The Seychelles National Youth Service:

the seed of a new society.

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Chapter 1

Economic and Social Background

1. The Republic of the Seychelles is an archipelego of 92 islands in the Indian Ocean. First settled by the French in 1770, it was transferred to the British in 1814. Of little economic importance, it nevertheless had a strategic significance before the opening of the Suez canal in the late 19th century, and again briefly in the second world war. Now, in a period of airborne nuclear weapons, and airborne nuclear tourists (who have been able to land in the country since the opening of the international airport in 1971), the Republic has once more become of potential strategic significance, and of no little economic interest to development capital in the international tourist industry. One political consequence of these developments was the rise of an Independence movement, which won power as part of a coalition in 1976. In 1977, a new socialist government took power after a coup d'etat, and immediately began a programme of economic and social transformation.

2. Any programme of socialist transformation has first to face the divisions inherited from social relations of a country's past. In the case of the Seychelles we can distinguish 7 major divisions of this kind:

- class
- gender
- age
- language
- skin colour
- education
- urban/rural

These divisions cannot be simply suppressed by law or administrative ruling. All of them are part of that dense web of culture which shapes our aspirations, and forms our ways of seeing others and ourselves. Culture in this sense can neither be abolished nor re-shaped without a sensitivity to how the past has been experienced, to the necessities of the present, and to the hidden dreams of life which lies ahead. What a socialist government can do is to transform certain key structures on which these divisions have depended, and make it possible for people to create new ways of producing and living together unmolested by oppressions of the previous class society.

3. Such a perspective lies behind the project of the National Youth Service. The government has argued that young people - less encumbered by the past - are the group most fertile to create new forms. The project aims to gather

together all primary 9 school leavers, on a peninsula in the main island of Mahé, and to provide them with the conditions to generate the new society. The land is publicly owned and under the control of the Project. The members of the project are to be drawn from all sides of the old divisions, regardless of former class divisions, of gender, of skin colour and language, or of educational achievement. But how can such a project overcome these divisions? How can the children avoid reproducing the forms of oppression experienced by their parents? No solution can be offered in the abstract. So much depends on practice. What this report aims to do is to (i) reflect on the nature and causes of the divisions; (ii) discuss ways in which the Youth Service can be organised so that its members can overcome these divisions between themselves; (iii) analyse how the Youth Service relates to these divisions in the society as a whole. This chapter concerns the first of these topics: how the divisions have arisen and how they are reproduced.

5. Class. As with all nations, the social relations in the Seychelles have been shaped but not determined by its geographical features. The small, scattered distribution of the islands, the rugged character of the main group of 32 granitic islands, and their distance from the mainland (990 miles from Kenya, and 1,750 from India) have all served to discourage immigration. As a result the current population of some 62,000 people have largely grown from the earlier periods of settlement: of French settlers and their slaves and servants; of ex-slaves freed from their slave ships by the British; and of Indian and Chinese traders who came to the Seychelles in the late 19th and early 20th century respectively.

6. Given these origins it is not surprising to find a high concentration of land holding. In 1960 it was reported that 56 proprietors held two thirds of the commercial agricultural land. Much of this was devoted to plantations producing copra, cinnamon and vanilla, and worked by an agricultural proletariat of both men and women. This was the basis of the power of the 'grandsblancs', a basis which has now been diversified in conjunction with international capital. This new alliance - in which the international airport played the midwife - has led the large landed proprietors to invest in new types of agricultural production (dairy and poultry), in property development and other sectors linked above all to the growth of tourism. As a recent report commented, many of the 73 large farms are no longer seriously engaged in agriculture, particularly as far as export crops are concerned, but have rearranged their landed and financial interests around the tourist enclave.

7. Secondly, we can distinguish a small but important merchant class, composed primarily of Indians and Chinese. They have thrived on the development of the commercial economy and the expansion of international trade and investment. Indeed, whereas at least a section of the grands blancs were slow to respond to the new internationalisation of the Seychelles economy, some of the Indian traders developed rapidly, expanded into landed property, and challenged the grands blancs politically within the common interests of the ruling class. Thus the deposed President Mancham came from the family which owned the largest supermarket in the country, and his cabinet in the post-election government in 1974 can be seen to represent merchant and other urban business interests (even where they had expanded into rural property) rather than the older grands blanc interests who dominated the post-war Legislative Council. (Ostheimer, Chapter 7).

8. Thirdly, there is a narrow strata of petty bourgeois in the town and rich and middle peasants in the countryside. These are people who own some at least of their means of production, who produce for the market, and who may employ wage labour to add to their own. In the urban sector these include the small traders, approximately 2,000 self-employed people in the informal sector, and 450 people in the formal sector employing up to 5 workers. In the countryside, they comprise more than 600 small farmers producing for the market, between 60 and 100 of whom employ up to 5 wage labourers, and rather less than 200 of whom work the rented government blocks (averaging 5 acres). There are clearly divergent interests within these small commodity producers, between those who employ labour either in the country or town, and those who operate on a smaller scale, with family labour and with limited, even rudimentary, means of production. The main point which unifies them, however, is that their prime social relation is the exchange of their commodities on the market. They are not subject to the direct domination of employers in the process of production, nor are they divorced from the experience of toil.

9. Fourthly, there is a substantial proletariat both in the town and country. This is one of the most striking features of Seychellois society. Fully 88% of the working population either sell their labour for wages (80%) or form part of a small reservoir of unemployed labour (8%). Furthermore, while some of this wage work is in the informal sector (4%), or comprises hired servants of the home (11%), fully 65% (or two-thirds of the total labour force) takes place in capitalist production.

10. What is common for this proletariat is the condition of selling their capacity to work for wages, and then being subject to the direct control of capital in process of production. As wage workers they face the constant tendency for capital to accumulate at their expense, and to drive down wages to the level of subsistence. As workers in the capitalist labour process, they find themselves subject to the many devices used by capital to divide labour and ensure that labour capacity bought for the wage is transformed into actual labour performed at speed in production. In all such production, large or small, in factory, farm, or service production, amongst white collar as amongst blue collar work, we can see similar structures of the capitalist labour process being imposed:

- the separation of conception and execution, of intellectual and manual labour
- the de-skilling of tasks
- fragmentation of jobs, and the establishment of a division of labour between them
- the imposition of hierarchies of control
- the division of workers by grading, and by the use of other social divisions (such as gender, ethnicity, language) within the production process.

These tendencies of the capitalist labour process develop most rapidly in periods of sharp competition, when profit rates are falling, and expansion threatened. As accumulation develops in the Seychelles, and to the extent that international capital acts as the conductor of the full force of international competition, so we may expect these tendencies to come to the fore in sectors where profitability acts as the prosecutor, judge and jury simultaneously.

11. So much is common. But we should be aware, too, of differences. To begin with, there is a contrast between the urban and the rural proletariat. In the early sixties the majority of workers lived in the countryside. One third of all the economically active population, men as well as women, worked on plantations (5,200 in all, 40% of them women). Another substantial portion were employed on government relief works, such as road building, and some others in fishing. By the late 1970's the balance had changed. 43% of Mahé's population work in the capital, Victoria. In the countryside, farm work constitutes only 12% of wage employment. 4% of the working population are engaged in fishing, while tourism accounts for a growing proportion of rural employment (hotels provided 14% of total employment according to the 1977 Census, and the great majority of hotels are sited outside Victoria).

12. What is distinctive about the rural proletariat is that they live not in close villages but scattered over the countryside, themselves social archipelegos, small islands of domestic economy. Many of them have plots on which they grow vegetables, and raise livestock. Thus 40% of households are reported to keep one or more pigs, primarily those in the rural areas. Another 600 households (apart from smallholders) keep one or more cattle. With fish as an extremely cheap basic food, (which may even be 'gathered' free by workers since the sea cannot be privatised like the land) the rural workers are only partially cut off from their means of subsistence.

13. The urban workers of Victoria are more dependent on cash income. Pig rearing is forbidden in Victoria itself, though a degree of subsistence production is possible in the suburbs. The staple diet of fish, rice and sugar, plus necessities like kerosene, firewood, or clothing, must all be bought. As for the work itself, only a small proportion is in manufacturing industry (4%). Rather, jobs are concentrated in urban construction (construction as a whole is 10% of employment), transport (11%) and various other urban services. What is important to register is the relatively large number of urbanised workers (37% of the population live as well as work in Victoria) and the distinction that exists between the urban and rural workers' relation to the means of subsistence.

14. Apart from the contrast of the urban and the rural workers, and the intersectoral differences in labour processes, we should note three further distinctions. First, about a quarter of all wage labour is employed by the government, of whom about 40% are unskilled or semiskilled workers in agriculture and construction, and 60% established posts predominantly engaged in social services and public administration (Min. of Labour 1978). The point is important because much state employment is not subject to the same discipline of the laws of the market economy as is the capitalist sphere, rather being controlled by more macro, explicitly political criteria, particularly at moments of crisis in the national economy. It should also be noted that established government employees earn on average 37% more than workers in the private sector.

15. This leads to the second point, which is the extent to which wage workers are gathered together in large groups (socialised at work) as against being employed in small workshops. The figures are not precise on this point but we estimate that at least half the wage workers employed (and possibly more) work

for organisations employing more than 20 workers. This includes the agricultural labourers working for the large farms and commercial plantations (which employed an average of 29.5 workers in 1978), the workers in private companies employing more than 50 people, in transport and communications (4), hotels (7), construction (8), and manufacturing (12), as well as government employees themselves who, though not working under a single roof, are unified by their common tasks, training and administration. The extent of such 'direct socialisation of labour' has historically had profound political importance in the development of capitalism.

16. Finally, we should note a distinction within the class of wage workers based on education. There are a growing number of jobs which require educational qualifications, either in the form of general exams and higher education, or of vocational training. Some of these jobs are technical and administrative - a reflection of the division between head and hand in the factory being transposed on to the level of society. Others are in the 'personalist' professions - those concerned with social relations like teaching, nursing, or social work. The tasks here represent the extension to society of one part of domestic labour, and are significantly mainly performed by women. In 1977 there were 1,754 technical and professional workers (7% of the labour force), the great majority of whom were employed rather than self-employed, and all of whom required some degree of professional qualification. (In 1977 2½% of the working population had had some form of higher education, 1½% in form 6, and 4% in form 5, a total of 7%, though some professionals have taken vocational courses rather than remaining until form 5).

17. One part of this 'social layer' tends to merge with managers and executives and the capital which employs them, another part is close to other white collar workers - clerks, secretaries and so on (just over 4% of the labour force in 1977). Traditionally they have been referred to as a middle class, and have indeed acted as a force for managed capitalism in many developed and third world countries. However, in the past decade there has been a growing radicalisation of this layer in Western Europe, as capital has tended to de-skill professional and technical jobs using the same principles as applied to manual labour previously. Inasmuch as these same techniques are transferred to the Seychelles, we may see the traditional privilege of the liberal middle class being brought into question.

18. In summary then, the class structure of the Seychelles has certain quite distinct features:

a) a small and relatively weak ruling class consisting primarily of plantation owners and merchants, with a penumbra of small businessmen. Foreign capital dominates manufacturing and all the large hotels, and it is on foreign capital that the rentiers and traders have become dependent for increases in their property values and the development of commerce.

b) an unusually small petty bourgeoisie (some 13% of the labour force) consisting of small farmers in the country and petty producers in the towns, whose output is geared towards the domestic market.

c) a correspondingly large proletariat, approximately equally divided between town and country, at least a half of whom work in operations employing more than 20 workers, a quarter of whom work for the state, and less than a fifth of whom are engaged in the traditional primary tasks of agriculture, fishing and forestry.

d) a small but developing subset of wage workers in technical and 'caring' jobs, all of whom tend to have some form of educational or vocational qualification, and who compose a 'new social layer' within the working class as a whole.

19. The coup d'état was directed against the first of these groups, and was led primarily by the urban white collar workers, administrators and professionals. While it has not nationalised any of the principal productive activities, it has taken over some of the absentee foreign landlords, announced plans to abolish rented houses, and started state farms. It is ideologically and politically committed to the wage workers of the island, and against the old landed and mercantile establishment. Both its educational and health service reforms reflect this class commitment clearly.

20. Age and gender. In framing and realising a political programme it is not sufficient to refer to the class divisions established at the level of market relations. The family - or sphere of reproduction of labour power - is similarly important. It operates on quite different principles to the market economy, and is the location of quite distinct forms of social relations. These include the subordination of women, and the domination of the young by the old. The domestic unit is also the site for the reproduction of distinct cultures and is therefore central to an understanding of how ethnic and religious divisions are reproduced.

21. In pre-capitalist society the domestic unit is commonly the sphere of

production as well as reproduction. In some tribal systems indeed it is the key unit in the mode of production, one in which male elders appropriate the surplus labour of both women and young men. Slavery, too, has a quite distinct relationship between the domestic sphere and social production. In capitalism, a clear distinction is established between production and reproduction, between work and home, between the company and the nuclear family.

22. In the Seychelles this distinction between capitalist production and domestic reproduction is considerably more developed than in many third world countries. This owes much to the particular origins of society, the absence of a significant peasantry, and the predominance of wage labour. Nevertheless, the Seychellois domestic relations not only possess their own special characteristics, but also are of considerable economic and political importance to the working class.

23. One of the features common to all societies based on private property is the existence of patriarchy. Whereas women - as the bearers of children - will know the identity of the father, a man is less sure; "pater est semper incertus" - the father is always uncertain. Where the inheritance of property via lineage is important, and/or where it is a question of reproducing a ruling class with its overtones of special breeding and distinction from the labouring classes, men demand certainty about their offspring. They devise ways of controlling women's sexuality, through marriage, purdah, binding their wives' feet, chastity belts, or various brutal forms of female circumcision. This is the basis for patriarchy, and is at the root of the many aspects of women's subordination: at home, in the social division of labour, in modes of behaviour, ranges of personal relationship, and so on.

24. In the Seychelles, the former dominant classes - the grands blancs, and the Indian and Chinese merchants - ensured paternity and the reproduction of themselves as a 'ruling stock' through intra-class marriage, kinship households and various forms of control over their women. This did not prevent male members of this class having sexual relations with their slaves, their servants, or other members of the labouring class. Indeed, this was a common feature of the slave owning and settler class in the Seychelles. But in these cases inheritance was matrilineal rather than patrilineal: and the children being born from poor mothers inherited their social position as a subordinate class.

25. Amongst working people, however, patriarchy in the form of male control of

paternity is much less significant. One reason given for this is the historical relation between male masters and female servants, and the element of obligation laid on a master to patronise his natural children. Another, perhaps equally important point is the relative absence of property amongst the working class, and matrilineal as well as patrilineal inheritance. Though the inheritance of property provides the ground for many legal disputes, it does not appear to be the determining factor in shaping domestic relations.

26. The determinants are rather to be found in the relationship between wage work and domestic labour. In the Seychelles, the work necessary for the daily reproduction of the labourer is largely carried out in the home with rudimentary forces of production. There are few consumer durables to raise the productivity of domestic labour. Washing, cooking, cleaning, mending, sewing, and child care may involve not just the labour of one adult, but of the old and the young also. Those in wage work would find it difficult to carry out such tasks in addition to their jobs. For this reason there are few single person households.

