Revelry

Campus life in the States is markedly different from that in Australia. TERESA POLENZ writes on Dartmouth College in New Hampshire where their Summer Carnival is the campus' most wild annual social event.

Dartmouth's history of big party weekends dates back 1911. By 1972, three of these middle-of-the-term, campus-wide celebrations were well established:

Homecoming Weekend in the fall, Winter Carnival in the winter, and Green Key Weekend in the spring. Each gala affair was eagerly anticipated by alumni, students, and visitors from outside the College community, all of whom participated in the wide range of festivities. With the adoption of the year-round Dartmouth Plan in 1972, a summer term was added to Dartmouth's calendar, and a corresponding fourth weekend of weather-related activities, athletic competitions, concerts, and parties was not far behind.

Dartmouth's Summer Carnival celebrates its 16th anniversary this year. By now the originally two-day event has grown into a bash that extends over four days and whose fame rivals that of its winter term

sibling. Thousands of expectant visitors will grace the Hanover plains: graduates who miss the glorious, carefree days of New England river bank summers, undergraduates who are not taking classes and can't bear a full ten weeks away from fraternity parties and Baker Tower chimes, and, of course, a lump sum of guests who are unrelated to the College but are interested in experiencing for themselves what is reputed to be "the" New Hampshire social event of the season.

Back in 1973, when students first crossed the Dartmouth Green totting suntan lotion on top of their textbooks, an official summer party weekend did not exist. The undergraduates in residence recalled the much appreciated post-mid-term exams respite and snow-inspired festivities of February's Winter Carnival. They realized that ten weeks of academia would simply not be survivable without a no-holes-barred celebration of summer. Gradu-



ally, the idea for a "Summer Weekend" took the shape of a two-day series of athletic and social events.

Local area musical groups entertained on the Green while people tried their luck as Psi U's Bull-Riding Barrel and the Green Key Society's Trivia Booth, or got lucky at Alpha Delta's Kissing Booth. The film "King Kong" was shown in Webster Hall to become the first annual special Summer Carnival cinematic presentation, and the entire carnival grossed \$700.

Friday night fireworks officially opened the weekend over the course of which fraternities, dormitories, and student organisations competed in bike races, canoe races, and Tug-O-War. Faculty and students alike enjoyed a Saturday afternoon Blue Grass concert and Fiddling contested followed by a dance at Alumni Hall. College officials expressed the hope that "the Summer Weekend will become an intrinsic part of summer term. The hope did not take longer than one year to become a reality.

The following summer, members of the Tabard fraternity led by Morris Wilson formally organised a Summer Carnival Weekend. On Saturday afternoon, booths designed by administrative offices, dormitories, fraternities and student organisations covered the green. All potential booths had to pass the "sane and sanitary" requirements of a Summer Carnival review board. Among the attractions were games of skill and chance, live horse rides, cotton candy and popcorn stands, and the overwhelmingly popular "Dunk the Dean" booth.

In 1975, Summer Carnival opened on Friday afternoon with a homemade raft race down the Connecticut River. The weekend was touched by controversy, however, surrounding the John Kemeny auctioneered "Buy a Girl Sale". Feminist protestors condemned the fundraiser at which services such as cutting hair or preparing a meal were sold to the highest bidder.

The next year, local artisans sold their handiwork next to the gaming booths, and a frisbee competition was added to the list of athletic events. Occum Pond became the site for the first annual foot race.

In 1977 as the hand made rafts floated down the Connecticut, wandering minstrels entertained the diners. Saturday afternoon's carnival saw the redesignation of the dunking booth victims from deans to professors and the birth of the notorious Pie Throwing Service which, for a price, hit unsuspecting carnivalgoers with whipped cream pies. The headlining musical attraction of the weekend was a concert given by Blood, Sweat and Tears.

The Carnival of 1978 added a triathlon of swimming, running and canoeing sections, and the following summer a mixed doubles tennis tournament, the Karen Blank (then Dean of Freshmen)

Golf Tournament, and the Three Mile Island Mini marathon were also created. Also in 1979, a semiformal swing band dance was held at collis during which Midnight Munchies were offered on the steps of College Hall.

The 1980 Summer Carnival was marred with criminal assault charges filed by one student against another as a result of the Pie in the Face Service. Two Fun Runs of 5 miles and 1½ miles were organised, and four bands performed over the course of three days. The following year a weekend trip for two to Montreal was raffled off, and a hot air balloon ride complimented the list of attractions. McDonald's and Burger King both supplied food for the Carnival on the Green, which boasted the new Sigma Alpha Epsilon Golf for Goldfish booth (either take your goldfish prize home or have a brother swallow it). One student filed a cruelty to the fish complaint against SAE, and Review founder Keeny Jones joined President McLaughlin in the water below the dunking booth.

The theme for the 1982 Summer Carnival was "Up to Par on the Green" featuring the film "Caddyshack", country club croquet on Tuck Mall, and the "Zonker Harris Tanning Contest". Theme remained important to the Carnival of 1983 which celebrated the Roaring '20s with a Monte Carlo Speakeasy in which gamers could

play blackjack, roulette, and craps while being serenaded by a rag time pianist and a barbershop quartet. A new "Superstars" athletic competition was introduced which included an obstacle course, an inner tube roll, and an egg toss.

The two new attractions of 1984s summer's carnival were a 250-foot

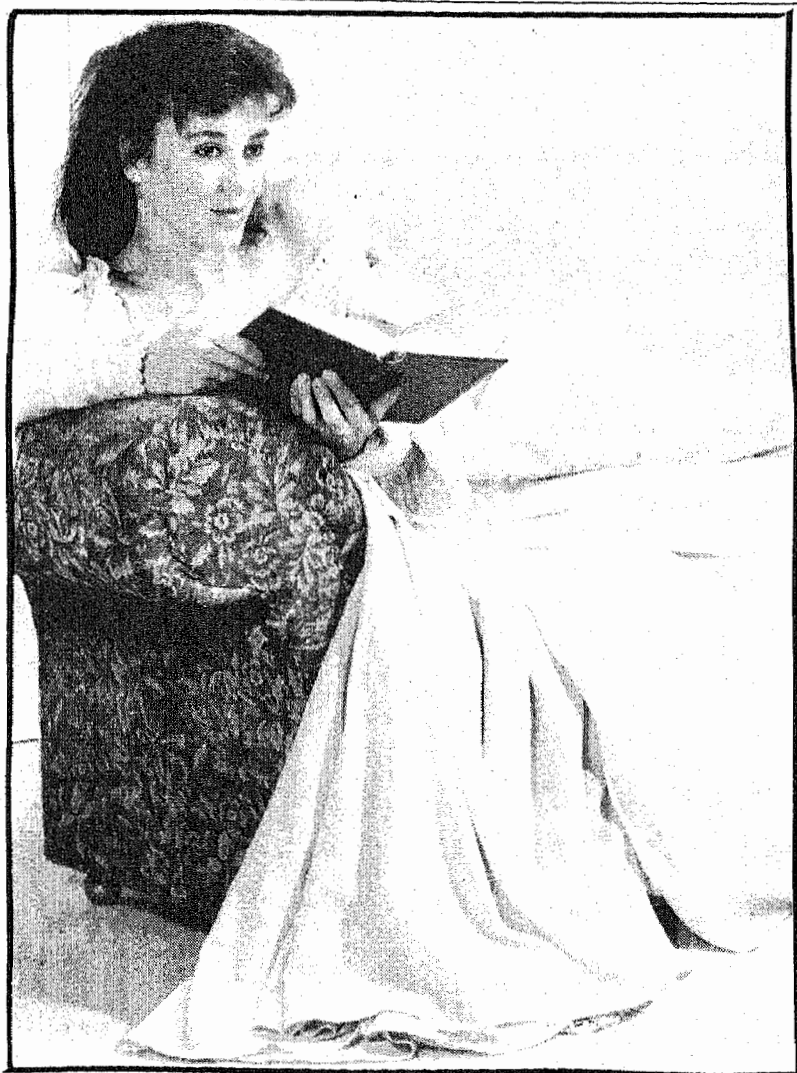
long ice cream sundae in the shape of the Olympic rings, and the dump-

ing of tons of sand on Webster Avenue to create a 50-foot strip of "beach" for the indoor party.

