

SOLIDARITY

GLASGOW

FOR WORKERS' .POWER :: 6d

WHY SOLIDARITY

Solidarity is a revolutionary and libertarian socialist group whose aim is the establishment, by the conscious mass action of the working class, of a society without bosses or bureaucrats, armies or bombs. We reject all forms of elitism and our function will be to disseminate socialist ideas to all those whom we are able to reach. By assisting the workers in the struggle against working conditions, bad housing, the military and the bomb and so on, we hope to make a contribution to raising the consciousness of the working people regarding their position in our society, which is a necessary prelude to action by the people, which will change that position. Again, we stress that we are not a "God-given" leadership trying to impose our views and ideas on the movement. (We will present them as worthy of consideration of course.) Instead we will try to be an instrument of the working class in its struggle.

We will publish an issue of Solidarity every two months to start with. We hope that this will perform for Scotland, what Solidarity in London does for the rest of Britain. This first edition has been kept to twenty pages with a first print of 150 copies. If the response is favourable we will increase to thirty pages and try to meet the numerical demand. This would mean we need more labour to write the articles and produce the edition. With more labour we would try and make it a monthly edition. We have started our first pamphlet, "An Architect's Plan." (A look at the architectural profession by libertarian architects and ideas on the role architects could play in the establishment of a socialist society.) and we have plans for producing others on the Glasgow Underground and Glasgow Housing.

Since London Solidarity's first appearance in Scotland its influence has been appreciable and support for it has grown. However many people who wanted to start a group here were split between loyalty to Solidarity and other groups - CND, Committee of 100, ILP, the Anarchists and the Young Socialist movement. As a result the attempts failed and it existed only as a sales team for the London Solidarity.

Over the last year lots of young people have been revolving round the ILP, but because of their immersion in traditional politics of bygone days and the accompanying inactivity, disillusionment has set in and the ILP has been deserted. The Anarchists meet regularly but their inactivity has been disappointing. As in the ILP the younger elements have been frustrated by too much talk and too little action on the part of the older anarchists. A small group work on in the Committee of 100 but the world passes them by and no-one seems

to care. CND is moribund caught in a Labour Party straight-jacket. YCND is healthy and active and through them a lot of young people are coming in contact with the libertarian movement.

In authoritarian left-wing circles the usual tactics are still being employed. The Trotskyists and Stalinists vied with each other in trying to run the recent apprentices strike. As a result the whole thing was bugged up and a wall of suspicion built up by the apprentices whenever any outsiders try to bring revolutionary politics into the issue. The Trotskyists, Socialist Labour League brand, are at take-overs as usual. This time it is the Glasgow street gangs. If they succeed then their continual threats to smash people might become a reality. Like true leadership they will get others to do their fighting for them.

Like elsewhere, the Young Socialists are split between the libertarian and authoritarian movements and in the main they have not grown out of the resolution passing stage.

This is the state of the Glasgow left-wing that we are introducing Solidarity into.

This is a rank-and-file workers magazine. We want rank-and-file workers to produce it. We hope that a regular issue of a Glasgow Solidarity might act as an impetus to other supporters who are thinking of starting one up. An edition in the North and Midlands of England could bring rank-and-file views from these areas to Scotland and London. Supporters in Dundee, Edinburgh and Hamilton have offered to sell the Glasgow issue. We hope that it will find its way to other parts of Scotland. We hear that Dundee may begin a separate group. This is even better.

We hope to begin periodic meetings and discussions on the ideas and role of Solidarity. Look out for news of these in later issues.

We would welcome correspondence with your opinions on our first issue.

CAPITALISM TODAY

A hundred and fifty years of "progress" and "democracy" have proved that all the reforms, which can be applied to the capitalist system will not change the real position of the workers. Increases in buying power, obtained by incessant struggle are cancelled out by increasing needs, and are paid for dearly by the speed-up and intensification of work, which transforms the worker into an automaton. The political and

other rights gained by the working-class have not stopped society from being dominated by a privileged class of capitalists and bureaucrats, who run it in their own class interests.

