

# VANGUARD

Official national journal of the Schools Action Union

6d  
no. 9

## REVOLUTION IN THE SCHOOLS

Comune di Padova  
Biblioteche

Cod. Bibl. 01

BID POV 14472

INV 106 d 60

The schools movement consists of the active element among progressive school students and teachers. It is the organ of struggle whereby the growing independent voice of school students can be given political expression. The spontaneous upsurge of schools groups throughout the country has produced the fundamental demand for day-to-day democratic control of the school by elected school councils representing students, teachers and all school staff. Thus, the schools movement has identified its fundamental aim.

Campaigns have largely centred around demands for freedom based on an anti-authoritarian consciousness. The response to students' demands has been the setting up of sham school councils castrated by the head's veto introduced under the phoney liberal concept of "participation". The sham school council, however, is only one aspect of the strategy of the school authorities in seeking to disarm the growing schools movement. The sham school council and the elitist 6th form forum have invariably been accompanied by an increase in the victimisation, intimidation and day-to-day oppression of school students especially activists in the schools movement who have spoken out against and organised opposition to the school authorities for failing to meet the democratic spirit of school students' just demands. School regimes have sought to isolate student activists and smash the developing schools movement by making vicious examples of them. To a large extent this strategy has been a success. In April '69 SAU was able to claim 26 groups, and the schools movement itself comprised a total of 33 groups. However, by September '69, the number of surviving groups had fallen to about 15. The prevailing spirit among these groups was cynical, sectarian and defeatist.

Why was the strategy of the authorities so effective? Two main lessons stand out. As has been pointed out the prevailing consciousness which underlay student demands was of the 'do-your-own-thing', 'freedom of the individual' type. This anti-authoritarian ideal was thus transposed into an organisational principle which manifested itself in group autonomy and individual autonomy within the group. This ultra-democracy within the group had a devastating effect; no developing theory based on collective experience, no developing organisation and no practical application of collective decisions. This failure to establish momentum led to attitudes of disillusion, sectarianism and defeatism manifesting itself in sporadic, disjointed actions culminating in the inevitable victimisations. The second main lesson centres around why the schools movement proved unable to defend itself. Again the ultra-democratic theory of organisation (which is in practice no organisation) proved to have further crippling effect; no developing theory based on the collective experience of the schools movement, no developing national organisation and no national campaign involving co-ordinated action. The failure of the schools movement

to establish a collective analysis of the political realities surrounding it left it vulnerable to attack from an enemy which had not been precisely identified and whose nature was not accurately understood. These factors precluded a successful strategy for achieving school students' just demands.

The Schools Action Union is the most highly developed of all the organisations that comprise the schools movement both in its policies and in its organisation. It is for this reason in the vanguard of the schools movement. S.A.U. has recognised that the schools movement faces organised political forces employing an extensive array of political weapons designed to crush the emergence of an independent schools movement. S.A.U. has made an analysis of society with specific reference to the role of education in society. This analysis has recognised the class nature of society with the capitalist ruling class (5% of the population) owning 75% of the wealth and controlling the means of production, the mass media, education and other institutions of society. S.A.U. has identified bourgeois domination of education and pointed out that schools serve the interests of the capitalist ruling class and not the majority of the population, the working class. Recognising that the bourgeoisie will not give up control of the education system while they concentrate political power in their own hands, the S.A.U. is working to build a militant, self-disciplined national organisation dedicated to struggling for day-to-day democratic control of the schools as an integral part of the wider social struggle for mass democratic control of the institutions of society; namely, a socialist revolution.

The British people have long believed in the principle of democracy as the most advanced form of social organisation a form of organisation that involves all of the people in the exercise of political power which at the same time guarantees and defends the basic civil rights of all those who come within its jurisdiction. While the laws of the land purport to guarantee civil rights in the wider social sense the 'parliamentary' form of democracy does not in fact ensure democratic practice within the factories, shops, offices, schools, colleges and communities of society. Without day-to-day mass democracy within the institutions of society there can be no guarantee in practice of civil rights.

The 'parliamentary' form of democracy is in practice an incomplete or partial democracy. The only expression of democracy takes place in the House of Commons. The people are only involved in the parliamentary democratic process on one day every five years and once the elections are over there is no way of recalling, changing or mandating one's representatives. Because there is no day-to-day mass democracy parliament is a sham democracy, a bourgeois democracy. Its purpose is to give the appearance of democracy while preserving the political power of the minority ruling class. 'Parliamentary' democracy is democratic in form

and bourgeois in essence.

Bourgeois democracy enshrines the principle of theory without practice. School students are taught about freedom of speech and see their magazines and newspapers censored. They are taught that Britain is a great democracy and yet the head has the power to victimise, punish and discriminate against students without having to explain or justify his actions or be subject to any control whatsoever by those that comprise the school community, the students, teachers and school staff. Another proud boast by the authoritarian practitioners of bourgeois democracy is that of freedom of assembly. Again, students cannot organise student meetings without staff interference; in many schools heads insist on being present if student meetings are permitted often dominating such meetings and demonstrating contempt for students by exercising his veto wherever bourgeois authority is challenged, thus exposing the anti-democratic and paternalistic nature of bourgeois education. School students are repeatedly told that freedom can only exist in a capitalist society. The ruling class often remind us through the government and the bourgeois press that Britain is a democratic society, a part of the free world, which guarantees freedom of political activity. In practice this means freedom for the bourgeoisie to concentrate political power in their own hands; freedom for the bosses to exploit the working masses and freedom for the head to deprive school students of their democratic rights. How many times have heads demanded from their assembly platforms that school students keep politics out of education? We all know that whatever class controls political power controls education. The ideology of society is the ideology of the ruling class. So, when a head hypocritically talks about keeping politics out of education he is, in fact, giving expression to bourgeois politics. What he means is; keep debate within the framework of bourgeois ideology; no criticism of bourgeois political domination of society; no democracy in practice; no freedom of political activity. It is for this reason that school authorities will go to extreme lengths in order to stifle the emergence of an independent schools movement fighting for democracy by banning student newspapers and magazines by victimising student activists for engaging in political activity, by calling in the police against student leafletters and by banning and interfering with student meetings.

The fundamental aim of the Schools Action Union is day-to-day democratic control of schools by elected school councils i. e. school councils with power. In order to realise this aim the political power of the bourgeoisie must be challenged and overthrown. In place of bourgeois democracy we must institute a genuine mass democracy controlling the day-to-day organisation of shops, offices, factories, schools, colleges and communities by the majority of the population, the working class. The struggle of the schools movement can only be successful within the framework of the developing class struggle to overthrow bourgeois political rule and replace it by revolutionary mass democracy; a socialist society. Within this framework the schools movement will be able to grow and develop a mass based strategy. The struggle of school students is the struggle of the masses in schools VANGUARD puts forward the following 5 point strategy for winning democracy in schools.

#### S. A. U. 5-point CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAMME.

##### 1) The right to publish uncensored magazines subject to the laws of libel, obscenity, etc.

Our tactics should be to produce and distribute student newspapers in each school. These newspapers should publish criticism of the actions of individual students and teachers, of the actions of the school authorities including the head, of the education system and bourgeois ideology, of bourgeois democracy and political power and the capitalist system. The only realistic test of freedom of speech in bourgeois society is to publish material opposed to the prevailing ideology. We should avoid publishing unsubstantiated facts about individuals (libel), be prepared to admit mistakes and publish apologies for errors and avoid unnecessary obscenity. We should not confuse the issue of free speech with the intricacies of bourgeois law. Should students be victimised for writing publishing or distributing student magazines direct action should be organised to widely publicise the victimisations and support should be sought from local shop steward committees, trade councils and unions, political groups, sym-

pathetic teachers and parents. At the same time the newspaper should go underground. This will necessitate the building of underground distribution networks. Attention should be paid to the problem of security; watch out for the head's spies, teachers' pets and other reactionary students. Finally, the paper should act as the collective organiser of student struggles, should criticise mistakes in work, draw lessons for future action seek to raise the level of political consciousness among the students and provide a platform for free debate. Student newspapers should serve the interests of the majority of students. Victimisation, intimidation and day-to-day oppression must not be allowed to stifle the independent voice of school students

##### 2) The right to organise student meetings on school premises (during breaks and after school hours) without staff interference.

It is essential that school students become experienced in democratic processes if they are to exercise day-to-day democracy in practice. At the same time, as it is a question of students, teachers and school staff working together it will be necessary for school students to hold separate meetings so as to arrive at their own independent position and be able to direct their representatives. Within the existing situation, the demand is a reasonable one and any head who denies the right of students to hold meetings in their own school will only have himself to blame for the consequences. Our tactics here should be one which raises the struggle to a higher level. Sit-ins should be organised on the basis of a minimum number of 30 students. Undoubtedly, the head or one of his flunkeys will appear and threaten dire consequences. When confronted with the power of the rank and file student which bases its strength on solidarity the power of the bourgeois intellectual academic is seen to be a paper tiger. The sit-in should present the head or flunkey with a prepared statement, signed by all the participants and naming appointed representatives (5 should do) to negotiate the terms for ending the sit-in. The statement should affirm the belief of all the participants in democracy and freedom of assembly demanding no victimisations (all participants should agree to refuse any punishments for sitting-in) and the right to hold student meetings on school premises without staff interference. Publicity should be organised and a leaflet produced to explain why the sit-in has taken place. (The bourgeois press will pay well for photographs so have a photographer present. However, remember that it is the bourgeois press and as a general rule they will distort the facts to serve their own interests). The best way of handling the press is to appoint a press officer who should be the only one to talk to reporters. Reporters are extremely experienced and care should be taken to avoid conflicting statements on the sit-in. Seek support from local shop steward committees etc under the heading of civil rights and the right to organise school student unions.

##### 3) The right to join a school students' union and engage in political activity including the right to strike.

Again, we should seek to raise the struggle to a higher level. The only way that school students unions can be organised in the existing situation is to meet with students from other schools, collectivise experience and organise coordinated action. Progressive struggle necessitates unified discipline (self-discipline), criticism of mistakes in work, self criticism, keeping the initiative in our own hands and, above all, self reliance. While it is true that school students have no economic base (they are not paid a wage for their work) they do receive an education (training in basic skills, scientific and technical education) as a form of payment. In the same way that the most powerful weapon of the workers is to withdraw their labour, to strike, so too with students. For a worker to strike he must be prepared to make temporary sacrifices (loss of wages) in order to hit the bosses where it hurts i. e. loss of profits. For the student to strike he must also be prepared to make sacrifices (loss of instruction, facilities and training in scientific and technical skills) in order to hit the bourgeoisie where it hurts i. e. loss of indoctrination in bourgeois ideology. Strike action should be organised on the basis of a minimum of 30 students per school in at least ten schools. Signed statements should be prepared beforehand refusing punishment and presenting the demands. Pickets should be organised outside each school,

3 leaflets prepared explaining the action, support sought from the local workers and community and a demonstration organised to the offices of the local education bosses.

- 4) An end to all punishments imposed by the sole authority of the head; a 'code of self-discipline' to be decided by the general assembly of students, teachers and all school staff.