27. If the wage worker has an interest in being part of a household with free domestic labour, the domestic labourer has an interest in being part of a household containing a wage worker. Even when a house has a garden attached, cash is required for many items of daily subsistence: sugar, coffee, soap, kerosene, salt, fish, tinned milk, clothes and so on. The greater the domestic production of foodstuffs, the less the dependence on cash income, but there are few working class households without a significant need for cash.

28. In the Seychelles, as in all other commodity societies, it is women who act primarily as domestic labourers, and men who form the majority of the wage labour force. This is the basis for the domestic unit. Women require men for cash income. Men require women to perform domestic labour. Consequently there are few adults who live outside a household where this division of labour is embodied (14% in the town and 7% in the countryside in the early 1960's). At the same time there is no economic necessity for the relations of spouses to be permanent. A man may transfer his residence and cash income to another woman - according to affection, and is not bound by dependence on his children. The woman, however, while likewise able to take in another man, has a greater dependence on her children, since in the absence of another man, they alone will secure the access to cash income.

29. These factors help to explain a number of distinctive features of the

Seychellois household. First, there is a low rate of marriage. For example, in 1965 only 69% of women were ever married by the end of their reproductive period, compared to 85 - 90% in France, or 98% in the U.K. Second, a large and growing proportion of children are born outside marriage. In the 1890's the figure was 27%. In the early 1960's it was 44%. By the 1977 Census it was up to 61%, and then to 63% in 1978 according to the record of live births at the Victoria Hospital. Thirdly, a considerable number of spouses live en menage rather than being formally married. Benedict in the early 60's reported a rate of 36% in the town and 25% in the country. These menage he found lasted an average of 7 years as against 17½ years for marriages. Fourthly, in a significant number of households, women care for a family wihout a spouse, but with the support of other cash earners, or of elderly parents to do domestic labour while the woman works. A recent survey reported that 46% of children in one rural area had no man living at home, while for Victoria the figure was 29%. There are also cases of 'enfants soignés' - children who are given by their parents to other non-child-bearing women.

30. The result is a matrifocal domestic unit. Throughout the changes in relationship between parents, children in the great majority of cases remain with their mother. One recent survey reported that only 1% of children lived with their fathers and apart from their mothers. The corresponding figure for children living apart from their natural fathers was between 39% and 44%. There is then a pivotal tie between a mother and her children, and particularly sons. Of teenagers between the ages of 15 and 19, 42% of the girls and 62% of the boys were in paid work. They tended to live with their families, and contribute cash to the household budget. The economic relations between men and women en ménage are then reproduced between generations, notably between mothers and sons. Yet whereas a woman may replace her spouse, she cannot replace her sons. Sons on the other hand can re-establish the wage/domestic division of labour with their own spouses/wives. There is accordingly a tension between mothers and their children. Mothers are often reluctant for their sons to marry. The costs of weddings are significantly high - perhaps as much as a year's average income. The eventual relations between mother and daughter-in-law maintain an element of this underlying economic rivalry. As far as daughters are concerned, they may not only be significant as wage earners, but they experience a tight maternal control of their sexuality, since virginity is still considered an important passport for a 'good' marriage.

31. The significance of the above pattern of domestic relations for a youth programme will be clear:

a) economically, the withdrawal of children from their families at the age

of 15 may constitute a withdrawal of cash income. In 1977 40% of 15 year old boys and 20% of 15 year old girls were in work, with a further 13% (boys) and 20% (girls) of the age group seeking work.

b) culturally, the withdrawal of daughters from their families threatens the parental control of their daughters' sexuality.

c) any attempt by the youth programme to overcome the many characteristics of female subordination by men (the allocation of housework to women, the sexual division of labour in wage work, the assymetry of sexual relations between men and women, access to non-harmful methods of birth control) require an understanding of the way in which the subordination of women, and of the young by the old, is reproduced.

32. Colour. Seychelles is relatively free of colour prejudice compared to other societies, yet at the same time there is an acute consciousness of colour as an index of status. The origin of this consciousness is to be found in the history of class, and the way in which the ruling classes have reproduced themselves. It is a common saying that in the Seychelles three continents have met: the Europeans, the Africans, and the Asians. What is less commonly observed is that the continents entered into definite class relations with each other: the Europeans as the direct exploiters of labour, the Asians as the sovereigns of exchange, and the Africans as the labourers. The resulting relations of class have been transformed in one aspect of Seychellois culture into relations of colour.

33. The starting point is the reproduction policies of the ruling class. These contain, in common with many other ruling classes, a strong element of racism. As in 19th century Britain, a superiority founded on economic exploitation is 'read' by the ruling class themselves as being a natural superiority based on breeding. The popularity of Darwinism and the Eugenics movement in the second half of the 19th century both exhibited such a 'reading', as did the care with which marriage was arranged within the class. Marriage out of the class threatened the reproduction of the class from within. It was, as it were, the Trojan horse of class rule. So among the grands blancs and the large Asian trading families there has been a similar tradition of reproduction within the class.

34. We have already noted how the nature of the ruling class family differed from that of the working class because of such requirements as 'pedigree'. We have also observed how this question of pedigree applied solely to legitimate

children, that is children who stood to inherit. The male grands blancs have, it seems, from the early days of settlement had children by African servants and slaves, but they have inherited their mother's not their father's status. They are the children of labour not of capital. Yet within that condition of labour, the fact of having a father from the ruling class offered some advantages. The father could act as a present patron, arranging a job, or a house, or even helping financially. Thus there was a certain correlation between material benefits and ancestry reflected in skin colour. Skin colour came to represent gradations of distance from the ruling class, and was reinforced as such. The ruling class delegated tasks involving responsibility for social control, (for example management) more readily to those with lighter skin.

35. This scale of differentiation thus became internalised within the working class for material reasons. Women, concerned with the material prospects of their children, tend to marry those with lighter skins, except - significantly - when a darker skinned man is prosperous. As a result there are whole gradations of colour, from the poor whites (blancs coco, blancs rouilles) to the rouz clair, rouz fonce, and to different shades of black. The important point, however, is that these gradations operated within the working class. They arose because the choice of a husband or even a father by skin colour represented one way in which working class women - as individuals - could do something about their material circumstances.

36. For a class to free itself from the domination of capital requires collective action. If this is absent then forms of distinction develop reflecting differential relations to the ruling class. These divisions represent material differences within relations of production. They may take the form of skin colour, religion, region or education. But whatever the form, they are reinforced by the practices of the ruling class. The latter will distribute differential benefits according to these gradings, so that step by step society appears according to the continuous hierarchies of status, rather than the discontinuous antagonism of class.

37. Language. Divisions of language likewise reflect divisions of class. The working class and petty commodity producers speak Creole. French is the language of the Grand Blancs, English that of the state and of trade. These divisions are evident from Table 1.

Table 1

Languages in the Seychelles
(adults of 15 years and over)

Language	% of people speaking the language	% of people using the language at home
Creole	96.0	93.0
English	45.0	4.0
French	37.0	2.5
Gujarati	0.5	0.4
Chinese	0.4	0.1
Other	3.7	0.6

Source: Ministere de la Co-opération. 1978.

38. The existence of a separate language for the ruling class is a common phenomena. It is a way of reproducing this class culturally, in isolation from the culture of the working class. It is a form of pedigree of the tongue. Thus the Russian aristocracy used French, the Hungarian aristocracy spoke German, and many of the indigenous ruling classes in the colonial period adopted the language of the colonial power in addition to their own.

39. Secondly, language is a vehicle of cultural domination. This was most explicit in the Francophone policy of French colonialism. In the Seychelles prior to the coup d'etat there has been a systematic policy of denying to Creole a cultural history. Thus instruction in school was confined to English and French. From 1970 English was the only language used in the first 3 years of education, with French being introduced in addition in standard 4. In the grammar schools it was forbidden to speak Creole, even in break time. In one school anyone heard speaking Creole would be given a 'morceau de bois' which he would pass on to anyone else overheard in this way, with punishments at the end of the day for the child left with the wood. Few books existed in Creole. There is little if any history or literature printed in Creole.

40. At the same time this denial of the popular language weakened the communication of ideology. Many children experience difficulty in understanding French and English, and have even greater difficulty in expressing themselves in a foreign language. Significantly, the Catholic church - concerned more with the substance than the form of communication - was the only body to

officially use Creole (for the catechism), and both the Anglicans and Catholics broadcast in Creole.

41. The new government is acutely sensitive to the contradictions between the popular language of the family on the one hand, and those of the state, of capital, and international commerce on the other. As long as the language of the state is the language of Europe, access to the state is inevitably confined. As long as the main written language is foreign to the majority, limits will be put on the development of the popular culture. President Rene has made dramatic changes by developing the use of Creole on the radio and in the political life of the country (in the people's assembly, at SPPF meetings, in articles in the newspapers). But the question of language in education remains open. French has been introduced alongside English in Primary 1. There are plans to make Creole the medium for literacy, introducing French and English at a later stage of schooling. Creole is now encouraged as a medium of communication between teachers and pupils, and is the sole language in the many new creches for children from 4 to 6 years old. Its use is also the secret of the success of the adult literacy programme. These all represent steps in the government's commitment to democratise culture. At the same time it recognises that both English and French are languages of technology, and internationalism. They are the languages of foreign workers, as well as the old Seychellois ruling class. They, too, must be democratised rather than eliminated. Hence the policy of trilingualism, and the challenge in practice not only to the education system in general, but to the National Youth Service itself.

42. Education. The division within the capitalist labour process and within the society as a whole between intellectual and manual labour is reproduced through the system of education, and specifically through the institution of the school. The function of the school is twofold. First, inasmuch as a society is based on wage labour, it prepares the mass of children for a life of hired manual work. This includes the teaching of basic literacy and numeracy, discipline, an obedience to time, and a channelling of energy into sports and past-times. The pattern of authority and social relations between children, mirrors that which dominates in the capitalist process of production. In advanced capitalist countries - until recent changes in the labour process itself - schools could be described as Fordist, teaching set curricula to large numbers of children in a formal and authoritarian manner, assessment by regular quantitative marking, control through grading and competition, and so on.

43. Secondly, the system selects out a small number of pupils for further training to take on the tasks of the collective head. Not only are they given a long and substantial scientific education, they are also schooled in the use of language, in social skills and in the exercise of authority. Some parts of this education have a purely class defined function: the learning of languages (in English this took the form of Latin and Greek), of calculcus, or of cultural forms specific to the ruling class. But others were directly linked to production and its requirement of conception and administration.

44. In the Seychelles this two fold function was carried out in two quite distinct networks. The first was composed of district primary schools and a few junior secondary schools. Table 2 shows the proportion of different age groups who attended school, and thus the way in which basic schooling has grown:

Table 2.
% of adults who had attended school (1977)

Age Group	Males	Females	Total
15 - 29	69	79	74
30 - 44	53	58	56
45 - 59	45	47	46
60 and over	34	40	37
Average	55	60	57

Source: Ministere de la Co-operation. 1978.

Even among older Seychellois there is a strikingly high proportion of education, and by the 1970's some form of schooling was almost universal. Moreover, most children remain in school for 6, and many for 8 years. Table 3 shows the proportion of children originally attending school reaching each stage of the education system. 97% of all children complete 6 years of schooling, and 72% 8 years of schooling. These figures - so much higher than many third world countries - illustrate the link that exists between the school and the reproduction of a non-agricultural proletariat.

Table 3
Rates of drop out at the various levels of the educational system
%

	Primary	Junior Secondary	Grammar
Level 1	100		
6	97		
Form 1		71	10
2		63	9
3		24	9
4			8
5			7
6 low			1
6 high			1

Source: Ministere de Co-operation. 1978.

45. In spite of the relatively high attendance, we should note that the contradictions of language and the authoritarian methods of the colonial period have led to a relatively low level of educational attainment far from functional to capital. Quite apart from the children having their culture suppressed by being taught in foreign languages, the traditional teaching methods (learning by heart sections from radio programmes, copying from the blackboard, chanting in unison) too often failed to link learning with living. On the basis of interviews I estimate that even now some 25% of those children in their ninth year at school found great difficulty in reading and writing, if indeed they could read at all. As a result not only those who didn't attend school (43% of the adult working population in 1977), but many of those who did were either illiterate or semi-literate.

46. The second network is the elite system centred on the two grammar schools (and their attached preparatory schools), Seychelles College (for boys) and Regina Mundi Convent (for girls). Under the colonial regime, access to these schools was restricted by cash. Children were registered at (or even before) birth, and such fee-payers had quasi automatic selection to secondary education. The education itself was modelled on that of English public schools: priority given to academic work, to sport and competition, to individualism, to exercising authority, to sexual inhibition, the glorification of an establishment, tradition and so on. The handful of people who took A level (23 in 1976) were able to continue their education abroad and form the upper echelons of the ruling class. So scarce was higher educational qualification, that even those who took O level were sought after for employment in the civil service or in business.

47. The twofold division of education was similar to that obtaining in skin colour and language. The ruling class had a separate education to which few if any of the working class could have access (the College and the Convent accounted for 11% of primary school pupils, almost exactly the number of those <u>not</u> in the working class in the total population). The working class had a system organised around different principles, <u>within</u> which different levels could be obtained and therefore status achieved. Working class people even paid for children to enter primary and junior secondary schools where they had money over and above their subsistence needs. Mothers, unable individually to change the system of grades within production which were reflected in the grades within schools, saw schooling (like lighter skin marriages) as means of improving the money earning capacity of their children. Individually it offered a hope of upward mobility, even if collectively for the class as a whole it could not do so.

48. The new government has introduced far reaching educational reforms. It nationalised all schools (previously only 4 out of 36 primary schools were state owned), it introduced free compulsory education for all up to the age of 15, it required that all parents send their children to the nearest school, it expanded teacher training and called for a change in methods of teaching. Above all else it insisted that "all elements which tend to create social distinctions must be removed". (Onward to Socialism, p.44). A major problem however remains. Inasmuch as the hierarchical structure of work remains in the sphere of production, and in particular the division between the collective head and the collective hand, the educational system must necessarily reflect these hierarchies. The positions as part of the collective head, including those of the new layer of the working class, may now be open to all as the result of the sweeping away of the privileges of the old ruling class. But the structures of inequalities for the manual working class as a whole will remain.

49. This has two important consequences for the National Youth Service. First, in developing new forms of education within the youth service, it must be aware that this will often conflict with the demands of capitalist production with its insistence on two educations, one for intellectual and one for manual labour. It may then either accept these demands and tailor its education accordingly, or itself begin to transform in its own production processes the divisions of labour that underly these demands.

50. Secondly, the very opening up of the channels to educational advance raise the expectations of individual members of the working class for advance out of their immediate class position via education. One of the crucial moments in this educational advance, when competition for restricted places is particularly intense, is at the end of P.9, the very moment when children are being taken into the National Youth Service. The way in which the year spent in the NYS links to the continuation of education afterwards thus assumes a critical importance for the social aspirations of working class people given the structure of capitalist production as it actually exists. For some mothers the NYS represents the withdrawal of wage earners. For others it is a possible threat to further education. To maintain the support of both, and at the same time involve them in overcoming the divisions which separate the whole of the working class, is one of the principal political challenges for the NYS.

