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SOLIDARITY SCOTLAND



VOLUME TWO NUMBER FOUR

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FOR WORKERS' POWER

WHAT IS SOLIDARITY ?

CLASS STRUGGLE IN SOCIETY

In all societies - be they private enterprise or state controlled systems; a mixture of both; 'democratic' or 'communist' - working people are in continual conflict with their bosses.

This is the result of the role management has to play organising work. In both nationalised and private concerns, people at work endlessly resist management attempts to speed up work, to destroy job organisation and to further exploit their labour both in the job process and financially.

POLITICAL PARTIES

No matter which political party is in power, or whether there is a 'communist' dictatorship, the struggle between workers and the bosses goes on. Despite the facade of democracy, dictatorship reigns supreme at work! Workers cannot get rid of their bosses! In the 'communist' states nationalisation is often used as a more vicious instrument of exploitation than private enterprise.

TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions, supposedly the workers own organisations, are in the hands of permanent officials, careerists and bureaucrats, who are part of the ruling-class establishment. These bureaucrats are also in continuous conflict with the workers, as is evident from the way they regularly denounce 'unofficial' strikes and other activities.

NOT A SOLUTION

We do not wish to elect people to parliament or to work inside the unions and Labour Party building left-wings. Working-class consciousness cannot be attained this way. These institutions must be destroyed with the rest of the establishment, when the workers are strong enough, and have built their own new organisations.

SOLIDARITY'S CASE AND ACTIVITIES

We stand for workers management and control of society, at work and out of it. Decisions on what will be produced and consumed, and how it will be produced and consumed will be made by the workers and not as now, by the bosses and ruling elites.

To this end, we support and encourage workers in their struggle with bosses, government and union bureaucrats, and hope, by contributing our ideas and effort to this struggle, to help create a working-class consciousness, and a realisation that the only way to stop the unending clash with the bosses is for the workers to eliminate them, and take over the management of industry and society themselves.

For further study read; Socialism Reaffirmed, Meaning of Socialism (6d), Socialism or Barbarism (6d), Modern Capitalism and Revolution (3/6) and Crisis of Modern Society (6d). Plus postage from SOLIDARITY.

BEYOND THE FRINGE

Another issue hits the road. It's now two years and a bit since "Solidarity Scotland" was born from the remnants of the "kiss the polis" Committee of 100, the 1930's style I.L.P., the Y.C.N.D., etc. It is time to take stock of ourselves, our activities, and our effectiveness. We have never taken part in futile, soul-cleansing demonstrations because as a group we realise that to be effective, protest must be planned and executed in such a way so that it catches the Special Branch unawares. The most recent proof of the effectiveness of this concept surely must be the invasion of the Greek Embassy on Friday, 28th April by 59 people (the cops could only hold on to 42, 17 escaping from a police van). This invasion was the most damaging act to the effectiveness of the tuppence-ha'penny James Bonds in the Special Branch since the "Spies for Peace" revelations in 1963.

This is protest, political protest with a vengeance. For many in Scotland the level of protest seems to rise no higher than singing folk songs in pubs, laughing at the Late Show and subsidising "Private Eye", or trying to opt out by taking drugs and justifying it by mumbling something about narrow-minded society. Raving is "in".

On a "legal" footing, Solidarity Scotland has published ten editions, two pamphlets, a now-famous song book, thousands of leaflets and bulletins for the Bus Crews Association (on an industrial level, our biggest success as a group to date.) There is much to be done on the industrial scene and so we need more articles sent to us. It's up to you to rectify that. There are still too many people "on the fringe".

psychedelic ?

On the solely political level, traditional Scottish politics have degenerated into a psychedelic happening, with those well-known radicals, the Scottish Nationalists, making the action, flashing tartan-tinted lights over every problem which is raised. The breakdown of parliamentary political effectiveness, the gradual realisation of the Scottish people that central government has its faults, to say the least, has resulted in a fantastic swelling in the ranks of the Scot. Nats., making it numerically as strong as the Labour Party. It is easy to dismiss the growth of the S.N.P. as ephemeral, "one of these things", etc. But this growth

of nationalism should give serious food for thought to all libertarians. There is no need to expound the dangers of nationalism: we all know the effects of chauvinism-militarism, restrictions on individual liberty, and one-party politics.

It is significant to note in passing that 128,474 people voted for the S.N.P. in the 1966 General Farce. This is generally represented as a protest vote, a feeling of protest which, on a general national scale, has been reflected very slightly in the increase of sales for Solidarity. We have failed to channel this feeling into revolutionary politics. But there is still time.

hybrids

The policy of the S.N.P. is a hybrid of Labour, Tory and Liberal ideas - nothing new is expounded, the S.N.P. has successfully lived down the "Home Rule for Scotland!" tag, and, by good publicity, has put itself forward as a realistic ruling-class alternative. It is not sufficient to dismiss them as "Tartan Tories". Tories, racialists, xenophobes there certainly are, but there are also a number of socialists, communists and genuine liberals in their ranks. Their growth is a symptom of the decay of the party system and its remoteness from the people it is supposed to represent; but there is no rejection of the "representative" parliamentary system to be heard on any S.N.P. platform. There is nothing revolutionary about Scottish nationalism. Essentially it is a reactionary move back to the small nation states of the early 19th Century. So we see the Scottish Nationalists on the one hand claiming that they have no policy; and on the other claiming that Scotland will need a smaller army, navy and air force than there is at the moment. Superficially, nationalism may be attractive to a Scottish worker in a depressed area when it attacks the lack of jobs available, but when it suggests that to remedy this, all firms in Scotland should have a majority of Scottish capital, the S.N.P. passes to the ridiculous stage and gives, incidentally, a revealing view of its political naivety. There is a danger of a crude nationalism arising from both their propaganda and the actions of the present government, and this will have to be combatted by all the means at our disposal.

naused

Many traditional socialists are now totally sickened with the policies of the government; however, most of them still have this religious reverence for the Labour Party which can only be destroyed by constant concerted effort by us to further our ideas. Again, not enough committed people are around to undertake this task. The time has really arrived for everyone who reads, distributes and supports Solidarity to ask themselves what they are

contributing to the struggle. Lip service is no bloody good, it is only giving the activists a false sense of numerical support and therefore is very dangerous when it comes to planning future activities. We realise that everyone can't contribute articles, but there is no, repeat no, excuse for stagnating sales and slow settlement of debts.

problems

In the main, Solidarity Scotland has remained a Glasgow based group. A certain amount of decentralisation is needed in order to propagate our ideas. With the very notable exception of Aberdeen, there is no other group in Scotland. This is a very bad reflection on everyone concerned. Is no-one prepared to take the responsibility to form a group anywhere else?

As an organisation, we are beginning to shape up as a good-going group of interdependent people. Gone are the initial teaching troubles, the uncertainty and the pedantic arguments. We are in the process of collating, editing and bringing up-to-date our pamphlet on Glasgow's Housing. A history of the Peace Movement in Scotland is being written.

Until very recently, the organisation of the Glasgow Solidarity Group was non-existent. We tended to rely on "someone" doing the work necessary for producing the magazine. This someone usually turned out to be someone else.

Since March regular Tuesday meetings have been called. Work has been delegated and carried out, and the burden is being shared more equally. The meetings also ensure that the content of our magazine is more representative.

solutions

Problems arise when you try to run a magazine democratically, but if we cannot solve these what use is there in calling for workers' management of society? We do not want to imitate the capitalist press where one man makes policy and the rest carry it out. Since the weekly meetings started, democratic control has been a reality, where people partake instead of letting their silence infer agreement. But we want everyone who reads or sells it to use his right to participate in the policy making and production of the magazine. Our idea has never been merely to sell a paper, but to get a movement moving.

To wind up, we would like everyone connected with Solidarity to seriously weigh up their role in the group and to do that wee bit more to push Solidarity forward. It is essential that YOU come forward and be counted. Inside this issue you will find an appeal for money for the people involved in the Greek Embassy invasion. Please send your donation, however small, to the person named, All donations will be acknowledged.

Sean Allison	Norman McLeod
Jim Fyfe	Sammy Morris
Maria Fyfe	Les Pearce
Bert Ianiello	George Williamson.

MAY DAY: WHY WE WENT IN

It was decided at Solidarity meetings that we would not enter the arena at May Day; instead we would try and hold an open forum outside the bandstand, with the majority viewpoints being expressed. This did not materialise.

On seeing that the main opposition was inside, from people protesting about the rent increases in East Kilbride, seven of us climbed in to encourage them to take over the platform and put their point of view. Several of them got up to do this, just as the stewards moved in, and a good-going punch-up ensued.