This demand, while not covering all aspects of day-to-day control, does raise directly the question of power in the school. The 'code of self-discipline' would require an organisational framework similar to that of a school council with power in order to carry out the 'code' in practice. Its successful achievement would require a definite majority in the school prepared to take mass action. Undoubtedly it would create a situation of dual power in the school. This should be a specific objective in our campaign for democracy in schools. The only way forward from a situation of dual power in schools and society at large is the creation of a mass democracy; a socialist revolution. Only a mass democratic revolution will guarantee our fundamental aim; democratic school councils with power.

- 5) Day-to-day control of the school by elected school councils representing students, teachers and all school staff.

NO ONE WILL GIVE YOU YOUR RIGHTS,  
YOU WILL HAVE TO TAKE THEM.

## THROUGH A FARGE DARKLY ?

The continual pressure of London Region S. A. U. upon the I. L. E. A. has forced the new Labour majority to prepare a plan to give students, teachers, and parents a voice in the running of the school. This they hope will delude some of the rank and file membership of S. A. U. into assuming that the battle is won.

This 'bold new experiment in democratic participation' will take the form of a handful of pupils (sixth formers and prefects?), parents and teachers being given seats on the boards of governors of I. L. E. A. schools.

The Labour majority on I. L. E. A. is however going to considerable lengths to ensure that the number of new appointees together with the Tory members of the board will not in any event make up 50% of the composition of the boards; thus the real control of the boards of governors will still rest with the local political parties.

There will be no mechanism for democratic election directly onto the boards and all will be subject to ratification by the I. L. E. A. who intend to reserve the right of rejection without giving any reasons. These appointees will soon themselves realise the sham nature of their role as it is only the chairman of the board who has any real power and he will still be appointed by the local party and will still work 'fist in glove' with the headmaster. The appointees will soon find that a board that meets only a handful of times a year and has no overall control over or voice in the policies of the I. L. E. A. is a powerless shadow body.

What is very clear and of paramount importance is the insight into the structure of education that will be gained by student appointees to these boards. Their frustration and impotence will make them fertile ground for S. A. U. recruitment, and to win over these people will be to deny the I. L. E. A. yet one more trench in its retreat before the forces of progress and hasten the day when all pupils must make a choice as to where their loyalties should lie. The fact of this concession so early in the struggle and the collective panic that has seized the I. L. E. A. in the wake of the Kingsdale affair are a clear indication of where most ordinary peoples' loyalties and interests and indeed victory lie.

## CAMBODIA

Seen in retrospect the Cambodia demo of May 9th is important for what it taught the participants than for the miniscule and biased press and television coverage it received. In size it was the largest demo (10,000) since October 1968 and certainly the most violent since March 1968. Where it departed from tradition however was in the pre-demo events of the preceding week. These involved isolated, quick, and symbolic strikes at the embassy and various large American corporations. The bombing of the embassy. The blood daubed walls and windows of the large corporations. The severed pigs placed in front of Dow Chemicals, the American Express, Pan American airways and Eliot Automation.

It was obvious from the embittered mood of many elements in the Trafalgar Sq rally that Cambodia was the point at which patience gave. People were no longer content to hand in letters of protest; as the death toll had mounted the desire to take the embassy had also mounted. Whilst Vanessa posed for the photographers many chanted 'March!' and the participants shuffled towards the start. During the march to the embassy all traffic stopped as the demonstrators took over the entire road and the police made little effort to restrict them.

At the embassy the usual setpiece push confrontation followed its normal course until at one point the police lines gave and a direct line opened towards the embassy. At this point only a small number of militants, who had opened the gap surged forward. Repeated calls to many demonstrators to surge forward were to no avail as a solid line of demonstrators, with linked arms, restrained the bulk of the crowd and continued to follow their leaders who continued to follow the orders of the police thus fulfilling their appointed role within the system.

The end of the demo gave the clearest indication of what is to come in the future, whilst many old loyalists chose to sit down and look up the nostrils of horses and other farm animals, a group of chanting demonstrators turned and ran quickly out of the square. Moving fast and close they soon lost the police on their uncondemned tour of U. S. business concerns. It was interesting that although much damage was done the press ignored this event - they see too well its implications. As the police started to locate and close in on the demonstrators they were able to disappear into the evening crowds. When individuals were captured, the police, unprepared for isolation, were persuaded to release their captives.

There has been much criticism by the 'old left' of the new tactics and many weaknesses were indeed revealed, but the effectiveness of these actions and the police inability to control them suggests that the old style police organised demos may soon be forgotten and quick strike actions by small groups of well co-ordinated militants will become the new method. It is time we learned how to reach our objectives rather than be diverted into confrontations with the police. We must select the targets and times. The weaknesses revealed are closed by experience. Those who only speak revolution are revealed by their absence and a new wave see the futility of fighting the system by its own rules.

## REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Since the national conference at the end of December, 1969, the national committee has met monthly and has faced serious organisational problems. The committee has not yet met with its full complement of elected members largely due to travel difficulties (finance and distance) but also due to the fact that certain members have not seen fit to attend any meetings at all. It has been assumed that they do not intend to fulfill their responsibilities to the membership as they have not even replied to the secretary's letters. Seven members of the national committee have resigned for one reason or another including the secretary and the editor of Vanguard. In spite of these difficulties the preliminary work of the national committee has at last been carried out and comrades are now able to begin the work of the organisation as a whole.

Regional convenors have been appointed to organise county groups in the following regions:- North England, North-West England, South-East England, Midlands and Scotland. North-West region has held a preliminary regional meeting and will be holding its regional conference in the near future. South-East region is holding its regional conference on May 30th. We do not yet have members in the following regions:- North-East England (Yorkshire and Lincolnshire), East Anglia (Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely), South-West England, (Gloucester, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somerset, Devonshire and Cornwall). If you are willing to act as a county convenor in the above or other counties please contact the acting-secretary.

The national committee has agreed the following aims for the national journal Vanguard:- The general aims of Vanguard are to serve the mass of school students, the school movement and the class struggle. The specific aims are:-

- 1) To act as the collective organiser of schools struggles throughout the country. Vanguard will publish reports from any school group (including non-S.A.U. groups) actively engaged in the struggle. It is only by pooling experience that we will be able to develop a collective theory upon which to base our future actions. We will have much to learn from the struggles of other groups.
- 2) To provide a platform for theoretical debate within the schools movement. Vanguard will provide a special section in each issue for free theoretical debate on any aspect of the developing schools movement.

- 3) To act as the mouthpiece of the national organisation, to educate the mass of school students in revolutionary principles, methods of organisation and discipline.

- 4) To play a decisive role in raising the level of political consciousness of school students by publishing reports on the revolutionary struggles of school students throughout the world; by publishing the writings of great revolutionary leaders and publishing reports on the international proletarian revolution. It is essential that school students in this country are aware of the struggles of school students in other countries. Vanguard will run a regular section on the international schools revolution as a definite contribution to solidarity with all struggling school students. Again, we will have much to learn. Vanguard will also publish the writings of such great revolutionary leaders as Lenin, Mao, Che and Marx etc. Vanguard does not regard the writings of revolutionaries as biblical dogma but rather as historical material from which we can draw those lessons which seem appropriate to our own struggle. Finally, it is apparent to us that newspapers in this country distort and censor information on the international proletarian revolution. For this reason we shall endeavour to keep school students accurately informed on the class struggle in this country and the struggles of the oppressed people of the world.

The editorial board of Vanguard feel that Vanguard could be brought out on a monthly basis if there was a radical increase in support, not only by distributing it and selling it but also by writing articles, reports and letters.

A recruiting document and other leaflets have been prepared and are now available to S.A.U. groups for general distribution. The national committee would greatly appreciate any proposals for leaflets from the membership.

On 15th February at a special conference London S. A. U. (membership 400) dissolved itself as an autonomous group and has now reconstituted itself as an integral part of the national organisation under the name S.A.U. (London Region) in accordance with the national constitution. The national committee has been greatly encouraged by the regular appearance of REBEL, the London Region journal, and looks forward to similar developments in other regions.

The national committee feels that members will be able to more easily recruit new members if the recruiting is carried out as an integral part of an on-going campaign. The main campaign of the national organisation is based on points 1, 2, and 4 of the Schools Charter (see 'Revolution in the Schools' in this issue).

In order to ensure unity of action and a unified discipline and in order to build a militant, self-disciplined organisation the national committee has decided on the following standing orders which all members and S. A. U. organisations shall adhere to under the constitution as S. A. U. discipline:-

Membership

- 1) All members shall attend branch meetings. If a member is unable to attend he or she must send an apology to the branch secretary.
- 2) All members shall sell Vanguard and other S.A.U. literature.
- 3) All members shall recruit two new members as their 1st task on joining the organisation.

Branch Organisation.

- 1) Branch meetings shall be convened at least every 2 weeks.
- 2) Branches shall organise into county groups.
- 3) Branches shall appoint a representative to the county committee.
- 4) Branches shall encourage their members to attend county meetings
- 5) Branches shall keep minutes of all meetings, a copy of which should be sent to the regional secretary.
- 6) Branches shall organise underground distribution networks where necessary, for distribution of Vanguard and other S. A. U. literature.
- 7) Branches shall produce and distribute news sheets, posters and leaflets representing the independent student voice in each school.

The national committee has decided that the next national conference will be held in early October at Manchester. Delegates to the conference will be calculated on the basis of one delegate per ten or part of ten members in each region registered with and paid up with the national committee on 15th September, 1970. Regional conferences should be held before this date in order to fulfill the constitutional provisions for appointing delegates. The national committee is preparing proposals to the national conference and these will be published in the next issue of Vanguard to allow for the widest possible discussion among school students. The national committee would greatly appreciate proposals to the national conference from the membership. These will be circulated to the membership for discussion by the branches and these should reach the national committee no later than the end of June.

The national committee is preparing a history of the schools movement and is seeking reports from any group or individuals with experience in schools struggles.

# SAU REPORTS

## London region

On February 15th, London Region Schools Action Union voted at a General Assembly to join the National Organisation and so become Schools Action Union, London Region. At this meeting a new committee was elected as well, with Julius Robinson as Chairman, Trisha Jaffe as secretary, Ruth Lesser as Treasurer, Jerry Balcombe as Press Officer, and Brian Keane as Rebel Editor. 15 other members were also elected, and borough representatives are also on the committee. From this time, a number of leafleting campaigns have been launched in new schools, and two new boroughs have been started. There are now 14 borough groups, the new ones being Camden & Westminster, Barnet, and Hillingdon. Camden & Westminster are very active, and the other two began their activities at the beginning of the summer term. At this time as well the documents from Warwick came into our hands, and we therefore arranged to leaflet William Ellis School on Wednesday, 18th Feb., with those documents which were relevant to the school, about an ex-member of the SAU who had had a bad report from his headmaster because of the fact that he was a member of the London committee. We did the leafletting and had a very good response among the students themselves, and it also seemed to worry the headmaster quite a bit.

We continued working normally from this time on, and on Sunday 1st March SAU London Region took part in a Vietnam demonstration which had been organised by the Trades

5 Unions. There was a demonstration on the following day which was organised by the Black Panthers against the extradition of Bobby Seale to Connecticut, and about a dozen SAU members were present of whom three were unfortunately arrested and have since appeared in court. All three of them were fined, including the juvenile.