Last summer's carnival continued the tradition of varied athletic events, gaming booths, musical guests, and outdoor entertainment of the preceding summers.

The Dartmouth Review

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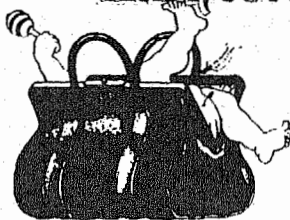
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BOOK AT BASS

Sexual harassment on US campuses seems to be a worse situation than in Australia. ALISTAIR NICHOLAS writes on US universities.

Australian students concerned with democratic liberty on their campuses would be interested to know that the situation here is still much better than that in the US, where every weapon in the democratic arsenal has been used for the most undemocratic of purposes.

For example, an incident at Yale University last year proved nefarious when two Divinity students were charged with sexual harassment and one suspended for his alleged activities.

The charge alone seems enough to titillate interest in the story of the two students, but the unusual circumstances of the charges against them makes the story far more interesting.

Neither of the students had actually done anything we might normally consider to warrant the now rather severe charge - and punishment; they had not accosted any students of the opposite sex nor had they said or done anything vaguely resembling what could normally be taken as a sexist statement.

In the very undemocratic climate of US university and college campuses of the 1980s, the two students had simply advertised a debate by the Yale Political Union on the topic of the CIA being justified in its discrimination against homosexuals. Ironically, freedom of speech in the US has come full circle with the old defenders of political freedom, the Old Left, seeking to suppress what they see as New Right propaganda.

The affair at Yale began early last year when one final year Divinity student posted the Political Union's debate notice on his dormitory door. It read: "Resolved: CIA Discrimination against Homosexuals Is Justified", and gave the details of the time and place of the debate. The notice was spotted by another Divinity student, Katie Doran. A member of the Gay-Straight Lesbian Coalition, Ms Doran told the occupant of the room that the poster was offensive and that he would have to remove it from public display. He refused. She then warned that she would file sexual harassment charges against him if

he did not comply. He finally did comply, after Ms Doran took the issue to the Dean, Joan Forsberg.

At this point another Divinity student entered the furore. Christopher Simser, in his third year, posted the debate notice to his own door in protest of what he saw as a violation of the personal liberty to say what one thinks. Ms Doran filed charges of sexual harassment against him, and in the days that followed claimed that he constantly hounded her with his friends, seeking to harass and intimidate her further. Eventually, Simser was found "guilty" by a sexual harassment committee of Yale University and suspended. He was also told that unless he made a public apology to Ms Doran he would not be awarded his degree.

During the "trial", some outlandish claims against Simser were made alleged by Ms Doran and the Gay-Straight Lesbian Collective. It was claimed that Simser and his friends were in fact neo-Nazis. Under cross-examination Ms Doran was asked how she knew they were fascists: "did they wear paramilitary uniforms? Were they anti-Semites?"

Her reply: "No, not anti-Semitism. I mean extreme conservatism..."

"Which you equate with being a neo-Nazi?"

"No, not on a regular basis - there are ultra-conservatives - much of that does not connote a political alliance - they're religious or whatever. I would characterise it that way, I guess, based on some of their dress, which seems to be more militaristic than need be. Flak jackets and mirrored sunglasses."

This seems like pretty spurious evidence given 1980s fashions. Moreover, Simser had only one friend who wore a flak jacket and his name - Rosenweig - should connote anything but neo-Nazism. "The problem at Yale and elsewhere," as one commentator put it, "is not just (left-wing) bias against conservatives, or even a disregard for free speech per se. It's the abandonment of objective standards of action in favour of subjective evaluations of actions."

This commentator, Miss Margaret Anne Gallagher, writing on the Yale fiasco in the September 26 issue of *National Review* last year, also commented that the "current attack on free speech has a distinctively American character". Before analysing that, let's consider some of the other attacks on freedom of speech on US campuses of late.

Since the Right's ascendancy in America with the increasing popularity of Reagan, the Left have intensified their attack on freedom of speech on the nation's campuses. The following cases have been documented by the US group Accuracy in Academia and show that protests against the Right have occasionally become violent:

- In late 1985 Jed Smock, a campus bible preacher, was kicked and punched at the University of California, San Diego, because he opposed US economic sanctions against the South African government and favoured Botha's reforms.

- Earlier in the year, Paul Cameron, an anti-AIDS campaigner, was pelted with eggs and his speech disrupted by students unplugging his audio equipment at the University of Massachusetts.

- And also in 1985, at the University of California, Berkeley, the Mecca of Left wing thought and activity since the 1960s, a screening of the anti-abortion film *The Silent Scream* was disrupted by students who stormed the theatre, attempting to destroy the video tape.

- At Harvard, April of last year, J. Michael Waller, a member of the Council for Inter-American Security, and Jorge Rosales, a spokesman for the Nicaraguan Contras, had to be hustled out of the meeting with students and staff as the stage was stormed by demonstrators chanting "Death, death, death to fascists".

- In May, fourteen students at Northwestern University disrupted a speech by a Nicaraguan Contra until the University's authorities stepped in and, ironically, cancelled the speech, instead of removing the demonstrators.

The "distinctively American character" of the Yale fiasco, and many others is that it is done in the name of "truth, justice and the American way", to use the old cliché. Even the incidents related above saw university authorities come down on the side of the demonstrators not only to avoid reenactments of 1960s demonstrations a la Kent State, where five students were shot dead when the National Guard were called out, but also, somewhat ironically, to avoid legal proceedings that might be initiated by the demonstrators. In 1980s political culture, as Miss Gallagher put it, "unpopular speech is called incitement to riot."

Unfortunately, whenever freedom of speech is suppressed, it is truth that is the first casualty. This is especially unfortunate in the case of universities as part and parcel of their function is the unbiased search for the truth. It comes as no surprise

that in the US the worst violations against freedom of speech come from groups such as the Spartacus Youth League, the Gay-Straight Lesbian Collective, and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador rather than the Right which upholds a truly democratic tradition.

What is ironic is the fact that the Left is the voice of the dialectic tradition in philosophy and politics, and yet is seeking to muffle the voices of its opponents.

The frightening thing is that they are able to do so in the name of justice. Indeed, it appears we can no longer debate vital issues because the Left have predetermined that the very debate of such issues is sexual harassment of whatever other taboos their nimitive political culture has set.

The Left, both in the US and elsewhere, have failed to apply the same criteria to the remainder of the political spectrum as they demand for themselves. It seems, even in the university political microcosm, the nature of political domination hasn't changed - only the leading actors. So much for revolutions, violent or otherwise.

Alistair J. Nicholas is a part-time MA student in Political Science at the University of N.S.W.

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SEXISM, RACISM & DEMOCRATIC LIBERTY



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Where is Australian rock going? As Aussie rock acts win plaudits overseas, SHAUN CARNEY asks what is happening back home?

Pity the American Red Indian. After 400 years of undignified treatment by the white man, the latest disgrace has come from Australia. During the past months, two local rock bands - *The Party Boys* and *The Chantoozies* - have recorded a song about him.

Not two songs, but one: 'He's Gonna Step On You Again'. Both groups resorted to recording a song that was a fair-to-middling hit in 1971. Not a song written by an Australian, but by an American. Not bold interpretations of the song, but sad, thin cover versions of the 1971 original. He's gonna step on you again? Really? If I must look forward to a life in which Australian rock music is typified by those records, then he can go right ahead.

Where is Australian rock going? Full steam ahead, you say. *Crowded House* are big in the U.S. Good. That's true, although the songwriter and singer, whose work shines with a gem-like brilliance, is a New Zealander. Who else, then? *INXS*, or course. And *Mental As Anything*, *Hoodoo Gurus*, and *Hunters and Collectors* are starting to break through, at least on the west coast. Great, isn't it? Or is it? What do we want out of our popular music, now that we are part of the international rock firmament?

What we want and what we get, it seems, are different things. Australian rock music, with such a proud and vibrant history, is fast approaching the point where many of its offerings have the artistic merit of warm porridge.