FROM BOLSHEVISM TO BUREAUCRACY

A joint Solidarity-Scotland : Solidarity-London pamphlet on the origins of the bureaucracy. Price 6d, plus 4d. postage.

Available from:

Solidarity-Scotland,
c/o Parker,
40 Murano Street,
Glasgow, N.W.

If sending Postal Orders, leave "Payee" part blank.

AS WE SEE IT

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1. Throughout the world, the vast majority of people have no control whatsoever over the decisions that most deeply and directly affect their lives. They sell their labour power while others who own or control the means of production, accumulate wealth, make the laws and use the whole machinery of the State to perpetuate and reinforce their privileged positions.

2. During the past century the living standards of working people have improved. But neither these improved living standards, nor the nationalization of the means of production, nor the coming to power of parties claiming to represent the working class have basically altered the status of the worker as a worker. Nor have they given the bulk of mankind much freedom outside of production. East and west, capitalism remains an inhuman type of society where the vast majority are bossed at work, and manipulated in consumption and leisure. Propaganda and policemen, prisons and schools, traditional values and traditional morality all serve to reinforce the power of the few and to convince or coerce the many into acceptance of a brutal, degrading and irrational system. The 'Communist' world is not communist, and the 'Free' world is not free.

3. The trade unions and the traditional parties of the left started in business to change all this. But they have come to terms with the existing patterns of exploitation. In fact they are now essential if the exploiting society is to continue working smoothly. The unions act as middlemen in the labour market. The political parties use the struggles and aspirations of the working class for their own ends. The degeneration of working class organisations, itself the failure of the revolutionary movement, has been a major factor in creating working class apathy, which in turn has led to the further degeneration of both parties and unions.

4. The trade unions and political parties cannot be reformed, 'captured', or converted into instruments of working class emancipation. We don't call however for the proclamation of new unions, which in the conditions of today would suffer a similar fate to the old ones. Nor do we call for militants to tear up their union cards. Our aims are simply that the workers themselves should decide on the objectives of their struggles and that the control and organisation of these struggles should remain firmly in their own hands. The forms which this self-activity of the working class may take will vary considerably from country to country and from industry to industry. Its basic content will remain the same

5. Socialism is not just the common ownership and control of the means of production and distribution. It means equality, real freedom, reciprocal recognition and a radical transformation in all human relations. It is 'man's positive self-consciousness'. It is man's understanding of his environment and of himself, his domination over his work and over such social institutions as he may need to create. These are not secondary aspects, which will automatically follow the expropriation of the old ruling class. On the contrary, they are essential parts of the whole process of social transformation, without this no change will take place.

6. A socialist society can therefore only be built from below. Decisions concerning production and work will be taken by workers' councils composed of elected and revocable delegates. Decisions in other areas will be taken on the basis of the widest possible discussion and consultation among the people as a whole. This democratisation of society down to its very roots is what we mean by workers' power.

7. Meaningful action, for revolutionaries, is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses and whatever assists in their demystification. Sterile and harmful action is whatever reinforces the passivity of the masses, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated by others - even by those allegedly acting on their behalf.

8. No ruling class in history has ever relinquished its power without a struggle and our present rulers are unlikely to be an exception. Power will only be taken from them through the conscious, autonomous action of the vast majority of the people themselves. The building of socialism will require mass understanding and mass participation. By their rigid hierarchical structure, by their ideas and their activities both social-democratic and bolshevik types of organisations discourage this kind of understanding and prevent this kind of participation. The idea that socialism can somehow be achieved by an elite party (however 'revolutionary'), acting 'on behalf of' the working class is both absurd and reactionary.

9. We do not accept the view that by itself the working class can only achieve a trade union consciousness. On the contrary we believe that its conditions of life and its experiences in production constantly drive the working class to adopt priorities and values and to find methods of organisation which challenge the established social order and established patterns of thought. These responses are implicitly socialist. On the other hand, the working class is fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication, and its various sections are at different levels of awareness and consciousness. The task of the revolutionary organisation is to help give proletarian consciousness an explicitly socialist content, to give practical assistance to workers in struggle and to help those in different areas to exchange experiences and link up with one another.

10. We do not see ourselves as yet another leadership, but merely as an instrument of working class action. The function of Solidarity is help all those who are in conflict with the present authoritarian social structure, both in industry and in society at large, to generalize their experience, to make a total critique of their condition and its causes, and to develop the mass revolutionary consciousness necessary if society is to be totally transformed.

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If you accept this statement as worthwhile and are prepared to assist in the work of Solidarity, contact ; Solidarity-Scotland, c/o Parker, 40 Murano St., Glasgow, N.W.

BAKERIES

Bakeries are no longer one-man affairs at the back of a shop where a white-clad craftsman draws crusty loaves from an ancient coal fired oven. Today they are highly automated organisms which combine the worst aspects of 19th Century British and 20th Century American capitalism.

ORGANISATION OF THE INDUSTRY

There are three major groups of bakeries within the industry in Scotland; (1) The "Sunblest" group which is controlled by Garfield Weston's Associated British Foods, (2) The "Mother's Pride" Group, controlled by Lord Rank's Rank, Hovis & MacDonald Company, and (3) The Co operatives. There are a large number of small bakeries but these mainly make fancy breads or cakes and are unimportant in regard to the supply of the mass of the bread eaten. These small bakeries are constantly being absorbed by the two large organisations which paints their delivery vans and issues wrapping paper with the "Sunblest" or "Mother's Pride" slogan. The original name of the bakery will be retained as far as possible in advertisements as this prevents the buyer from finding out about the state of near monopoly in the industry.

In the Sunblest Group in Glasgow, for example, there are Welma, City Bakeries, Hubbard's, Peacocks and the bread side of the Scottish Farmers' Dairy Co. In the Mother's Pride Group there are Beattie's, Milanda, Dunn's and Ascott Bakeries. Often the bread is moved about between bakeries when there is a glut in one or a shortage in another, usually, however, each bakery keeps a supply of the wrapping paper used by the others. In one case, at least, a van carries bread made in the same batch but with different wrappers for shopkeepers who manage to find a difference.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE FIRM

The specific firm dealt with is one of the Sunblest Group in Glasgow.

Flour, fat, salt, soya bean flour, yeast, yeast food energiser, etc. all go into a loaf. The ingredients, hundreds of tons of it, arrives every week, & is delivered to what is called the Loft. From here it passes into huge 5 cwt. tubs which mix it and pass it into a machine which ensures that each lump of dough is a uniform weight. Then it is delivered to the bakers, whose task is to put it onto the conveyor belt which passes through the "prover" to make it rise and then into the oven. The dough passes through the oven for 2½ hours and emerges in batches of 27 loaves across at the conveyor belt for

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cooling. Here again the bakers handle it and it is placed on the cooler in batches of four. It remains on the cooler which is about 250 yards long (50 yards in five tiers) for another 2½ hours. Then it arrives at the wrapping and slicing machines where it is placed upon boards to be placed in the vans for delivery.

APPENDAGES OF THE MACHINE

In a bakery there is, except for maintenance men, only one man out of about 100 who has the opportunity to use the skills in which he was trained as an apprentice baker. Even this man, the mixer of the dough, is circumscribed by the formulae laid down by the national headquarters in their bid for "quality" (The only exception to this is the mix used on Fridays for the weekend's bread - the amount of fats is cut down and the amount of water increased. The bread goes stale sooner but "everyone buys a fresh loaf on Mondays") The remainder of the workers are in the truest sense of the word, "appendages of the machine". Their work speed is entirely determined by the speed of the conveyor belt going through the oven. The "bakers" movements are limited to lifting a lump of dough from one belt to another. This job is continuous for the whole of the shift.

There is a union agreement giving a 10 minute break every hour, and this is usually taken by rota in spells of 20, 30 and 20 minutes. During the break the work gang is effectively reduced by between 25 and 30% as there are no stand ins. This is not so bad in the case of the bakers, but in the case of the slicers and wrappers it usually means that there is a hellish pile up of bread waiting for you when you come back from your break

The slicing machine operators are in an even worse position than the bakers. If a machine breaks down, and for a number of reasons (such as old age, poor maintenance, and use for which they weren't designed) they do so a lot, there is no way of stopping the flow of bread as this is controlled from a point five hours back. If the conveyor belts are halted, the bread inside the oven will be burnt black. So you work like a pig, lifting dozens of loaves per minute onto boards where it cools to an almost granite hardness, making slicing even more difficult. If a health inspector turned up during this habble he would have a fit. The bread is piled up on a turntable, spilling over the sides onto the concrete floor, covering itself with dust. The dust is wiped off with an overall sleeve and the loaf is slipped into the machine.