51. Conclusion. In discussing the major divisions in Seychellois society inherited by the new Government, I have privileged class and the imperatives

of capitalist production. The other divisions are secondary, or, put another way, can only be understood within the context of the experience of capitalist relations of production. Those divisions involving status - skin colour, education, and we could add material possessions, land, conspicuous consumption - can only be understood in terms of the strategies for improvement of individual working class people within the context of their class exclusion from the means of production, and the product of their labour. Similarly, the divisions of gender, the resultant forms of subordination of women, and a mother's attempted control of the child, can equally only be understood in class terms, and the conditions for reproduction of both capital and labour as a class. Finally, the division of language represents in a concentrated form the conflict of class cultures, whose principal meeting point is the school, and which accordingly presents itself as an immediate issue to a new government aiming to liberate the working people culturally as well as economically.

52. These divisions are reproduced in many departments of everyday life. Sexism, racism, class domination, educational elitism may be found at the workplace, in hospitals or schools, as in political movements themselves. The National Youth Service likewise cannot ignore these divisions, and the possibility that they will be reproduced within its very workings. At the same time it is a zone of relative autonomy. It is working with children whose personalities are more flexible, whose hopes are fresh, who have more positions to gain than they have to defend. They have the opportunity to contribute to the overcoming of these divisions in practice, and in doing so enjoy one sphere of education from which working people have always been excluded: the understanding of their position within the historical development of their country not simply as individuals but as a collective whose future lies in their hands.

Chapter 2

The project of the National Youth Service

1. National Youth Service for all young people was for long a policy of the Seychelles People's United Party before it came to power. Just as the policy of establishing creches was envisaged as a way of broadening and transforming the education system before children went to school, the National Youth Service was seen as a way of extending education in the year after children normally left school. At the SPUP's 2nd Congress in 1978 the age range envisaged was between 15-17. In the words of the policy statement, these "will be their most important years of formation when they will learn to step into the world equipped with a basic respect for others. This will be the period when they will be injected with the necessary energy and spirit to take them through life. This will be the period that will teach them that there is no shame in work. This will be the period that will prepare them for their future role in building up socialism in their country." It was seen, then, as a key moment in their transition from childhood to adulthood.

2. Later in 1978 a Commonwealth conference was held in Victoria to discuss the scheme, and report on other Youth Service experiences. In January 1979 a new Department of Youth and Community Development was set up with responsibility for developing the project. Discussions, fact finding visits abroad, and meetings continued throughout the year.

3. One of the first things to be agreed upon was the age of the participants. They were to be the P9 leavers, children who had completed their ninth year in school, and their peers who had already left school. The Youth Service was to be in essence a tenth year, for boys as well as girls, whatever their level of educational attainment. On the basis of the P9 pupils leaving school at the end of 1979, 72% of the 832 children would have been 16 years old during the NYS period, and a further 15% would have been 17 years old. For the age band leaving P9 at the end of 1980, Table 1 shows the ages they will have reached in 1981:

Table 4
Projected Age Range of children eligible for the NYS in 1981.

Age	Boys	Girls	Total	%
13				
14	1	12	13	1
15	58	80	138	9
16	494	524	1018	70
17	120	149	269	18
18	11	12	23	2
19	1	-	1	-
Total	685	777	1462	100

Source: Ministry of Education Statistics

The great majority of children will therefore be 16 and over in the course of their NYS year, as will be any students from a previous class who chose to repeat their P9 year in 1980. Currently there are 1653 children in P9, which gives some idea of the total population from which NYS recruits will be drawn.

4. A second thing to be agreed was that the children would live together in the NYS rather than with their families. The project was to be set in a residential camp where the children would have the opportunity to discover new ways of learning, working and playing together.

5. Thirdly, there was the issue of the compulsory nature of the scheme. Originally it was planned that all children of the P9 leaving age, as well as all 15 year olds who had already left school, should participate in the NYS. This was, in part, because it was felt that all children should have the experience of living and working together away from the divisions that had grown up within the educational and wider social system, and in part because it was felt that all children should contribute the 'service' to the community which the NYS was planned to provide. In October 1979, however, an opposition newspaper ran a story alleging that NYS was not only to be compulsory, but that it was to be sited on Coetivy, an island 130 miles from Mahé, and involve considerable manual work. An opposition, centred on the propertied classes, gathered force, children from the two grammar schools, Seychelles College and Regina Mundi, organised a major demonstration, with the support of a majority of pupils from the Junior Secondary schools demanding the abrogation of the NYS. The banners reflected the objects of their hostility: "We do not want to pick coconuts in Coetivy", "We do not want to brush pigs' teeth", "Coetivy for the rats", "We are not slaves to be sent into exile", "Wanted, O level students to pick coconuts in Coetivy", "Don't put us in the dark we are not monkeys". Those in the privileged sphere of secondary education, receiving specialised intellectual training, were objecting first to having to engage in manual labour, and second to being sent to one of the outer islands. In spite of personal appeals from the President, the opposition did not subside. Rather the following day, the demonstration was renewed, gathering to it the political opposition of those displaced by the new regime. "We are the victims of socialism", "Tanzanians go home" were the slogans that now replaced the narrower demands of the grammar school children. In the face of this the government went into the grammar schools, talked to the children, and eventually announced

that the NYS would become voluntary. The SPPF and the mass organisations held a large demonstration in support of the NYS on the following Monday, and a few days later the Government announced that a plot, with the support of South African mercenaries, had been uncovered. Some members of the opposition were arrested and a curfew announced.

6. The events of October demonstrated the major political significance of the project. Even in its outline form, the suggestion of overcoming the divisions of class, of intellectual and manual labour, and of the inner and the outer islands, within a year's collective project was enough to spark off the opposition of those layers whose privileges were indeed to be the victims of socialism. What is important, however, is that the government did not crush this opposition by force, nor did it modify its intention to make the NYS into a project which overcame rather than reinforced the divisions within Seychellois society. Rather it decided to make the scheme voluntary. But as the President said in his radio broadcast at the height of the events, "The parents who believe their children will not benefit from the NYS can keep them at home, but tomorrow they should not come to blame us that their children have not had a better chance to develop themselves." He was confident that a properly constituted socialist NYS would prove of benefit to all.

7. Two forms of National Youth service. The precise form of the NYS was, in fact, still far from settled. Broadly there were two models that had been used in other places. The first was a functional one, which aimed at solving particular problems in order to reproduce existing economical and social structures. Schemes of this kind have been generally directed at drop outs. They aim to:

- discipline that fraction of youth who are out of control, for example, school leavers in cities, especially those coming from rural areas.
- integrate them in the lower ranks of the division of labour, for example, by trying to keep them in the traditional rural sector.
- to show that the Government is doing something for the underprivileged youth.

8. In the third world, youth projects of this kind have generally one or more functions to fulfil:

1. National defence.
   * military training of the young
   * constitution of a reserve army of soldiers
   * restructuring of the army by the incorporation of newly trained cadres and technicians and by new recruits.

2. Economic development
   * involving young people in production and construction schemes
   * mobilisation of the young on problems of development and planning
   * vocational training of those who have dropped out of the formal educational system

3. Extension of the public services (education, health, and administration)
   * incorporation of youth service members in public services as workers paid at minimum rates, usually in distant places where the main labour force is reluctant to go (villages, forests, deserts, islands...)

4. Political mobilisation of the young
   * setting up a collective bodyguard for the existing regime
   * the constitution of a vanguard amongst the youth.

9. We should note that such schemes are not necessarily conservative. Sometimes, by putting a premium on innovation and initiative, they are much more advanced, pedagogically speaking, than the rest of the educational system. Yet they are all characterised by the functional requirement of reproducing existing relations of domination and exploitation.

10. The second model is that which sees a youth service as an agency of transformation. Its aim is not so much to solve the problem of the youth, but to solve the problem of society with the help of the youth. It aims to do this by developing new kinds of social relations within the youth service which the young can later argue for and carry with them to the wider society. This version sees a youth service as a pre-figurative form, a form of organisation which pre-figures future, transformed, general social relations.

11. It is this model which the Seychelles Government wishes to develop within the NYS. They see its role as preparing young people for a new socialist society. It is not seen as a way of obtaining cheap labour, of solving particular problems of the youth like unemployment, let alone being a form of National Military Service. Rather it is primarily educational, an education conceived much more broadly than that of a conventional school, one in which the children will have the chance to live together equally, and learn new ways to overcome the divisions of the past. It is in this sense that the NYS is seen as the seed of the new society.

12. So much is established, as are the main objectives which the government has for transforming the wider society. These include the development of

people's power, of equality, of a common contribution to the labour of building a new society in the Seychelles, of reinforcing the traditional national values - of solidarity, individual and social responsibility, unity, courage and pride - and of developing political, economic and cultural independence. But the establishment of the NYS requires further specifications which cannot be derived from these objectives alone. While it may be generally agreed that the NYS should pre-figure socialist relations, the definition of these relations, and the different institutional ways of achieving them, have yet to be set down. It is one of the merits of the NYS indeed that its framing requires all concerned to think about ways of achieving new social relations in concrete terms.

13. In thinking about the principles and methods to be adopted for the NYS, it is useful to recall previous experiences of pre-figurative youth services in socialist countries. A gathering together and analysis of such experiences would be a valuable research project for the NYS itself, once it is established. At this point we can only refer briefly to one of the richest periods for experimentation in this field, namely the early years of the Bolshevik revolution. Two of the experiments are particularly helpful because they represent divergent ways of organising a collective of young people. The first was the Dzerzhinsky Commune under the charge of Makarenko, the second was Schatzky's First Experimental Station of the People's Commissariat for Education. These two famous Soviet educationalists agreed on basic principles: to educate people capable of building a new socialist society through organising a collective education based on the self-government of the youth, and on the combination of education and production. Where they diverged was on the functions of the youth scheme and the methods that should be employed. They disagreed in short on <u>what</u> was to be pre-figured in their schools, and the relation of the pre-figurative units to the wider society.

For Makarenko the collective was a place where young people could most efficiently develop the 'communist personality' in line with the ideology of the party. He saw the task of the Commune as training disciplined, skilled workers, accustomed to accepting and exercising authority, loyal to the party and to the state. The function entailed the following organisational features:

- the separation of education and production within the commune
- a rigid syllabus and rigorous planning of all activities
- productive labour organised as disciplined industrial work, controlled by foremen and commanders, and motivated by piece rates and socialist emulation

- a central role to the Director
- organisation of the young people of mixed ages into work groups of 7 - 15 related to each other by work, friendship, ideology, and daily life
- each work group was run by a commander elected/or appointed from among the youth for 3 - 6 months (plus one or two deputies), with considerable authority. Each student was to have the experience of acting as commander at least once .
- teachers were to be members of the commune and were to obey the commanders
- the chief organ of self-government was the commanders' council (including the staff)
- an important role within the camp was assigned to the Party's youth movements, the Pioneers and the Komsomol. Indeed, in 1930 Makarenko declared that the Komsomol had become the real 'director' of the commune and that there was no further need for teachers.
- a military form of organisation (hierarchy, military exercises and time-tables, drill, military training, saluting, uniforms, military band)
- punishment was always to be given by the collective with reference to the individual transgression, and mainly took the form of extra work, deduction of pocket money, transfer of task, or loss of free time
- conscious discipline defined as the stage when all the communards voluntarily accept the rules and discipline of the Commanders' Council.

14. For Schatzky on the other hand children should not be pressed into a pre-determined mould. The collective should be a place where they can develop a critical consciousness, a natural and intellectual curiosity, creativity, and an understanding of work and the problems of the surrounding communities. Accordingly:

- the experience of work was to be considered one part of the process of education. The children should decide what work needed doing, and how it was to be carried out. The work was of two kinds: the daily tasks of running the colony (cooking, cleaning and administration), and production work such as growing vegetables, building roads, and water pipelines.
- planning was to be flexible and under the control of the children. At one stage they decided they would restrict their work to a minimum (to the adults' annoyance), but shortly after resumed it of their own accord.
- decisions were made in democratic assemblies which had decisive power
- teaching was organised round the experiences of daily life around them, not abstract school subjects
- if anyone broke a rule he or she was warned by the assembly; after three such warnings the child was expelled
- political education was regarded not as a separate 'abstract' subject but an inevitable consequence of living together and learning in a socialist way. Young people brought up in such an environment would be able to recognise their own interests and fight for them collectively.

15. Clearly Makarenko and Schatzky had different conceptions of what they were trying to build. Significantly, Makarenko had been widely criticised

for his methods in the mid-twenties by, among others, the leading Bolshevik educational theorist Krupskaya, and it was in fact Stalin's GPU who appointed Makarenko to the Dzerzhinsky home in late 1927. Schatzky's perspectives on the other hand found much more favour in the early years of the revolution, declining in the late twenties as Stalin's power increased. Both must be seen, therefore, in their historical context, as working examples of distinct perspectives on socialist relations in education.

16. These experiences help give a perspective to the task of starting the Seychelles NYS. But, like charity, political creativity begins at home. Historical experiences can help focus discussion in the present, but they cannot create the future. Already within the Seychelles this creative work is well under way, both in the government and in the recently constituted NYS advisory board. For this report we have taken as our brief the educational aims for the NYS as they have emerged from these discussions. They may be summarised as follows:

A. To provide within the NYS the opportunity to all participants to acquire a polytechnic education, including:

- general education (maths, sciences, English, French)
- technological training
- political education
- social education
- physical training
- cultural education
- health education
- military training.

B. To develop the following attitudes and qualities amongst the NYS participants:

- co-operation and participation (attitudes and skills to work in teams, practice of co-operative production)
- solidarity and fraternity
- conscious discipline (individual and collective responsibility)
- critical consciousness
- creativity
- respect and practice of manual labour
- honesty
- re-appropriation of the national cultural values
- self reliance
- persistence and tenacity (completion of any work undertaken)

- ability of expression (oral, written, audio-visual)
- social sensibility (how to listen, to observe, to feel, to analyse, to communicate, to relate to people, to convince, to ask meaningful questions).
- scientific outlook on the world (research and experimentation; the enquiry method)
- organisation of people and projects
- enthusiasm
- self development (in the prospect of a life long education to learn how to read newspapers and books, to take notes, to summarise, to look at films, various techniques of learning)
- pedagogical abilities. NYS leavers should be able to transfer to their fellow citizens (in family, school, training centres, at work) the knowledge, understanding, commitments, attitudes and skills they have acquired.
- internationalism: awareness of belonging to a) the Indian Ocean region; b) the third world; c) the people of the world.

C. to develop the following qualities as political persons among the participants of the NYS:

- experience of responsibility and leadership
- the conception that leaders and cadres must serve those whom they represent
- the capacity and willingness as working members of society to express their views on political issues
- the capacity to resolve political difficulties and differences with those of a common interest through discussion.

18. The outline we present attempts to embody these values and the government's perspective on the NYS as the seed-bed of new social relations. It should be read and discussed in this spirit, not as a blueprint to which all must conform. For in initiatives of this kind the advances cannot be made in the head. They are made by the practice of those involved, working towards common ends, listening to each other, remaining tolerant, expecting short term difficulties as the necessary cost of long term success. While, then, we cannot foresee all the eventualities, what we can do is to prepare ourselves critically. We can try and understand how various aspects of school and general social life in a capitalist society come about and serve to reproduce the class system which a socialist society is trying to pass beyond. As for a voyage at sea, the compass and charts are necessary parts of the preparation. But the sailing of it - that is the task of the sailors.