The permanent and irremovable bureaucracy, which runs the traditional parties and trade unions integrates them into the state machine. The parties of the "left", both social-democratic and authoritarian, use the working-class struggle to get themselves a share in the running of the state and the economy. The "Communist" bureaucracy uses the struggle to set up a Russian style regime, (mistakenly called socialist.) where the rulers of the state and the economy take the place of the private bosses, but the position of the worker remains the same.

The workers will only be freed from oppression and exploitation when their struggle has lead to the establishment of a truly socialist society, where production and distribution will be under workers management, and all power will be in the hands of workers councils. The way to building this type of society is through the autonomous and conscious action of the vast majority of the working people. It can not be achieved by a coup d'etat of a disciplined and bureaucratic party, claiming to be the leadership or representatives of the workers, because it will only substitute its own rule for that which previously existed.

To defend these ideas and to spread them among the workers, a new revolutionary organisation is needed, based on proletarian democracy. The militants who are in it will not be the unthinking servants of a petty bureaucracy, but will decide themselves the orientation and aspect and activity of the organisation.

These ideas have been expressed since 1949 by the group Socialisme ou Barbarie in France. Groups with the same basic ideas exist in Italy (Unita Proletaria.), Belgium (Pouvoir Ouvrier.) and England (Solidarity.)

RESOLUTIONARIES ☐

A resolution was proposed by the "independent-marxist" Gorbals Young Socialists and carried at the last conference of the Glasgow Federation of Young Socialists, which called upon Glasgow Corporation to insist on 100% membership of Trade Unions for all its workers and all the workers employed by contractors whom it engages.

The implications of this resolution are detrimental to the basic ideas of revolutionary socialism. A closed shop is

only correct, when the workers decide themselves to refuse to work beside non-union labour. The non-unionist is seen as a parasite, getting the benefits of the union while not doing anything towards getting them. He is a menace to rank-and-file solidarity and a potential blackleg in a strike. 100% membership of a union is the sign of high working-class consciousness when, and this is the crux of the matter, it has been decided by the workers themselves.

When the employer decides that all his employees are to be members of the union, this is the time for the workers to watch out. This begins to be reminiscent of the Nazi Labour Front and American Company Unions. The Labour controlled corporation is no different from other employers in this respect. The demands of the Young Socialists will force the busmen to be members of the TGWU, whose district secretary Alec Grant tried with all his powers to break the "unofficial" strike of the busmen in April. General labourers would be forced to join the NUCMW, which recently spent £75,000 on a weekend in London for its officials, dining in the Guildhall and wining at the best hotels.

In 1947 London Transport made an agreement with the TGWU, that only TGWU members would be employed by them. This gave London Transport full power to dismiss the members of the breakaway union, the National Passenger Workers Union, which was formed after the TGWU had smashed the "Coronation Strike" of 1937. Such an agreement gives the union bureaucrats access to the "legal" power, which the state gives the employers, especially when the employer is the state itself or a local government concern. With this power the bureaucrats can smash any rank-and-file militancy.

When there is a closed shop agreement between the employers and the union bosses, the rank-and-file in the union become apathetic and dispirited. This can be seen in various departments of the corporation, where it already exists, such as the Highways. The union is no more than a friendly society collecting dues and paying sick benefits. Even collecting dues will soon be a thing of the past. When the Corporation has its new computer installed, they will be deducted at the source from the wages. With 10% commission for the Corporation.

*This resolution hits at the roots of working-class consciousness. It stinks of the paternalistic attitudes of those who thought it up. Its proposers and those who voted for it, can have no faith in the workers to suggest the employers force unionisation on them. To paraphrase Marx, "The organisation of the working-class is the task of the workers alone." Anything else is the way to the corporate, fascist state of Franco and Mussolini, where the workers are used like pawns or robots.

GANGS AND POLITICS

In England the Mods and Rockers are having punch-ups at the seaside resorts. In Glasgow many of the city's working-class youth are organising themselves into gangs, which are as big as the ones of the "No Mean City" days of the unemployed twenties. They have names such as the San Toy, the Norman Conks and the Billy Boys. Some have numbers up to two and three hundred. Chiv, razor, axe and bayonet attacks are on the increase.