HOT CROSS WORKERS

Aside from this, the working environment is pretty bad. The average temperature for the bakers is around 110°F, for the machine operators about 100°F. In six weeks I lost about half a stone in

weight. There are very few fat bakers! Shifts are alternately one week day, one week nights. Day shifts begin on Sunday morning and finish on Friday. There is a day off in the middle of the week but it is customary for the Friday shift to be one of 12 hours' continuous grind.

The night shifts begin at 11.30 or 12.30 at night, beginning on the Sunday night or Monday morning and finishing at 9 o'clock on the following Saturday morning, after another 12-hour shift. There is a day off in the middle of the week but customarily no one takes it. This night shift is the worst part of the job. With the frequent changeover of shifts, the body doesn't get used to any system and one's whole range of functions is put out of order.

On the night shift, too, it is risky to take a drink before you go to work. By 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning you have the mother and father of all hangovers as the dehydrating effect of the beer combines with the sweat you lose and the flour dust you inhale. During the night the canteen facilities consist of a permanently boiling urn from which you can fill your tea can. By the time your tea has infused it is cold. The strain on the digestion created by eating your "dinner" at about 3.30 in the morning makes ulcers almost an occupational disease. (Another series of occupational diseases are chest complaints ranging from bronchitis to T.B. caused by the humid atmosphere and the flour dust.)

food for thought?

The canteen facilities during the day are a bit better but not much. The food is pretty foul and comparatively dear, the only really cold drink available is pepsicola, while the tea can only be had if you provide your own "tinnie". The only good things are the mutton pies which contain 50% meat, instead of the normal 25% sold to the public. (1) But even these pall after a while.

The effect of working continually with bread, the smell of which being made is reminiscent of boiling macaroni, puts you off your sandwiches and effectively destroys your appetite. Aside from which, the queues make it almost impossible to be served in enough time to relax after eating.

THE "ORGANISATION" OF THE WORKERS is almost non-existent. The union, the Scottish Union of Bakers and Allied Workers, is a curious remnant of the "new model" unions of the 19th Century.

(1) The Weights & Measures Inspector for Lanarkshire found that about 4/5ths of the meat pies sold in his area contained less than 13% meat, the remainder being flour in some form or another.

Originally a highly skilled union, nowadays it incorporates a large number of unskilled or semi skilled men and women. It is constantly decreasing in membership as the industry becomes more automated.

<u>MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>Dec. 1965</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Journeymen:	6,815	7,228	- 413
Apprentices:	1,068	1,140	- 72
Male Bakery Workers:	1,753	1,698	+ 55
Female Bakery Workers:	<u>3,709</u>	<u>3,563</u>	<u>+ 146</u>
	<u>13,345</u>	<u>13,529</u>	<u>- 284</u>

The main battle being fought by the union is against a tendency for the amount of funeral benefits to increase. In 1965 the amount of funeral benefits paid out rose by 20% over the 1964 figure. As the General Secretary stated (Report to Annual Conference, 1966, Page 15) "... the downward trend must be arrested."

THE UNION CONFERENCE

The annual conference of the union is nothing more than a three-day jamboree. The General Secretary, Willie Mowbray, has almost complete control over the delegates and ensures that all E.C. resolutions are passed and that the odd opposition motion is remitted back to the E.C. At the 1966 Conference, every resolution was unanimously approved, except one which was unanimously remitted back. This was a resolution demanding the nationalisation of the baking and milling industry. In this case Mowbray suggested that, since other workers were involved, "we do not have the right to decide whether they want such a form of organisation or not."

With this magnificently democratic statement, the resolution was removed from all further consideration. (Annual Report, Page 66). (2) As Bro. Jackson of the Executive Committee said, "I consider Willie Mowbray second to none as a T.U. leader throughout Britain Probably some of you find fault and think the Executive Council are "yes men". I can readily tell you the reason for that because invariably Willie Mowbray is right. He puts up a proposition and you cannot refute it. Therefore you just have to make your comment and agree with him." (Report, Page 72.)

Fortunately, however, the official organisations have little effect on the majority of the members. The branch to which I be-

(2) Nationalisation, as such, isn't the answer to the problem of the bakery workers, but might to a small extent help the consumers. However, it is instructive to see how even this ritualistic demand is treated by the conference.

longed held no meetings and elections never seemed to take place. The collector, who refused to be called the "steward" for fear of dismissal, simply appeared once a week or fortnight to collect the dues.

For the first 12 weeks, I never even saw a union card. An example of the lack of interest shown in the union by the mass of the members can be seen in another statement made with pride by our unfortunate Bro. Jackson: "I have another young colleague who is a delegate here today, Willie Dickson. We are tutoring him to be the Branch Secretary." (Report, Page 73.) No question here of the democratic processes which characterise "the most democratic union in the country" (according to the General Secretary).

"UNOFFICIAL" ACTION FOR RESULTS

By the nature of the work it is difficult to contact workers in other parts of the bakery as every section will have different starting and finishing times, as well as different break times. Even in your own squad, only 25% to 30% will have a break together. However, these difficulties were overcome for a short time in 1966 when unofficial action raised the basic wage by over £1. 0. 0. a week and the average wage by about £2.10. 0. a week. This was done by having one-day strikes at the week-end. The employers caved in very quickly. Unfortunately this organisation did not last, and at the moment there is no organisation worth talking about.

There are a number of reasons for this. In all jobs involving shift work, there are two types of workers, the old-timers who are built in with the bricks and are only waiting to retire; and the dilutees and young ones who are only waiting to get out. Neither have much interest in making better conditions. Also, overtime and special payments for Sunday working bring the pay up to around £20.0. 0. a week, which is higher than the average for Glasgow. Some workers believe that they should be grateful to the employers for this.

WORKERS' POWER

However, a bakery is an ideal place for workers' self-management. In fact, it is a necessity if conditions are to be improved. The machines which at the moment control the men can be controlled by the workers to provide a freer and more human atmosphere. The following are a few suggestions on how this might be achieved:

(1) Complete mobility of workers throughout the bakery. That is, everyone should get his share of both the unpleasant and the cushy jobs. As there is little or no skill involved, this should be relatively easy.

(2) Equality of pay for all workers in the bakery. At the moment, the van men who deliver the bread often earn more than the workers who make it.

(3) The use of modern techniques of bread making must be extended. If the amount of fats in the bread is increased, the bread will stay fresher longer. The present management would use this to cut down the number of workers employed, but under workers' management the number of shifts worked would be slashed.

(4) New machinery designed for use in Scottish conditions will have to be introduced. (There are two types of bread in Scotland the Pan or English type loaf, and the Batch or Scottish square loaf. Most machinery is designed for the pan loaves and extensive and usually inefficient modifications are needed if it is to deal with the square loaf.) This machinery could cut out much of the tedious soul-destroying work in a bakery.

(5) The production of a bakery workers' bulletin with contributors from all bakeries within the Glasgow area. This will help to end the isolation of the workers and should encourage wage "drift". This bulletin would only be a first step but it is a very necessary one. (Solidarity would be pleased to help in this - Editors, Solidarity.)

D. VARDEN.

READ;

SCOTTISH SOLIDARITY

10/- for 12 issues. From
G. Williamson, 33 Kelvingrove
St., Glasgow C.3.

LONDON SOLIDARITY

10/- for 12 issues. From
K. Weller, Garden Flat,
49 Knollys Rd, Ldn. SW16.

VISIT;

THE STRICKLAND PRESS 43 Montrose St, Glasgow C1. for SOLIDARITY
and other left-wing literature.

RANGERS and CELTIC

went tae the gemme
an saw lots o men
vomittin up their religous bigotry
wi their guinness
an shoutin their catholic and protestant
unconsciousness
tae some god
thats lucky he's no there tae listen

SHIT ON VIETNAM

American soldiers in Vietnam
with well-fed bellies
perched on sweaty balls
piss fart spit
spewed in the bloodmud
manure for the bones
of the children they kill

GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

COMING IN FROM THE COLD

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GLASGOW SOLIDARITY, c/o WILLIAMSON, 33 KELVINGROVE ST., GLASGOW C.3.