This is a bittersweet time for our local popular music scene. Changes are taking place quickly, with a lot of fanfare and pride, a little bit of pain, and some sorrow. This week the movie of the 'Australian Made' concerts, which were designed to showcase Australia's rock'n'roll talent, opened in the cinemas. A book of the tour is also available. But the most visible, and most desirable, development has been the placement of 'Countdown' on television's death row.

Its demise is most definitely well-deserved. It has been writhing on its death bed for more than a year and we will have to listen to the death rattle.

Ian Meldrum summed up 'Countdown's' contribution when he told a newspaper: "Going back to the days of 'Go Set' and 'Happening 70', I saw that the Australian talent was as good as anything on an overseas level, but they never had a chance to break over there. The overseas record companies never had the confidence to sign Australian acts up. I have seen a reversal of all of that and I feel very proud about it."

But 'Countdown' at its beginning in 1974 was very, very lucky. It coincided with the emergence of one of our greatest rock bands, *Skyhooks*. Like them or hate them, it cannot be denied that *Skyhooks* represented a lot of the really great things about Australian rock music.

Like an over-talented child, they screamed for attention. If you tried to ignore them, they screamed some more, grabbed you by a sensitive part and, standing up against your face, *dared* you to make a judgement. Their music was patchy, the production sound often resembled a well-aerated Swiss cheese, but they did something that few bands had done before and probably few will do again: they identified themselves in their music as Australians.

They sang about the suburbs. They were unabashedly parochial, and brash and arrogant to boot. In their brashness, they were the extension of a trend which had begun during the 1960s with groups such as the *Easybeats* and the *Loved Ones*, which used an aural crash-and-bash technique to win over listeners. They were loud, raw and compelling.

'Countdown' built its initial audience on the saleability of *Skyhooks*, running their performances virtually every week. But already at that point, when our music was not only claiming an identity but asserting it with a swagger, the dark forces were beginning to father.

In 1975, two very bad things happened, the ramifications of which are still being felt. Sherbert, Sydney's answer to *Skyhooks*, and the *Little River Band*, our version of the *Eagles*, started to make it big. The bland-out was descending. For *Sherbert*, no lyrical observation was too trivial, no melodic contrivance too obvious to use. For *LRB*, laid-back Americanisation was the modus operandi, despite the use of Australian colloquialisms for their album titles.

It should be pointed out that this mid-seventies bland-out was not confined to Australia. The music critic for the *Los Angeles Times*, Robert Hilburn, recently wrote that Elvis Presley, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Doors, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Bob Dylan and Jimi Hendrix spoiled rock fans in the '50s and '60s, not just by producing great music, but also by selling millions of records. Their success made the line between what was popular and what was best seem almost moot.

"By the mid-seventies, however, discriminating fans learned they could no longer trust the charts. After the decline of progressive FM radio formats, challenging new attractions found it increasingly difficult to get the exposure to generate strong sales."

In Australia, the impact of the bland-out on popular music tastes was even more profound because it was mixed with the all powerful cultural cringe. Unfortunately, our first group that really did make it big in the US was *LRB*. To the American public, its members were largely faceless and its music indistinguishable from most of the tripe coming from the west coast.

So while punk was getting the headlines in England, *LRB* were getting them back here as they went platinum in the US. While our very own Saints were helping shape British punk with

"(I'm) Stranded", the nabobs of our local industry and the press were ignoring the music form and that band's contribution to it.

I will always treasure my memory of the Saints' first performance on 'Countdown' almost 10 years ago. They had a hit overseas so they automatically qualified for an appearance. Chris Bailey almost swallowed the microphone as he gesticulated and faked a nervous breakdown in front of the little scarf-waving girls in the studio. The technicians could not have looked more terrified if they were locked in a room with Charles Manson.

It was a clash of two cultures and it showed how our rock scene was developing. There was "alternative" and there was "mainstream" and that is how it has stayed.

When *Men At Work* notched up consecutive hits in the US in 1982, *Rolling Stone* magazine examined the "Aussie invasion".

David Fricke wrote: "A new breed of Australian rock band is hitting these shores with an aggressiveness born of their pioneer and penal-colony ancestry and a remarkable originality that could teach America's rock establishment some new tricks."

Actually, most garage bands in suburban Melbourne could teach the dinosaurs of the American rock establishment a few things, so this was really only faint praise. The most depressing part about reading this piece five years after it was written is that so many of us in Australia believed the hype then and we believe it now.

We are still using the American rock

Australian Frayed



scene as our yardstick not only for success but, to a lesser degree, for artistic value. If Frickie was to write the same piece about Oz rock now, he would substitute *Crowded House* for *Men At Work*. But is our rock music bigger and better than ever before? Well, we have more international acts but some of that can be attributed to the internationalisation of the music industry rather than the boldness of our music.

In Australia we point to the level of international acceptance as a sign of our coming of age as a rock and roll nation. But surely penetration into the brain-numbing radio formats which dominate the American airwaves are not all our musicians are aiming for.

Our rock scene is dangerously compartmentalised, with very few acts able to break through into mass acceptance. The classic example of this was at the 'Australian Made' concerts several months ago where the mainstream successes including *INXS*, the *Models*, the *Mentals*, *Jimmy Barnes* and the *Divinyls* included a couple of 'alternative' acts - the Saints and the Triffids - on the bill.

That these bands should be even considered to be "alternative" is an indication of the strait-jacket which is constraining our local music industry. What they actually play is the sort of

raw, gutsy, honest music which, 20 years ago, would have had young people in duffle coats piling into their gigs and putting their records into the top 20.

Not now, however. The requirement in the 1980s seems to be for singers to have the most expensive haircut money can buy and the glossiest sound a record producer can devise. Witness the Noiseworks song now thumping its way towards the top of

the national charts. Is it any different from the arena rock so many Canadian bands play for the American market?

Even the ubiquitous rock historian, Glenn A. Baker, who was responsible for unearthing the song 'Good Times' for *INXS* and Jimmy Barnes, believes that our rock scene has run off the rails. "I do not think we have completely gone, but the chequebook has definitely won," he said, pointing to the fame of bands such as *Wa Wa Nee* and *Real Life*. He could also have cited the decision by the *Models* three years ago to ditch their refreshingly esoteric musical format for one which guaranteed hits, 'Countdown' appearances and, presumably, bucks.

Baker said he believed the fundamental weakness of our rock scene was the overt willingness of some acts to seek American success. Take note

Jimmy Barnes.

However, amid the pessimism and a few things need to be said. There are examples of good bands crossing over into the mainstream. *Hoodoo Gurus* are the obvious example, *Painters and Dockers* appear to be in the process now, and local band *The Pony* also have a fair show of doing so, if they want to. Other possibilities include *The Go-Betweens*, *Harem Scarem* and *Not Drowning, Waving*.

Also, the bands that ultimately decide to "reform" their sound to gain wider acceptance should not be pilloried. After all, we all have to eat. As well, a healthy rock industry does need to be stratified, to have an alternative level at which new acts are doing new things which challenge the orthodoxy. For example, it's hard to see how *This Is Serious Mum*, despite the originality of their music, could expect a major promotion in a Brash's store.

But how many more John Farnham megaalbums and versions of 'He's Gonna Step On You Again' do we want? A whole new generation of young people are growing up now thinking that that stuff is new popular music. It's almost enough to make you wish you were 30 years old.

'ONYA GOUGH!

Former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam gave a speech at Melbourne Uni recently. Farrago's GENEVIEVE HAMILTON reports.

The House was packed. My companion said something to the effect that people would come to her Whitlam read bus timetables and we wondered if Fraser could draw such a crowd even with Menzies taking second billing. The audience was a mixed bag from lawyers to people wearing lots of black. The initials PM were very prominent in the Peat Marwick (scornfully addressed as 'sponsor' by Whitlam) logo on the lectern.

The speech was perfectly (that is, not too finely) structured. Whitlam kept flooring us with his collection of facts and figures, his lists of elections, double dissolutions, referendums. Pretty close to a bus timetable I thought but people didn't seem to be bored. Whitlam was the constitutional lawyer, referring to himself in 1974 in the third not the first person - the Prime Minister of the day.