Resentment of the ruling class's authority, contempt for the "traditional way of life", (bosses, exploitation and unemployment), the misery of life amidst the squalor of the rat-ridden, overcrowded tenements, the dull existence in the sprawling, endless and depressing housing schemes and the boredom of long unemployment coupled with lack of cash have all helped to cause an outburst of feeling among the youngsters, which has expressed itself in vandalism and free-for-all fights among the gangs, over old prejudices like religion, but not clothes styles. Mods fight mods in Glasgow. All this anger and rebellion is indirectly and unconsciously aimed at the lousy society we live in.

Those who rule, with power and authority, know only one way to deal with those who defy them and refuse to conform to their rules-set their police on them. The result, of course, is attacks on the police by the gangs. The same police, who booted the demonstrators all over the pier during the first Holy Loch sit-downs, who plant bricks on people, who beat prisoners up in cells and use rhino whips for a bit of persuasion.

The "attack" on the norms of present day society by the young people, misdirected as it is at the wrong spot, is motivated by the same feeling which made thousands of youngsters join CND, take part in direct action with the Committee of IOO and go on spying missions for secrets being hidden from the mass of the people, and combined to make it the greatest offensive on our crap system, that died-in-the-wool politicians and supporters of the status-quo had to deal with for a long time.

Meanwhile parties, immersed as they are in traditional political thinking, jostle to capture the organs of power, whereby they can impose their "legal" authority upon the kids and deal with them in the manner, that the professing pundits of sociology, psychiatry and economy, who support their party, have decreed. In the eventual outcome, the lot of the kids will remain the same-unemployment, employment at exploitation rates, conscription, police action and vicious court sentences.

What is happening among the diversified left groups? What is their outlook towards the thousands of kids roaming the streets of this great proletarian city? The following part of this article deals with what happened in the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist Labour League in connection with the mods and gangs in Glasgow. The reaction of both of these parties will give readers an insight into their basic outlook.

RESPECTABLE REVOLUTIONARIES

A year ago the Scottish Committee of 100 moved into the offices of the ILP in Glasgow. In May of that year they were joined by Glasgow YCND who were the biggest and most active political youth group in Scotland. The meetings of the Committee and the YCND were being packed by youngsters from the city's mod beat clubs, with as many as 70 youngsters cramming the YCND meetings. A lot of the kids were up for a pick up, and some for a laugh. Most of them were genuinely interested. They listened intently to YCND speakers. Those who were interested came to meeting after meeting. The insincere ones left. The turnover of young people in the six months YCND used the ILP office was around 200.

If ever a left wing party slept when the chance to put over a political message to a hundred or so young people turned up, then the ILP did. Only one meeting was addressed by an ILP member, on politics generally rather than the bomb. If ever the life blood of any left wing movement was ignored, this was it. There were loads of youngsters up in the office all day (the YCND kept the office open full time) and every night.

If the older members of the ILP, instead of remaining wary, had encouraged the kids and put over their propaganda to them, then they might have had a chance of seeing some of the ideas they proclaim getting a much needed chance to develop in young people's minds.

MODS AGAINST THE BOMB

Many of the mods joined the YCND and took part in the demonstrations. Before the YCND anti-conscription demonstration slogans like "Mods against Conscription" and "Mods say Fuck Off Home and Wilson" appeared in the city, and on the day of the demonstration around 300 of them were in George Square waiting for the march to come in.

All the time they used the ILP office they had a good time - the place was like a midden, articles got broken and some of them enjoyed themselves boozing in the office. One night

there was a break-in but the only thing that was stolen was the YCND "On the Beach" rock - hardly a disaster. However, that was the end - out went the Mods and the YCND, and with them probably the last chance of reviving Glasgow ILP.

Now the kids are back on the street without a political hang-out - fair game for the propaganda of the whole establishment from the Labour Party to the Army recruiting office.