MORE ACTIVISTS WANTED. The Scottish SOLIDARITY Group is now fully established. Working Organisations exist in Glasgow and Aberdeen, with many individuals supporting us around Scotland. We are now appealing to all of you, who have been on the fringe of Solidarity, (but have not been very active) to play a bigger part in the Group, and help those of us who are already doing the bulk of the work. An increase in group activity depends on YOU. Our semi-active/partly committed fringe amounts to about sixty people. Are YOU prepared to come in from the 'cold' and HELP. We want to hear from you and see you. Meetings are at the above address every Tuesday at 7.30.

NATIONAL SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE. A conference of the various Scottish and English Solidarity Groups and individuals will take place at the above address on 27 and 28 May at 2pm on both days. The subjects proposed for discussion are; Sat 27th, a) Lessons learned from our own experience
b) Areas for work in the coming period.
Sun 28th, c) The theoretical framework.

All SOLIDARITY supporters are welcome. But people must bear in mind that this is a meeting to discuss SOLIDARITY's ideas and organisation, and not some other faction's.

ABERDEEN SOLIDARITY. We are very pleased to say that the Aberdeen Group is on a fairly strong footing; and one of the next two issues of Scottish SOLIDARITY will be produced there.

DEBTORS. George Williamson, who is in charge of sales and cash, asks all debtors to get the finger out, and pay the twenty seven quid owed to us. One English seller has had eleven letters asking for money owed, and hasn't even had the decency to reply once. When debts aren't paid others have to shoulder the burden and dig into their own pockets.

MAY DAY. When confronted with a fossilised institution such as MAY DAY, (It is now one of the 'attractions' in the Glasgow Guide Book) revolutionaries can do several things; ignore it, try and completely destroy it, try and capture it with the aim of 'reforming' it, or laugh at it. This year we laughed at it; by distributing toilet paper (we're all in the shit), selling childrens comics (the 'left' programme) and carrying blank posters (easy to read).

FOLK SONG BOOK Charges brought against us for producing the Anti-Royalty Song Book have been dropped by the police without explanation.

JOINT COMMITTEE. A joint committee between ourselves and some members of the Glasgow International Socialist Group has been discussed, with the aim of pooling our resources to help workers in dispute; eg., the electricians and the locked-out DATA members. There is a good chance that this committee will be on its feet soon.

Sgd. Glasgow Solidarity.

football can pay.

First choose a second-division club with a diminishing support but with a site that property developers would be very interested in.

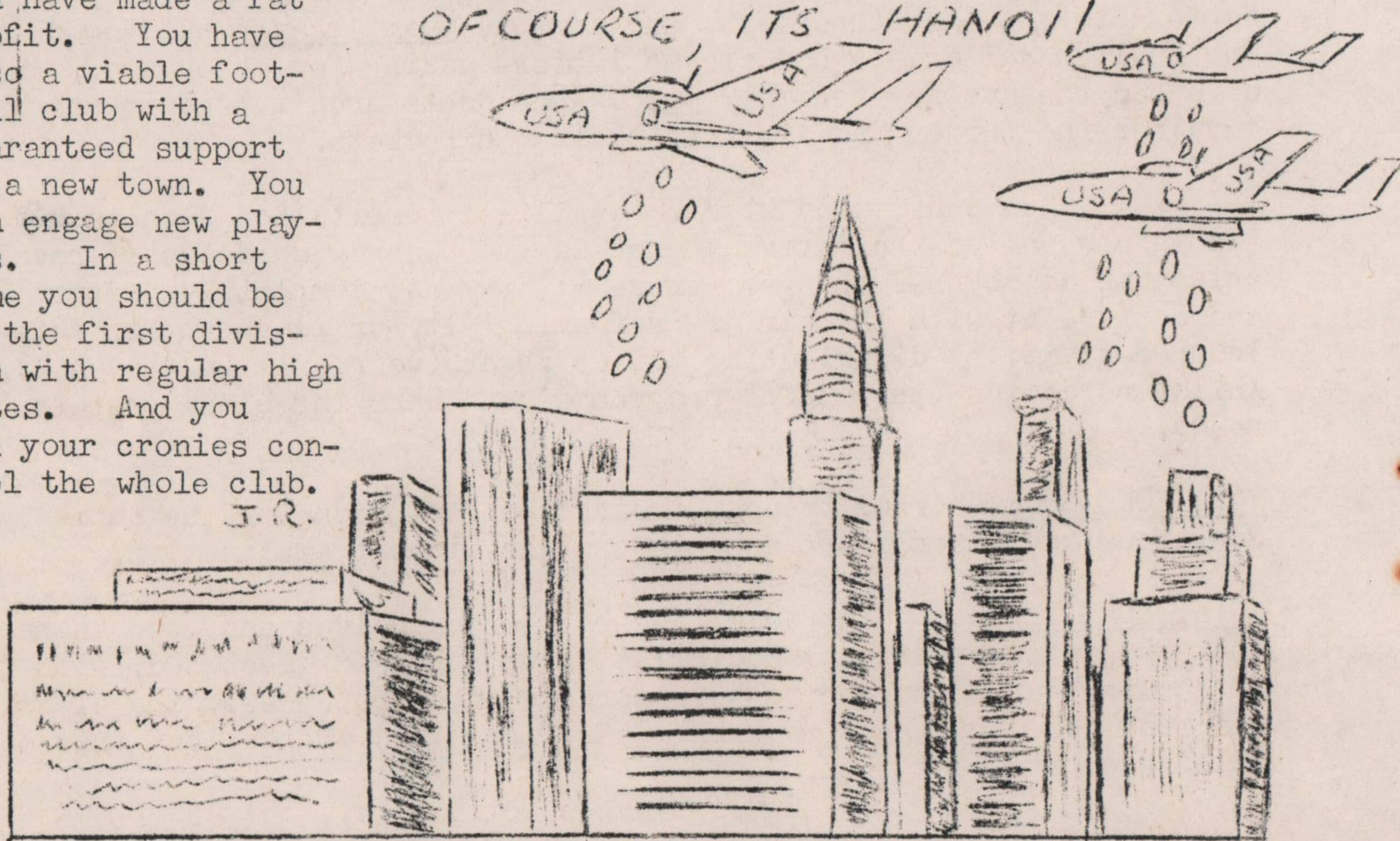
Buy your way into the boardroom bit by bit. Eventually you will have enough votes to ensure that you and your cronies are in control. Make sure that some of your co-directors are property agents: (if there are a few councillors and lawyers so much the better) this guarantees that no outsiders will share in the profit. Then you begin to run the club into the ground. Arrange for a number of warrant sales to take place. This should ensure that the opposition within the directors' box begins to get worried. The money due to avert these sales should always be paid just before the sale of equipment is due to take place.

While this is happening, begin negotiations with a new town for the provision of a ground. This should be allowed to peter out and the opposition ought to become more discouraged. The players should be paid with reluctance and in small notes and silver. Then they'll be willing to accept transfers. Get to the stage where the footballers' union states that if the players are not paid promptly they will all be due a free transfer. Eventually the Football League will step in. The Board of Trade will start an enquiry. By this time you hope the opposition directors will be glad to sell the rest of their shares to you. Especially, perhaps, if they happen to owe you plenty for paying the club debts out of your own pockets? When they do, you begin to pay all debts promptly. You resume negotiations with the new town and buy land on a cheap site. The original ground will then be sold to the property company which your fellow-director controls.

You have made a fat profit. You have also a viable football club with a guaranteed support in a new town. You can engage new players. In a short time you should be in the first division with regular high gates. And you and your cronies control the whole club.

J.R.

OF COURSE, ITS HANOI!



Jaby

WHO DO I THINK

SUNDAY
MAIL

15

I AM?

by FERGUS ANDREWS,
Scotland's Most Overpaid Writer.

Aren't you a little sick of my tedious views being fed to you every Sunday? This week you not only had me proposing that every girl should say "No", because I don't like them being allowed to obtain the Pill (and just think, this simple method of oral contraception has never fully worked before, as history shows) - but I also argued irrelevantly for another four column inches because I'm firmly convinced that university education should only be given to those whose morals I approve. If students don't complete their course because they become unmarried mothers, serves them right. I'll be the last to mention the responsibility of the father. Or a government which believes students should marry before or after, but not during, a course.

You've heard me moan countless times about the way students live it up (just think, police found FIFTY CANS OF BEER at a student party! Forty were present.) Why can't they live on porridge in an unheated garret like they used to do? So did everyone, more or less, but because their conditions have improved is that any reason why students' should? I've also devoted umpteen pages to the interesting proposition that it's o.k., if regrettable, for wage and salary earners to go abroad for better jobs, but if a graduate does it (having been state grant paid) he's committing treason.