His first beef was that Australia with triennial Federal elections has had more since 1949 than the US with biennial elections. Our House of Reps has a maximum three-year term but "may be sooner dissolved." He recommends a four-year term with a minimum of three years. The US has had the same number of State elections because they are held on the same day. Our Federal legislation precluding this should be repealed, and the States should adopt the practice of having all their elections on the same day. There is no reason to have staggered Senate terms.

Capricious electoral rules and practices for which there is no logical rationale should be abandoned. There should be a requirement that Parliaments meet promptly after elections: the present situation being "clearly unsatisfactory" because it is "indeterminate and variable". The constitution is meant to be a safeguard against the whims of politics.

Whitlam reeled off a list of places in Australia (to be) nominated for World Heritage status and thereby protected by use of the external affairs power; "and of course there's the Daintree". Since Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania won't cooperate to abolish the gerrymander by referendum, Parliament should implement our obligation under the Civil and Political Rights Convention to ensure "equal suffrage". Trying to describe the sort of judicial reasoning that would be required to construe this phrase as not requiring one-vote-one-value, Whitlam became most eloquently stuck for words after "Barwickian..." For the sake of completeness he gave us the phone number and postal address where we can get our copy of the Constitution. "You can get it for nothing".

Why do we love Whitlam? (Some people can't stand him, but the answer's the same even if the question's different). Is it because he's witty, well-informed, dynamic and self assured? Because he has ideas and the ability to put them into practice? Is it because he deserves to be an arrogant bastard, or simply because he is one?

James Walter (*The Leader*, 1980) says we react to Whitlam because he represents the narcissism that the rest of us grew out of. According to Walter, it all began with Martha who breast-fed Gough until he was two, whose life revolved around home and family. No siblings until he was six. A baby whose desires are not 'optimally frustrated' fails to recognise boundaries between self and other: it is omnipotent and omnipresent, but also liable to be engulfed by the tide of food and love. Martha was not only rather deaf, she was also a strong and forceful personality, so little Goughie had his work cut out for him talking her out of it.

The conflation of self and world: a preoccupation with 'independence and interdependence' of individual people and the nations of the world - scale and spatial power. The world stage, and all the knowledge it holds. Unobstructed vision versus obstacles such as State governments and Caucus - he equates his own power with his program for the nation by putting his own position on the line. Inequality: both a limitation on power and irrational disorder in the landscape - Whitlam versus the urban sprawl.

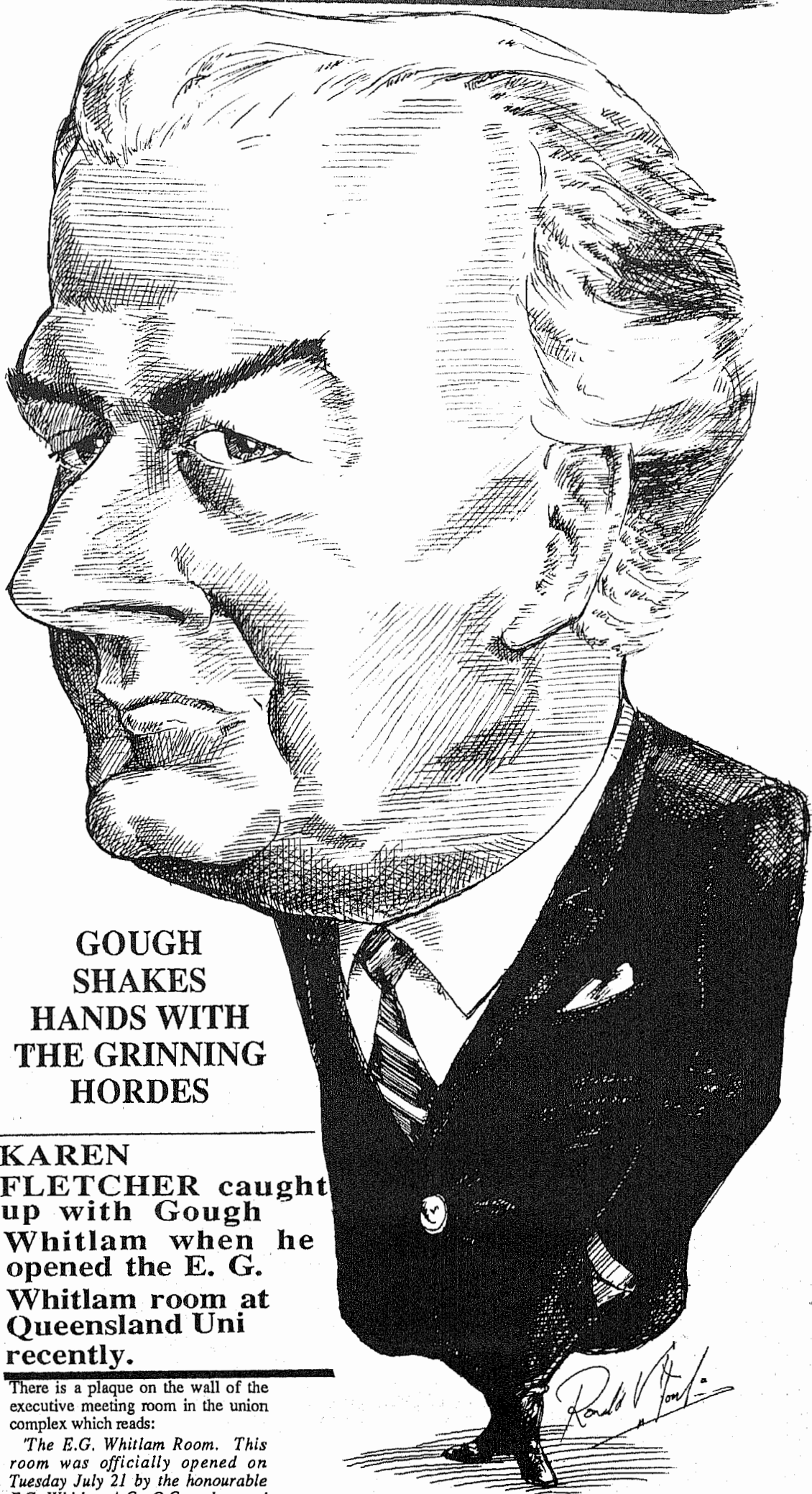
Whitlam talked about human rights, beginning with the right to vote. He said there should be a constitutional provision for this and sharply criticised the contemplation in the Constitution of a racial disqualification. Whitlam thinks there is no need for a Bill of Rights in Australia because of international conventions. But he reminded us that the Constitution does require just contemplation for compulsory acquisition of property and trial by jury on indictment and precluding the establishment of a state religion. He pointed out their limitations (especially their inoperation against the States) and loopholes and recommended that these be corrected.

"But you need a referendum to do it" concluded each point - and we all know how easy that is. Whitlam then discussed the use which can be made of the existing constitutional powers in relation to three issues: aboriginal (land) rights, the environment and the gerrymander. The Federal Parliament has the power by virtue of its external affairs power to legislate to implement international conventions adopted by the Government. Only "lack of political will" prevented legislative action on these issues.

Such a convention is the 1965 Racial Discrimination Convention. He cited the Koowarta case in which the High Court held that the Queensland Government's refusal to grant a pastoral lease to aboriginals infringed legislation validly implementing our obligations under that convention. He also pointed out that a remedy was frustrated by the Queensland Government turning the land which was the subject of the dispute into a National Park. Whitlam thinks that with the present composition of the High Court a decision would go in favour of aboriginals.

"If you are concerned..." about aboriginal rights, Australia should ratify part 2 of the International Labour Organisation Convention, make certain declarations under the Racial Discrimination and Civil and Political Rights Conventions and become a party to the Protocol to the Civil and Political Rights Convention, in order to add to the Government's domestic powers on this issue. He reminded the audience that implementation of aboriginal rights was necessary to "counter French propaganda", that is in order for Australia to have a viable position on French imperialism in the Pacific.

But Whitlam's maps were on a two-dimensional plane: there were limitations, policies have consequences, and these were for subordinates to deal with. There are other, different people, our apathy, our passive powerlessness, our lack of political will. How we let him down in 1975 because we couldn't hack the pace and have been standing still ever since, with our eyes closed. Whitlam's vision can't cope with our blindness: he X-Rays us out of the way. His speech demonstrated an inordinate faith in the skeleton of formal legal and political structures, unsullied by human caprice. It's a bitter, mystifying bargain that you can't have a Constitution without a Fraser, a Kerr and a glibble electorate.