As a continuation of the Kingsdale affair, there were a number of street meetings and leaflettings in the Kingsdale shopping centre on the 7th March, and there was also a public meeting at which there were a number of speakers other than SAU members. Pickets were arranged for outside Thomas Cook and Sons where Harry Grant, Chairman of the Board of Governors works, and these were kept up for about two weeks with the effect that Grant became quite agitated with the whole business.

The Corporal Punishment Commission produced a number of leaflets and a petition which has been very widely circulated, and sent out to all the teacher training colleges in the country as well as SAU members.

The next general assembly took place on Thursday 26th March. At this meeting it was decided that the Summer Term campaign would be a civil rights campaign fighting for the right of school students to organise themselves and produce uncensored literature, hold meetings without staff interference, and the right to organise themselves into student unions. This campaign will not stop at the end of term, but will continue until the demands are won. A demonstration is planned in London for the end of the Summer Term as a culmination of the term's work and the beginning of the real fight for these demands. It will be necessary for all members to cooperate with this campaign to the full to ensure that the campaign is as successful as possible.

At the same time as all this has been going on in London itself, the committee has been sending out speakers around the country. So far, they have been to Essex, Brighton, Canterbury, Tottenham, and Plaistow Grammar School. There has been a reasonable response from all of these meetings, and we hope that we will be doing even more of this type of work in the future.

After this, at the beginning of the summer term, London Region started on an intensive leafletting campaign for recruitment, and the civil rights campaign. The response from these has been extremely good, and has been helped forward by the new issue of Rebel the London magazine, which came out at the beginning of the term. We have also taken part in a number of other demonstrations this term including the Cambodia demonstration which was called by VSC. Enoch Powell was speaking at a school in Brent on the 13th of May, and the SAU was there, leafletting about it in the morning, and joining in with the demonstration in the evening. This was very good, as we managed to get a number of the school students to return in the evening and join with the other protesters.

The membership in London is growing the whole time, but it takes a lot of work for it to be at all successful. The secretary of London resigned from her post so that she could take up the job of being the acting national secretary, until such a time as the national committee can find a permanent replacement to the previous secretary. In the meantime, Trevor Williams has taken over as the acting London secretary. As usual, we need more information about what is going on in the individual boroughs, and in the schools, so that our work can carry on more smoothly, but London is growing, and with it the potential of the whole SAU.

## other activities of london region

Some sections of the community have been slow to organise -- we are one of them; while workers, tenants, university students and so on have been organising, school students haven't, either by themselves or with their teachers, except in a few isolated cases, which have since collapsed. Now, there is a national schools union -- it lags a long way behind the labour movement in its development, but we won't accept this time lag; other unions have been built up around narrow aims and ends in the interests of their own members, or even as travel bureaux and only recently come, as organisations to accept their positions and role in an international

movement, the victory of one part of which ultimately strengthens the entire movement. That is why the N.U.S. now actively supports the South African liberation forces, recognising the connection between that and the fight against racialists in this country; that is why trade unions act against the war in Vietnam and why the struggles of black peoples, especially in America receive such wide support.

The S.A.U. is frequently told that it should concentrate on schools, because it is a schools movement -- we do of course have a specific programme for education, incorporating both immediate and long term aims, in our schools charter, but precisely because some of the aims would be difficult, if not impossible to realise fully under the existing system and because we are a movement concerned with freedom and democracy that we wish to associate with all similar causes, in this country and throughout the world, the S.A.U. therefore has a manifesto which puts the schools movement into its correct perspective within the broad progressive movement and which expresses solidarity with all national liberation struggles. These are topics which are being discussed increasingly, especially in schools, and it would be inexcusable for an organisation such as the S.A.U. to ignore them.

The S.A.U. has clearly stated its position and has been seen to act accordingly: the S.A.U. banner and/or representatives of S.A.U. have been present, not only on demonstrations in support of the teachers' wage claim (the first round of which has been won) and on our own demonstrations in support of our aims, but also on demonstrations concerning Vietnam, called by the Trade Unions and Ad-Hoc committees; at a demonstration against the extradition of Black Panther Bobby Seale to face trumped-up murder charges, several of our members got 'done'... many also went to the Springbok matches, where again a few were charged...

But not all our activities involved direct action, even on these issues; we were invited to and sent two delegates to the Trade Union conference on Vietnam on March 8th (the only student organisation represented); representatives also went to the Palestine Liberation conference.

On several demonstrations, with our banner amongst those of other union banners, as well as those of political parties, we have had as many as thirty S.A.U. members, more even than some of the big unions represented, on issues which are considered by some to be totally detached from educational advance, but just as workers fighting through their unions for better pay and conditions see the connection with peoples struggles everywhere, so the S.A.U., fighting for better education and conditions will continue to support anyone, anywhere with similar objectives.

Julius Robinson, chairman London Region

## north-west region

On April 4th, militants from all over the North of England met in Manchester University Union. School students from Liverpool, Lancaster, Bolton, Bingley, Leeds, Batley, Stockport and Manchester held a long discussion ending in general agreement that work should begin to set up branches of the S.A.U. in the North.

We heard how a promising group was started in Lancaster after school students from the University had descended on all schools in the town calling for a meeting at which school students could discuss the need for schools' action and go about organising it.

There were about 50 people at the meeting which provided contacts in most of the area schools, enabling the most enthusiastic and capable pupils to set about organising a union. (The students from the university took no part in the formation of the union after its inception.)

The group now produces its own paper SAUL (SAU Lancaster) and there is every reason to expect it to extend its influence and take a significant part in mobilising school students on those issues which concern them.

It was agreed that we should try to start groups elsewhere in a similar way. A leaflet was produced and is being sent to all contacts in the region.

In an attempt to stimulate discussion and activity among school students, we also agreed to produce a regional paper, drawing material from all groups, and to be supplemented by more detailed local news. The first issue will be produced in Manchester.

# manchester sau

On Tuesday April 7th, three Manchester S.A. U. members marched into Miles Platting County Secondary School with a vague idea about finding out what condition were like there.

Miles Platting, a Secondary Modern school is in one of Manchester's toughest districts, and has been the subject of rumours alledging canings, permanently locked toilet doors, and other such barbaric practices. Just before the bell went for lunch, we stood in the corridor, with Vols. 23, 24, & 25 of Lenin's collected works down our pants and wondered what on earth we would do if somebody saw us.

The first surprise was on the notice board - an agenda for the school council with proposals from almost every form. Do schools like this have school councils?

Surprise number two: kids came streaming out of the class rooms and a small fatherly looking man asked us if we were being looked after. We put on our best middle-class faces and manners and we were soon seated in his office. He was Mr. Jones, the deputy headmaster, and we asked him a number of questions about the school: Corporal punishment? Yes, we use it, when absolutely necessary. When's that? Oh, for crass stupidity.

Although he seemed to admit that it might do more harm than good, there was nothing more definite than that, but on other subjects he was more helpful.

The school remains a secondary modern because plans to link it with another in the 'comprehensive' scheme were squashed by the Minister - he thought it was a bit impractical to join two schools with a couple of main roads and a canal between them. He may have a point there!

They've got about 600 kids, all working class, including various nationalities and some from very poor families or very large ones, or both. 70% come from unstable home backgrounds. The average I.Q. for what it is worth is 95. Many of the pupils come into the school, a secondary school remember, unable to read or write. We were shown a primary school new alphabet reader which apparently helps some kids gain the basic skill. Classes are streamed A, B, R (remedial) and the 'A' stream is continually encouraged to keep C, S, E. exams in mind. There is no sixth form, and next year there won't even be a fifth, despite concerted effort on the part of teachers to have their promising pupils stay on.

Did he agree that the 'low standard' was due very much to the background of the pupils? Oh, yes, quite definitely. They come to school with all their childish enthusiasm for learning dulled, with no thought of aspiring to anything more satisfying than their parents had endured. Homework is only given to the 'A' stream, and even for them it is only the barest minimum. How can you expect them to work in a house fully occupied by hordes of brothers and sisters, mother's boyfriend and father's girlfriend and telly and radio?

Would the standard be improved by incorporating the school in a genuine comprehensive scheme (no canals and main roads down the middle of the canteen please.)? Almost certainly yes, thought Mr. Jones. By working with children who have the urge to go on with their schooling it is much more likely these others will be infected with this enthusiasm. That was the ideal. The headmaster, Mr. Williams, did make the point that in a truly comprehensive school, kids of the same type tend to stick together anyway. And so they will until the class barrier is broken down in society as a whole, and workers and their children are no longer regarded as inferior beings (our comment, not the teacher's). Of course what happens in the Miles Platting area is that parents who have ambition for their children send them to the Grammar and comprehensive schools further afield, while those who haven't save trouble and bus fares by making do with the local secondary modern.

So, the most deprived children get the rawest deal. We were given examples of pupils who seemed almost certain of staying on in the fifth year and then succumbing to parental pressure to get out and start earning money. We asked if grants would help and were told that they exist already. However, when a mother with a large family and a wayward husband has the choice between her kid earning five quid a week in a factory or a few shillings (and that's all it is, about £30 a year) from the state, what is she going to do? What has

6  
all this academic stuff got to do with keeping a family? Anyway, who knows about the grant or has the humility to ask for it? It is only available to the very poorest families. A proper grant like the S. A. U. demands would almost certainly allow a lot of kids to stay on at school.

What we tend to forget is that the country can't afford it. Certainly, 'the country' equals the government equals big business: they dare not afford it. Like so many of the S. A. U.'s demands, about exams, school councils, freedom of organisation and grants, they can't afford them financially or politically. They need their cheap labour and they need workers who have been taught to expect all the anomalies of present day society.

So, who says education isn't a political question? The only encouraging thing about Miles Platting County Secondary Modern was that the staff seemed to be having some success in making those four reluctant years less pointless than we fear they are in most schools.

Since there is no need to work for exams, the teaching the children receive is much more freely based than in a grammar school. They have little say in what they learn, but their schooling comes much closer to the sort of plan we hope will be general in future; -- lots of the kind of sport they ask for, art, discussion, cookery, outings and so on, with much less emphasis on the traditional academic subjects.

The most encouraging thing of all was the school council. We were shown the agenda for the February council meeting. It just about gives the lie to all that reactionary humbug we hear -- "Give them a bit of responsibility and they don't know what to do with it." From all the way down the school came suggestions for making it run more smoothly, all of which were acted upon, or satisfactorily explained. 5a wanted to know if it was possible to employ more teachers, but the school has its full quota, although there are no music staff, the english department is in a shambles, and the domestic science teacher can barely cope with her tight schedule.

Acting on a suggestion by 3a, a School Court was formed "to deal with serious offenders. To meet on Friday assembly when necessary".

At their own request, boys were to start receiving cookery lessons.

The prefect system is in a state of collapse. Privilege is being abused. With any luck, the council and school court will soon take over from this outdated system.