For the NYS there will be many involved, children, teachers, parents and supportive citizens. The journey, like all works of creation, involves risks.

The government has already shown that it is willing to take risks - in defending its scheme against those forces who want to reproduce the old divisions - and in developing the project in ways which have not been tried elsewhere. We contribute the following chapters in this spirit, aware that we, too, are involved in a scheme from which not only the adults of the Seychelles but the working people of the world will learn.

Chapter 3

The Camp and its Organisation

1. The Site. The first camp is to be organised on the La Plaine Estate, a peninsula of less than one square mile in the northwest section of Mahé. As can be seen from the accompanying map, it is in two parts: one half steep and rocky, with numerous coconut trees, the other flat and relatively fertile, part of which has been used as a coconut plantation, and part of which consists of mangrove swamps. There is a road through the fertile area, a number of farm buildings, mainly piggeries, and a calorifère, a factory for the processing of copra from coconuts. Since the government has taken over the area from its former British owners, the plantation and factory have continued to operate with hired labour. The peninsula also has long strands of sandy beaches, including one of the finest and most popular in the Seychelles, the beach of Port Launay.

2. The channel and water area at the north east of the site is an important breeding ground for bait fish used commercially for tuna fishing, and, off Port Launay, for prawns. Both appear to thrive as the result of the ecology of the mangrove swamps. This zone has been one of the few put forward as suitable for shellfish cultivation, and falls within the area of responsibility of the NYS. The swamps (which are the best examples of mangrove swamps in the granitic Seychelles) present one problem, however, which is that they are the breeding ground for mosquitoes. The inland swamp (B on the map) could be reclaimed and the mosquito problem solved in that way, but there are ecological difficulties in clearing swamp A. What is required is the regular filling in of crab holes (in which the mosquitoes breed), the channelling of the swamps with concrete walls, the cutting back of undergrowth and vegetation around the living and working areas, and the securing of proper drainage, sewerage and rubbish disposal. Achieving environmental sanitation without destroying the fertile ecological regime in the neighbourhood of swamp B will be one of the first natural educational projects for the NYS.

3. On the other side of the coast road, which currently defines the limits of the camp, lies a small area of estate land, well irrigated for fruit cultivation by the upper reaches of the channel. This stretch of water is significant, too, for its potential as a site for crayfish production, and for its current population of the fish species tilapias, which is an eater of mosquitoes. From here the land rises steeply to a mountainous area on which coconut trees are scattered. Running east the road passes through the

small village of Port Launay (on the opposite side of the channel to the peninsula) where there is a church and a school, and a little further on through Port Glaud where there is also a clinic. The island's capital, Victoria, is about six miles to the North over a mountain road.

4. The size of the camp. The current plan is to take some 500 children in the first year of the camp, that is to say one third of those eligible for the NYS. This we think is a maximum. It may, indeed, be too large to accomplish the educational aims of the camp. In capitalist countries there has been a tendency to expand the size of schools for economic reasons. It is argued that there is an economy in certain overheads and the possibility of a greater division of labour (specialisation) among the staff. On the other hand, it is clear that such schools are impersonal, and have a number of diseconomies, not least because it is difficult to generate a spirit of collective responsibility in a large school. Further, if one of the aims of the NYS is to reject the authoritarian forms of organisation of the capitalist school in favour of a system of self-government, then it is important that the service as a whole when fully developed should be organised in a number of small camps rather than in two or three much larger ones. As we hope will become clear from the chapter on the political organisation of the camp, a system of representation is more effective where all those being represented are known to each other. Above 250 people such personal acquaintance becomes difficult. If a camp of 500 is finally agreed upon, it will be necessary to consciously foster ways in which children can get to know each other: by switching group membership, co-ordinating groups one with another in different ways, and so on.

5. There is the additional immediate question of the rate of build up of the camp. It will be a major task to start the NYS with 500 children in its first year of operation. There is a problem of staffing, of developing new structures, and testing ideas. All become more serious the larger the size of the initial intake. We would have preferred the NYS to have taken only 300 in its first year for these reasons. 500 new entrants will stretch many resources to their limits. To go beyond 500 could well endanger the whole project itself - given the fact that it is not aiming to replicate existing projects based on military organisation, but to create an educational project with new social forms.

6. The internal structure of the camp. The structure of daily organisation within the camp should also be related to the size at which groups can manage

democratically, as well as to the type of skills which can be learnt at different scales of organisation. It is political economy not monetary economy which should determine the size of units and the levels of their co-ordination.

7. For all activities within the camp we think the primary organisational cell should be a unit of from 6 to 20 people. Beyond 20 discussion and the mutual solution of problems becomes difficult, procedures become less flexible, and a collective personal identity is easily lost.

8. The three spheres of daily life. In Figure 1 we outline the three spheres in which we see the life of the camp being divided.

Figure 1.

The Basic Structure of Camp Life

	Spheres		
	Domestic	Camp Production	Re-Creation
Education	Development of the six skills: basic, scientific, intellectual, social, organising, of the senses.		
Economy	Housework and the Domestic Subsistence	Segment production and connecting	Cultural Production
Politics	Units, Sphere Committees, Central Committee and Parliament		
Health	Nutrition Hygiene Sleep Personal development	Safety at work Health and the labour process Environmental sanitation	Physical fitness Sport
Collective Safety	Fire precautions, sea safety, military training and the guarding of the camp		
Rules and Popular Justice	Making rules for camp and unit. Dealing with transgressions.		

i) The domestic sphere. There has been considerable discussion about how the activities which normally take place in the home - sleeping, eating, discussing, washing - should be organised in the camp. In military organisations these tend to take place separately in relatively large units: eating in a common mess or refectory, washing being done in a centralised laundry, sleeping in barracks or large dormitories. There are arguments both of economy and ease of central control for 'socialising' domestic life in this way. For the NYS, however, the central question

should be how the organisation of domestic life can help overcome the forms of subordination within the traditional family, the subordination of women by men on the one hand, and of the young by the old on the other.

Clearly within the NYS many of the key relations which underlie these types of subordination do not apply. The age range of the participants will be narrow. They will not be engaged in child bearing or child rearing. Nor - as members of the camp - will they be involved in the complicated web of inheritance and obligation. Nevertheless, many questions of relevance to the transforming of relations of gender and age will be posed in the life of the NYS. The camp will be co-educational. It will involve the adult animateurs working with the student youth. There will be tasks to be undertaken and learnt about which are customarily the preserve of either men or of women.

It seems to us important that the children - rather than having these domestic activities organised in a way which bears little relation to the family life to which they will return - should gain experience of living in small units and of undertaking those tasks that form part of family life. To take cooking as an example. It will be more useful for all the students to learn how to cook for a family size unit, than for a few people to take part in mass catering for the whole camp. Psychologically, too, there are good grounds for having children live as part of small and more manageable primary groupings, than in larger and less personal collectives.

Our proposal is, therefore, for one part of camp life to be organised around the domestic unit. This will consist of 14 children plus an adult animateur, each with its own sleeping quarters, a quiet verandah, toilet facilities, food store, kitchen, and that ecological extension of the kitchen - the pig and kitchen garden.

We would also suggest that the units be built in clusters of three. This would allow a measure of sharing between units. Each cluster would have, for example, a common room, joint laundry facilities, and the advice and support of a cook (a sort of 'cluster mother'). Such an intermediate level of domestic organisation - between the family and society - is one that is absent in modern capitalist countries, and one whose successful development in the NYS would be of significance for the political and economic life of the wider society.

In all then a camp of 500 would be composed of 36 units grouped together

in 12 clusters. For reasons discussed later in the report, these clusters should at least initially be segregated by sex. This will have at least one advantage in relation to our current discussion, namely that sexual divisions of labour will not be able to arise within the units. A boys' unit will have to undertake tasks normally performed by women and girls, and vice versa for the units of the girls.

ii) Camp production. The major part of the student's working day will be spent in a production unit linked to a specific type of work at the level of the camp. This work would include all those kinds of job normally found in a wider society - the production of food and drink for consumption in the camp; the production of 'export' crops - in this case copra and wild cinnamon; the various types of co-ordinating activity required to link the different activities in the camp or the camp to the outside world. But it should be noted that the term production unit is used not because all the children's time will be spent in physical production, but that production unit will be the site at which a variety of daily activities take place.

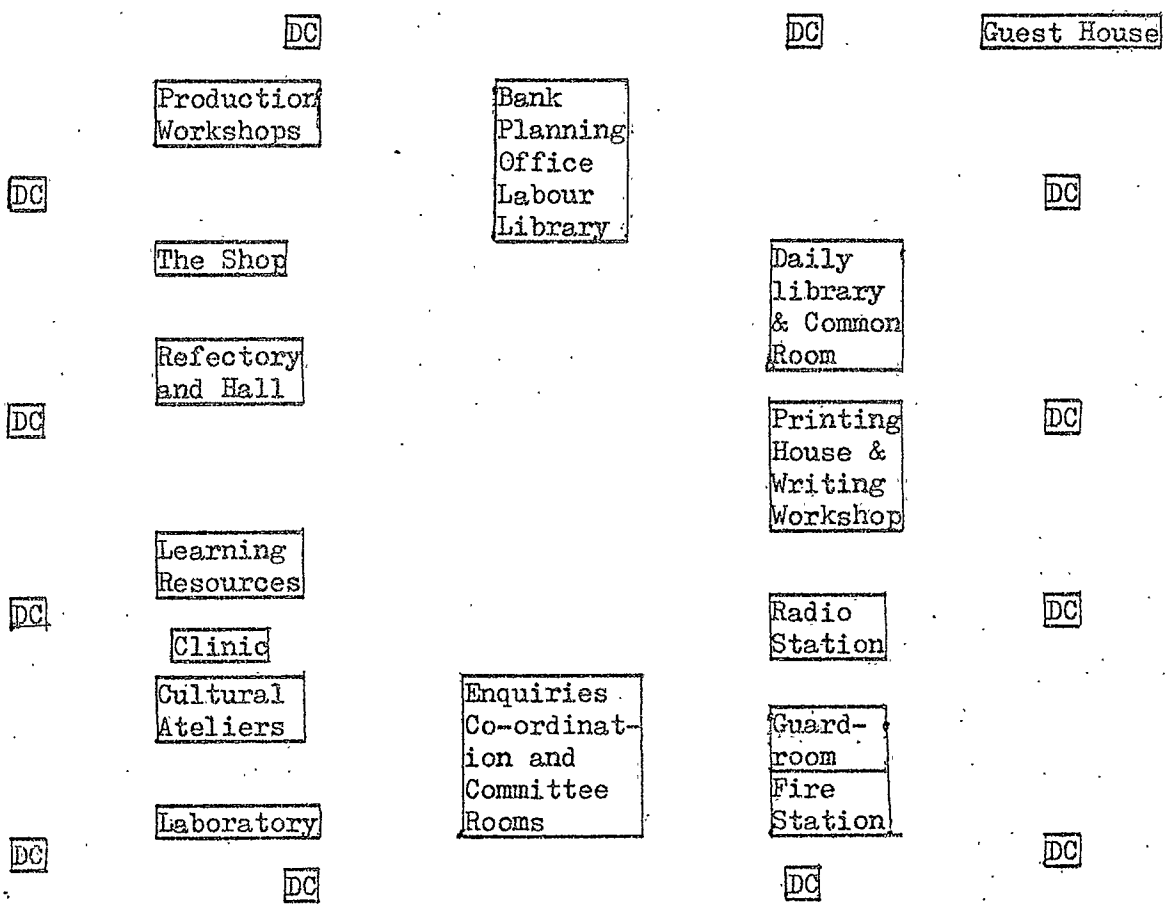
iii) Re-creation. In addition to being in a domestic unit and a production unit, each child will belong to one or more recreational units. These will operate on some afternoons, in the evenings and at weekends.

9. The six currents. Described in this way the normal day might appear to be overburdened with work: domestic chores in the morning and evening, camp production during the day. In the literature on womens' subordination such a programme is referred to as 'the double day'. However, the many other activities which we might expect to find as separate parts of a youth service 'curriculum' we prefer to see as currents running through all three spheres. Thus health - instead of being left to trained medical staff - would be a subject of discussion in the domestic unit (nutrition, hygiene), in the production unit (safety at work, environmental sanitation), and in the recreational unit (exercise and sport). The same is true of all six currents which, in addition to health, include education, economics, politics, safety, and collective discipline. Any activity in any of the three spheres could then be seen in one of these ways, or as all of them simultaneously. A day's work in a craft workshop will not be merely manual labour performed under the discipline of managers and the drive for profit, but a practical experience involving all currents - with time devoted to each. The currents are the weft in the fabric of the working day.

10. The Building Plan. The full construction plan of the camp has yet to be finalised. We present it schematically in Figure 2. At the core of the site will be the facilities used by all the camp:

- economic	bank shop refectory and main hall production workshops
- information	radio station press and printing house the labour library
- educational	centre for learning resources teaching rooms
- health and hygiene	clinic
- collective safety	guard room and fire station
- culture	cultural ateliers: dark room studios audio-visual room daily library and common room
- science and technology	laboratory
- politics and administration	enquiry centre and committee rooms telephone exchange.

Figure 2



Main Institutions of the NYS

Key: DC...Domestic clusters, composed of 3 units and a common room

11. The living quarters will be more scattered. There will be the twelve clusters, each a trio of domestic units, and a guest house for the many visitors that may be expected in the camp - parents, helpers, and visitors from abroad.

12. Term times, project periods and vacations. The full integrated life of the camp we suggest be concentrated in three 12 week terms. The time between terms we suggest be called project periods. This is the time when units will be encouraged to leave the camp on expeditions, for project works on the outer islands, or in Mahé itself. These projects will be various: some will be construction work and land reclamation, some scientific investigations on land or at sea, (whether natural studies such as the observation of birds, or social studies such as the observation of co-operatives, of the banking system, or the organisation of tourism), others may be to provide help to some specific section of the Seychellois community. These projects we see in part as developing out of the needs of the NYS social-economy. Some students for example may require short intensive courses to learn skills necessary for their work at the NYS. Others may even need to travel with their animateurs abroad to purchase equipment, or gather information.

13. Not all students will be able to go on projects at the same time. Some will be required to maintain subsistence production at the camp. Others may be involved in projects within the camp. All students, too, will be able to take up to three weeks holiday in the year, to be fitted in with the arrangements in the camp. But as a rough guideline we would hope that each student would be able to spend at least eight out of the 13 project weeks carrying out a specific project either inside or outside the camp.

14. The above is a brief summary of the structure for the camp. We now want to give further specifications to this outline, and explain some of the reasons lying behind it, by looking at each of the six currents in turn.