When challenged about their lack of effort at recruiting youngsters members of the ILP said "They're not political, anyway." Who are the ILP wanting in their ranks? Some born and bred socialist! Some kind of a holy person! Someone who comes in with "politically mature" tatooed on his chest and shouting "ILP for me" - well dressed and adult, of course.

TAKEOVER BID

The SLL antics with the gangs are of a different nature. They are trying to capture control of the Roman Catholic Cumberland Street Gang (the "Cumby") from the Gorbals. Attempts are being made to get the leadership involved with the SLL, hoping of course to capture the rank and file by doing so. Typical SLL tactics!

There is no intention to put over Trotsky's views - or at least the SLL version. Their support is wanted for a purely physical contribution - a sort of left wing gestapo force, who can go with the SLL'ers to Young Socialist meetings and on receiving a "nod" from the "leadership" can beat up Young Socialists, whose politics they don't like, after the meeting. The SLL have done this in the past. With a gang at their back Glasgow politics could be in for some interesting developments.

After a big street fight with gangs and police in Partick, the SLL appeared on the scene and searched out the gangs involved. They then formed a bogus Young Socialist group - Partick YS - and called members of the gangs to a public meeting. (Partick is part of Woodside Constituency and Woodside YS are the official organisation). The theme of the meeting was "Protest Against Police Violence". The line taken was "Police Violence Out - Razor Slashing In".

This is new SLL tactics. Having failed to capture the Labour Party they have now turned to the street gangs. We hope they will be "proscribed"!

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Solidarity believes that although the actions of the SLL and the ILP appear different, they are basically the same. Both show a contempt for the young people - one by ignoring them, the other by using them. The attitude is authoritarian and the outlook is bourgeois (the children don't know - they can be ignored - the adults know best.)

At a time when the left is needing to build itself from scratch the obvious place to look for the backbone of the movement is among the young people. They have not yet been completely brainwashed and traditionalised like the majority of the adult population. Among them lies the real and only hope of strengthening the left wing. We hope as libertarians we have learned a lesson.

George Billson.

LISTEN WITH MOTHER

Sooty and the two conservatives.

Once upon a time there were two nice old men. They were called conservatives and they lived in Bearsden. Bearsden is a lovely little town where people live who have lots of money. They all have little ticky tacky houses which have only twenty rooms; four for daddy conservative, four for mummy conservative, and twelve for all the baby conservatives.

Over the meadows from Bearsden is the big horrible city of Glasgow, where thousands of scruffy people worked hard to make money for the nice folks in Bearsden.

Every morning the two conservatives used to get up, put on their pinstriped trousers, stiff collared shirts and bowler hats and went off with their Glasgow Herald under their arm and swinging their rolled umbrellas, to travel on the lovely blue trains to Glasgow where they played a little game with your life and mine, called stocks and shares. The silly man who made the blue trains forgot to put a first class compartment in them and sometimes the conservatives had to squeeze in beside people with dirty clothes but they didn't mind this as long as they didn't jostle their Glasgow Herald when they were looking at the shares page.

In the east end of Glasgow, in grimy Bridgeton, lived little Sooty. Sooty was a lovely little pussy, but Sooty was a nasty socialist. Sooty had funny ideas. He thought the

workers in Glasgow should get the full rewards of their labour, and that the nice people in Bearsden should not get rich poncing off their work.

Sooty lived in a big tenement which also had twenty rooms - for a hundred people. Five people to one cozy little room. Sooty was always getting dirty playing in the back court of the tenement where he lived, which was full of refuse from the bins and dirt from the water closets which didn't work. Sooty used to enjoy himself chasing all the big rats which lived in the tenement with the people.

One morning, as the two conservatives were on their way to the Stock Exchange they came across Sooty standing in the gutter, which is where all socialists come from. He was waving a big red flag and shouting "Down with the Bosses!" The two conservatives were shocked. "The Socialists are even getting at the cats now!" said one of them. "We had better call a policeman" said the other. So they called a big fat jolly policeman who was standing nearby.