It was made quite plain that the school council had no power to enforce decisions but in an isolated school within a system which deplores such developments, we didn't really expect that it would.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Williams aren't radicals by any means. There was a nasty moment when the headmaster regarded us earnestly and said, "Do you know a y-- (dramatic pause) -- Communist?" (Squirring slightly, we admitted to barely perceptible leftward tendencies and he was visibly relieved. Socialists are all right -- it's those damned comics you've got to watch! He said that any member of his staff found expressing a political bias would be out on his/her ear - which made us wonder what they talked about in their discussion periods. However, the fact remains that members of the staff, because they find themselves in a neglected backwater of the education system are fairly free to do as they consider best for their captive audience, have reached much the same conclusions regarding the education process as have the S.A.U.

# tyneside sau

Our main difficulties so far have been not only organisational but also, for example, the fact that we have been banned from distributing literature in Labour controlled Gateshead. The story of how we came to be banned is as follows:

About 8 S. A. U. members and friends went along to Heathfield School, (mixed) at dinner time to distribute anti corporal punishment leaflets. We were distributing the leaflet from 12.30p.m. - 1.00p.m. and by 12.50p.m. the cops had arrived threatening to arrest us on a charge of 'obstruction' (the school was on one side of a main road, not excessively busy at that time of day, and we were on the other side) The cops claimed we were a threat to the kids' safety, so we walk-

7 ed up and down the pavement giving out the leaflets when we were threatened, after a bit of tactics talk amongst themselves, by the cops with 'loitering'! It being about 1.00p.m. by this time and not many kids around, we moved on.

We returned a few days later with a leaflet advertising S.A.U.'s meeting about Corporal Punishment. This time no cops, but the kids said that they could not take leaflets because they'd get punished!

It is of course disgraceful that a LABOUR council allows such blatant infringements of school students' rights in their area. The only thing we can do is to publicise the facts.

This of course is a bad time of year for the S. A. U. generally, members taking exams etc., not only that, but we have also been hard hit for money (so have we all apparently). However that fault has been rectified, for the time being.

We shall soon start publication of our own magazine, 'ROOTROCK' as soon as we've sold VANGUARD. Also, we shall have to see about getting our Regional conference together.

Would anyone receiving this Vanguard in either:-

Northumberland  
Durham  
Westmoreland  
Cumberland

please contact the regional convenor, Tyneside secr., or the national secr.

Regional conv: Pete Dellow, 1, Lansbury Gdns., Henworth, Gateshead 10.

Tyneside secr: Brian Stokoe, 1, Ely St., Gateshead 8.  
Tel: GTHD 73665

National secr: c/o 160, North Gower St., London. N. W. 1.

## birmingham sau

Situated in the 'garden village' created by Cadbury Brothers in 1896, the Dame Elizabeth Cadbury (multi-lateral) school has undergone an upheaval of bourgeois revolutionary style, instigated by the arrival of the new headmaster, H. K. Greenhalgh.

Shortly after his settling in, the changes inevitably took their course, and it was soon realised that even high ranking teachers needed H. K.'s sanction before even the most trivial of educational operations could be executed. But despite his totalitarian powers, things were always manipulated to disguise the fact that it was him who was giving the orders thus decentralising the hatred caused throughout the school.

Reforms came, and, like the drink vending machine, went. Something called a school council was introduced, with H. K. running the whole show. A fete was set up to raise funds for a new mini-bus, which was later wrapped around a tree, with a comrade-student being injured. Being incorrectly insured, younger students are having to invent excuses to escape a 'sponsored walk' for the 'mini-bus fund'.

D. E. C. S. has witnessed other reforms too. Afternoon break was cancelled once for unnecessary talking in assembly; and students have been ordered not to buy ice-creams from vans whilst journeying to and from school.

Of course, we suffer from the uniform thing, compulsory everything-you-don't-like, and poor conditions/equipment in general; although at the top of the school, boys are permitted to wear rings, and girls, a moderate amount of make-up.

Some schools in Birmingham are better off, (King Edwards Grammar Schools, for instance) and some are worse (only they are not comprehensive), and so on.

So, it was with great pleasure that the S. A. U. was discovered, through the pages of IT, and thanks to local press coverage, the Birmingham group has got itself off the ground, with support promised by a number of local political groups.

As regards definite action, we have not had much so far. But, as our membership grows, we expect to make regular

and coordinated attacks against the reactionary Tory-controlled system in Birmingham, which has been for years, creating uneducated reactionaries through its un-education system.

## canterbury sau

With the meeting of some forty Canterbury school pupils at the University on the first Sunday in March, Canterbury schools are presented with a unique opportunity, that of gathering together to form a political and social union, a union to break down the alienation that at present pervades the school system in the city. There are seven major secondary education establishments in Canterbury, excluding the technical college and colleges of further education. The links between these schools are virtually non-existent, the physical barriers being only symbolic of the general alienation. Simon Langton boys and Simon Langton girls are separated by barbed wire, Kings' is enclosed by high stone walls whose gates are locked at night.

But now the first step has been taken towards breaking down these barriers, people have started to come together and this movement must now develop to include not only the radicals and innovators, but also the apathetic, the unconvinced and the conservative. A meeting should be held once a month at which educational and social topics are discussed and committees appointed to examine specific issues. Such a system operates in Brighton with great success, drawing the schools together to discuss their common interests. A step has been taken it is up to us now, the pupils both conservative and radical to make sure it succeeds.

The S. A. U. as I see it, in Canterbury has a few things to achieve before it can take ACTION. Basic UNITY is what we need:

- 1) Unity between age groups (breaking down school hierarchy).
- 2) Unity between houses, junior houses etc.
- 3) Breaking down class barriers - hence unity between state and public schools.
- 4) Unity with staff, parents etc.

It is only by doing this and combatting apathy that we can become and efficient organisation. Everybody can help in this; already after the first meeting, at the S. A. U. meeting room, links have sprung up between Kings' and the Simon Langton Schools.

REMEMBER, THIS IS THE SCHOOLS ACTION UNION, NOT THE SCHOOLS "SIT-ON-YOUR-ASS-AND-GRUMBLE-UNION".

Taken from Troll, Canterbury Schools Group, c/o, Box S, Keynes College, Canterbury.

## glasgow sau

Looking back on the first year of the S. A. U.'s existence in Glasgow, one must admit to some disappointment about the progress which has not been made.

The main feature of the Glasgow S. A. U. just before the summer vacation must be that its following, in terms of members and enthusiasm, particularly as represented at meetings, was significantly less than at the beginning of term.

What was this downturn due to? It certainly wasn't caused by the educational system improving itself in the meantime - this just isn't possible. Nor was it due to people changing their minds about the need to change the schools system. In fact, continually more people are coming to see the necessity for change and drastic change at that. So, although the number of potential activists increased last year, as in every year recently, why did the S. A. U. finish up with less weight than it started with?

If the external conditions of the S. A. U. are favourable it has to be the internal conditions which are unfavourable. These internal conditions divide into membership and leadership. In Glasgow S. A. U. both have to be criticised, particularly the latter. The S. A. U. staggered into June with low attendance at meetings, almost no agitational work or recruiting or any other activity, and considerably in debt.

The membership are to be criticised in that most of them regard the S. A. U. as an organisation which will do what they think needs to be done on their behalf. They do not understand that the organisation is only as good as their own part-

icipation in it. Things won't get done unless members see to it that they themselves are active. If they are at all sincere about the need for change they must allocate enough time and effort to the S. A. U. over term-time and beyond.

However the main criticism must be made of the leadership. What has been said above about the membership is common sense and is the sort of guidance people rightly expect from the leadership. Guidance of any sort has been sorely lacking in Glasgow S. A. U., so it wallows about without any real direction. The leadership takes decisions and do some work on behalf of the S. A. U., but this is erroneous since they do not involve the majority of the membership in the functioning of the S. A. U. So in fact the S. A. U. cannot really function. What has to be done is that the real strategic and tactical alternatives are presented to the members discussions follow and decisions taken at the end. The leadership must assist the presentation of issues and see to their implementation when decided by the full meeting. This is the reverse of the shambolic method of operation at present and from their record this presentation/discussion/implementation cannot be undertaken by the present leadership.

Those in positions of leadership (secretary chairman etc.) must set an example in thorough and consistent work for their whole period in office. They must allow no diversions either social, political or otherwise to stand in the way of their work for the S. A. U. and they absolutely must do this to see the importance of the S. A. U. in winning a democratic education for a truly democratic society.

Sincerity is proved in deeds not words.

## hitchin sau

I first read of the S.A.U. in Freedom, the Anarchist weekly and from then on I heard more and more about it. When in my fifth year at school I decided to form an S. A. U. group, I found that I had support from about ten people in the school although since then three of the original ten have been "advised to leave" and have done so. In our school repression is harsh until suddenly in the Sixth Form we find ourselves with freedom. This is the reason why many of the sixth form who previously expressed an interest in S. A. U. became complacent as they found it difficult to identify with their repressed comrades - how quickly they forget! So with the help of two friends a magazine "Dissent" was produced with the semi-permission of the Headmaster who, as school duplicating facilities were used, asked to see it before it was printed and told me that he objected to some of the articles as they implied things about the school which he felt were untrue. But nevertheless, I went ahead and printed and distributed 200 copies of the magazine in my school, Hitchen Boys' Grammar School, and in some of the schools in Stevenage where experiences with the S. A. U. have not been very encouraging. Due to the over eagerness of the local Young Communists, who in a letter to the press said that a certain Anarchist school teacher had given his support to the S. A. U. but who in fact, had not been approached. Support was lost from many sides due to this heavy handed and clumsy approach. Nothing is left of the S. A. U. in Stevenage except for a large bill for the hire of rooms for meetings and a bad reputation and a large number of discontented school students.

In my school I managed to produce a second issue of "Dissent" with two replies to my articles, as earlier I had said that I would print anything I was given. These replies made clear the fact that the number of thinking people in our school is still very small. But apart from the reaction to these magazines as regards education I was approached by one member of the staff who told me that he was pleased to see that we were active and that we could think for ourselves. He pledged his support for any further activities. Meanwhile the headmaster had managed to compromise and had given the sixth form the go-ahead for a sixth form committee which initially was divided into an Upper sixth committee and a lower sixth committee. Both these committees managed to produce constitutions and it turned out that the Upper sixth interpreted their committee in a purely autocratic disciplinary manner, i. e. the protection of school property! But the lower sixth committee was much more radical and one of the points of the constitution was that there should be open meetings. Our committee met every fortnight regularly and be-

came more and more revolutionary and with the resignation of one of the more reactionary members nothing seemed to stand in our way. Then the headmaster suggested that the two committees merge and we jumped at the chance because we thought that here was the next step to a school council.

But our public relations were bad and staff indignation grew and one of the sympathising masters told me that he had heard one master say to the assistant head that "Dissent" and the sixth form committee were all part and parcel of a 'red plot to overthrow the country'.

But to continue the story, we agreed to a sixth form committee with six representatives from the L. 6 and six from the U. 6 but with no amount of fighting could we get the Headmaster to back down from his original statement that the head boy should be chairman of the committee (this particular one had said once that because I was on the committee he would not have anything to do with it!) At the 'democratic' elections all the U. 6 representatives were prefects, those upholders of the status quo. After one morning assembly the sixth form had a discussion about the committee and we managed to force a vote on whether the elections should be yearly or half-yearly. The headmaster had originally said that elections should be yearly and when our committee voted on it, the decision was 8-4 in favour of yearly elections. But when trying to force a vote on open meetings the Head stormed into our discussion (he must have been listening outside) and said that he would put his foot down here - NO open meetings. . . . the spirit of the meeting was fairly revolutionary and this remark was greeted with laughter and cries of 'FIX', 'WHAT ABOUT DEMOCRACY' etc. The Headmaster then said "I think we had better close this meeting" and everyone shuffled out like sheep. We are waiting patiently for the end of this delightful bedroom farce but I think that events are quickly drawing to a boiling point and something should happen soon.