GOUGH SHAKES HANDS WITH THE GRINNING HORDES

KAREN FLETCHER caught up with Gough Whitlam when he opened the E. G. Whitlam room at Queensland Uni recently.

There is a plaque on the wall of the executive meeting room in the union complex which reads:

The E.G. Whitlam Room. This room was officially opened on Tuesday July 21 by the honourable E.G. Whitlam A.C., Q.C. and named in his honour in recognition of his commitment to free education for all students.

When Gough Whitlam opened his new room and the newly renovated union complex, I was his guide. It was the only way I could wangle any sort of interview, and to be honest, I wanted to meet him. Gough Whitlam is a legend in his own lifetime. To many people he represents the possibility for progressive reform within the system. A symbol of hope, especially for those who are involved, or plan to become involved, in Australian government, public administration or law.

Gough Whitlam is also a symbol of free education. It was with this in mind that he was invited to the union, to open our new complex and to deliver a guest lecture.

But, in many ways, his visit was a disappointment. It was bound to be.

Union President Andrew Lamb, Treasurer Scott Barclay and I were supposed to meet his car at the top of circular drive at 12 noon. We stood there waiting, hopping from foot to foot in our nervousness, for over fifteen minutes. Then, the worst happened. There was a surge of applause

from the union complex. He had come up the back way. We had totally missed him.

We scrambled up to the union shops and arrived, panting and red with embarrassment, all adrift in a sea of grey suited men. Whitlam was amusing himself chatting to John Moore, the honourable Liberal member for Ryan. I didn't know what the hell was going on. Scott and Andrew must have been having the same problem, because they just stood there. I knew somebody should have been introducing all the dignitaries, but I couldn't work out who was who. They were all wearing suits, they were all men, and they were all looking at us as though we should know what was going on.

Somehow we managed to get to the unveiling of the plaque. But the afternoon was only just beginning. We still had the grand tour of the renovated complex, the lunch, and the lecture to get through. My awe was gone, and I was left only with the knowledge that I had to try to get some comment from Whitlam on the issue of the \$250 fee and performance of the newly returned Hawke government. After

all, wasn't that why I was here?

So I tried a little casual conversation as we strolled around the upstairs offices:

This is where we do most of our campaign work. We have been concentrating on tertiary fees lately, of course.

"Yes", he said, "I don't know why you people don't make more of that. You really should be doing a lot of work on that one. I know it's my side that's done the deed, but you should work on them you know."

I didn't really know what to say. We've been working our butts off over tertiary fees. It seems we are forever planning rallies and demonstrations, mailing out to our members about the boycott, attending national anti-fees meetings, going on lobby trips, producing leaflets, posters, banners, taking to the streets and occupying education department headquarters. We've lived and breathed the tertiary fees campaign since last August....

"I don't know why you people don't make more of that" he said. "You really should be doing a lot of work on that one".

Semper

Aiming for excellence: is trad

Are we aiming for excellence in our quest for knowledge? Is traditional education still relevant to the universities of today?

DAME LEONIE KRAMER and SUSAN MOORE

In 1852, writing about the nature and purpose of universities, John Henry Newman echoed Aristotle in describing two distinct methods of education:

"... the end of (one method) is to be philosophical, of the other to be mechanical, the one rises towards general ideas, the other is exhausted upon what is particular and external. Let me not be thought to deny the necessity, or to decry the benefit, of such attention to what is particular and practical, as belongs to the useful and mechanical arts; life could not go on without them, we owe our daily welfare to them; their exercise is the duty of the many, and we owe to the many a debt of gratitude for fulfilling that duty. I only say that Knowledge, in proportion as it tends more and more to be particular, ceases to be Knowledge."



Dr Susan Moore

Although the need to distinguish, as Newman does, between social utility and educational usefulness has been recognised for 2000 years, influential Australian educators still deny that such a need exists. The practical method of education rejected by Newman for its short-sighted reliance on the particular continues to be championed by educational spokesmen who seem never to have encountered a superior intellect at work. And the philosophical method of education which he considered the only appropriate means of ensuring the transmission of knowledge is regularly dismissed by these same forces as irrelevant to the proper business of schooling.

As if the great philosophers of education, starting with Plato, had never lived, our move embarrassing educationalists discuss and direct teaching and learning in terms which suggest that the life of the mind is no life at all. On the principle that pupils at every level must be taught to cope with the practical realities of contemporary life, and especially the dark realities imposed by rapid technological change, such educators effectively banish history, literature, mathematics, science, music and art from schools, except in their most cursory and superficial forms. In their place they propose concoctions such as games-play, skills of reasoning, problem solving, skills of literacy/numeracy research, ecological, socio-cultural, and value systems studies, arts-crafts, government and commerce, and personal competence/interest studies.

At both colleges and universities persons of this stamp are now far more numerous than is conscionable, and their influence upon the content of schooling is pervasive. Although they have not yet succeeded in doing away with traditional subject areas altogether, they have managed to shape the curriculum for future teachers in ways which their more reflective colleagues consider shamefully inadequate. As part of a sweeping revolt against the liberal arts, they have watered down tertiary courses in English, History, Science, Geography, and Mathematics. For they have mistakenly and convenient-

ly blamed the major disciplines for the classroom failures of legions of teachers. Alarmed by such an abnegation of responsibility, an Australian publisher has remarked that now the onus for creating an identifiable core of learning is on the publishers of classroom materials.

In at least one large tertiary institution whose course descriptions are readily accessible to the public, prospective Infants and Primary teachers are required in Years 1-3 to take only a single semester course in Reading and in Writing (that's all!), two semester courses in Science and in Social Studies (not History), and three semester courses in Mathematics. Yet they must complete ten semester courses in Education, studying subjects like Classroom Skills, Child Studies, Socio-Cultural Contexts of Education, Curriculum Design, and Contemporary Issues. Such gaps in their General Education as might arise from this programme are filled by a one-semester workshop elective in, for instance, Multicultural Education, Non-Sexist Education, Non-Government Schooling, Australia's Heritage, Sports Administration, Video Production, Computing or Health, and by a single curriculum elective in a traditional subject area. For B.Ed candidates the programme imbalance for the rest of the course is even more pronounced.

Privately, school principals who work with the products of such training often complain about their woefully inadequate grasp of such basic matters as how to write a standard English sentence, their equally woeful general knowledge, and their confused classroom management. But because school heads do not know who or what is responsible for this situation, they are in no position to alter it significantly. Only rarely do informed insiders speak to them freely about the attitudes towards reading and "high culture" - the hidden curriculum - of the stolid pragmatists who, with the best intentions, lead tertiary students and their students into a stultifying narrowness.

It is "with infinite caution", Edmund Burke said almost 200 years ago, "that

any man ought to venture upon pulling down an edifice which has answered in any tolerable degree for ages the common purposes of society, or on building it up again without having models and patterns of approved utility before his eye." Unfortunately, our more vocal critics of all forms of traditional schooling show no sign of having read *Reflections on the Revolution in France* or any other celebrated discussion on institutions with an impressive history. Indeed, one of the most influential critics of this ilk in New South Wales - Shirley Smith, an Associate Professor in the Educator Department at the University of New South Wales, and the Chairman of the New South Wales Finance and Planning Committee responsible to the Schools Commission - disposes of 2000 years of traditional education in the West in six pages of a 256 page book.

In *Schooling: More or Less*, after asserting that traditional disciplines like Maths, English, Science, Social Science and Languages are interesting chiefly to academics and high school teachers Smith calls these subjects "irrelevant to social life and problems" and "far too circumscribed to cater for the varied individual interests and abilities ... of today." She then asserts that traditional methods of teaching the major disciplines have always been equally inadequate, since they require only the memorisation and regurgitation of "the ideas of the 'great thinkers'." Thinking, reasoning, questioning, showing curiosity and creativity and demonstrating independence, she announces, play no part in intellectual achievement in the traditional curriculum. What is learned by most students "is a set of soon-forgotten, apparently senseless lists of facts".