And talking of wages! If you're not heartily fed up to the teeth with the way I attack workers on strike, go-slow or work-to-rule, especially when all the fuss is about a few more shillings in the wage packet, you should be. After all, think what I get paid for writing drivel in your favourite paper. And I don't strike for dirt money.

About the only workers I ever supported were the nurses. Even Harold Wilson did that. But he can't do it now, much as he'd like to, because the gnomes wouldn't like him to waste their money. Meanwhile, I'll give you a few inches now and again. Cheap insurance - an infuriated reader might make me a hospital patient one day.

Ye Gods! Glasgow Corporation has done it again! They are actually going to rent six-apartment flats with a bathroom and an extra lavatory! What does a council tenant want all that for? It's no use the Corporation saying that families of eight and more need it. Plenty of you were raised in similar numbers in single ends with outside lavatories. It's a disgrace to breed like that and then expect the same standard of housing that I enjoy.

When I started writing I attacked slum landlords, feu duties, racketeers, and other good liberal targets. The management lost too many friends that way. So students and workers are my favourite

targets now. That's because I'll need to wait until Prince Philip's next asinine speech or a royal tour before I can attack royalty again for all the wrong reasons; and it's not the season yet to get at the Wee Frees on Lewis.

NEXT MONTH: JACK ANDJILL, Scotland's Most Backward Industrial Correspondent.

ΥΡΕΕΚ ΑΤΤΕΑ Λ!

The take-over of the Greek Embassy in London was one of the most significant demonstrations to be held in Britain since the heyday of the Committee of 100. Skilfully planned and executed, the invaders succeeded in showing their solidarity with the unfortunate Greek workers in a far more tangible way than no matter how many marches and resolutions or petitions. The Special Branch, furious at being caught on the hop, were vicious in their treatment of the demonstrators and have made a ridiculous charge of "making an affray" against them. High bail and sureties for good behaviour have been demanded - £.220 bail and £.220 surety - this is presumably to deter any others from similiar acts.

We appeal very seriously to all those who can to send as much MONEY AS POSSIBLE TO :-

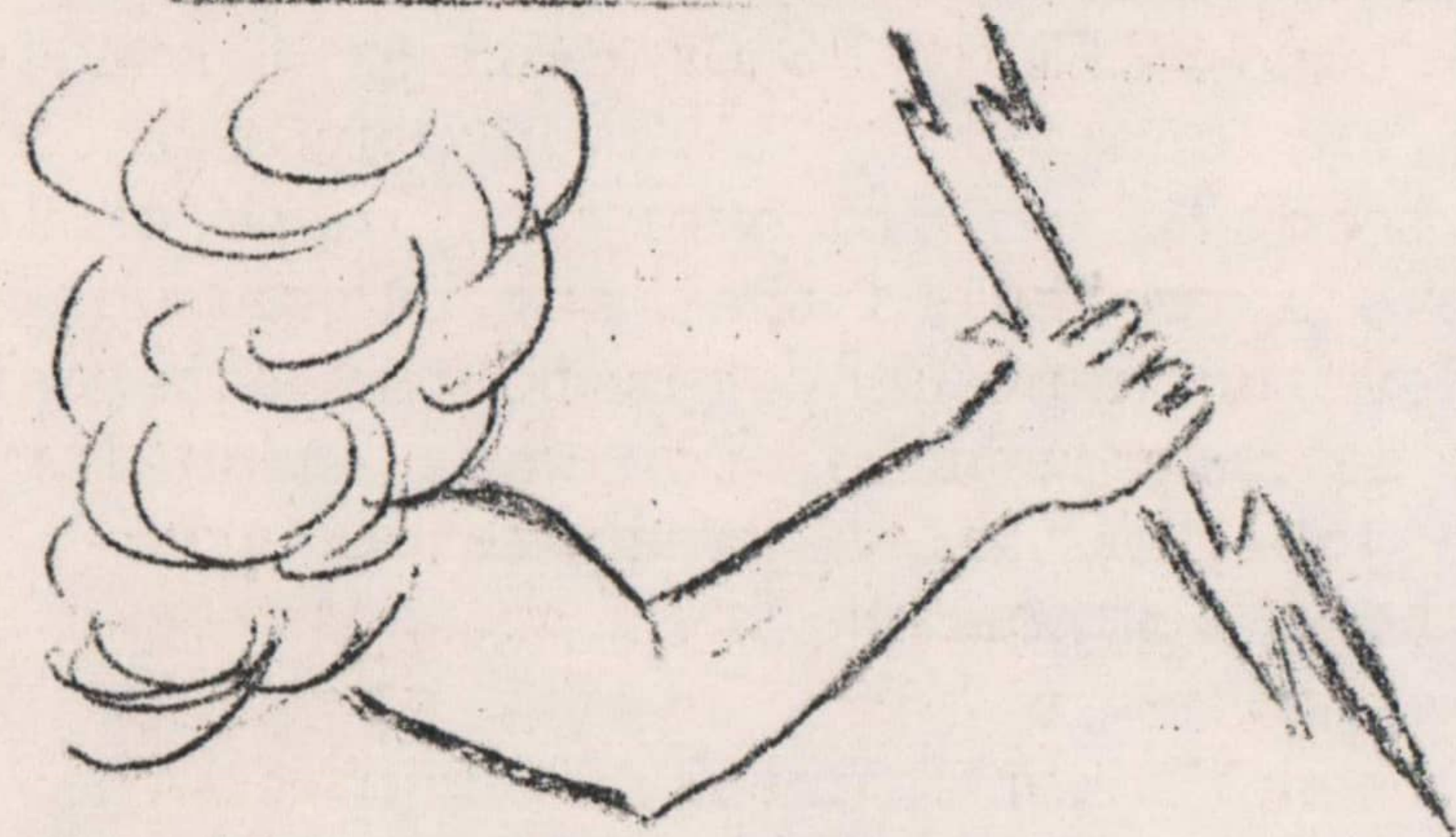
MARLENE MAXWELL
151, ALLISON ST.,
GLASGOW, S.

By the nature of the demo it was impossible to inform all those who would have been prepared to join it, sending cash is an acceptable substitute.

IN NOMINE...ETC.



When you workers are getting stropo, they remind you of me.



When they want you to go to war, they drag me in.



If you're doing too well they talk about spiritual values and condemn "materialism". They think I'm against refrigerators.



LISTEN, I INVENTED THE TRINITY!!!

Matz

CAPITALISM AND CONSCIOUSNESS (2)

17

II. THE MARKET IN EVERYDAY LIFE

J EVRARD

In the last number, I tried to show how the commodity relationship poisons work for us. Now I would like to show how it poisons our free time as well. We will see that the commodity relationship dominates even our personal life to a greater extent than we may think.

For contrast, to begin with, let us examine the opposite of our commodity society. In a society with community production (and these societies are not figments of the imagination; they exist) commodities are not produced, products are. Everybody does more or less his share of work, and everybody shares, whether equally or not, according to the principle of the society, in the common product.

If the people want something, they have to produce it themselves. There is no market where you can buy or sell things. The principle of production is identical with the needs of the community, that is, if a thing is needed, and the resources are there, it is produced. Nothing gets produced which is not wanted, or needed beforehand. Production is subordinated to the community's needs, and the individual's work has a direct relationship to these needs. In free time, economic activity stops.

In Capitalism, the all-commodity society, goods are not produced directly for the community's needs. They are produced for profit. To make profit, they must go to market, and get sold. This means, of course, that production has to correspond more or less to needs, at least to the needs of the people who have money to spend; otherwise it would not get sold. But needs are no longer the direct motive of production. From the point of view of the Capitalist, his direct motive to produce is profit prospects. From this point of view, satisfaction of needs is a by-product. And, in fact, human needs today are subordinate to production. If need be, the producer will use modern advertising techniques to create the "need" for his product. If people will buy it, he will make and sell them poison. (If you think this is an exaggeration, try reading up on the early history of the canning or meat packing industries, for example.)

As Capitalism develops even greater productive power, producing untold numbers of different saleable goods, the problem of "marketing", as it is called in business administration, arises. These goods, once produced, must be sold.

They must "realise their nature as commodities", that is, as products whose sole purpose of production was the selling. Just as we are forced to serve the 'economy' on work time by selling ourselves into the relationship of commodity labour, we must serve the same economy in our free time by becoming "consumer pigs", for their new products. This ubiquity of the commodity extends itself indefinitely. In modern capitalism, the tendency is for everything to become a commodity, not only material products, but ideas, entertainment, sex and human relationships as well. Reification is not just an empty phrase.