EXAMINATION = SERVILITY, SOCIAL CLIMBING, HIERARCHICAL SOCIETY,

## surrey sau

While we have a good network of nucleus schools groups there has not been much progress as regards organisation. In fact organisation as such is almost non-existent. The main trouble is that people are only interested in their own school and are not interested in area organisation. So, a leaflet on organisation is more a future plan than a reality.

We have not stagnated and various schools groups have taken the initiative. In one school in Sutton 75% of the sixth form walked out on the last day of term. One school arranged for a riot with another school. But two main things have been holding us back. First of all is the sheer lack of money, duplicating facilities, and the people prepared to do routine organisational work. The second reason is mainly fear. The Secondary modern kids are not interested in getting 'educated'. They just want to get out as quick as possible and are not going to take risks in the meanwhile. With the grammar school kids it's the usual story. Integrated parents and a system designed to give the head absolute power. We don't have to convince them that their heads are fascist bastards - they know it already.

To get around this we are trying a different approach. This is guerilla type action by support groups outside the schools. The first action of this type was in December when two of us charged into a school prize giving scattering leaflets. This was very successful and in order to counter our influence the school authorities stage-managed a debate. This only made the real power relations in the school clearer. At the moment we have support groups in two teacher training colleges, two technical colleges, and one college of further education. This term should see the beginning of a regular leaflet-raid campaign. We have tried this on a small scale and even this small amount of activity has seriously worried the authorities. We aim to prove that we cannot be suppressed.

# 9 SCHOOLS MOVEMENT

## cuss conference

The Cardiff Union of Secondary Schools, (C. U. S. S.) which is in its second year of existence, held a one day conference on 25th March at the students' Union building in the City. The title of the conference was "Education for democracy" and we had as speakers: Anthony Arblaster - contributor to Penguin's "Education for Democracy" and lecturer in Philosophy at Manchester University, Ray Philips - member of NUS executive, ex-president of Birmingham University Guild of Undergraduates, David Page - also contib

ity Guild of Undergraduates, David Page - also contributor to 'Education for democracy

to "Education for Democracy", co-editor of "The Hornsey Affair", lecturer at Hornsey College of Art until March '70.

As you can guess from the title, the conference did not concern itself too much with the politics of various factions, but discussed the basic problem of education in relation to society, and the conditioning and channeling processes which produce the people society needs.

David Page started off by talking about a discriminating education system, remote from the normal family experience which exists to provide an elite and a non-elite in education, who will become the skilled and non-skilled workers respectively. He described how the elite are conditioned into proceeding onto higher education, while the rest are made to feel like 'thickies' and fitted for low-grade jobs.

Anthony Arblaster came next, saying that the situation is right for the growth of schools unions, due to two basic faults in the education process: - firstly there is the basic hierarchical structure of the system which limits any increase of personal power to the individual while at the same time his standard of living and social status is rising; and secondly there is the fact that most people see education as a utility, a training for jobs, or an investment in the future wealth of the country (take Warwick as an example of that). These people could not give a damn about the development of individuality or creativity.

Ray Philips ended the speeches expressing the dangers inherent in the "laissez-faire" breed of democracy practised in this country; whereby, in relation to education, children are not expected to react sensitively to their environment, and need only to produce stock answers to subjects which are regarded as isolated blocks of knowledge, having intrinsic value of their own and not related. He placed great emphasis on deeper home-school relationships, and put a strong case for Student Community Action, whereby volunteers go out to help in community work, and thereby gain insight into the deficiencies of the system.

In the afternoon, discussion groups were set up. These were in the same tone as the rest of the conference and took a broad basis for discussion:-

- 1) student participation in school administration.
- 2) freedom of the individual in school.
- 3) school and the community.
- 4) equality of opportunity in education.
- 5) education for life or G. C. E. ?
- 6) streaming, is it right?

All the ideas discussed in these groups, and again later by the whole conference when it reassembled were concerned with the functions of education in relation to society as a whole and the methods by which children, basically alike, are transformed into skilled and unskilled workers, a social elite and non-elite.

The conference was a little more about the ability of people in their present apathetic state, to function properly when faced with democracy. Anthony Arblaster, however, showed that in Manchester (during the sit-in) students, when the hierarchy disappeared, took initiative easily.

The main new project was suggested by Ray Philips who canvassed for Student Community Action as a means to radicalise basically apathetic people. Someone said that this activity might channel off alot of potential talent into merely patching up the faults of a rotting society without actually

exciting any pressure to change it physically. It was generally agreed however, that the idea is worth widening, and might be valuable activity for C.U.S.S. and other unions, to take part in.

This was more or less the end of the conference which had been attended by about seventy people (not bad for Cardiff). Some stayed on for a discussion in Radical Arts, and for an evening dance.

## reading

The Schools Liberation Front started in Reading just over a year ago. It was started by a man who, not at school, was interested in all aspects of politics, and thought a schools group was badly needed in Reading. The small group progressed under his leadership with excellent recruiting for a couple of months. During this time we had small meetings at which our ideas were formulated and leaflets prepared.

Our first public meeting was held on 27th April. This was quite successful with two speakers and a good discussion. After the meeting we had about 60 contacts in roughly 30% of Reading's secondary schools and this number included three teachers. The meeting ended after future weekly meetings had been arranged.

The group now started to disintergrate. Contact was lost with quite a number of people because of exams. At our weekly meetings there was an average of a dozen people with a core of about 8 who came regularly. But our original leader now left, having decided to let us organise everything ourselves - no one took his place. We were only 1 or 2 politicaly conscious members. It is mainly for these reasons that our meetings tended to be identical each week, based on two recurring discussions:-

The first was based on the concept of a political perspective. The general idea being that the schools movement should be isolated from other 'political' freedom movements. The group did not see that S. L. F. should have been part of the general emancipation of the working class. The reason for these ideas was that if very political aims and affiliations were expressed, we might alienate a small group of people who could at some time have been recruited. This was ridiculous anyway because without those aims and affiliations we were not recruiting at all. It was also getting the whole things out of perspective, as if we had managed to recruit in this way, our total membership would have been a few apolitical people.

The gist of our other discussion was as follows: someone would say, 'Let's do something.' the response to this was invariably, 'But we need support first.' The obvious answer to this being, 'and we need action to get support.' S. L. F. never managed to break this vicious circle because, with no leadership, no one took the initiative to cause action.

This was the end for the S. L. F. It had completely collapsed. We now only had about 6 interested contacts.

## norwich

The first leaflets were seen in April of 1969. They were produced by a group at the University, but only distributed in the Norwich Grammar Schools. They made local press but only because they contained 'an obscene word'. I feel. The reporters managed to dig up a girl to say that she 'Disagreed with the leaflets'.

After that the University students circulated a slip calling for a meeting for anyone who was interested.

The local press went along and reported that about six people turned up, all disagreeing with what the students 'thought'. On a vote the press were not chucked out of the meeting, but on reading the report in the paper, we sent in a protest note which was never printed.

About forty people went to the meeting and after an outline of the aims by the University students, discussion groups were formed. Most of those present agreed on the need for an action group in Norwich.

At another meeting a little while later, a leaflet was drafted by some school students, of which about 1,750 copies were printed and distributed.

This did not receive as much attention as was expected and another failure was when a proposed demo in Norwich failed to happen.

We have not escaped attention from the 'authorities' since people at two schools have been questioned by their headmasters because of their activities.

Since then, support has fallen off quite a bit and two attempts to arrange final End of Term meetings failed.

At the moment there are only about half a dozen 'activists', although a lot of school-students agree with most of the campaign aims, few are willing to go any further. I hope there will be a group of some sort next term - while there is life, there is hope - and I hope there will be more people interested next term.

## bracondale school norwich

I have had a report about the conditions in Bracondale School, (Norwich), from a former member who left last summer (so perhaps things may have got better - probably worse).

The usual restrictions apply, i.e. uniform, assembly etc. The Head is particularly repressive, though. Smoking results in a 10 day suspension and a caning, and teachers regularly subject boys to the board-rubber treatment. No Societies are permitted that are even faintly political (even such things as Inter-Sixth and debating Societies are banned). Everyone is forced to buy a (censored) School Magazine.

You can judge the atmosphere of discontent by the fact that one teacher had a nervous breakdown and an incident involving a sixth-former.

One sixth-former, in a lesson being taken by the Head was so fed up with the infantile treatment he was receiving, that he threw a book at the 'bastard'. Unfortunately, it missed, but the boy was automatically expelled.

## bishop wordsworth school, salisbury

SAU activity in BWS is restricted to the "illegal" selling of Vanguard, and unorganised discussion. The Headmaster, who was considered to have been liberal-minded, has shown himself to be remarkably intolerant to left-wing activity within the school. One person has been informed that should he cause any trouble--of a revolutionary nature --he would "just leave".

A political group was formed, which at first had vague ideas of affiliating to the SAU. But at first the headmaster banned Vanguard from the school, then someone made the mistake of advertising the group as a School Students Union.

The SSU notices were taken down by the deputy Head, and the matter referred to the Headmaster (who had previously approved the group's formation). As a result, we were given the ridiculous and meaningless name "Cosmos". And worse than that, we were barred from discussing the school or local politics.

"Cosmos" notices were torn down by militant members of the school. At "Cosmos"' first meeting a motion was passed condemning the suppression of the SSU and the restriction of free speech in school societies. The Head came along to the next meeting to put his point of view, and talked for a very long time indeed without saying whether or not we would be allowed to discuss school and local politics.

Whatever the nature of "Cosmos" it is not politically aligned -- great care has been taken to maintain the balance between left and right. This means that it is ineffective as a "revolutionary" organisation; but still the motion was passed nearly unanimously, and fears were raised among more conservative members of staff.

Indeed a lot of opposition has been raised among establishment-minded people by fears of revolution, centred on "Cosmos" and one of the school magazines -- "Veritas" -- which in April published a number of left-wing articles. ("Veritas" incidentally started in 1966 as a reactionary rag, with Tory attacks on the Labour Party and support for the

U.S. in Vietnam. Naturally no storm of protest then.

It appears that the trouble is not so much the Headmaster, but the pressures on him. This he made clear in his address to "Cosmos", though he refused to say where these pressures come from. Presumably the answer is from the City (including the board of governors) and the Deputy Headmaster.

The Deputy Head is leaving this term, but he was elected as yet another Tory councillor on the Tory controlled City council. As yet he has a certain amount of influence. To him, long hair is disgraceful; 'student' is a dirty word; 'militancy' an immoral one. As I was editor of "Veritas" he gave me a warning - "I think it is dismal - I don't like it, and my friends don't like it either".