The Glasgow policemen have always been very good to the workers since the far off days of the twenties when they used to attack the men on strike with their batons and horses. The jolly policeman came over and said "What is this?" A cat protesting against his betters!" So he took out his baton and began hitting Sooty, and then he took his red flag and tore it up. All the workers on their way to their dreary jobs stopped to laugh and cheer the policeman. This is the funny way workers act when they see cats and people like themselves trying to improve their miserable life.

Then the policeman called a Black Maria, which came and took Sooty away to a cat home, which is where all bad cats go who won't work to make profits for the bosses.

So the two conservatives went on their way to the Stock Exchange and from then on they lived happily ever after.

Edith Blythman.

But what was happening to Sooty? When the Black Maria drew up at the Cat Home, the kind policeman gave Sooty a couple of bricks to hold and took him to see a jovial sergeant who was twirling a rhino whip. What happened to Sooty in the cell is not for little children to read about.

More adventures of Sooty in later issues.

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BUS DISPUTE

For months now Scotland's busmen have been seething with discontent. Threats of militant action by the rank and file have been numerous. One of the men's demands is a 40 hour week, which is being negotiated nationally at the moment, but they are impatient after waiting for several months and know that even if they get the agreement it is not likely to be for a while yet.

It has been on this issue that most of the rank and file action during November was taken. However, the underlying troubles are just as important. The men have the same problems which brought the Glasgow men out in April; tightening of schedules, discontent about spreadover time, small attendance money, having to work six and seven day weeks regularly and the need to work excessive overtime to make a decent wage. As far as the majority of busmen are concerned, the union officials are a failure and resentment is great at the regular collusion between them and the management to the detriment of the men.

RANK & FILE ACTION

The expected trouble began on Saturday, 22nd November; when the men at the Central SMT depot in Motherwell walked out in support of the cleaners who were complaining about the heating at the depot. This one day lightning strike paralysed all the central Lanarkshire to Glasgow services. On Sunday 23rd, Glasgow corporation men began an overtime ban and work to rule. This cut the city's services by one third.

The Glasgow action was expected. Over the months, since the April strike, there has been continual threats of action. Several of the depots have been on the brink of walking out. There was a lot of talk about another strike. The union officials and secretary Grant, who played such a notorious part trying to break the April strike, knowing the feeling of the men and having learned their lessons from April, organised the "official" overtime ban and work to rule. This is what rank and file militancy with a willingness to threaten and carry out action without the "blessing" of the trade union officials can do.

The Glasgow men triggered off activity throughout Scotland. While union officials waffled with the management, the men acted at rank and file level. Garage after garage met and made their own decisions without the "help" of their union officials. As Scotland's 26,000 bus men and women decided what they would do, union officials told them not to take "un-

official" action and the press, especially the Beaverbrook stablemates, the Express and the Citizen, screamed at them to take the "advice" of those who "represent" them.

Only a few weeks before, an editorial in the Citizen told the officials of Paisley District AEU, who had been appealing to the workers to strike over the dismissal of shop steward Calum Mackay at Remington Rand, to accept the decision of their members which was not to strike. Beaverbrook has it both ways. Support union officials or rank and file members, whoever is against strikes.

Edinburgh Corporation's 3,000 drivers and conductresses had a one day strike on Friday 27th, without union "support". Two buses scabbed but one drove back to the depot after the crew had abuse heaped on them by the public who blamed them for the trouble. We don't feel any sympathy for them. On the same day Scottish Omnibus men at Airdrie and Musselburgh struck. The Musselburgh action was also in support of the Edinburgh men, since they run buses from the eastern suburbs of the city. The men at Alexander's Kirkintilloch depot were also out. On Saturday 28th, against union "advice", Dundee Corporation men had a one day strike. No one scabbed. Alexander's men at Milngavie and Kilsyth were also out - 100%.

In Hamilton, Motherwell, Wishaw, Stirling, Greenock, Perth and Dalkeith an overtime ban was imposed.