One of the most obvious consequences of this is the modern advertising industry. We can estimate that about 2% of the total national production of the modern capitalist nations is spent on advertising, and in advertising and packaging research.Ø

LAND OF SUBMARINES

What a producer produces, he has got to sell, and if people don't want it, they have to be brainwashed until they do. The fundamental inhumanity of our society gives them the opportunity to do this.

In our society, many basic and important human wishes are systematically frustrated in us, the needs for love and affection; for meaningful accomplishment and recognition, for freedom and self-development. Psychological research has taught us that we can be manipulated to accept surrogates(+) for these basic needs in the form of material goods. This process is usually not conscious in us. Otherwise the manipulation would not work. And since when has our loving ruling class become interested in educating us to consciousness anyway?

Basically, a car is an extremely useful object, a means of transportation. Is that what they are selling us when they advertise "the feeling of power behind the wheel"? Ale is a pleasant tasting drink, or a means to get pissed. Is that what they are selling us when certain brands advertise as being "a real man's drink"? Smoking a cigarette is a pleasurable physical experience. What has that got to do with "wherever particular people congregate"? Or what is the tiger doing in the tank? In this lousy commodity society, all of us have one failing, weakness, feeling of inferiority, unfulfilled wish or another. And

*The philosophical expression for the situation where human being or human relationships are treated as if they were mere things.

Ø In the U.S.A., for example, this amounts to @ £4000M. per year.

+ By surrogates I mean substitutes of inferior quality.

so we buy freedom and independence in a car, sexual potency in a brand of ale, recognition in a cigarette, and independence, strength and potency in a brand of petrol. They have converted the commodity into a magical means of mystifying and enslaving us, a sop for fundamental human satisfactions they won't let us have, a golden cage. "What you have is what you are", as a West German advertising slogan says. And because we all do have our personal problems, the bastards get away with it.(1)

ADVERTISING

This may sound exaggerated to you, but I am only reporting to you the concept modern advertising has of us. Dr. Ernest Dichter, who is more or less America's leading ideologist for advertising psychology, expresses it as follows: "If the desire for freedom and emancipation can find fulfillment in a streamlined new sports car, then I am happy to accept the responsibility for having united two strong motives in advertising with the advantage of the automobile producers." And so, you see, if you've got the money, you, too, can go to market and buy freedom. Dichter, of course, like the good ideologist he is, believes, or pretends to believe, that he is doing mankind a service. Since we are not ideologists for the establishment, we do not have to follow him here.

One important consequence of this advertising is greater human dissatisfaction. Advertising is constantly creating in us by various means the attitude "you're not happy if you don't have this or that material thing." Although wages have gone up since 1900, few of us earn enough to buy all the goodies they tell us we need for the full life. And so, increasing material wealth goes hand in hand with decreasing human satisfaction. And now we come to another of the "optical illusions" I mentioned at the beginning of the first article.

"MATERIALISM"

Cultural pissers and moaners and other spokesmen for the established order of things are constantly complaining about the growing "materialism" of our "godless" world. The more we get, they whine, the more we want. Better poor and happy. As soon as you see the real social and economic connections, you can expose this little bit of nonsense for what it really is. If we were less willing to buy all their junk, so that they could cut back on

(1) If you want further factual material on this area of advertising and manipulation techniques, you can read Vance Packard's book, "The Hidden Persuaders".

their "materialistic" production, the system would collapse. Then the pool of unemployment would go out. Look what happens when the government cancels military contracts in the airplane industry. Our dissatisfaction with our standard of living is not the prompting of an evil materialistic spirit in our bellies. We are not "guilty" of this, as they would like us to believe. They generate this dissatisfaction systematically with the millions they spend on advertising. You have every right to demand material goods. After all, it is your work that produces them.

From this we see that, in a symbolic sense at least, love, freedom, self-fulfilment have all become commodities, objects of sale. Business is business, friends are friends, and ne'er the twain shall meet. But we will see that the dehumanisation goes further. The commodity relationship dominates or influences almost every area of our life.

POP GOES THE MUSIC

Take recreation for example. Before capitalism began to mass produce entertainment as a saleable commodity, people used to make their own. Before song and instrumental music became commodities, most people could and did produce one or the other themselves. Capitalist entertainment means buying a ticket to a cinema, concert, sports event, etc., and "consuming" it. There is, of course, nothing in itself wrong with mass entertainment, as one means of recreation. But the tendency of our commodity society is to reduce all our recreation to this standardised pattern: conventionalised, passive, non individual without being collective, non-creative, mass produced. One example of this is the Beatles and the other star beat groups. I am not referring here to the type of music involved, but to the beat groups, and specifically to the stars, the mass producers, as a social phenomenon. I certainly do not mean to say that a socialist society would not have beat groups. But would it necessarily be the stars with a passive audience? In a society which developed creative talent rather than stunting it who is to say that almost every person would not be able to play an instrument or to sing? Who is to say the teenagers would not be so busy swinging to their own, self-made music, that they would n't have time for the stars and their mass-produced commodities. But this is the music of the future. In our society, recreation is not re-creation, creative self-fulfilling activity. It is consumption of the commodity entertainment. In this, the youngsters are no different from anybody else, so let's get off their backs. They are only following the universal pattern of this lousy capitalist society which their elders set up for them before they were born, in a society whose highest aspiration is the production of more and bigger objects of sale.

I'LL BUY THAT

This goes over into the arts in general. Take the example of pop music. People sometimes remark how short lived the hits are today, in comparison with grandma's youth. They are in fact short lived, not only in comparison with 50 years ago here in the west, but also in comparison with other parts of the world today. I have lived and been in the near East more than once, and one thing that struck me was how long the hits stay popular. This is not due to some vague "more enduring quality of the art", but stems from the fact that pop art in advanced capitalism is commodity pure and simple, whether music, books, cinema, or whatever. Put yourself in the place of the president of a recording company looking at his sales charts. What happens to sales if hits stay on the top for five years? As soon as a big hit has sold about all it is going to sell, business dictates that it disappear and be replaced by a new one. Vance Packard describes this so-called psychological obsolescence in his book, "The Waste Makers".

There we have it. In your work time you bring your labour to market as a commodity, and in your free time you are expected to come to market again and buy their packaged leisure activities. But the commodity relationship goes beyond this: "And finally comes a time where everything which man had up to then considered inalienable became an object of bargain and exchange. This is the time when things which hitherto had been imparted, but never traded, given, but never sold, taken, but never bought - virtue, love, conviction, knowledge, conscience - where in a word everything became an object of trade. It is the time of universal corruption, of universal venality, or, to use the terminology of the economists, the time when every object, whether physical or moral, must be brought to market as a commodity to be appraised accurately at its value." (Karl Marx, "The Misery of Philosophy"). This is not yet literally and completely true, but it expresses well the spirit and tendency of our society. "Every man has his price" as the saying goes. Proverbs are never quite literally true, but they express the spirit of their time. And there is in fact a universal tendency for human relations to be expressed in commodity form. An example of this is the greeting card business. Don't send your friends a hand written or typed personal note for their birthday, buy them a birthday card for twenty five cents, or "say it with roses" (at 5\$ a dozen). Again, the commodity mediates the personal relationship, or more often substitutes for it. Think of the list of obligatory Christmas cards each year.

CANT GET NO SATISFACTION

Again, in sexual relationships, our all-commodity society has stuck its dirty finger in the pie. We all know that our generation

is still going through the last stages of its long and painful emancipation process from "Victorian" sexual morality, the so called "revolution below the belt". Nor can we deny that sexual emancipation, the ability to say, and act as if, "my body belongs to me", is an essential part of total human freedom. But what form has this taken in our capitalist, all commodity society? The admission to market of sex as a commodity. I do not mean this only, or even mainly, in the sense of today's somewhat less intolerant attitude towards prostitution, the oldest form of sex as commodity. It goes much further than that. Film producers, entertainers, and magazine editors have all discovered that sex is an extremely saleable commodity. Advertisers have learned that the proper doze of "sex" often helps them to sell their wares. Not to speak of "Playboy" for the moment, a recent issue of the highly respectable "Harvard Business Review" carried an ad for warehousing with a picture of a girl in tight pants lying on the floor, a man standing near her. The text read, "If you are looking for space that expands and contracts according to your needs"

BUNNIES OR BIRDS

Beauty contests make good publicity and draw well heeled people towards expensive tourist resorts. "Playboy" type magazines, which twenty years ago or less would have been declared "pornographic", and forbidden, flood the market. And "socially critical" films and novels coat all this with a layer of "enlightened" respectability. But is this sexual freedom? Is this the freedom of total human beings to have full physical and emotional sexual relationships without guilt as well as without "love's sad satiety"? Or is it the freedom to buy a surrogate? Standardised female bodies, paragons of commercial beauty, appear as shadows on screens or on glossy paper, and the partner one has in reality is a contrast in ugliness, for there are not enough beauty queens to go around. Some of the "Playboy" type magazines carry articles showing how a man can go about having simultaneous affairs with several women, keeping each in the illusion that she is the only one, and that he intends to marry her. The tone of these articles is to praise this type of behaviour as intelligent, cool, and right. Sexual "freedom", based on the lie - excluding real human relationship. Everywhere, women are portrayed as mere objects, to be "had", "possessed", manipulated, enjoyed, but not to enjoy. Is sexual freedom with a statue? Is masturbation via woman sexual freedom, even for a man?