However, some things have been achieved. For instance, a school poetry society has been formed which can use the school building in the evenings (7.30. onwards) and is very much worthwhile - we may even be allowed to smoke during meetings. Some progress is being made on the School Council, too. Juniors should be allowed to elect representatives soon, as well as the upper school, and the Council is beginning to discuss more important things than Rugby colours and keeping the common rooms tidy.

Nevertheless, we are still very weak and underground. Salisbury is something of a revolutionary backwater, and we can do with any support we can get.

## INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS REVOLUTION

## american schools movement

New York City's school system may soon be closed down. As Mayor Lindsay and the School Board plead for law and order, massive jailbreak is taking place. Students can no longer be held inside schools which teach them nothing but discipline, try to regulate every move they make, and guarantee them a future 'appropriate' to their class, race and sex. Their protest is met with cops, expulsions, legal repression and a growing fear from those who are trying to keep the City from crumbling.

Disruptions have hit 60% of all high schools and junior high schools in the country this year, and New York schools have long been politically explosive. On April 26th, 1968, 200,000 New York high school students stayed out of school to protest against the war in Vietnam. The next day several hundred black high school students marched from Harlem onto the occupied Columbia campus and formed the High Schools Coalition, a group which worked in black high schools and later developed ties with the local Black Panthers.

During the summer, the New York City High School Students' Union emerged out of the Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC was a coalition of high school students, mainly white and middle class, who sponsored mass demonstrations against the war. The Union spent the summer talking about high school organising around different issues and began to publish a newspaper called "The High School Free Press".

The H.S.U. was formed formally on Sept 21st, 1968, after a summer's discussion, at an anarchical conference of 100 people. No platform was passed except that the function of the Union was to build radical consciousness.

Their first action came at the time of the conference, (partly a reason for it) with the beginning of the UFT (the teachers union) strike and the realisation that it was racist. During the strike we helped in the opening up of the schools;

by breaking in or walking through the doors, and it was the people who helped to open them up that formed the core of the H. S. U. It was during the strike that they realised not even the trendy bourgeois English teachers were their allies.

There may be ten active people in a school or as many as 100 who identify with H. S. U., with meetings of 30-60, 300 or 400, possibly even 1,000 kids might pull out of a school and shut it down.

The Union is not supposed to be an 'official' organisation, it is more interested in training cadres. There is just a steering committee and representatives from each of the High Schools which H. S. U. has contacts in.

There were 12,000 suspensions in New York City in 1968, and the fact that 90% of these kids were black or puertoricans points to the racist way in which discipline is dished out. 60% of the kids in state schools in New York are black or puertorican and one out of every four white kids goes to a private school. H. S. U. is made up of students of all classes and races.

The Union has contacts with other groups, The Afro American Student Association, The Black Students Union in Queens, which holds a Panther position.

The H. S. U. co-ordinated with three high school groups over the U. S. A. which set the date of April 21st 1969 for their demands to be met. After that the schools started blowing up, not only politically, but literally with bombs and molotovs.

The union uses any tactics, not only leafleting. There is a very intricate distribution system of the High School Free Press, which has a circulation of 40 000, strictly in the High Schools. It is in fact free of charge and in the words of Howie Swardloff of H. S. U. "You don't need a licence to distribute Free Press; you just get expelled for it". And people have been, many times. Union tactics include: - taking over the auditorium of a school and demanding that the principal comes so they can present their demands, or taking over the principals office, schools have been burned, fires have been started, rallies and strikes. At Erasmus High School, 1,000 kids lined up in the middle of the road and decided they were going to take over the school. They started marching on the school and there were an equal number of pigs standing opposite them. There was a big battle in front of the school.

One day girls were screaming "It's beautiful outside and the school is fucking our heads", and the whole school just charged out the front door.

They have been working with Park Slope P. T. A. but the people there aren't really H. S. U. types - their outlook is very paternalistic.

The people in H. S. U. in Summer '69 thought that if anything H. S. U. would grow. In September '68 the teachers union U. F. T., contracted 3,000 pigs in N. Y. C. schools, High schools, junior high schools, and even elementary schools. The repression is now, so obvious.

Originally the movement was primarily middle class, a student power movement that was only concerned with things like giving out underground newspapers, which was the sort of issue black kids and greaser kids wouldn't give a shit about. Now instead of greasers they think of them as working class kids. The middle class white radicals do have some things in common with them. In 1968 the middle class kids had an anti-war demonstration and about 250 of them with English teachers were parading around outside Queens High School. The working class kids marched opposite them with American flags, and there were about 600 of them, screaming and throwing eggs at the anti-war demonstrators.

In 1969 they had a strike about the extra 45 minutes added to school hours every day, called by the H. S. U. There were about 1,000 kids outside and this time the greasers were throwing eggs at the cops. Everybody hates cops.

One of the common grounds of radicals talking to working class kids is hate of cops. The radicals tell them stories of what they were doing in Chicago with police cars, and throwing things at cops and they tell the radicals about how, in their neighbourhood, they turned over a police car and set it on fire, and its just a nice way of talking.

The Junior High School kids come into the union on their own, they have several underground papers themselves. Also, a lot of Junior High School Kids give out High School Free Press. They just see their older brothers and sisters with it and grab a few.

The H. S. U. is having parent trouble just like the S. A. U. is. Local kids say "When you call me don't say where you're from", or they can't take newspapers. That's one of the reasons why H. S. U. is trying to stress the idea of communes.

We must unite with our comrades in America, and with our comrades throughout the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

## Lackawanna blues

Lackawanna High School has been the scene of more than one death from fights between black and white students, but after the recent death of a white student, the racist white principal has called in hired guns in the shape of pigs. When the black kids saw thirty fully armed policemen patrolling the halls they walked out and boycotted all classes demanding that:- 1) a black history programme and black studies were created so that they may learn the truth of their exploited peoples and 2) that the racist white principal and his pigs be thrown out of their school. It is sad that due to racial hatred and misunderstandings generated by fear (many students are afraid of their parents punishing them) the white students, save a few did not back their black colleagues on strike. This is unfortunate for the white students as they are in the same position as the blacks.

Because Lackawanna town is owned down to the last screw by the company Bethlehem Steel, because this brotherhood of crooks hands out the minimum amount of money to the school and also runs the school board, the school curriculum is a programme devised to turn out a man who can readily accept that a job with the company is all he wants out of life. In Lackawanna school they never hear about their parents struggle against the company, of the self-same pigs that are now in their school fighting the railway strike and being paid to bust the heads of the strikers, and how the corporations like Bethlehem Steel are making big money out of the Vietnam war where young working class men die. A white student in Lackawanna School has the same future as has a black student, the army or steel, so they must link arms together and fight the long arm of the law, the long arm of the American capitalist. We support our American brothers in their struggle, our struggle.

Comrades, we must unite and fight, TOGETHER.

## GREAT REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS

### the state

The state is by no means a power forced on society from without; just as little is it 'the reality of the ethical idea', 'the image and reality of reason' as Hegel maintains. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle it becomes necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arising out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state...

As distinct from the old gentile (tribal or clan) order, the state, first, divides its subjects according to territory. This division seems 'natural' to us, but it cost a prolonged struggle against the old organisation according to generations or tribes.

The second distinguishing feature is the establishment of a public power which no longer directly coincides with the population organising itself as an armed force. This special, public power is necessary because a self-acting armed organisation of the population has become impossible since the split into classes. This public power exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men but also of material adjuncts, prisons and institutions of coercion of all kinds, of which gentile (clan) society knew nothing.

Because the state arose from the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but because it arose, at the same time, in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it is, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically jominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class.

The ancient and feudal states were organs for the exploitation of the slaves and serfs; likewise, the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage-labour by capital. By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power as ostensible mediator acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both.

In a democratic republic (parliamentary democracy), wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely, first, by means of direct corruption of officials (how many MP's are also company directors?); secondly by means of an alliance of the government and the stock exchange.

F. ENGELS

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State

# property ownership

The value of all property in the United Kingdom is at least £80,000 million, but it is distributed extremely unequally. According to the latest available figures\* 5% of the adult population (those aged over 25) in England and Wales owned three-quarters of all the property in 1960

percentage of adult population	percentage of total personal wealth in England & Wales.
1	42
5	75
10	83

At the other end of the scale 45½% of the adult population - about 15 million people - have no property at all.\*

Proportion of adult population	No.	Proportion of total personal wealth
Top 10.0%	3,300,000.	83%
Next 44.5%	14,700,000.	17%
Bottom 45.5%	15,000,000.	nil.
Total 100%	33,000,000.	100%

\* Professor Mead's "Efficiency, Equality & Ownership of Property."  
\* 110th Report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners. 1966.

# INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Even after so-called 'land reform' 2% of the population of South Vietnam own 45% of the land.

"In Vietnam gas was supplied and sanctioned by white men against Asians. This is something that no Asian, communist or not, will forget."

New York Times editorial.

kill kill kill kill kill kill  
maim maim maim maim maim maim  
kill kill kill kill kill kill  
maim maim maim maim maim maim  
kill kill kill kill kill kill  
maim maim maim maim maim maim  
kill kill kill kill kill kill  
maim maim maim maim maim maim  
kill kill kill kill kill kill  
maim maim maim maim maim maim  
kill kill kill kill kill kill  
maim maim maim maim maim maim  
kill kill kill kill kill kill

John J Sharkey 1969

"People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one - Adolf Hitler."

Marshall Ky, vice-president of South Vietnam.

In early 1966 the wife of an American official in South Vietnam sent home 36,000 dollars within six months to be deposited to her account in the United States. The government said it would 'investigate'.

"My solution? Tell the Vietnamese they've got to draw their horns and stop aggression or we're going to bomb them back into the Stone Age."

General Curtis Le May.

"I hope Red China gives us an excuse to knock the chip off its shoulder."

Barry Goldwater.

The job of fighting this war falls more heavily on the poor and less educated than the wealthy and better educated. For the period ending June 1965, 16.3% of all men drafted were negro, they represent only 11% of the population. Few negroes attain officer rank (3.5% Army; 0.3% Air Force; 1.5% Navy).

Condolence payment in the equivalent to 33 dollars was made to each of the families of seven children killed accidentally by and Air Force weapon. The money was in crisp new Vietnamese banknotes accompanied by a letter of "sympathy for the loss which you have suffered."

New York Times, July 5, 1966

In Congress it was reported that the cost of killing one Vietnamese guerilla was 400,000 dollars.

"For the first time since 1918, a democratic power is using gas and the outrage is, if anything, aggravated by the statement that these methods are being used on an 'experimental basis'. Thus the Americans, like Hitler and Mussolini in Spain, are treating the hapless inhabitants of Vietnam as a living laboratory in which to test their weapons."

New Statesman, March 26, 1965.

At the moment when Ho Chi Minh was reading the Declaration of Independence to the crowds in Hanoi, the authority of the new Republic extended over the whole territory of Vietnam. Never before had the people of Vietnam been so united and independent. It was not to last long. South of the 16th parallel, the British Army was taking the surrender of the Japanese forces. They immediately released the French who had been imprisoned by the Vietnamese for collaborating with the Japanese. The British were already attempting to re-establish French rule. "I was welcomed on arrival (at Saigon) by Viet Minh," reported General Gracey, commander of the British forces; "I promptly kicked them out." Independence in Saigon lasted just three weeks.

"Anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined."