A few garages, the press looking for a crumb of comfort told us joyfully, took no action and declared faith in their officials. However, almost the whole of Scotland's heavily populated area was affected.

Not for a long time have such numbers of busmen so overwhelmingly rejected their few paid union officials who claim to represent them. The men's action publicised their inefficiency and inability. We are glad to see the action and decisions being taken at the important level - where it really counts - among the rank and file.

The overtime bans and work to rule continued at most garages for about two weeks and ended with a temporary reprieve for the union officials to get on with the negotiating quicker, at local and national level. More action is on the cards if the rank and file don't get their demands met soon. The all Scotland strike called for the 14th of December was called off.

ORGANISATION

The busmen's actions, although very important in the light of rank and file initiative and workers' direct democracy, took

place in isolation at each garage. No attempt was made to contact busmen in other parts of Scotland and set up a co-ordinating body, which would be the true representatives of the men at rank and file level. Such a body would challenge the authority of the non-elected TU bureaucrats. When the men reject the union officials we feel they should set up their own representative group to carry out the job the union officials regularly fail to do.

If another strike is called, with or without the union's blessing, we hope the busmen will call on the Underground men and railwaymen to come out in support. If not, the action will be isolated and the railwaymen will work and partly break the strike. A lesson could be learned from the recent French strike, when all the transport and social services workers came out together in a solidarity action. This is when the workers realise their power and potential. Such collective action is needed among our transport workers. The busmen realise that no action in the transport services can be completely successful, without enlisting the support of the railway and underground men. The busmen would have to ignore the railway union leaders and go straight to the rank and file for support.

THE PRESS

The press have not been so vicious in their attacks, as they were during the April strike. They have, of course, roundly condemned the "unofficial" action and have been full of protest letters from the class-unconscious public.

What they have done with real success is to isolate the dispute to Scotland - so cutting off any chance of supporting action by English busmen. This tactic is used regularly by the press and it would be a good idea if Solidarists throughout Britain let each other know what industrial action is taking place in their localities and this could be publicised by the groups in their own areas.

We have often thought it would be a good idea if a demonstration of strikers and supporters went to Albion Street to the Express and Citizen offices instead of going to the usual useless meeting places up side streets. We could expect interesting developments arising from the deep feeling of disgust and anger for these papers, which workers on strike always have, because of the vicious campaign they consistently carry on against them. There is no reason why the strikers don't call for a boycott of them, and ask the journalists and printers to walk out in support and refuse to help in the production of their pernicious dogma.

OUTSIDE HELP

During the dispute a hundred "Glasgow Busmen in Action" were sold in Edinburgh and Dundee as well as a few in Glasgow and other places. Reports say the response was favourable.

What more can we do to help? The problem we have to overcome is the suspicion and distrust of outsiders, which workers in struggle have. This has arisen very often because of attempts to use them by Communist and Trotskyist factions. (This is what happened during the Apprentices' Strike.) There is, of course, the old tactic of planting bosses' men and police among them, which makes the strikers very wary. Glasgow Solidarity has been discussing supporting action away from the centre of the struggle taken independently of the men by sympathisers. Such action could overcome the suspicions of the men, present the press with a new angle to overcome from the usual "there are subversives, etc. running the strike for their own ends etc. etc." and at the same time show the public a group apart from the men who are in support and agree with the strikers' action. The activities could include demonstration marches and poster parades, flyposting and slogan painting and the distribution of supporting literature. (The need for distribution of literature to the public giving their side of the story, to combat the press, is something strikers should be considering.

COLOUR TROUBLE

Unfortunately, not all the activities of the busmen can be admired and supported. A few months ago men at the Central SMT depot at Gavinsburn in Dumbartonshire struck against the employment of coloured workers. They asked nearby garages to support them, but they were quite rightly snubbed. The action received the support of the Fascist groups. They refused to support the one day strike at the Milngavie garage because the Milngavie men did not support them.