If Smith were alone in generalising about the nature, methods and effects of traditional study in such a shocking way it would be easy to return her book to the library shelf with gestures of disbelief. But because she is far from alone, either in inveighing against all traditional subject-matter used by schools or in asserting that all traditional educational methodology is arcane, unintelligent and destructive, her attitudes must be taken seriously. People too numerous to count at every level of the teaching profession share both Smith's prejudices about traditional activities of mind and her extraordinary ignorance of history - including, of course, the history of education itself.

To such educationalists, periods in the life of the West marked by unusual cultural and intellectual achievement within the broad field of education - for instance, the fifth century in ancient Greece, the twelfth century in Western Europe, the Renaissance and its aftermath in England and the Continent - might just as well have existed in a space fantasy. Oblivious to the warning, purveyed by the distinguished American sociologist Edward Shils, that those who reject tradition know "continuously receding pleasures", they maintain that only by concentrating on the present will the imaginative needs of children be met. Past present and future are not inextricably related, they insist: creativity asserts itself most fully when the attention of pupils and teachers is fixed on what is going on around them.

Yet our greatest modern English poet T.S. Eliot, in one of his most celebrated utterances, reminds us that no creative

person has his complete meaning alone: "... you must see him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead". "We dwell with satisfaction," Eliot says, on a poet's "difference from his predecessors". Whereas if we approach him without this prejudice, "we shall often find that not only the best, but the most individual parts of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously".

Eliot's statement has broad applicability. In every traditional field of inquiry knowledge advances because our ancestors lead us along paths which they themselves could not take.

"Copernicus and Kepler told Newton where to find unthinkable to themselves", the noted physical chemist and philosopher, Michael Polanyi, has said. To act as if the reflections of the great thinkers of the past are of interest only to academics or secondary teachers, and to fail to see that the excitement generated by the activities of outstanding scientists, philosophers, mathematicians, poets, musicians, artists and historians can be transmitted to the greater part of an entire culture, is to condemn that culture to a parochialism terrible to contemplate.

Long before Newman wrote his defence of learning for its own sake, communities of cultivated persons agreed - as they still do - that the study of traditional disciplines has a useful, though not a utilitarian, bearing on society. For the kind of knowledge acquired by this route, and by no other, is not a mere "accidental advantage ... which may be got up from a book, and easily forgotten again, which we can command or communicate at our pleasure, which we can borrow for the occasion, carry about in our hand, and take into the market". It is - in Newman's words - "an acquired illumination", a

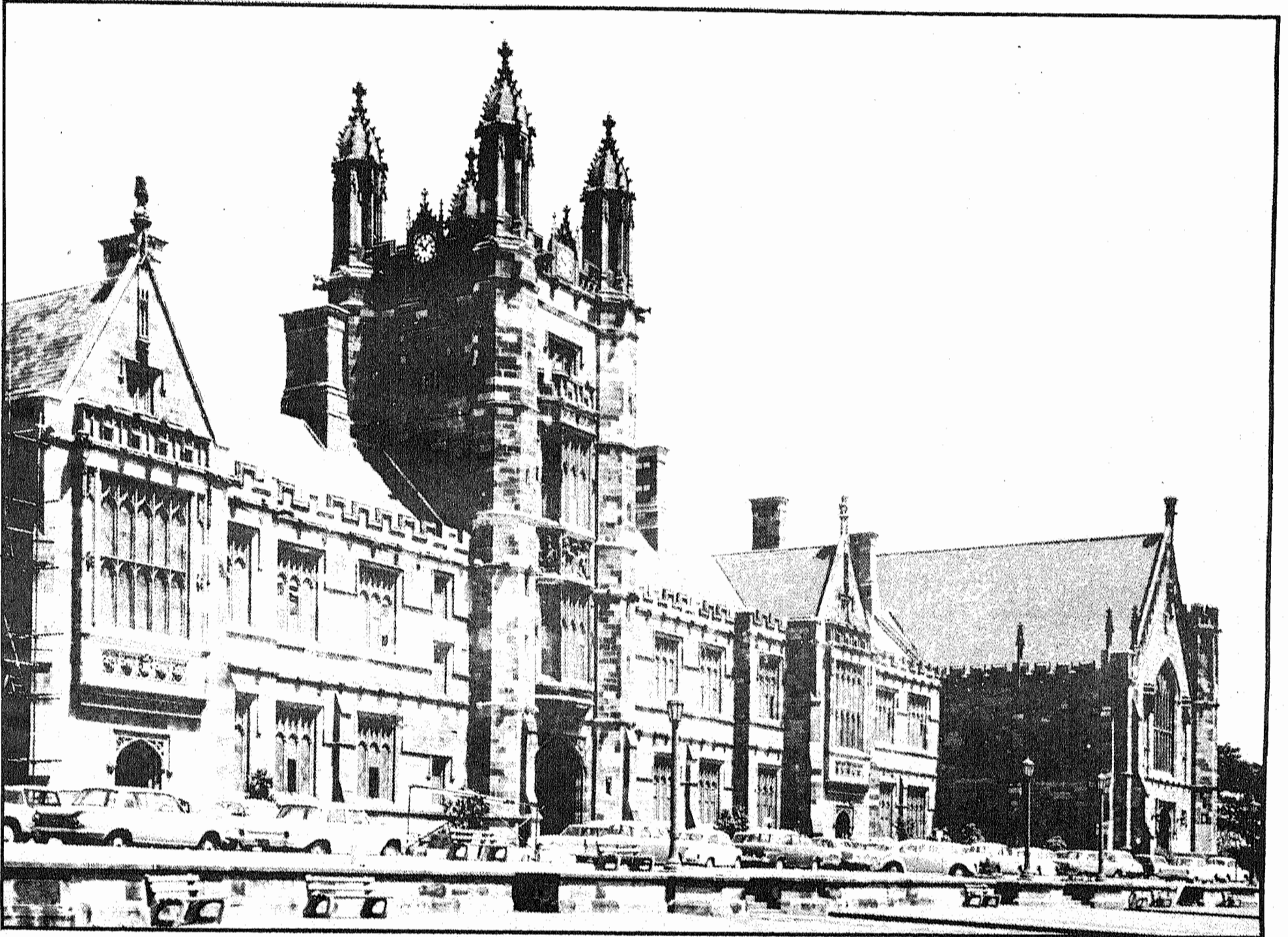


Dame Leonie Kramer

"habit", a "personal possession", and "an inward endowment" which invests what it sees with ideas. Its signature is a "largeness of mind" expressed by "self-possession" and "sound judgment".

One of the great advantages of knowledge gained through study of the liberal arts, Newman says, is that it imparts to its bearers a "clear, calm, accurate vision and comprehension of all things, as far as the infinite mind can embrace them, each in its place, and with its own characteristics upon it". Far from being acquired through rote memorisation of the ideas or slogans of past sages, this knowledge is assimilated slowly, over a long period,

itional education still relevant ?



through rigorous wondering, reasoning, and testing. Because it means are often tacit and unspecified, as well as explicit and particular, the discoveries they issue in have scope and depth, and effects which sometimes exceed the limits once considered possible.

Paradoxically, because its focus is not "practical", the philosophical method of education is actually more useful than its rival method can be. Without minimizing the difficulty native to it ("On a huge hill, Craged and steep, Truth stands"), it fosters personal growth through the strength of its commitment to learning. It inculcates habits of mind which bring power and grace to those who are active in all walks of life. It enables people who have mastered its essential forms to be reliable guides for others. And it builds on the recognition, beautifully articulated by Polanyi, that "all thought is incarnate"; it lives by the body and by the favour of society. But it is not thought unless it strives for truth, a striving which leaves it free to act on its own responsibility, with universal intent.

That mind cannot responsibly be separated from body, from the personal interest, impulses, and activities of the learner, and from the consequences of its own activity, is not an idea acceptable to everybody. Those who accept it are convinced that if more people understood the connections between mind-body, the pursuit of truth, universal intent, and communal responsibility, our daily lives

would have a different cast. Utilitarians who tried to tell us that the formal study of Education is equivalent in value to the study of all the other major Arts and Sciences, combined, would be forced to re-train. Teachers unfamiliar with the intense emotion commonly felt by intelligent readers experiencing Vergil or Swift or Mill for the first time would not be appointed to influential educational planning bodies - especially, not to syllabus committees. And the imaginative, moral, and spiritual dimensions of human experience undreamt of by the inventors of Values Systems Studies would be considered the rightful possession of cultivated persons of every age.