General Douglas MacArthur

"The fears and passions of ideological conflict have diverted the minds and energies of our people from the constructive tasks of a free society to a morbid preoccupation with the dangers of communist aggression abroad, and subversion and disloyalty at home."

Senator J. William Fulbright.

# END EDUCATION FOR SUBSERVIENCE

## WOMENS LIBERATION

In present day capitalist Britain, the educational system is designed to serve the interests of big business, 'monopoly capital and imperialism. A select few are trained to take up technical posts and administrative posts in big business and bureaucratic state machine, while the vast majority, the working class, are denied any real opportunities of developing intellectually and acquiring scientific knowledge, and at fifteen are turned out for low paid jobs or to face unemployment.

In this capitalist society, women face even greater discrimination and oppression than working class men. In the capitalists' eyes, a girl's education should prepare her for a subservient role to men in society, for the unproductive role of wife and mother in the system of individual household economy, and as an even cheaper source of labour in the industrial front. To justify the more intensified exploitation of nurses and teachers, the bourgeois hypocrits use the facade of noble professions.

In her spare time, the woman should have something to think about, and our educational system certainly helps directly here too. She should think of how to make herself most attractive to men. Thus grooming and fashion are always important things. Important things to assign essays on in English class, take up in Health classes, discuss in Careers lectures, or do projects on in Religious Education classes. A trip through any girls secondary modern will be rewarded with enumerable charts on good grooming, how to wear make up effectively, etc. Of course, the capitalist can be well pleased with the prettified docile creatures who rush out to buy his cheap vulgar fashion goods. £20 million is spent annually on hair and another £12 million on face creams and powder.

Not the professed aim, but the real aim, in secondary education is to prepare girls for a subservient role to men with no independent voice in this male dominated capitalist society. Statistics, government reports, indeed casual observation confirm this. In both girls' schools and coeducational schools, girls are funneled into domestic sciences and 'arts' and not given the same opportunity as boys to learn science and acquire technical skills. The Newsom Report (1963) shows that more time is given to maths and science in boys' schools than in girls', where the 'practical subjects' (cookery and needlecraft) reign supreme. School buildings for girls are designed with poor laboratory and science equipment. The amount spent on a girl who does take science in school is less than the amount spent on a boy, as the following table shows.

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>GIRLS</u>
Local Education Authority Grammar	13/6	11/6
Direct Grant	21/9	11/3
Independent	27/3	12/-

These figures also display the blatant discrimination against working class boys as the amount spent on boys increases greatly as we go from LEA to Direct Grant to Independent. Teachers come and go at a faster rate in girls' schools and those who do teach maths and science have fewer qualifications than in boys' schools.

Statistics show that in C.S.E. examinations very few girls enter for Physics (some girls' schools do not even offer this subject) In 1965, there were 8,385 boys to 526 girls entered for this subject. In G.C.E. 'O' level we get a similar picture where more girls enter for Religious Knowledge, English Literature, Biology (to make them aware of their vital statistics?), art, music and commercial subjects, but only half as many girls take maths, one sixth as many take physics, and one quarter as many chemistry. A lower percentage of girls stay on after the statutory school leaving age (15) and in 'A' level courses, girls are funneled into English Literature or arts and crafts while boys, by about 4-1 are in the scientific and maths subjects. 'A' level entries in 1964 showed that half as many boys took arts than science and half as many girls took science than arts. Nevertheless, the total number of boys taking arts outnumbered the girls, indicating that a large number of girls who stay on enter no exam course but merely get 6th form 'finishing' in non-exam classes.

Thus the vast majority of girls even those who stay on after fifteen are not trained to perform or take up any technical or scientific skills but merely to make subservient docile wives and perform unskilled jobs for low wages. While at teacher training college, I was taught the answer to the question - Is a girl's education important? - Yes it most certainly is! The husband a girl marries is largely dependent on the amount and quality of education she receives (Quality means 'special education' - cookery, needlecraft, taste in fashion and grooming, and the ability to look good while appreciating the arts).

After leaving school, girls have  $\frac{1}{4}$  the chance to get day release courses. There is little opportunity to get apprenticeship, except in hairdressing and far fewer university places are open to girls. The ratio of men to women in university is 4-1 and of course much greater in the sciences.

The above facts only confirm that the school serves capitalism and what monopoly capital wants the schools to produce. Monopoly capital wants cheap unskilled women for industry, docile subservient wives spending large sums on fashion and cosmetics, and that is what the secondary school does its best to serve up. General discrimination against the working class in the educational system is further intensified in its discrimination against working class girls.

Schooling of girls helps to reinforce the dependence on men, inertia, and social backwardness of women in capitalist society. But oppression breeds discontent and resistance. Following militant action of Ford women machinists, more and more women have become conscious of their exploitation and oppression. Demands for equal pay, better child care facilities, and equal opportunities are being put forward by the increasingly conscious womens' groups around the country. It is high time that the educational system which blatantly discriminates against women and girls be exposed and opposed.

There can be no fundamental change in the social structure, including secondary schools without a fundamental change in society as a whole. This fundamental change in society means transferring the political power of the bosses, the bourgeoisie, into the hands of the working class, men and women. This change in political power can only be achieved through the full mobilisation of the masses, men and women, to fight against monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Women must be mobilized to play their full part in the struggle against reaction and in the glorious fight to smash the old and build the new, the new socialist society and socialised education to serve the broad masses of the people, the working men and women.

A campaign should be mounted to fight against discrimination in society and in education. In secondary schools a demand for equal opportunities for girls in all fields must be pursued. Girls must have equal job opportunities and equal pay with boys, and equal opportunities in day release and apprenticeships. The myth of special education and impelling girls into 'arts', and 'home economics' subjects must be exposed and repudiated - that is, making them fit for the marriage market and a position of dependence on men in society. We must fight for schooling that prepares girls for full participation in social production and political action.

Above all, young women must take part in the working class struggle to overthrow the system which is the root cause of their present subordination.

North Americans consume nearly five times as much food per person as do the peoples of Asia. American women spend more each year on cosmetics than the total national budgets of all the new African states combined.

"The penalty of affluence is that it cuts one off from the common lot, common experience & common fellowship. In a sense it outlaws one automatically from one's birthright of membership in the great human family."

Arnold Toynbee

# CLASS WAR NOT RACE WAR

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, is on trial for his life in New Haven, Connecticut. Seale's trial, on charges of first degree murder, kidnapping, conspiracy, and 'binding with criminal intent', marks a climax in the campaign launched by the Nixon administration fifteen months ago.

Since then a hundred Black Panther Party organisers have been imprisoned on counts that range from elaborate frame-ups on criminal charges, to the all-embracing statutes on 'conspiracy' that the American legal system, like the British, keeps in reserve for use when nothing more concrete can be made to stick. This fascist campaign is directly organised at the 'Justice' Department under the Attorney General John Mitchell, and each State police force and judiciary was eagerly enlisted to play its part in the campaign of repression.

On December 4th last, the repression reached a new level when Chicago police burst into the apartment of Fred Hampton, chairman of the BPP Illinois branch, and shot and killed him in his bed. Panther Mark Clark was also killed and four others wounded. The survivors were charged with attempted murder.

Previously, on April 2 1969, the New York 21 were arrested. Their trial began in February 1970, on the ludicrous frame-up that they plotted to dynamite five department stores and other targets (The B. P. P.'s opposition to terrorist tactics is common knowledge). Bail was fixed at up to 100,000 dollars per head, in flagrant disregard of the U. S. Constitution which, like English common law, forbids exorbitant bail. However the U. S. Supreme Court refused to rule on the New York Panthers' appeal. Last month, bail was raised for two of the thirteen still under indictment, leaving eleven who have now spent over a year in prison. While in jail, the New York 21 suffered extreme maltreatment. All were beaten after arrest. Joan Bird was given the 'thumb torture', hung upside down by one ankle from a third storey window. Lee Berry, an epileptic was thrown into an isolation cell in 'The Tombs' without even a mattress, and refused medical attention for four months. All the 21 have been kept in complete isolation, denied library and recreation facilities, and at times denied mattresses, medication, sheets, showers and toilet paper, in a concerted effort to break their morale. Their real crime was the success of the B. P. P.'s children's breakfast programme and medical centre, which built support for the Panthers among the Harlem community.

The trial of Bobby Seale and the Panther 14 in New Haven is the present focus of the campaign against the Panthers. To frame Bobby Seale, the FBI instigated the New Haven police department to murder Panther Alex Rackley on May 22 1969, two days after Seale visited New Haven to speak at Yale University. George Sams, a police agent who had infiltrated the New Haven B.P.P. chapter, testified that Seale or-

dered, and the other 14 carried out, the murder of Alex Rackley, believing Rackley to be a double agent. It is public knowledge that the Black Panther Party has conducted over more than a year, a drastic purge of its organisation, and expelled doubtful members. But no-one has ever alleged that the Party at any time took the risk (political and moral) of killing suspect agents. And Alex Rackley was a New Haven Panther in good standing. Immediately after 'finding' Rackley's body, the cops arrested the leading members of the New Haven chapter, and Bobby Seale was later arrested in San Francisco, where he lives. Bobby was however to spend the next months on trial in Chicago on charges arising out of the events at the Democratic convention in summer 1968. After having him bound and gagged for his protests against the cops false evidence, Judge Julius J. Hoffman summarily handed him four years for 'contempt of court', he has not yet been sentenced on the charge of 'conspiracy to riot' for which he was being tried.

On March 2 this year, Bobby Seale was extradited from California to Connecticut. He was flown under heavy armed guard in a specially chartered plane. On March 18 he made his first court appearance in the New Haven Superior Court. To create the hysterical and threatening atmosphere that the prosecution needs to carry through this trial, the court was packed with dozens of state and local police, FBI agents and sheriffs. Seale's lawyers were granted till April 14 for filing motions. The defence began by contesting the validity of the grand jury that indicted Seale. In cross-questioning the New Haven county sheriff, it emerged that out of 20 grand jurors, the defendant's alleged peers, 17 were white, 13 were aged over 50, 6 had previously served on grand juries, one as many as 14 times. More seriously, 12 of the 20 were either personal friends of the sheriff or recommendees of personal friends, one was known to him as a jail guard, one as his barber, one as the proprietor of the barbers' shop, and one was the son of a friend of the sheriff who 'wanted legal experience'. The presiding judge, Hubert S. MacDonald, said he was satisfied that the composition of the grand jury met the state requirements, and would indeed have met Federal requirements.

The main front in the battle for the life of Bobby Seale is not inside the New Haven courthouse. The American law has never safeguarded the rights of black Americans; their condition makes a mockery of the U.S. Constitution. And, like hundreds of other Panthers on trial in 'criminal' cases, Bobby Seale's crime is a political one -- that he leads a political party that challenges US imperialism, that has rallied around it the broad masses of the black community, and is being recognised by ever larger sectors of the white youth and students as their vanguard also. Bobby Seale's trial is a political act of ruling class repression. His conviction and execution can only be stopped by a political force that forces the American state to back down; for fear of the consequences.