PAINT AND POWDER

But this "freedom" offers women even less. The standardised model of commercial beauty presupposes body proportions and contours that are not those of the average woman. By definition, the great majority of women are below beauty standards: "ageing"

begins long before thirty! the discrepancy becomes even worse. This may create a great deal of human misery, but don't be sentimental, it's good for the market. In a frantic effort to distort themselves into that lifeless statue of commercial beauty which they are not, millions of women spend their own or their husband's hard earned money on cosmetics, wigs, falsies, and on the many other "beautifying" commodities our loving capitalists offer them in exchange for their humanity. There is of course nothing wrong with cosmetics in themselves. The misery comes in the fact that many women try despairingly to use cosmetics to make of themselves some thing they are not, instead of using them in their natural function as adornment.

But this has still another side. Sexual freedom is one of the most important parts of total human freedom, but only one! The present "liberalisation" of sexual norms has the tendency to act as a safety valve, to keep people from demanding total freedom. A good example of this can be seen in the series of articles in "Playboy" entitled, "The Playboy Philosophy". These articles carry a facade of phoney "enlightenment" and "modern sophistication" in the area of sex; in every other area they are as conservative as you can get. But there is no partial freedom in an unfree society. The commodity relationship can only enslave us.

CONDITIONED RESPONSE

The overall commodity structure of our society has found its way into our consciousness in many subtle ways. We will find the best examples of this in our everyday idioms and proverbs, and in successful advertising and propaganda slogans. Everyday expressions and proverbs tell us a good deal about our habits of thinking, because, as with all habits, we do not reflect or philosophise about them before using them. We use them automatically and uncritically. They reveal our unconscious, automatic ways of thinking to us, and sometimes expose in us attitudes we are not conscious of having. You know how your girl friend (or boy friend, if you are a girl) will react if you once mistakenly address her with the name of another. You can protest all you want; you've given your self away, and she knows it. Successful slogans obviously teach us a lot because, if they did not correspond to something already there in us, they would not be successful.

One example of commodity thinking in everyday life is our tendency to judge ourselves and others by what we possess, instead of according to inherent qualities of character and personality. Poor people often feel it necessary to apologise for the simplicity of their house. Girls (not prostitutes) sometimes refer to their different boy friends by the brand name or model of their car. The West German advertising slogan already quoted, "What you have is what you are" has its English counterpart in, "Clothes make the man".

Not what you are, but what you have on. When I was in high school in New York, students in shoddy clothes were greeted belittlingly with the question, "What's the matter, you too poor to buy a new suit?" West German advertisers have come out recently with the concept of the tie slob. You are a tie slob if you don't have several ties for each suit, and your children and family have the right to be ashamed of and disgusted at you. This particular advertising campaign aroused a great deal of indignation in West Germany, but brought about a 25% increase in sales as well. No smirks here, in one area or another it gets YOU and ME too.

SELLING YOURSELF

Another aspect of commodity thinking is the tendency of many people to regard the whole world as a market. When I was in elementary school, part of the brainwashing informed us that, "In the last analysis, everything in life is selling. You try to sell yourself when you apply for a job, or try to impress your friends. If you're not selling yourself, you're selling your abilities, your personality, your ideas." This type of thinking is prevalent in all capitalist countries. You can even experiment with this one, if you like. Pretend you are a conservative and make the above statement to acquaintances as if you believed it yourself. You may be surprised how few will contradict you, including some "revolutionaries". In the U.S., "I'll buy that" is an everyday expression meaning simply, "I agree with what you say". There is a common West German expression, "I won't buy that from you", meaning simply "I don't believe you". We do not choose these expressions deliberately. They are automatic. And if you examine your own experience, you will find many examples of your own.

This market thinking, plus the "you are what you have" thinking, leads to a general tendency to think of human beings as if they were mere objects, commodities for sale (every man has his price) or property. This trend is particularly manifest in the language of businessmen. One American executive expressed in 1961 as follows: "The quicker you start to think of a business problem as a thing without human beings, the better you'll do." Individual business executives are sometimes coded by their firms into "management inventories". Recruiters for some firms ask themselves if a prospective executive will make "a successful package" (like soap).* But this type of thinking goes beyond business. Moralists, men who "deal in" souls, admonish us to "take stock of ourselves", as if even our character traits were wares. The 1964 alumni bulletin

* The last three examples are from Vance Packard's book, "The Pyramid Climbers".

from the college I attended informed me of the following, "Barry C. and his wife, Marcia, have become owners of two properties, a new house and a new baby." Unfortunately, the bulletin did not inform me which of these two "properties" was the more expensive one. In the concentration camps of Hitler Germany, this type of thinking became literally true in a horrible manner. Before their final "special treatment", prisoners from many of the camps were rented out as labour at so much a day to German business firms. (Need less to say, the prisoners did not get the money.) After the war, the balance sheets of these concentration camps were found, including these business transactions. Nothing distinguishes the balance sheets from those of a car rental firm in Great Britain today. We will come back to this subject in the chapter on the factory. The important thing to realise here is that these atrocities of the Nazis were actually only the logical extension of the principle inherent in the commodity structure of capitalism. Basically, the thinking of people like the "mass murderer" Adolf Eichmann was exactly the same as that of any competent manager in Great Britain today. His commodity happened to be human beings. As to the indignation this statement may arouse in some, I can only say: there is no heart so pure as that of the businessman who has caught the competitor in an irregularity.

THE UNIVERSAL ROBOT

As in the first article, here too, if you are an average consumer, or "consumer trainee" (if you happen to be younger), many of these ideas will probably not be entirely new to you. In one form or another, you have probably seen much or all of this yourself. As always, the important thing is to recognise the connection of the individual elements and facts with each other and with the basic nature of the capitalist, all commodity society. The dehumanisation and reification of human beings shown in these examples are not abuses in the system. They are the integral nature of the system itself, and they will continue to operate as long as the system stays in existence. The highest goal of our commodity society is to produce more and better objects of sale, regardless of the human costs involved. Its tendency is to reduce human beings to mere objects of manipulation to serve computer programmes. If it does not succeed completely in this, that is not due to benevolent aspects of the system itself; it is because human beings won't let it. But as long as the system exists, this will always be its tendency, and it will always have at least partial success. Children cannot grow up undamaged in an ant human world. No amount of wage hikes will change the degrading nature of work as it exists under present conditions of production. No amount of commodity wealth, no amount of packaged freedom, packaged prestige, and packaged sex will ever replace human freedom, human recognition, and human sexual love. And no paternalistic "revolutionary party", organisation, or "leadership" will better your situation for you. The only guarantee that your

interests are taken care of is that you take care of them yourself, collectively, for alone you can't fight city hall. If the bureaucrats are against you, it is not because they are evil; it is because their interests are different, whatever high, holy and noble motives they may contrive to justify their behaviour to themselves.

The interests of a bureaucrat are simply different from those of a working man whether in office or factory. This is an objective fact, and no amount of pissing and moaning will change it. Only action will.

Many workers and ordinary people have not learned this lesson completely enough yet. They are still too willing to trust others, parties, organisations, "leaders" who "know better". This type of thinking reflects in part the social organisation of the factory, the second basic organisational principle of our society.

The how of this will be the subject of the next article.

NOWHERE TO TURN

Glasgow has one million inhabitants and one hundred thousand houses unfit for human habitation. London with eight million people has fifty thousand. Of the thirty seven most overcrowded wards in Britain, twenty five are in Glasgow. Such figures, help back up the facts, long accepted, that the city has the worst housing conditions in Western Europe. Neither the Corporation, nor the citizens, have access to the large amounts of money needed to alleviate the housing problem. Two years ago, JOHN O'HARE and GEORGE WILLIAMSON prepared a pamphlet on the City's housing squalor from information gathered from tenants and official publications. It deals with various aspects of the situation - the misuse of available accommodation, slum living, the low standard and the bad planning of the new houses and the new schemes, slum owners, tenants associations, and ends with suggestions for actions. In the next editions of SOLIDARITY we intend to print extracts from the pamphlet.