Ironically, although they often have a lot to say about "conceptualising" and "hypothesising", the practical education-alists who discard or under-value traditional disciplines never explain how, if history and literature enjoyed even less favour than they do now, imaginative, moral and spiritual issues vital to the welfare of humankind could be systematically and coherently treated in schools. They also say little about excellent, and its connection with the best that has been thought and said in the world. And to the idea that knowledge is its own reward, their usual response is cynical disdain.

In 1975, commenting on the dangers of anti-intellectualism of this kind in education, Iris Murdoch pointed out that when

we admire a great singer, footballer, actor or violinist we don't feel that we're "demeaning" ourselves. We're not made miserable and envious "when we delight in talents which we have not got; we are grateful because our world has been enlarged and enriched by a vision of excellence which we can appreciate". "Why", she then wanted to know, "should intellectual merit alone be denied fostering and respect?" Why indeed.

In *Hard Times* - a novel greatly loved by college and university students, and by their teachers - Dickens' sharpest satire is directed at persons who pride themselves on their practicality but are ineffectual, ignorant, incompetent, or brutal in situations requiring practical skill. The only character in the book who is able to exercise sound judgment at critical junctures fails to make use of the utilitarian ethic she has been schooled in, for it is inadequate to her needs. Instead, acting from love and applying her native imagination and reason to three tasks which have proved too difficult for her elders to handle, she helps to keep a young man out of gaol, persuades a cavalier MP trifling with his emotionally wrecked sister Louisa to leave town, and heals Louisa.

"What is the wise man about?" Sidney Hook asks in *Education and the Taming of Power*. His answer to this question is that the wise man has knowledge of "the nature and career of human values in

experience and of the best means of achieving them". Of course Hook speaks in a language appropriate to his profes-

sion, and when he goes on to say that wisdom is "knowledge not only of the means necessary to attain ends but of the

ends most appropriately chosen in the problematic situations that require choices between conflicting ends", we know

that we are in the company, not of a novelist, but of a political philosopher. Still, for all their differences, it is clear that

Hook shares Dickens' view - and Newman's and Aristotle's - that the quality of a person's learning is reflected in

and measured by his deeds. Contrary to popular belief, distinguished thinkers in every branch of learning, ancient and

modern, agree about a fundamental practical principle: By their fruits ye shall know them.

Dr. Susan Moore is a lecturer in English at the Sydney Institute of Education. Dame Leonie Kramer is Professor of Australian Literature at the University of Sydney.

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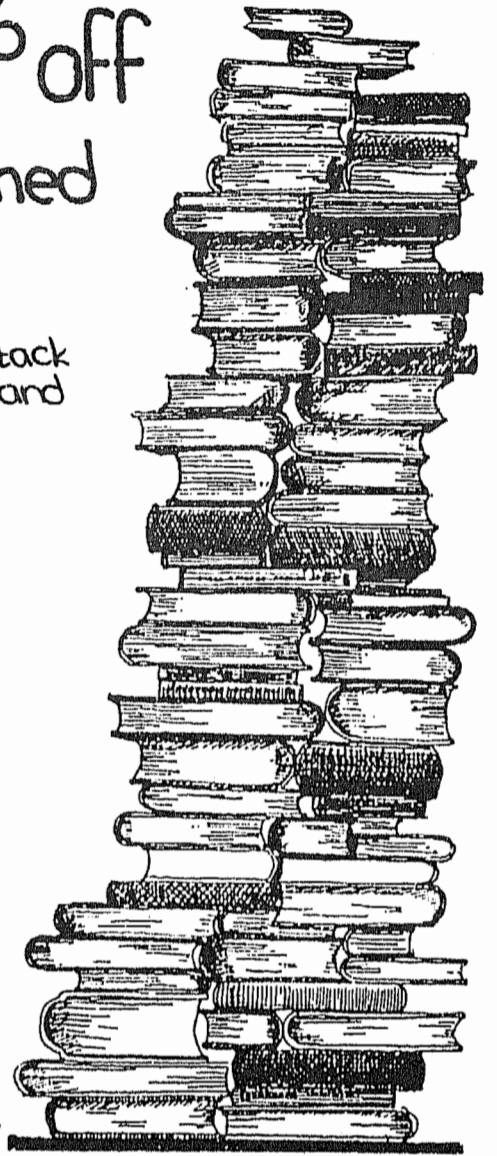
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Student Radio Week Beginning October 5:

It's that time of year again. End of year holidays are so far away. End of year exams are so close. But there is an alternative besides inserting your head in to mum's Kitchen Wizz. Sticky tape your radio dial to am531, sticky tape yourself to your radio (don't be stingy, use the whole roll) and flick POWER to ON any and every weeknight - 10.30pm - 1.30am - for your STUDENT RADIO.

Mondit: 10.30pm THE GROOVE TUBE - Andy Warhol recommends this show as do lots of other dead people. Why? Who knows! The show that has all the best and the worst of sixties Rock, Pop and Soul on the only show that dares to play the Seekers and the Animals back-to-back. Be hip, be cool, be there or be square and lots of other really groovy stuff.

11.30pm More Mary and Maddy.

12.30am For the coolest, most informative and very hip hour, listen with your heads in the sand to the MONSTER SURFER SHOW.

Tuesdit: 10.30pm MURRAY AND CLEM - currently making negotiations to go live from the Clarence Gardens R.S.L. club.

BRUCE KENT, world-renowned Peace Activist, Vice-President of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, President of the International Peace Bureau, will be giving a public lecture on Thursday the 8th of October in Napier Lecture Theatre 101 at 7.30 pm.

11.30pm 60 minutes with Sam and Damien.

12.30am THE WITCHING HOUR with your hostesses - Ilka and Josie.

Wednesdit: 10.30pm Heigh ho! What's more fun than prising your kneecaps off? Almost everything really, but for music to prise your kneecaps off to, listen to THUNDERBIRDS ARE GO!

11.30pm Bill and James are back - From where, I don't know.

12.30am THE GREEN ONION SHOW returns.

Thursdit: 10.30pm TOP OF THE SCHLOCK with Michael Warner.

11.30pm UNDER THE AFFLUENCE and definitely not under the effluence.

12.30am The SCOOTER SCAR SIXTIES SHOW - I've been run over by one and it does take some time to heal.

Fridit: 10.30pm FUN WITH DIRK AND ROIAND - a good support act for BREAKFAST WITH THE BEAST.

11.30pm BREAKFAST WITH THE BEAST. Once described as "the best show I've ever heard on Student Radio". This week: Covered/Uncovered - Danny looks at music from the last three decades; Drugs in Chess - Stefan discusses a problem rocking a sports nation; we ask Phil - Where do the Love Muscles Indoor Cricket team go from here?; The Farm-yard mixed I say moare? These features and more, tonight on BWB.

12.30am Music and more with Mario - magic!

AU Tennis Club Open Day:

Owing to the condition of the courts, this will now be held on Sunday, October 18, not the 4th. New players especially should make an effort to come as matches commence soon thereafter. Tennis will start at 11 am, followed by a barbecue lunch (BYO meat). Venue: West Beach Courts, Tapleys Hill Rd, West Beach (opposite Airport). Enquiries: Pres. - Bindy Ingleton 356 3097, Sec. - Jo McDonald 278 7648.

Debating Finals:

Semi Finals
 Clubbing The Cubs V The Equalizers
 Joe Carney (C) Simone Hansch (C)
 Tim Heffernan Scott Nicholls
 Stephen Horan Alex Reilly
 at 6.30 pm in the Little Cinema, with the topic being "That we are blinded by our beliefs".
Sex of One V **The Flowerpot Men**
 Michael Barry (C) Bill Hancock (C)
 Ben White Ben Roberts
 Matthew McDonald Richard Henshall
 at 8.00 pm in the Little Cinema, with the topic being "That we are blinded by our beliefs".