Chapter 4

The NYS as a new form of education

1. From the commodity school to the capitalist school.

We have come to identify education with particular institutions - schools and colleges - geared primarily to the young, each with its clearly defined curriculum, its specialisations, and its structure of social relations centred on the final authority of the teachers over the students. Yet the school as an institution with these characteristics is only one way in which education can be organised. In pre-commodity societies education is not separated off in this way. It is only with the growth of market relations, and the consequent emergence of the division of intellectual and manual labour, that the school as such is established. One of the first such societies in the ancient world was that of the Greeks. Their word 'skhole' - which is the root for the modern word 'school' - derives significantly from the words for leisure and philosophy. In the Graeco-Roman empires, and in the medieval European world, schools remained primarily places for specialised intellectual learning. Only with the development of capitalism was schooling generalised to the children of all classes and not just the future intellectual elite. Indeed it is striking that the development of an urban proletariat has almost always resulted in the state introducing compulsory education - a kind of educational conscription. The type of education required by capital, and the means it developed to meet such requirements gave rise to the modern capitalist school. We must first note the key features of this school if we are to be fully conscious of the challenge facing the NYS in setting up an alternative socialist form of education.

2. Ten characteristics of the capitalist school. The ten characteristics I want to distinguish cover three broad fields: a) the relation of education to social production; b) the content of education; c) the social relations within education. The ten are as follows:

i) the separation of education from social production. There are three main spheres of social production: those governed by the market economy; those organised by the state outside market relations; and those that take place within the household. The school is cut off from each of these, and teaches lessons about them abstractly.

First there is a specific age of learning, largely defined for children whose only experience is domestic society. The age of education is thus cut off from the age of production.

Second, the process of education itself is cut off from production. Few schools have farms or factories whose production problems become the practical questions for a more general education to answer.

Third, even within the school, the production of the educational economy - the employment of teachers, the cooking of meals, the maintenance of buildings, the provision of teaching materials - is largely accomplished by wage labour or the purchase of inputs from the market. The students are once more abstracted from the material problems of their own education. They are the objects not the subjects of educational labour.

ii) the predominance of abstracted mental disciplines in the curriculum. The primary task of school education is seen as mental training, whether in basic skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic, or in the disciplines of space (geography), time (history), communication (language), matter (the sciences) and so on. Because of the separation of education from production these mental 'disciplines' cannot be related to practice (until after the child leaves school). Though perhaps devised around problems of practice they take on a 'life of their own'. They become vehicles for training the mind in the abstract. Learning becomes an end in itself. The teacher's task - certainly until recently - has been to transfer these fields of knowledge to the student, regardless of the perceived relevance of such knowledge. We may speak of the tyranny of disciplines within the content of education.

iii) fragmentation of knowledge and the division between the two curriculums. Alongside the division of labour within capitalist production itself has developed a division of labour within the school curriculum. This is not merely a question of specialisation - between arts and sciences for example - thus breaking down the earlier educational ideal of universal knowledge. More important, it is the growth within the curriculum of the general social division of intellectual and manual labour. For intellectual labour there is an emphasis on the development of a theoretical capacity, creativity, a critical ability, autonomy of work, and self-expression in writing, speaking and other aspects of culture. For manual labour, it is a question of the practice of basic skills, imitation, description, and work regulated by others.

iv) primacy to the development of individual technical skills rather than of collective, socio-political ones. The main function of the school is the production of individual labour power with technical skills, whether those

fitted for conceptual (intellectual) work or for executive (manual) labour. Questions of wider social relations are separated off into subjects for study at a higher level: economics, sociology, 'civics', current affairs. How different economic units can relate, what different forms of social and political organisation have been practised or are possible - such questions are regarded as specialist in which only a few people need be skilled. The same is true of the many practical social skills: those of organising, or collective problem solving, or learning to put one's point and listen to others. In short, socio-political skills are taught primarily to those due to enter the ruling class.

v) hierarchy within the school. Many of the social relations within the school parallel those of the capitalist labour process. The first similarity is hierarchy. We find it throughout the social economy of the school: between teachers and pupils; amongst the teachers themselves; between the teachers and managers; between the managing teaching staff and the manual workers; even within the body of the pupils themselves. Of course there are technical differences within the school as a society. First and foremost teachers have an experience and knowledge which they are employed to impart to their pupils. The same is true to a more limited extent of older and younger pupils. But there is no reason why such technical differences should coincide with distinctions of authority, nor why such differences should be re-affirmed and strengthened by grading and qualification, nor why experience in organisation should be restricted to a small number of teachers rather than taught to all.

vi) individualism and competition. One consequence of a hierarchical system of grades and qualifications is that there is an inducement to competition: competition among teachers for position of responsibility; competition among pupils to achieve good exam results, or accede to some position of authority. Groups with a common task and a common interest are thus fragmented and individualised, their relationships reduced to those of competition rather than co-operation. Moreover this form of social relations is consciously strengthened through individual sports, internal exams, marks, discouragement of co-operation ('cribbing') and so on. In capitalist production the form of the wage - piece rates, grading allowances, rights to overtime - provide both the material incentive and the means of fragmentation of the labour force. In schools hierarchies of quantitative achievement and of authority play the same function among students.

vii) separation of intellectual and manual labour. Within the school intellectual labour is represented by the teachers. They are clearly distinguished from manual staff. A domestic science teacher may give a lesson in cooking at the very moment when a trained chef is preparing the school food. They are also clearly distinguished from the students who are - in the educational labour process - the objects of labour. Just as students and manual workers are not called on to organise, nor to discuss the direction of the school, so neither are they called on to teach.

viii) forms of opposition and the question of discipline. If the school reproduces the relations of the capitalist labour process, it also reproduces forms of resistance by the controlled. Faced with the inculcation of knowledge separated from practice, with the restriction of self-expression and under-privileging of non-mental skills, with the denial of the right to affect curriculum, school organisation and method of teaching, many children - particularly from the subordinated streams - resist. Some refuse to attend school. Others misbehave in class, deface walls and even attack others who form part of the system they experience as oppressive. These forms of resistance appear as problems of discipline, but we should note that it is a particular type of discipline that is being called for. It is an individualised discipline to a bourgeois structure of authority. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the point than the success of those experiments amongst remedial children, in special schools or in communes, where the most 'difficult' children have been liberated from the narrow content and authority structures of the conventional schools, and have developed quite new and creative relations and means for self-education.

ix) centralisation of schools. There has been a tendency for schools to grow and amalgamate, and for control over them to become more centralised with the development of capitalism. This is because size is determined by the economics of the capitalist educational labour process; the development of greater specialisation with size, economies of buildings, of support services like food, and thus of cost per pupil. Many secondary schools in Britain, for example, now have between 2,000 and 3,000 pupils. This only serves to intensify the managerial hierarchy, the differentiation of staff and of pupils, and of generalised systems of control.

x) relation of schools to society. The overall control of schools under capitalism has taken many forms. In the early period many were controlled

by the church. Others have had a considerable measure of parental control, either because there was an element of market control (when the schools were fee paying and in competition with each other), or because school boards were subject to direct election by the local community. In most capitalist countries there has been an increasing tendency to central state control, reproducing the ideology and the technical requirements of 'society' as interpreted by the stateapparatus. In some countries (like France) there has been a centralisation of syllabus. But for the most part the state has set limits and controlled boards of managers (and therefore teacher appointments) to ensure that schools remain functional to capital. Schools in short have been seen by the state, by capital, by parents and by many teachers, as institutions of ideological and technical preparation for a given society, rather than as seeding grounds for a new society.

3. The NYS and socialist education. If the NYS is to develop a new socialist education, it must be aware of the forms and functions of capitalist education which are its inheritance. To think ourselves out of the shell which formed us is the most difficult but at the same time the most important task for critical thought. We cannot lay down an alternative in the abstract. All we can do is first to understand the nature and determinants of the capitalist school; and then to put forward suggestions to guide us in building an alternative in practice.

4. Re-uniting education and production. The first task is to restore the immediate connection between education and daily life, between learning and its application in action. There are many ways in which this can be (and has been) done. In the USSR between 1917 and 1931 there were many experiments: in some the children went as extra labour in productive enterprises in the vicinity; in others there were workshops within the school; others practised a degree of self reliance, cooking and mending for themselves. In China, particularly during the periods 1958-60, 1964-65, and 1969-72 many new part-work schools were established, some with plots of land, others with small workshops attached. In Cuba, some of the urban schoolchildren go to work in the countryside for seven weeks in the year. In the countryside the ESBEC schools for children between 12 and 15 are responsible for the cultivation of about 500 hectares; while in 1976-77 it was reported that over 160,000 primary school children worked on gardens attached to schools, while 514 vegetable gardens were cultivated. (For details on these experiences and others see Ronald F.Price, Marx and Education in Russia and China, Croom Helm, 1977, and UNESCO, Learning

and Working 1979).

5. In some cases the pressure for school children to work came from the general production needs of the country. In others, part-work schools were a way of getting children engaged in production to come to school. The extent to which education was geared to production and vice versa, was often tenuous. In the Seychelles there is no crisis of production on the scale of the Soviet Union immediately after the revolution. Nor is the problem of weaning children away from productive labour so serious as it was in certain provinces in China. The NYS has therefore the opportunity to concentrate on developing production for education, keeping education much to the fore.

6. Initially the business of reproducing daily life at the camp will provide many varied production tasks. Some possibilities for 'export' products from the camp already exist. There are the coconut plantations on the peninsula. There is also wild cinnamon which can be collected and sold on the market. For the most part, however, the camp should aim at self-reliance, catching its own fish, raising its own pigs, growing its own vegetables, and so on. Some of these can be produced on domestic plots, and using domestic boats. Others will be organised at the camp level. In either case, skilled labourers will be required to teach those NYS students who do not have the experience of such production, and to develop scientific discussion aimed at improving the stock, and the methods of rearing and cultivation.

7. Primary production is only one example of necessary day-to-day tasks. Table 5 outlines a number of others. In each case the principle of education will be the same. Skills will be required. Animateurs - some drawn from the corps of teachers and youth workers, others from the body of skilled work men and women on the island - will guide and discuss the tasks, and ensure their completion. Education will become a support system to help achievement, not an institution of control and the transfer of abstract disciplines.

8. The type of educational support will vary. Some basic skills will be needed in many occupations: literacy, numeracy, language. For those not proficient in these when they join the NYS there will be an intensive unit staffed with specialist teachers to help them master these skills. Other skills will be more specific to the type of production engaged in: aspects of engineering, of plant biology, of chemistry, the principles of electricity, of human biology, of communications, social psychology and so on. Some of these can be raised in the individual production units along with the learning of specific skills. Others can be taught at the educational ateliers during the scientific skills period in the morning.

Table 5

The Three Spheres of Daily Life

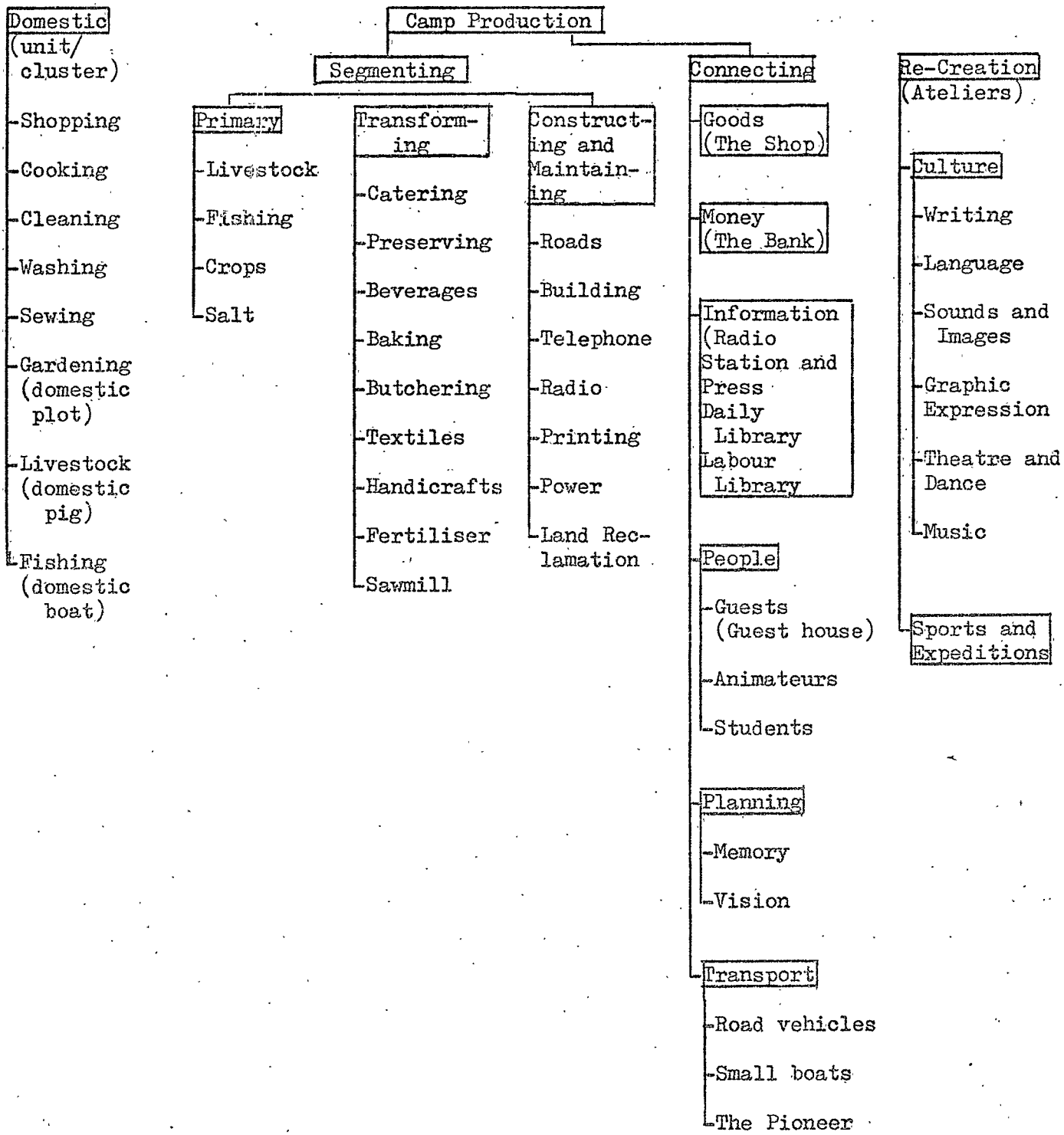


Table 6

Six skills and their links to production

Educational Resources	Domestic	Camp	Re-creation
1. Basic skills			
Literacy	Menus		Writing/Reading
Numeracy	Budgets	Engineering Connecting	Sports
Language		External Connecting	Newspapers
2. Scientific skills			
Principles of scientific experimentation and scientific knowledge			
Science of nature	Domestic plot/boat	Segment production	
Science of humanity	Domestic unit	Connecting	Culture
3. Intellectual skills			
Analaysis and ordering			
Argument			
Problem solving	self-management	self-management	self-management
Historical perspective			
4. Social skills			
Capacity of expression and communication			
Listening to others and social sensibility			
Collective solutions to collective problems	"	"	"
Playing with others			
5. Organising skills			
organising a project	"	"	"
organising people			
6. Skills of the senses			
Bodily co-ordination	Manual tasks	Fishing	Dance, sport
Bodily health	Nutrition/ First aid	Manual tasks	Exercise
Ear			Music
Voice			Reading/Theatr
Fingers	Sewing	Handicrafts	Drawing/Musica Instrument

9. These are only two of the skills within the NYS. The full list is given in Table 6 and is summarised here:

Basic skills

Scientific skills: principles of scientific experimentation
science of nature
science of humanity

Intellectual skills

Social skills

Organising skills

Skills of the senses

Of these, intellectual, social and organising skills will be part of all activity. The development of the capacity for self-expression, of listening to others, of learning how to achieve collective solutions through discussion, of presenting an argument clearly, of organising a project, all these will be common to each part of every student's day. Once more the animateurs will have the task of helping: not in the abstracted atmosphere of the classroom, but in the real circumstances of the students' daily life.