A SUGGESTION

Solidarity welcomes and supports the action taken in November by themen at rank and file level independent of their so-called representatives - the union officials. We look forward to the continuation of the struggle against the management and the union bureaucrats. We hope the busmen win. We end by making a suggestion. Next time there is a strike take the buses out, but don't take the fares. This would help get the public on your side against the management. The management would try a lock-out but then the public would see who the real culprits were.

John Thomson.

PEACE MEAL

The Scottish Peace Movement has been stricken by the malaise which is choking the movement elsewhere in the country. It is caught in a straight-jacket held tight by Labour Party respectables, peaceful reformists and the Communist Party. Militants have left the movement in great numbers, having no wish to resolution-monger at dreary Trade Union meetings and on Labour Party ward committees or canvass Glasgow slums, where unemployment, overcrowding and leaking water closets are the issues not the bomb.

The CND with its ultra-respectable elements, who have an utter contempt for radical direct action presented an "independent presence" at the election, which was so independent that no one even noticed it. They paid a bloke £15 to do this and the result was a few lines in the press appealing to the candidates to remember the poor wee CND and what it stood for. This same bloke told us, that the issues for CND people were not whether a Labour government would keep the RSG "secret" shelters and appoint themselves to posts in them, but whether we could get Harry to come a little way to seeing our point of view. Having been "presented" they then urged everyone to vote Labour claiming that Wilson was really one of them. The result - Wilson said in December that Polaris would stay in the Holy Loch. But Labour has put up the pensions.

The Committee of 100, at present, are a small group, who are not taking any direct action. The activists and organisers of its healthy days have baled out. The younger militants have gone off, formed themselves into various groups, popping up under different names and keeping the police busy, and are running riot smashing up the army and navy recruitment offices (what a delightful mess for would-be recruits to see) and breaking into civil defence establishments.

The communists are always ready to take part in respect able demonstrations, provided they are directed against the right bomb, where they won't get into any trouble and so tarnish the image they are trying to create. (we are fighting elections, you know.) On the occasions that suit them they spring into action and like a chameleon changing its colours, they cast aside their red flags and line up behind the blue banner of the Peace Committee. C.P. becomes P.C.

Mixed in this pottage, and of course giving it their blessing, are several ministers. Like the English we also have our problem priests.

The present state of the movement is the result of it never having been able to get out of the grip of the social democrats, completely immersed in traditional politics and who have always appealed to "top" people to solve problems by sending petitions and resolutions to Prime Ministers, politicians and TUC bureaucrats, naively believing that such people, supporting as they do the status-quo and thus requiring the bomb to keep their power, actually bother.

The following are instances, which show what these people have done to keep the movement in the track of respectability and traditional politics.

— IN THE BEGINNING —

The Scottish Peace Movement sprang to life with the arrival of the US Polaris Depot ship in the Holy Loch. Great was the resolution passing among high and low in the Labour Party, from city and town councillors to sundry rank-and-file. Trade Union leaders made great speeches condemning the Tories for letting the Americans come. The STUC passed resolutions and manipulated block votes of its members, who were so concerned that they kept on going to the football and enjoying themselves on the booze. Occasionally great gatherings assembled on the banks of the loch and with the Communist Party leading shouted, OUT! OUT! OUT! But the boat remained. The government replied by siting another Polaris base at Faslane. So the STUC passed more resolutions condemning this action, but at the same time George Middleton, the secretary, went to London and pleaded for the Scottish unemployed to be allowed to build the British Polaris. The Labour Provost of Dumbarton, who sat down at the Holy Loch, said that he hated Polaris but if it was to be built in Britain it might as well be built on the Clyde and "solve" local unemployment problems. The bad government didn't give them polaris to build, but they gave them another Polaris base at Rosyth. So the STUC passed more ~~condemning~~ resolutions and then the government drove the last nail home and laid the keel of the first British Polaris submarine at Barrow and called it HMS Resolution.

Meanwhile Labourites in CND groups urged members to pass more resolutions, sign petitions and work in the unions so that they could manipulate block votes to pass even more resolutions and then the government could give Scotland another Polaris base.