To inflict such a defeat on the US imperialist state would be as important as the defeats that it is suffering externally from the popular front in Vietnam and in Laos. There is no doubt that, in the words of David Hilliard, Black Panther Party Chief of Staff, 'if they turn the juice on Bobby Seale, the black people will turn the lights off in America for days. But even more is at stake. The US ruling class repression does not just aim to eliminate the present vanguard of the black people in North America. The present wave of repression against the Panthers has the deeper political aim of driving a wedge between the black movement and the white movement. Hence the criminal frame-ups, and the greater violence exercised against black militants. The Panthers are so great a danger to the imperialist power structure precisely because they have transcended the limits of cultural nationalism. They have proved their ability not merely to lead the black masses, but also to unite with genuine anti-imperialist forces in the white movement, and to function as the vanguard of the American anti-imperialist struggle. That is why the American ruling class must try to smash the Panthers now, before they succeed in uniting, not just white students, but also as the political and economic crisis of American society intensifies, sections of the white working class. The onus is on the white radical groups to close ranks around the Panthers and prove to the black community, to the imperialist state and to the white working class, that the black people's struggle can take the form of a Class War, and does not have to be a Race War. Eldridge Cleaver in a statement from exile put the matter like this:

"Black people will never accept this premeditated decision of the fascist power structure to murder Chairman Bobby Seale in the Electric Chair. So that the question is now posed pure and simple: IS America going to have a Class War or a Race War? The fascists have already declared war upon the people. Will the people as a whole rise up to meet this challenge with a righteous People's War against these fascist pigs, or will Black people have to go it alone, thus transforming a dream of inter-racial solidarity into a nightmare of a Race War?"

..... The Black Panther Party, as everybody knows, has taken a leading role in trying to avoid precisely this disastrous RACE WAR which the fascist oppressors have been working day and night to bring about. But we cannot and will not continue this policy to the point of racial suicide. We will not sacrifice Chairman Bobby Seale on the altar of interracial harmony if white people continue to sit back and allow this ghastly plot to go forward. So if the so-called freedom loving White people of America do not stand up now, while there are still a few moments of time left, and put an end to the persecution of Chairman Bobby Seale, then Black people will have to go it alone and step forward alone. This will mean the end of our dreams of the Class War which America needs and the beginning of the Race War which America cannot endure. This is the political consequence which America faces because of this unspeakably evil attempt to murder Bobby Seale in the electric chair.'

On May 1st, 30,000 mainly white students demonstrated outside the New Haven courthouse. It was a start. For the battle outside the courts must end with Bobby Seale's acquittal inside. This admission of defeat can only be forced on the power structure by the masses. The inter-racial alliance forged in this campaign will of necessity be an offensive front which can pave the way for further advances. While failure of the entire white radical movement to rally around the Panthers could spell disaster.

For this reason it is vital for the anti-imperialist forces in Britain and the other imperialist metropolises to actively join in the defense of the Panthers. Every sign of solidarity from European Workers and students, besides additional pressure on the American ruling class, will also help to cement the inter-racial alliance in America itself. It is the duty of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces here to follow the events in New Haven, and to prepare action for and organise whatever forms of action in solidarity with Bobby Seale and the New Haven Panther 14 that are within our power.

## sau/black panthers & police repression

On Monday 2nd March, the Black Panther Movement in Britain, with the support of the Black Peoples Alliance, together with a number of white organisations, including a number of members of the S. A. U. who were there in solidarity with the Panther Party, picketed the American Embassy to protest against the extradition and possible murder by the U.S. Government of Bobby Seale.

The S. A. U. gave its solidarity because we support all oppressed people and we recognise racism in Britain as an oppression of all Black people especially racism in schools. The S. A. U. is opposed to all forms of discrimination by class, race, or sex in our schools. We are determined to oppose all racists.

The police arrived with several vans before the demonstration started. The police then formed a thick cordon blocking the front of the embassy. The demonstrators marched around the embassy shouting slogans and demanding the immediate release of Bobby Seale and an end to the murder plot against the Black Panther Party. As more and more demonstrators arrived and as the impact of the shouting became greater, the police decided that the demonstration should be restricted to the narrow pavement around Grosvenor Sq. They continually harassed the crowd of about three hundred black and white people, and threatened to arrest photographers who were taking photos of the harassment.

The demonstration was led to Oxford St. by the Black Panthers because the whole object was to let as many people as possible know of the threatened murder of Bobby Seale. The police tried to disperse the demonstration before it got back to the American Embassy. At the corner of North Audley St. and Oxford St. the police charged into the crowd beating people over the head with their truncheons. One Black Panther was held down by six policemen, beaten up and then shoved into a waiting taxi. Another Panther was thrown over the bonnet of an oncoming car and beaten up. Several other demonstrators were dragged into waiting vans.

The demonstration eventually ended up outside West End Central Police Station where the people demonstrated about the earlier arrests. The police, worried about the Panthers being on their own doorstep, forced people into a cordon and then waded in with truncheons drawn. At this point, three S.A.U. members, Trevor Williams, Tony Reynolds, and Aidan Gulliver were arrested. They were later charged with threatening behaviour, assault, and the use of abusive language. They appeared in court the next morning and were remanded until the 2nd of April.

On the 2nd of April, they appeared at Bow St. Magistrates Court. The case was so flimsy on the part of the police and they only had police officers as witnesses, so it appeared as if it would be an open and shut case, but even so, we were found guilty, because we were supporting the Black Panthers. Trevor Williams was fined £15, Tony Reynolds was fined £3 and at a later date in the Juvenile court, Aidan Gulliver was fined £5. When Trevor and Tony took their case to the appeal court, Tony was told to pay £15 costs on top of his fine, and Trevor's fine was increased to £25 with an additional £25 costs, and bound over to keep the peace for the period of one year in the recognisance of £50.

Throughout the whole demonstration and the court proceedings afterwards, it was obvious that this was an open case of police repression and racism.

DOWN WITH RACIST POLICE PIGS!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Tony Reynolds.

FREE BOBBY SEALE!  
FREE ALL AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!  
DEFEAT RACISM, IN AMERICA AND IN BRITAIN!

Coventry SAU meets every Tues. at 8pm at  
46 William Bachelor House, Leicester Row (opp. Bishop St)

# letter to sau

Dear SAU,

I am a supporter of the SAU and all that they stand for. At least some people have realised how badly education is run in this country. The pupil is used over and over again, and eventually fed into the system.

Many young people today realise this but have given up trying to do anything about it. I am writing this letter to:-

1. Encourage those who have given up to keep trying to improve their education.
2. To make all those who fail to realise their true position, think about it and do something.
3. Expose the situation in my school as a test case.

In describing the state of affairs in my school I hope that the SAU will use these facts to wake-up pupils in other schools to what is going on.

I am not a communist or a crank, nor was I prompted to write this letter by the SAU. I am an ordinary pupil, at an ordinary grammar school, who thought about his education and studied it. In the course of this I have noticed things and come to certain conclusions. If anything has prompted me to write to you, it is the fact that the SAU cares and, more directly, because of the latest edition of the school magazine/newspaper (a copy of which I enclose).

I should like you to turn to the article on the SAU which was for me, the final straw.

This rag has distinguished itself since Christmas by being run by a certain member of staff while masquerading as being run-by the pupils. In fact, all material is censored by a member of staff, and indirectly by the headmaster. Free expression is stifled. Its editors and regular writers are very stupid people, quite unrepresentative of the majority of pupils. These writers act as "Yes-men" and dare not express their own or non-establishment opinion. They only want to keep in with the staff, after all, their futures depend on it! My later remarks will bear this out. They have not forgotten that the headmaster must give a reference to their first job/university. (I make this with reference to the SAU leaflet which I enclose.)

Before continuing I would like to add that as the newspaper mentions on pages 2-3, the old staff, who were not "yes-men", were practically all forced to resign (including the editor), in a mass sacking. This was after every possible means of harassment had been tried without success. This was because they refused to be told what to write.

The writer of the SAU article is nonesuch. Apparently she obtained her information from you. The SAU doesn't need people like her, who are out for all they can get. So refuse her or any other representative of the "Harrill" any more information. Below I give a list of the main reporters (they are all as bad as one another).

## NAMES SUPPLIED BUT WE ARE LEAVING THEM OUT

All these people will strive to use any information against you, under the direction of the member of staff involved. Should you ignore my warning not only the work of the SAU will suffer but so will that of everybody here who is working in support of the SAU.

On my first visit to an SAU meeting I met a former pupil at my school who is now a teacher. There was no hint of a "reactionary Womens' Institute meeting" as we seriously discussed education from a teacher and pupil point of view. She told me that she had been warned "Do not attend any more SAU meetings or you will be sacked". Surely this indicates the attitude of most headmasters to pupil/teacher power? Incidentally, I would be expelled for writing this letter.

As a result of my visit and what I learnt of the SAU I decided to write an article which stated their points and spoke up in their favour. It was not libellous, obscene or badly written and was well informed. It was refused publication for no other reason than that it was pro-SAU. From that moment on I became a strong supporter of the SAU, and I found out that other articles, too numerous to mention, which had been written by others met with a similar fate.

Coming back to your sheet (which incidentally I picked up at Essex University), I realised that nearly every point in it applies to my school. Corporal punishment, uniforms, notices, censorship... it was all true.

Headmasters hate the SAU but not all teachers do. There are teachers and pupils even here who support the SAU, notably... (name supplied) and others. There are people who are working slowly and patiently to improve matters. The SAU are our friends and comrades, and we befriend them, despite staff "Yes-men", censored newspapers, and repression.

Name given, but due to repression, it is not being printed

## AGITPROP LITERATURE PROGRAMME.

Defensive guides to Capitalism.

1/6 - Arrest, A Guide to Citizen's Rights

3d - Picketing: Where? When? How? Your Rights Explained.

Women's Liberation.

2/6 - Women's Liberation and the New Politics, Rowbotham

9d - Bread and Roses, Wood and McAfee

6d - Psychology Constructs the Female, Weistein

Industry.

6d - G. M. W. U. : Seab Union

Racism

2/6 - Black Panther Party Paper, Amerikkka

2/- - Dialectics of Black Power, Allen

1/- - Immigration, facts vs. Myths

1/6 - Powell and His Allies

Imperialism

1/6 - South Africa, Apartheid and Britain LRD/ANC

2/6 - ISRAEL (Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee) No. 2.

6d - Vietnam Comic Book, Manchester VSC

2/6 - American Economic Imperialism, Caspary

Education

4/- - Education, Capitalism and the Student Revolt

2/- - Comprehensive Schools

1/- - Jailbreak, Weatherman approach to schools

Agitprop Publications

1/- - How to Manual: Posters

1/- - How to Manual: Street Theatre

## AGITPROP LITERATURE PROGRAMME

160, North Gower St.,

London, N. W. 1.

Add 10/- for postage.

I would like more information about the SCHOOLS ACTION UNION.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Phone.....

School.....

Form/Year.....

I enclose..... as a donation to the SAU.

I enclose..... as payment for..... copies of VANGUARD.

I enclose..... as a subscription to VANGUARD

at the rate of 10/- for 10 issues.

I would like to sell VANGUARD and wish to place a regular

order for..... copies on a sale or return basis.

Return to SAU: 160 North Gower St, London, NW1

Printed and published by:-SAU, 160, North Gower St., NW1

TELEPHONE:- 01-387-5406.