10. In many of the experiences that try and unite education and production there has been a division between the two. A certain time of the day devoted to education. Another part to production (in the Cuban ESBEC schools it was 3 hours a day on average). The NYS should experiment with a more flexible system. Production should be education. When specialised or general teaching is required outside the unit of production, this can be arranged in the educational ateliers.

11. Daily life, instead of being an accepted routine, will become a laboratory of learning. The school will lose its walls.

12. <u>The production unit replaces the classroom</u>. Instead of the classroom for teaching of abstract disciplines, we should adopt the production unit whose raison d'etre is the accomplishment of a specific type of production. We have broken up the areas of daily production into four: that which takes place in the domestic unit, that concerned with specific material production, that which develops the skills of the senses, and that which co-ordinates all particular productions. For all these there will be a basic unit of between 6 and 20 people, to each of which there will be an animateur attached.

13. <u>Unity of intellectual and manual labour</u>. Some intellectual tasks will be common to all production. The capacity to analyse, express, understand,

present an argument, to develop a method of approach to any problem, (use of library, capacity to ask questions, experiment,) and so on. These will be required in the domestic unit, quite as much as in the production units, or in the re-creational.

14. At the same time there are other skills which are more specific; some conceptual, others executional, some requiring intellectual labour, others manual labour. The division within the household between these tasks cannot be done away with. What can be overcome is the specialisation of household members to perform these tasks. By the end of the year all NYS students should be capable of performing all basic household tasks (see Table 5).

15. In camp production, some tasks are those traditionally associated with manual labour, others with intellectual labour. Our aim should be to provide each NYS pupil with experience in both: specialised manual, and co-ordinating intellectual. In the first 6 months he or she should be established to a unit in one of these fields, in the second 6 months to a unit in the other. He or she will then leave the NYS with training in two specific skills, one intellectual, the other manual.

16. The division of labour should be recognised. What we must try and avoid is the over-specialisation of the labourer.

17. Social not merely individual education. Problem oriented education encourages group co-operation rather than individual competition. The goal is the achievement of the collective task, not the advancement of the individual. As a consequence education becomes a matter not merely of teaching individual skills (though skills embodied in individuals there must be), but of teaching how such skills can be combined to improve the collective performance. The perspective should be "Work of each for weal of all." Social skills can no longer be confined to those specialising in intellectual labour. They must be developed by everyone. Economics, being the science of organising the material reproduction of everyday life, becomes a general experience in which all participate and which all should therefore understand. Politics, too, ceases any longer to be the abstract study of civics and the national constitution, but the daily practice of governing ourselves, whether at home, at work, or in the places of our re-creation. Social science becomes a science of generalised daily practice where we experiment collectively in the way we do things, not an elite knowledge where the experiments take place on others.

18. Reclaiming Faust. Faust - in the myth drawn from the early days of capitalist relations and therefore of the division of head and hand in Europe - sold his soul to the devil in exchange for universal knowledge. The new socialist education should reclaim Faust from the devil, since if we can once more unite head and hand at the level of the group, the group may collectively possess universal knowledge (or at least as much as is needed for its daily reproduction) without forfeiting the non-intellectual side of its humanity. We have observed how the Faustian fall is still embodied in the curriculum of the capitalist school, privileging as it does the development of mental faculties. Any socialist education of adolescents must try to follow the lead of the educators of pre-school children in developing all our senses. Hence the emphasis in the curriculum on the skills of the senses. In the Seychelles, some of these senses have been less subordinated than they have been in advanced capitalist society, and there are collectively cultural traditions which no colonial education system could suppress. Here are seeds already developed, ready for further growth into a socialist rather than commercial capitalist culture.

19. Transforming the labour process. The orientation of learning around practical problem solving provides the basis for the re-organisation of the educational labour process. First, the students are no longer set against each other in individual competition, but encouraged to share their skills, and to act collectively. Secondly, the teachers become part of the problem solving unit, animateurs, providers of support and encouragement rather than inculcators of abstract discipline. Thirdly, the support staff, skilled workers outside the specialised educationalists, are themselves to be educated into becoming educators. Fourthly, since adults will have been educated in and trained to teach in a capitalist school, they, too, will learn from the new form of education. The teachers will learn as well as teach, the students teach as well as learn. Instead, then, of the students being the objects of the educational labour process, they will become simultaneously subject and object, object in being subject of the production process in question. It is this which justifies the description of the NYS as being a materialist rather than an idealist education, an education in which human beings learn in the very process of their transformation of nature.

20. Relations between the NYS and Seychellois society. Inasmuch as the NYS is intended to be an initiator of new relations in the wider Seychellois society, we should recognise from the beginning that the NYS project is in a sense educating parents as well as children, the government as well as the governed,

the teachers as well as the taught. It is important that provision is organised for parents to participate in the NYS experiment, both as sources of practical skill, and as people experiencing the new forms of organising and producing. How to do this can only be sketched at this point: perhaps through a guest house where parents spend a day or two at a time, and participate in activities organised by the students; perhaps as attenders to open days, cultural shows, or exhibitions of work. The important thing is that they should not be cut off from the school as so often happens in capitalist education. They, too, can teach, and they, too, can learn.

21. Summary and conclusion. By way of summary, Table 7 contrasts the main features of the capitalist school with the projected programme for the National Youth Service. Central to many of the differences is the new relation established between production and education:

- it serves to end the separation of learning and its application;
- abstraction will not be dispensed with - it is necessary to transform nature and society; but it will be a practical abstraction, not an abstraction which becomes built into disciplines which assume a life of their own;
- it encourages critical specific practice rather than learning through formalised imitation;
- by organising around problem solving it encourages collective work and collective learning not only among students, but between students and teachers.

22. By itself, however, this unity is not enough. Production and education can be united in hierarchical ways (this indeed is the goal of some advanced capitalist educationalists). They can be united in ways which strengthen rather than diminish the divisions between head and hand. What is necessary is to find ways of uniting intellectual and manual labour, and of co-ordinating production in non-hierarchical ways. If we can do this in practice in the NYS, we shall not only have laid the basis for a new type of education, but, as the government foresees, of a new type of society as well.

Table 7

	Capitalist school	Socialist education
Education and Production	- separation in time (specific age of learning)	- permanent education
	- separation in space (school isolated from farm and factory)	- education part of production - production is the school
	- separation within school (paid labour for production).	- support staff as animateurs, students as support staff
Content of Education	- abstract disciplines	- problem-oriented learning
	- predominance of mental education	- education of all human faculties
	- division of mental and manual curricula	- unity of mental and manual education
	- individual technical education	- collective social education of which technical skills a part
Educational Labour Process	- hierarchy of knowledge related to hierarchy of control	- separation of control of knowledge and control of production
	- grading among teachers and among students, encouraging individual competition	- no grading: problem orientation encouraging collective co-operation
	- students as objects of education	- students as subjects of production, and only as such objects of education: teachers and support staff likewise
	- discipline as capitalist control	- discipline a question of labouring class co-ordination.
	- size of units geared to economics within constraints of possibility of centralised control	- size of units geared to political economy of co-ordination of self-managed units
Relation to Society	- hierarchical via managers, and subject to limits of capitalist state and/or the market	- a resource for social learning
	- geared to reproduce general social relations	- geared to stimulate new forms of social relations in the wider society.

Chapter 5
The NYS as a new form of economy

1. All societies, whether a school of 500 people, or a country of many millions, have an economy. They require goods and services to 'reproduce' themselves, both individually and collectively. These goods and services have to be produced, distributed, and consumed. The key to understanding any society and the potentiality of its transformation lies in the way in which this economic process takes place.

2. In a capitalist society, production, distribution and consumption are all carried out in distinct ways:

a) production. The process of production is organised by the owner of the means of production, or a representative, but the actual work is carried out by wage labour. The goal of the owner (or capitalist) is to get the labourer to work hard and rapidly in the working day in order to maximise the surplus labour performed by the worker over and above the time embodied in his/her wage. The problem for the capitalist is that labour, if it doesn't benefit from the fruits of its labour, is often reluctant to work so hard. It invents ways of resisting the pressures for speed-up, and/or submits requests for a share of the profit deriving from its work. As the result of this battle in production, the capitalist labour process has come to exhibit certain characteristic features:

- the division of conception and execution. The way a job is done is determined by the management, and the worker is asked simply to carry it out. Put another way, labour is de-skilled, since if the knowledge of the job (or skill) is in the hands of the labourer, the managers cannot know how fast the job can be done. The scientific separation of head and hand is known as Taylorism, after the founder of 'scientific' management, F.W. Taylor.

- the fragmentation of tasks. Jobs are broken down and single workers now specialise in particular tasks - the so-called repetitive job.

- hierarchy. What is produced, in what way, at what speed is determined by the owners/managers, and a hierarchy has developed to enforce the discipline of the system on the subordinate ranks below.

- co-ordination. Different tasks have to be co-ordinated one with another. Capital has developed ways of doing this - through production lines, computerised progress chasing, factory lay out, and other centralised control systems. (Fordism).

Whether the job has been the batch production of components, the assembly of parts, the supervision of chemical processes, the research and design of new ways of doing things, the running of a shop, or of a bank, or a transport system, we can observe the same tendencies in play. Capital is always trying to convert its right to formal subordination of the labourer (a right which it has by paying wages) into real subordination.

b) distribution. The main division of the value produced is between wages and profits. The businessman pays wages which in general have to cover the costs of subsistence for the labourer. Any value left over is the profit, and this goes to the owner of the concern, by virtue not of his work but his rights of property. If he has borrowed money capital to operate his/her business, then he has to pay a portion of his profit as interest. If he has borrowed land, he pays another portion to the landlord as rent. But whether it takes the form of industrial profit, interest or rent, all profit derives from the extra labour (surplus labour) the workers have put in over and above that necessary to cover their wages. This is the first and main basis for inequality of distribution in capitalist society.

There is, however, a second. Not all workers have been de-skilled. Some possess specialised skills, or specialised knowledge. This raises the productivity of the firm. It is therefore worthwhile for the employer to pay a higher wage for skill that is not freely available on the market. There develops a hierarchy of wages and this is strengthened by differentials paid to workers at different administrative levels in the capitalist hierarchy. Put another way, workers are paid an increment - regardless of skill - for playing a part in the system of subordination. Competition

for the higher grades is one way in which workers as a whole are divided amongst themselves.

c) circulation. The transfer of most goods and services from one owner to another comes about through exchange on the market. Commodities are bought for money on the market, and this money then purchases other commodities.

d) consumption. Consumption largely takes place in individual units (the household). Only in certain state services has consumption developed collectively (for example in education).

3. There is one further feature of capitalist economy of importance: a tendency towards an ever extending division of labour. At first it is the self-sufficiency of the household that is broken down, then the village, the region, and increasingly the country. There was always a degree of international trade from the dawn of capitalism, in other words a degree of international division of labour. But this continually extends, so that labour becomes interdependent not merely within a country but all over the world.

4. The above applies to the market sphere of capitalist societies, the sphere which is dominant in its socio-economic life. There are two other spheres. The first is the household. This receives its revenue from the sale of labour power on the market for wages, but the goods purchased with these wages are then circulated within the family on a non-market basis. There is a division of labour within the family, but it is one based on the structures of the subordination of women and young people rather than the capitalist subordination of labour per se. Second there is a state sector. This is financed not so much by sale on the market, but by a forced levy (tax), and its products (mainly services) are given away as bounties.

5. If we come now to the economy of a capitalist school we may note the following:

a) goods required for the reproduction of the school (food, heat, books, paper, pencils etc.) are largely bought in.

b) services are performed by wage labour.

c) there is a strict division between the educational services (teaching) and the manual services (cooking, caretaking)

d) the control within the school is lodged with the teaching staff.

e) pupils are not regarded as workers but as recipients. They receive no wage, and have usually to pay for any subsistence they receive at school.

f) the service imparted by the teachers is largely given free, though in some countries children are made to pay for music tuition, school books, or games equipment. Where fees are paid to the school for teaching, they are not geared to the performance of the child.

g) state schools are not run for profit, but wage payments follow the patterns of the capitalist sector, with grading, and wage differentials reflecting training, and authority.

h) consumption by the children is collective.

i) most schools are day schools and the cost of reproduction is largely taken care of by the family. (see above).

j) the principles of the capitalist labour process obtain at school, both among the teaching staff (there is an increasing development of programmed learning - most developed in language education) and between the teacher and the taught. We can speak of the tendencies to both Taylorism and Fordism in the education process .

6. In brief then, the capitalist school is a service economy, staffed by wage workers, and buying in goods required for the services. The daily reproduction of both workers and pupils takes place largely outside the school. The labour process is hierarchised, exhibits the division between intellectual and manual labour, and the accompanying money wage differentials. The main revenue for the school unlike a capitalist firm comes from tax receipts rather than fees.

7. The NYS cannot expect to surpass all such features of the economy of the capitalist school. After all it is to be set up within a traditional society where wage labour and the capitalist labour process still predominate . The animateurs will be paid wages which will have to bear some relation to the alternative wages they could receive outside the NYS. At the same time it is important from the beginning to see the NYS as an economy within which new relations of production, and new forms of distribution and consumption can be developed and consciously considered by all those participating in the scheme.

8. Relations of production. The NYS is to have within it three types of production each of which possesses different relations in capitalist society. The first are those goods normally produced by capital or petty commodity producers for profit. These include the coconut plantations, the wild cinnamon gathering, fishing, and other primary production. Secondly, there are those goods and services produced in the domestic economy, both on the private plot and within the house itself. Third there are those infrastructural projects and services which in a capitalist society are mainly undertaken by the state. In each case, a transformation of capitalist relations is required.

9 (i) The commodity economy. This is the most straightforward. All land and all means of production have been socialised for the NYS, the private owners bought out, and collective control of production thus made possible. It is important that this collective control be lodged in the NYS itself rather than in any wider body, for in as much as t he NYS is a microcosm of a new society, the sphere of its political authority (the NYS) should be coincident with the sphere of its economic authority. In some cases where education has been united with production, students have worked for concerns outside their control: for municipal or state enterprises, for adult-owned co-operatives, or even for capitalist firms. In these cases there is an immediate possibility of exploitation, for external bodies are in a position to appropriate the surplus labour time of the students, while the students have no control on what is produced, how it is produced, let alone how it is distributed and consumed.