It is not our intention to go into a long diatribe about where the money could come from to build the much needed homes. It's sufficient to say that Glaswegians, like all British people, have no control over the national product, nor a say in how the wealth should be spent. Our rulers set the priorities; and the bill for protecting their property by their police, their army and their bomb, has to be paid before anything is spent on housebuilding for the majority of the people.

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written on Glasgow's slumland; about overcrowding, leaking toilets, collapsing walls, services cut off, rats, and a whole host of other horrors, which slum-dwellers have to put up with. Sunday papers have increased their sales by advertising a dramatic story on the Gorbals in their pages. But none of them have ever given any of the cash they have made from the stories to provide even one house for one unfortunate family living in the conditions their journalists pretended to be so shocked at. It often suits the Express or Sunday Post to proclaim the tragedy of the slums with a view to helping the Conservative Group: the Record and Sunday Mail sometimes do the same for Labour. Its very easy for councillors and journalists to moralise about the evils from the comparative comfort of their own homes. These people are never physically involved with the rats in their bins, in their beds, on their tables; or the stench from the broken lavatories. Nor have they to sleep four and five kids to a bed. Very often there is a political or religious axe to grind and a 'shock' story is their way of doing it. That is why this series of articles has been written using the tenants own stories. They alone know what the conditions are like.

MISUSED ACCOMMODATION

EMPTY HOUSES

Houses lie empty for four primary reasons; (1) Awaiting the demolishers hammer after being condemned (2) awaiting the same fate to make way for new roads, offices, University Accommodation and Houses. (3) having a selling price put on them by Property Agents, which people are not willing to pay (4) awaiting a buyer when Agents refuse to rent them. As regards (2) it is sufficient to note that some excellent housing is coming down to make way for Glasgow University extensions. With regard to (3) and (4) the following figures account for most of them. (from 'FACTS AND FIGURES - 1966 - EMPTY HOUSES AT WHITSUN)

	NUMBER OF APARTMENTS						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6+	
CITY TOTAL	2026	3572	1276	621	332	330	8157

These are figures for empty houses in the poshest wards.

KELVINSIDE	30	36	32	24	24	28	174
PARTICK EAST	39	28	46	33	33	69	248
POLLOKSHIELDS	2	10	19	31	20	45	127
CAMP HILL	3	25	51	33	17	11	140

And the ward which is changing from residential to predominantly commercial.

PARK	14	72	84	69	48	53	340
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Many of the houses in the above figures remain on Property Agents books for years - their extremely valuable and much needed accommodation going to waste.

EMPTY AND UNDERUSED CORPORATION HOUSES.

While the Property Agents allow homes to lie empty, there are not the only ones; the Corporation does so as well. If old property is to come down after tenants have moved to Council homes, the Corporation takes them over. What happened at 127 to 137 North Frederick St. is quite typical. Tenants left for Council houses from these tenements, which were in pretty reasonable condition and above average standard - inside toilets, bathrooms, two to three rooms - and the buildings were left to stand empty for two years (or longer). If one considers families of eight living in a single room, couldn't they have this accommodation temporarily.

Not only wealthy gentlefolk in Kelvinside live in excessive and underused accommodation. In many Council houses are old couples, widows and widowers, whose families have gone, who apply for smaller homes. But the administration wheels turn slowly. One widow in a four apartment house in Mansewood waited over a year (at over nine pounds a month) for a smaller home.

HOUSES USED AS OFFICE ACCOMMODATION.

A visitor to Glasgow will see how 'underdeveloped' the city centre is, in comparison to say London, Birmingham and Manchester. Apart from Glasgow not being as 'commercially rich' as these other cities, other factors can also be taken into consideration. The city has millions of square feet of office space in her old Victorian/Edwardian buildings still in use. And the commercial interests have moved into the first class housing on the fringe of the city centre. The use of these houses as offices is more apparent in Glasgow than other cities. It is not just the huge town houses of the former merchants and bankers (St. Vincent St./Blythwood Square) which are being used. Good 'middle-class' property, which is now available to working class people is being swallowed up, eg. Kelvingrove St. and other streets in the Park and Dennistoun areas.

Because of this Glasgow's biggest office block, St. Andrews House, is still not filled after four years; Aleck House could find no takers and was sold to Strathclyde University; other blocks such as Fleming House, took years to fill.

BEDSITTERS FOR STUDENTS AND OTHER PEOPLE.

Well-built, well conditioned tenements in Hillhead and Dowanhill have been primitively subdivided by the landlords who charge students up to four pounds a 'room'. These excellent homes are subjected to all the misuse that overoccupancy brings. From figures supplied by the Universities and Colleges, we discovered that approximately 3800 students are living in 'rooms' paying an average two pounds ten shillings a week. Informed opinion says that about 650 of the best houses in the city are being used this way, with roughly quarter of a million quid returns per year for the owners.

Apart from the students an estimated 3000 other people are in similar "digs" as the students, paying equivalent rents for the same inconveniences. Again good accommodation is being misused to exploit those who have to live in bedsitters.

MULTIPLE OCCUPANCY

We have dealt with sublets in the bedsitter areas in the

better-equipped tenements. In other areas, the squalor and overcrowding in the ill-equipped, crumbling buildings is much worse.

The problem of multiple occupancies is a very deep and tangible one. Multiple Occupancies are houses whose rooms are rented out, furnished or unfurnished to various families and/or individuals with communal cooking washing and toilet facilities.

Evidently for an individual to make a profit out of a Multiple Occupancy there are three main prerequisites.

- (1) The house must be large enough to be subdivided into as many separate 'rooms' as possible - thus increasing maximum profit yield for original 'investment'.
- (2) The house must be situated reasonably central. Thus making it more desirable for people who have to very carefully weigh up travelling expenses to and from work.
- (3) The house must be in such a district or locus where the residents will not create a great fuss over the house or its inmates or the 'goings-on' in the house.

The escalation in numbers of Multiple Occupancies in Glasgow, (originally it was primarily a Gorbals problem) has led to districts like Woodside, Charing Cross, parts of Pollokshields, Queens Park and Mount Florida being completely changed in character.

The families living in Glasgow's Multiple Occupancies are the city's hidden homeless. They spend their lives herded like cattle paying from two to five pounds per week per room to some character who tries to justify himself by arguing that public spirited citizens like himself keep the unfortunate people off the street and out of Foresthall. (Glasgow's 'King Hill')

CONCLUSION

Finally, several references must be made to emphasise the great divides which exist within the city, between those who have wealth and those who live in squalor and poverty.

For example, the huge terraced houses in Cleveden Crescent in Kelvinside, have bathrooms twice the size of single ends in Thistle Street, Florence Street and Hospital Street, which are housing families of eight to ten.

People are living in old shops - yes, old shops - in Partick, Govan, Tradeston and Kingston.

Rats, so big and fat, they can hardly run, have tea at the family tables in Oatlands.

Rats are going into babies' prams and sucking their milk bottles.

Excrement and urine from a broken drain is dropping into a close in Fulton's property in Thistle Street, Gorbals.

Because of the rats, people would rather use the sink or a pot than go out to the outside toilet late at night.

Gables have collapsed leaving people exposed in their homes. One day a tenement will collapse and people will be killed and there will be hell to pay.

Meanwhile, the Royal Family and its hanger-ons live in palaces and stately homes. One tenant said jokingly, "Could Lizzie or Philip, whichever one wears the breeks, give an overcrowded Maryhill family, a wee bit space in a corner of one of their palaces?"

(to be continued)

John O'Hare, George Williamson and Sean Allison. (the writers have all lived in slum or overcrowded conditions in Gorbals, Anderston and Hamilton.)

GLASGOW TENEMENT STREETS by George Williamson.

nae need to go doon the subway
a' the streets are tunnels
wi a great slab o grey sky for a roof
the big black sides vibratin
an talkin to each other
through countless holes

an a hundred closes devour a thousand weans

nae tunnels stannin on their ends are these
no like the skyscrapers
interferin wi the cloud formations
an strainin to lick the moon
their hooses piled up
as if gaspin for air

but kids canny play stacked on top o each other

admissions free
to these galleries of childrens' art
decorated where the painter left off
framed in the joints o the grey ashlar stane
exhibited on the flair as well
an no even wan o them for sale

brightness in dull streets midst dulled adult minds.