The University Billiards and Snooker Club will next be meeting this Thursday October 8 in the Post-Tel Institute Snooker Hall.

The hall is located directly behind the G.P.O. at 2A Franklin Street, and is on the first floor.

Membership is open to both student and non-students, and non-members are welcome.

The club organises tournaments for both members and non-members, with the remainder of the year being devoted to social matches in a friendly atmosphere.

For further details please contact Chris 297 9362.

Japanese BBQ. Satisfy your desire for a taste of the unusual, and join the Adelaide Uni Judo Club for lunch on the Barr-Smith Lawns on Thursday 8 October. Prices \$1.50/medium, \$2.00/large servings.

AU Anglican Tertiary Students:

Please join us at 1.10 pm on Tuesdays in the Chapel for an hour of worship, fellowship and discussion. All Welcome. We look forward to seeing you there.

New meeting now on Wednesday at 6.00 pm. It is a time for more informal discussion and a chance to develop ideas and plan action in areas which interest and/or concern you. Bring yourself and some ideas!

OUR PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE

The Gavin David Young Lectures Will Be Given By

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J.J.C. SMART

Formerly Hughes Professor of Philosophy at the University of Adelaide and Professor Emeritus of the Australian National University

This series of eight public lectures will be given on Tuesdays and Thursdays, beginning 29th September, at 2.30 p.m. in Lecture Theatre 101, Napier Building, University of Adelaide. All welcome.

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Applications should be sent to the Principal by October 16th, 1987.

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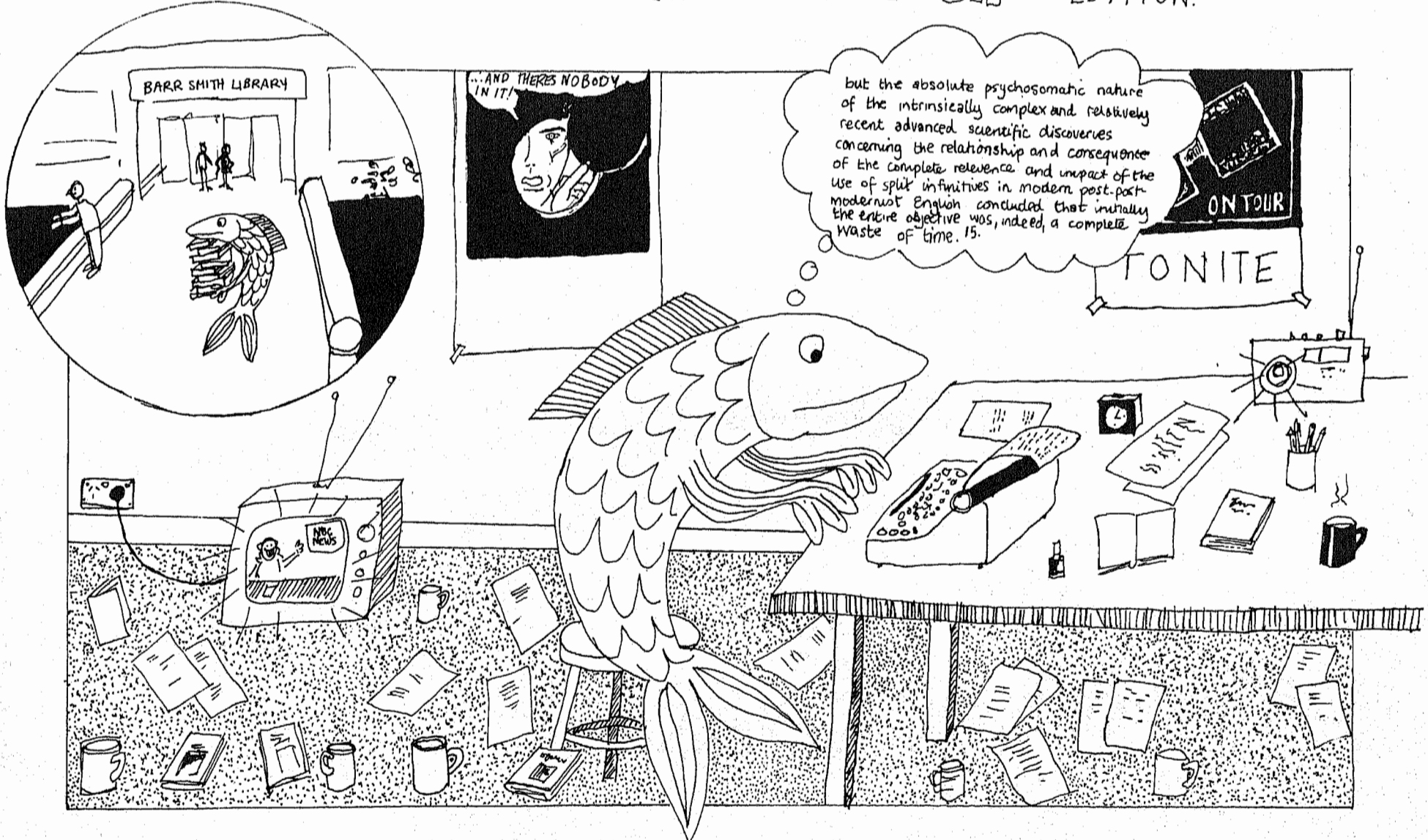
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¹⁵ Eustance Drivell.

Encyclopedia of Initially Psychosomatic Literary Approaches to the Use and Abuse of the Split Infinitive in the Modern Post-post-modernist Interpretation of English and Hairdressing. 1987. Adelaide Uni Press, Adelaide.

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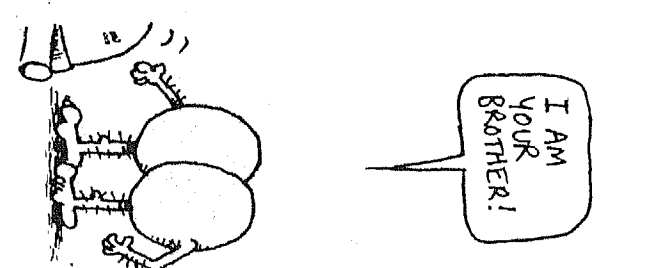
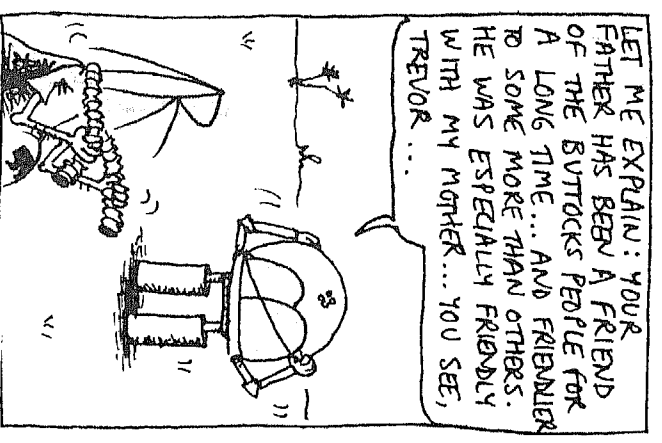
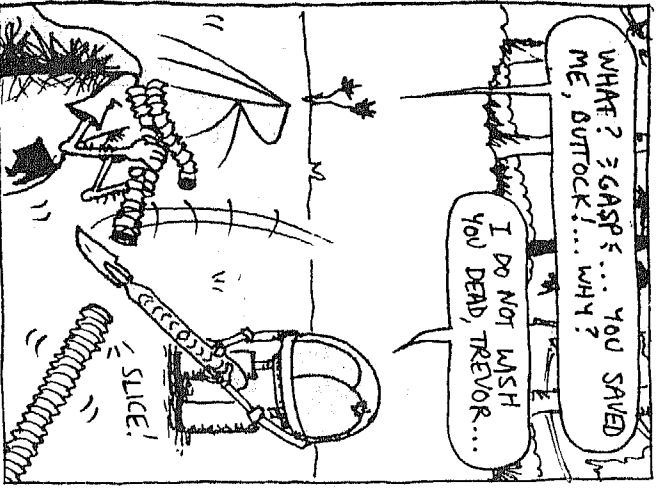
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