10.(ii) The domestic economy. In the capitalist family, relations of domination are dependent on one or both of two things: first the control of paternity and inheritance by the male head of the household; second, the privileged access to wages. In the NYS, the first is not applicable since it is a society of children and does not reproduce its own replacements. The second will be eroded by equalising access among household members to the general resources of the camp.

11. (iii) The state economy. The capitalist relations of production in the state economy are different from those in the market economy in that revenue is raised from taxes rather than sales. The discipline of the market no longer operates, and instead is replaced by the discipline of elections. Just as the apparent equality of the market hides the substantial inequalities in the capitalist control of economic production, so the apparent equality of the political market hides the concentration of control of the political parties. The way by which capitalist politics can be transformed is the subject of the chapter which follows. Suffice it to say that in the NYS the prime control of the means of production and the system of circulation will rest with the political bodies of the NYS, and the democratisation of these bodies will determine the extent of democratisation of the economy.

12. Relations of distribution. In considering relations of distribution we should consider two distinct issues: first the way in which subsistence goods are distributed to the members of the NYS; second the form of distribution and control of surplus product.

13. In the NYS the distribution of subsistence goods may take five forms. First, each domestic unit will have access to the product of its own private plot, its private pig and private boat. Second, each unit will be assigned a certain quantity of goods in kind from the divisional Shop - rice, protein, fuel, clothing. Third, some meals - notably that at midday - may be provided by the central kitchen serving the whole camp to which all will have access on an individual basis. Fourth, it will be open to units to share their products with other individuals or units - joint meals, parties,

and so on, as takes place among private households. Fifthly, there will be small sums of individual and collective pocket money (the first issued to individuals, the second to units) which will cover discretionary purchases from the divisional shop.

14. Some of these relations of distribution are based on those traditional in the Seychelles: the private plot, the reciprocal relations between households. These are traditions on which any new socialist society in the Seychelles can surely build. The decisive break however is with wages. The individual and unit's pocket money and their access to subsistence goods from the Shop or Central Refectory do not depend on labour input. They are allocated equally to all members of the NYS society whatever they do. A further decisive break is with inequality. All members of the camp should receive, as individuals, equal amounts of subsistence. There may be some inequalities arising from the differential tending of the private plots, but these will be marginal, and represent a collective autonomy which in no ways threatens the general principles of socialist distribution.

15. One potential difficulty is inequalities introduced from the economy external to the camp. Some children may have larger sums of pocket money or gifts from their families than others. This would give them a commanding access to the Shop at the expense of the externally poorer. The same problem arises with respect to the animateurs. They will be receiving payment as wage labour for their work at the camp. This will introduce divisions within the wage workers of the camp, and between the wage workers and the children. The distributional structures of the external economy would then be translated to the camp's internal economy.

16. To overcome this, the NYS should insulate its own economy from that outside. The main means of doing this will be through its banking system. It should issue its own currency, which will be the only legal tender within the camp. Pocket money should be issued in this currency, and it should also be the sole currency in the Shop. The animateurs, like the pupils, should be issued with pocket money, and have access to subsistence goods on the same terms as the children. All Seychellois currency should be banked with the NYS Central Bank, whether it be the external pocket money of the children, the money of visitors, or the wages of the animateurs. This can be re-issued on demand when people leave the camp.

17. A word is necessary about the animateurs. Our proposal is that the internal and external payments for their labour be strictly separated. Internally they would receive the same as the children. Some might be used to certain items that they could not then purchase: cigarettes and drink for example. But to overcome the division between youth and age automatic right to these items should not be built in to the distribution system. Should everyone have rights to these goods? Do the animateurs need a supplementary allowance because of addiction? Such questions should be debated within the general political forum of the NYS and not pre-judged within the very terms of the distribution system. At the same time it should be recognised that much is demanded of the animateurs relative to other jobs. They are being asked to relate in quite new ways to young people, to work long hours, to change the manner of their living within the camp. Initially at least it seems appropriate to give them their full wage as paid by the government in addition to the premium they receive within the camp as a form of subsistence. The money wage should, however, be lodged in the NYS bank so that the deposits can be used for financing the expansion of NYS rather than the expansion of capital.

18. The same principle holds for foreign visitors. They would receive the same subsistence as students and animateurs within the camp, and be asked to bank their external payments (if any) in an external account of the NYS.

19. The distribution of surplus product is largely a question of the camp economy. Some surpluses may be produced within the domestic units, but they will be largely redistributed on a reciprocal basis. For the camp as a whole much of the surplus may have to be set against the cost of animateurs and the NYS as an accumulation of education. But it is important that an accumulation fund be established in the bank to finance expansions of the NYS scheme (set at 30% of sales at least until the NYS is self-financing). This fund would be under the political control of the camp since it is the producers who should decide how the product of their surplus labour is spent. It is not just the abolition of private profit that signals the end of exploitation, but the assumption of control of the surplus product by the producers.

20. Circulation. The problem of circulation is the problem of how to co-ordinate production and circulate outputs in a society based on the division of labour. The question is usually posed in terms of the distinction between plan and market. Either activities can be co-ordinated through the exchange of their products on the market, or they can be co-ordinated through a conscious plan. But this broad distinction misses many issues. Over what range should planning be extended, for example. In capitalism the household is a planning unit. So is the firm. What is not planned are relations between planned branches of industry, and between competitors within those branches. Nor is the total allocation of labour within a capitalist economy planned. In socialist economies it is the broad relation between branches and of production within branches which is planned. The range of co-ordinated planning within a specific sector may however be less than in a large capitalist firm. Similarly socialist economies have developed complexes of relative self sufficiency - at the level of the region for example as is currently taking place in Vietnam, or at even more decentralised level as was the case with Pol Pot in Kampuchea. The need for co-ordination is limited by the degree of specialisation. Adam Smith remarked that the division of labour was limited by the size of the market. We would put the point another way: the market (or the plan) is limited by the extent of the division of labour. Thus there is no need to co-ordinate the consumption and production within the household of a whole country, for each household is doing much the same thing. The same applies to any branch of production.

21. Market exchange involves two things. First there is an exchange of real resources: goods against money for example. Second, the prices of the exchange perform the function of signs for the guidance of what should be produced and what consumed in an economy. Both functions have to be performed in a planned system.

22. In the NYS there are two types of co-ordination needed. The first is of goods and services which can be produced within the camp itself. Some of these can be co-ordinated at a decentralised level: within the household for example, or within the central catering unit which will have a collective plot, a collective pig and a collective boat attached. They will

be circulated free to members of the household or the camp. Other goods, for example a unit's surplus of fish, may be circulated in an unplanned way through the Shop as part of the generalised protein provision for each household unit. Some production such as maintainence can likewise be the result of decentralised agreement between the maintainence unit and other production units, or household units. In short there is no need for the centralised planning of all economic activities, nor is there any need to introduce markets for decentralised transactions. We may have what has been called a free flow economy, where adjustments are made according to demands established by practice. Individual units may thus remain in complementary rather than competitive relations to each other, existing in order to contribute to general social labour for the good of all rather than to make individual profits.

23. The second type of co-ordination is that between the internal and external economies. This is a matter of buying and selling on the external commodity and labour markets, and of determining how the camp's allocation of hard currency (the Seychellois rupee) can be spent. The main institution here is the Budget, to be drawn up by the Planning Unit and the Bank, which will allocate budgetary guidelines to individual units. The decision on what to purchase can then be left to the units. The actual purchases and payments will be done by the Shop and the Bank. What this amounts to is two forms of decentralisation. The first is a decentralisation to all units of decision. The second is decentralisation of market transactions and physical distribution to a specialised unit. What is centralised is the decision on the total budget and its allocation, i.e. the limits within which the decentralised units operate. It is this decision which requires conscious political activity at the level of the camp as a whole.

24. The function of the centralised planning unit is therefore primarily one of information and analysis. It helps the units work out their budgetary requirements, their needs from internal resources, and their possible returns from hard currency sales. It then consolidates these results for initial discussion and decision by the Committees of Camp Production and of Re-Creation, by the Central Committee and finally by the full camp

Parliament. This task is normally undertaken in a school by a specialised burser. It is of the first importance that the key function of economic co-ordination and the establishment of general economic priorities be understood and determined by all.

25. Markets will, therefore, play a limited role within the camp, being used solely for marginal purchases with the camp currency. Externally the contact with the market will be concentrated in specialised units. The main decisions on economic priorities within the camp will be made not through the decentralised system of price but the centralised system of a politically determined budget. Within these broad priorities, however, decisions on spending and on allocation will be taken at the level of the unit, with a central economic tribunal to which aggrieved parties may appeal.

26. Consumption. The boundary between consumption and production is blurred. Much that is thought of as consumption (cooking, laundry) is better thought of as production. That which may be more strictly thought of as consumption - eating, dancing, listening to music - could be accurately be called re-production or re-creation. Some of these activities take place within the domestic unit, either collectively like eating, or individually. It would be useful to have a camp radio station which would allow students to listen to camp news, world news, music, discussions, lectures or whatever either individually or collectively within their units. Equally consumption can take place outside the unit, at the level of the cluster, or of the re-creational unit, or of the camp. The important point is that consumption like production is a social activity. Too often in capitalism it has been individualised and driven back into the nuclear domestic unit. The camp economy will overcome any such restraints.

27. Secondly, the individualisation of consumption, and the intermediation of the market have divorced consumption from production. Producers have been divorced from consumers and been forced to read their responses from price movements, standardised market surveys, specialised critics and so on. In modern capitalism a further trend has been to mould consumption and mould responses in accordance with the requirements of production, through advertising, the control of supply and the standardisation of products. The existence of the radio for general 'report backs' from individuals and

units, of involvement of consumers as producers and vice versa are some of the ways in which the capitalist separation of consumption and production under the dominance of the latter may be overcome.

28. Accumulation. The expansion of the camp economy should be the subject of discussion at the same level as that of the budget. New projects should be identified, discussed, costed, and put in line for adoption. Some may be financed from the reserve funds held at the Bank. For others the Bank can seek outside finance, both from the government and from agencies abroad. The task of fund raising should be analysed as objectively as that of selling commodities. For, parallel to the market economy, there is a grant economy, which works on quite different principles . Grants are given for ideas which match the objectives of the donors. It is in a sense ideas that are being sold, and applications should be written and presented accordingly. It should be remembered that many donors find difficulty in spending their funds because the appropriate schemes are not forthcoming. When, in addition, the prospective recipient has a history of putting ideas into practice, and of the careful administration of resources, then a well presented project may prove doubly attractive. Grant givers want to decentralise the implementation of ideas, and as always decentralisation thrives on successful previous experience. It is important therefore that the government devolves responsibility for fund raising to the NYS itself, and encourages it to seek funds to encourage its self-sufficiency.

Table 8.

	Capitalist economy	Socialist economy.
Relations of property	Production units owned by private capitalists Workers sell their capacity to work for an individual wage.	Production units the property of the producers either through co-operative or state bodies.
Relations in production	- Capitalist has right of control within the farm or factory. - features of the capitalist organisation of work include: * division of conception and execution of tasks * fragmentation of jobs * hierarchy - technology to save production time and to aid capital's control of labour through deskilling	- Direct producers organise their own production process - features of the socialist organisation of work include: * all workers engage in both intellectual and manual work * rotation of tasks * horizontal rather than vertical division of labour - technology to save production time and to aid labour's control over nature
Distribution	- workers paid an individual wage to cover their direct subsistence costs - surplus taken by capital as profit and interest or by landlords as rent. - differential wages to enforce labour hierarchy or reflecting variable training costs	- workers share collective subsistence fund according to need. - surplus controlled by directed producers and by labour in general. - no relation between income and either positions of production responsibility or costs of training
Circulation	Goods and services exchanged for money on the market Market determines overall division of labour	Use values distributed directly, with surplus available on consumer market Planning determines overall division of labour
Consumption	Largely private within households, and separated from production.	More collective between households, and with closer link to production
Accumulation	Re-investment for the expansion of capital via profit maximising ventures Production of relative surplus population	Re-investment geared to meeting general social need Full employment and the sharing of work

Chapter 6

The NYS as a new form of politics

1. The form of capitalist politics. There are two aspects of capitalist politics. One is the way citizens relate to each other to establish governments. The other is the relation of citizens to governments once established.

2. For the first of these the central institution is the vote. Votes allow the wishes of individuals to be measured against each other as do prices in the market economy. Social relations in politics, as in economics, are established quantitatively through an individually cast preference which is then aggregated. We may speak of a politics of quantitative abstraction, or of a commodity politics. Votes are cast between alternative political programmes just as the consumer casts votes in money between alternative economic goods and services.

3. The parallel between economics and politics goes further. Just as commodity relations pave the way for capitalist relations, so commodity politics is the basis for capitalist politics. Political parties develop and determine the choices between which electors may choose. These parties invest in organisation, in publicity, and in patronage which raises the costs of entry for new alternatives. At the very moment when Henry Ford was developing mass production and new machine systems, we observed in Western capitalist countries the rise of new mass parties, of 'machine' politics, embodying many of the divisions characteristic of the capitalist labour process (the division between intellectual and manual labour within parties, the division between the production of politics - in parties - and the consumption of politics - by electors - the development of hierachies within parties of discipline from above, and insulation from the discipline of the party members from below.)

4. The key point is that citizens have found it increasingly difficult to associate outside political parties. Voting is done individually, without the prior collective discussion characteristic of pre-capitalist elections. Within political parties, there are limits put on horizontal association between subordinate units, limits on their power to determine

policy, and to control both their leaders and the party administration. In the early periods of working class parties these structures were vigorously contested, but, faced with the intervention of capital into the politics of labour, were largely defeated. Collectivist politics drawing on the principles of the capitalist control of labour won out over associationist politics that sought to retain power in the hands of the rank and file.

5. A similar tendency can be observed in respect to the second aspect of capitalist politics, the relation of the government to the governed. One of the key points of Western political theory is that those elected to parliaments should be representatives not delegates. They should stand as typical of those who elect them, and thus be free to decide as a representative individual rather than as a mandated delegate. No constraint, however, is put upon them that they should live like their constituents or live among them. The only discipline is the election, into which the representatives carry with them the backing of the political machine.

6. Politics within the NYS. These features of capitalist politics should be born in mind when developing new structures and processes in the NYS. The camp will have some advantages. It is relatively small. It will not inherit 'political machines'. It will be a community where production, domestic living and re-creation will be integrated and which will therefore possess a degree of solidarity unlike a modern capitalist neighbourhood (where the household, work and cultural association tend to be geographically separated).

7. The first point is that control by the collective should be established in each activity, and not confined to the election of a central authority which then develops a hierarchy of control over all spheres of camp life. Not only will this serve to limit the range of activity over which a central political direction is required, it will allow all members of the camp to gain experience in taking responsibility on behalf of a group. This is one way in which the equality of all members of the camp as political subjects can be established - an equality of experience.

8. The prime political 'cell' therefore should be the unit. The units should try and organise themselves according to the same principles they would like to see apply to the wider political groupings. Responsibilities should be circulated, just as burdens should be shared. Those responsible should not be afforded privileges. They should behave democratically towards others in the unit.

9. Each unit will find its own way of organising itself, and contribute concretely to our understanding of collective self-organisation. Here we will merely suggest one way in which the domestic units might work. Two members of the unit should be elected to be responsible for the organisation of the unit over a two week period. They will draw up rotas, ensure the smooth running of day to day life, and represent the unit where necessary. They will also prepare for the fortnightly unit meeting (and chair it) at which: they should assess the difficulties and achievements of their fortnight, listen to comments and suggestions about how they and others have worked together during the fortnight (the process of criticism and self-criticism), ensure that necessary decisions are made and that the next fortnight is planned. The chairperson for the fortnight will then retire, the deputy will take over as chairperson for the next fortnight, and a new deputy will be elected. In this way continuity will be ensured, and the responsibility of organisation circulated. All members of the unit should perform at least two weeks as deputy and two weeks as chairperson during the 36 weeks of full term at the NYS.

10. Such a model should not be seen as inflexible. It will be adopted in practice, and adjusted to the tasks of the unit, particularly where camp production and the recreational units are concerned. What is important is that the principles are kept in mind. For a system of democratic decentralisation is important not just as an end in itself but as a school for democratic centralisation.

11. The main political structures at the level of the camp we suggest should be the Camp Parliament and the Central Committee. The Camp Parliament would be the ultimate authority in the camp, to which all appeals could go, and all major decisions would be ratified. But were it composed - as we think it should be - of all members of the camp, it would probably meet only once a term, unless summoned specially by at least one quarter of all units.

12. The main day to day tasks of political co-ordination will fall on the Central Committee. Its composition and relations to other camp structures are shown in Figure 1. We propose it has 18 members, one to every pair of domestic units. A 'pair' will be composed of one boys' unit and one girls' unit and they will elect a joint delegate from one of their units. At the end of that delegate's term of office, the replacement will come from the other unit. At any one time half the Central Committee will be girls and the other half boys.

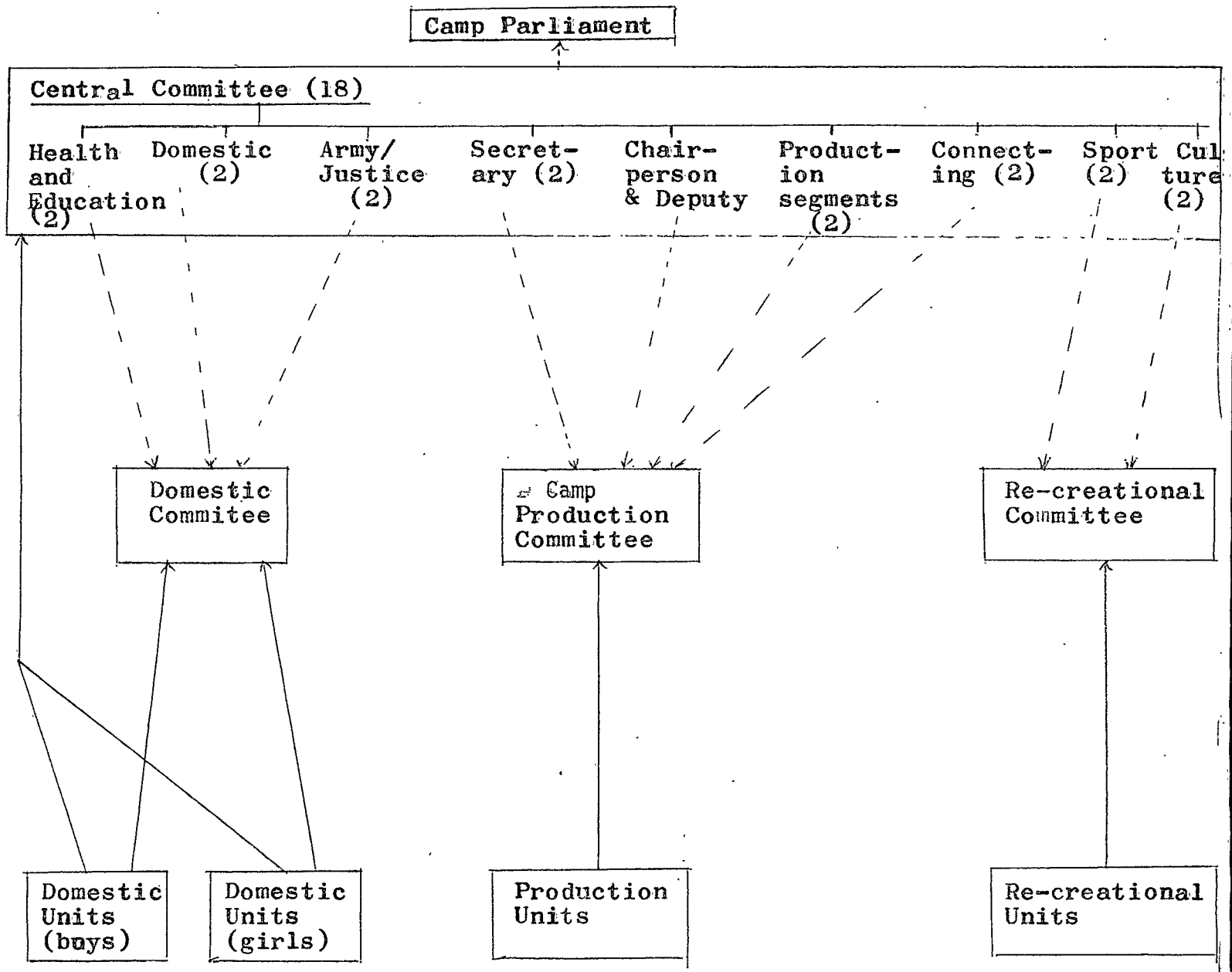
13. Each delegate will be responsible for reporting back to the two paired units which he or she represents, for posting the Central Committee minutes on the unit notice board, and for initiating discussions in the units on the points of general concern in the Central Committee. The delegates should be considered as spokesmen for the views of their units - and not as mere representatives. They can where necessary be mandated, and be subject both to criticism/self-criticism and to replacement by the vote of the majority in the units they represent.

14. The form of nomination and election is also important. If anyone is nominated, all those present should be able to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the person, so that the voting may represent collective (and not merely an aggregation of individual) considerations.

15. The Central Committee itself may best be organised on a departmental basis. In Figure 1 we suggest nine such 'departments', each of which has one committee member responsible, and another as deputy. At the end of the term, those responsible including the chairperson and secretary will retire, and their deputies assume responsibility for the following term. In this way continuity can be maintained, the new members of the committee first serving as deputies, and then taking over as those primarily responsible in the following term. During one year 36 students, or 7% of the camp, will have experience of working on the Central Committee.

Figure 1

NYS Political Structure



Key:

——— elected by

- - - - - administrative responsibility

16. The main tasks of the Central Committee will be:

- to take political decisions on those issues which cannot be resolved within small units or committees.

- to prepare the discussions and documentation for the termly Parliament.

- to prepare and organise the intermediate ''sphere' committees.

- to inform and discuss with different groups in the camp the major political issues of the day.

- to receive reports from the intermediate committees.

- to discuss the camp's budget with the planning unit and prepare its presentation to the camp as a whole.

- to represent the camp in its political relations with the external society.

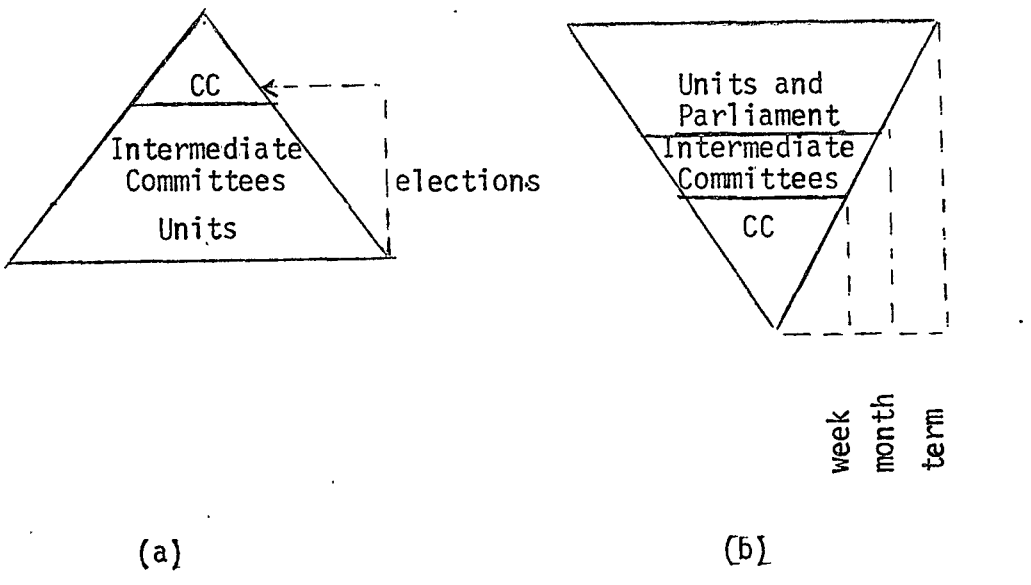
Normally we would expect the Committee to meet weekly, and to be lodged in the Enquiries and Co-ordination building.

17. The intermediate committees would be the main instruments for co-ordinating the work of the three spheres, and for discussing political issues which can be settled without recourse to the camp as a whole. They would be composed of one delegate from each unit in the respective spheres, serving for one term, and the relevant members of the Central Committee. Continuity would be provided by the Central Committee members and the briefing by retiring delegates within the unit.

18. The domestic committee would consist of 36 people plus the six members of the Central Committee responsible for 'domestic' affairs. It would have the power to take decisions in the fields of health,

education, the army and justice, and problems arising from the domestic units themselves. The Central Committee should regard itself as responsible to this intermediate committee in these matters, just as the intermediate committee would be responsible to the Parliament. It would normally meet once a month, and work with the Central Committee in preparing issues within its responsibilities for discussion in domestic units and/or in the Parliament. If the delegates were changed every term we could expect at least half the student body to gain experience of sitting on one of the three intermediate committees.

19. The resulting structure within the camp could be shown as follows. As against the normal pyramid (a) at the head of which is a central committee ratified by periodic elections, with subordinate structures for non-general matters over which it has final control, we have an inverted pyramid (b). The Central Committee is now at the base, responsible to the intermediate committees, and to the whole camp.



(a) (b)

Instead of the distinction between the layers being based on authority, it is rather based on periods between meetings as far as general issues facing the camp are concerned. For particular issues that can be resolved in particular groups, the metaphor of the pyramid is not applicable. The Central Committee has no concern with a problem within a domestic unit which can be talked through and resolved there. It is only concerned with matters which cannot be dealt with at these subordinate levels, and which require some resolution prior to an intermediate committee meeting or parliament.

20. Thus the central committee is primarily a stand-in committee, whose function is to help particular groupings resolve their difficulties, or to prepare material, encourage discussion and to inform wider groupings (intermediate committees or the Parliament). They prepare them for decision. It is an educative and counselling committee rather than a concentrated focus of power.

21. For such a structure to have substance it is necessary for all members of the camp to have a degree of political equality. We have already touched on one element of that equality, a shared experience of being in positions of responsibility on behalf of others. There is, too, a need for a generalisation of the ability to express oneself, to speak in public, to be informed, and to have considered with others the topics under discussion. For all these the units are crucial, as terrains of experience, as points of information, and of discussion. Only with such vital 'cells' can a system of delegation thrive.

22. Synthesis in the Greek language means to combine. Just as in an economy based on the division of labour there is the need to combine what has been divided, (for example by the market), so in politics there is the need for a similar combination. To the abstract, quantitative and individualist form of political synthesis characteristic of capitalist democracy, we have opposed a more concrete form of synthesis. It is one in which combining is done by discussion in groups, by specific

delegation on matters discussed by all, and, for major issues, by everyone in full meeting. It is one in which authority runs from all citizens to the delegates, rather than from a representative government down; in which delegates relate to their constituents as equals not as privileged controllers. To 'administer' derives from the world for servant. It is this definition rather than that of modern capitalism (administration as specialised technical mastery) which should take its place in the lexicon of the new politics.

23. We have up to now spoken of direct democratic structures and disciplines. They are too wider disciplines which any discussion of new political relationships should also keep in mind. One of the lessons of successful liberation movements, for example is the importance of a political movements (or state) avoiding either the taxation or conscription of working people. The subsistence of regulars in the movement must either be reproduced within the movement, or be given voluntarily by the people. In this way the leadership is subject to a daily democracy. The same is true of new recruits. Only if it is sensitive to the people and retains their confidence will it be able to replenish itself and grow. This applies also to its own members: they should have the right to leave, or - in the words of older socialist debates - the right of secession. No tax, no conscription, and the right of secession are of equal importance to systems of positive collective self-rule.

24. The NYS will - initially at least - depend on tax revenue. It will, however, be producing part of its own needs, as well as trying to raise voluntary contributions (through gifts, and grants, and offers of help) from outside supporters of the scheme. This will lighten its dependence on tax raised from working people (as distinct from taxes of rent and profit). Similarly the government's decision to make the scheme voluntary is important. The NYS aims to be of benefit to the working people of the Seychelles. Relations of compulsion should not be necessary. Indeed the voluntary character of the scheme allows working parents and their children one way for expressing their views. If they do not want to join the camp, then it is the camp which is

likely to be at fault (or at least the image of it) rather than the people. The proportion of P9 leavers wishing to enter the NYS may be one measure of the projects success. The government is right then to trust the people by making the scheme voluntary. What is important is that working people be kept in close touch with the thinking behind the camp and with its achievements.

25. The same principles should apply to those in the camp wishing to leave. At the end of a term any student should after discussion in the domestic unit and in the camp, have this right. The loss of some, can, through its lessons, be a gain for all.

26. Conclusion. We have tried to keep the structures simple, and not over-burdened with meetings. The children will no doubt develop new forms, discovering what works for them, at their age, and with their background. Rather than have separate classes in political education, political theories and other political experiences should be introduced by the animateurs to inform the practical politics in the camp. It is practice which is the best educator. In politics, more than in most fields, many have suffered from political idealism. Political materialism can only be born from working people's experience of ruling themselves. It is important then - if the children of the NYS are to be our educators - that they be allowed to rule themselves, that they should not fear to make mistakes, and that they document their experiences - warts and all so that all may learn.

Table 9

	Capitalist politics	Socialist politics
Politics and Production	- confined to state-owned production	- covering all production
	- separation of representative control over production, and dictatorship in production	- democratic control over and within production
Relations of Deputation (Political Circulation)	- representation	- delegation
	- replaceable at elections	- subject to recall and accountability
	- individualised elections	- social elections
	- formalised nominations	- nominees subject to criticism/ self criticism and discussion
	- representatives not tied to conditions of life or locality of the represented	- delegates to receive no privileges by virtue of their office
	- repeatable candidacy	- circulation of delegacy
	- inequality of political subjects (experience, knowledge, degree of discussion)	- universalise political education and experience
	- domination of 'machine' parties, embodying relations of capitalist labour process	- internal democratisation of political groups
Forms of political association	- hierarchised meetings	- associated meetings
	- serial political relations among electors	- mutual acquaintence among electors and candidates
Practice of deputed bodies	- tendency to centralisation of control and hierarchised authority	- executive bodies subject to control by subordinate bodies
	- restriction of information	- free circulation of information