— THE COMMUNISTS —

In the early days of the movement the Anti-Polaris Coordinating Committee was set up. This suited the Communists, since all the protests were directed at the Americans

at the Holy Loch. Until one day, the committee decided to hold a demonstration in Glasgow, when the Soviet ambassador, Soldatov, was in the city. So, always true to their Russian masters, the C.P. walked out. From then on they only came on demonstrations that suited them, but occasionally went for a jaunt on their own to the loch for an OUT! OUT! OUT! session. On one of these occasions the Scots Against War pamphlet, How to Disrupt and Subvert the Warfare State. (East and West) appeared and they did their nut and this combined with the threatened sit-down caused them to wet themselves. "We (the leadership of the Peace Committee) have promised the police there will be no trouble." Images you know!

The C.P. came in on the demonstration of February 1962, which was to begin with a march from the Holy Loch. They wanted the march to end in a meeting of the "traditional working-class type" in a hall, where we would be nicely cut off from the public and could clap speeches of the "traditional working class type", which we had heard a hundred times before, from Labour MPs and TU bureaucrats. "Vote Labour." "A united front with the C.P. for peace." "Work inside the unions." The Committee of 100 refused to do this and declared their intention to march on to George Square and hold a public assembly, with whoever wanted to speak, doing so. The police refused them the use of the square but on the day of the march, which was now the "Free Speech" demonstration, they walked on to a packed square, while the C.P. (who had capitulated over the indoor meeting) and the CND walked up a side street and talked to themselves. So much for the revolution!

The only time the Communists came on a sit-down in any great numbers was when the organisers persuaded the Scottish secretary to take part. So he gave the order and the sheep obeyed. But they didn't ban the bomb the first time, so they went back to their traditional ways.

WHAT ABOUT CND

Glasgow, Edinburgh and a lot of the other CNDs are so bourgeois, that their books balance at the end of the year. This is their training on Labour Party committees coming in handy. They worry so much about their accounts, that they seldom take any action except sending press statements, which the editors throw in their waste paper baskets. Occasionally they get "intellectual" letters published in the Glasgow Herald and Scotsman. These papers don't find their way into the homes of the working-class, but even if they did, the letters are so "high-brow and bourgeois reformist" that the workers would rightly reject them.

These entrenched cliques of Labourites have controlled most CND groups from the start, but alas for them their members deserted

them a long time ago. Now all they do is provide occasional Sunday evening entertainment for Youth Fellowships, when they send a speaker along to try and convert Church middle-class elements.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION FIASCO

Glasgow CND once held an Industrial Action Week, which was to be used to tell the workers in the factories and shipyards "how" to go out and work for the abolition of the British bomb. The fiasco was preceded by a meeting, where two well-known rank and file militants, Bro. Kitson, of the Scottish Horse and Motormens Union and Bro. Horner, of the Fire Brigades Union and national CND fame, told the "laymen" in CND how to operate in industry. There were about 50 people at the meeting of every left hue. Kitson and Horner told us that the "real" work to be done was inside the union branches passing resolutions, and getting other CNDers into other union branches passing resolutions there, and eventually getting the resolutions passed at national level. Then they could be taken as block votes to Labour Party conferences and manipulated in our favour and if we were lucky they would not be thrown out or ignored by people like Gaitskell. The rank and file members of the unions were to be left unaware of the fact, that their votes were being used to pass resolutions, which most of them opposed. When it was suggested from the floor that we by-pass the resolution rubbish and go straight to the workers with our propaganda and ask them to take action, such as striking and blacking nuclear work, Horner and Kitson told us we were going over the heads of the so-called "representatives" of the men - the TU officials. The reason being that H and K saw their bureaucratic power as union officials being usurped, their jobs in jeopardy, whenever their rank and file began taking action which they opposed, and even worse, without their consent.

At question time we were treated to long harangues from the proponents of various factions on their "royal" road to socialism. All of them agreed with the platform on the need to "work inside", "take over" and "use" the Labour Party and Trade Unions. Everyone was united on the bureaucratic issue, that the rank and file could be ignored or, at the most, only asked to work in their branch passing resolutions. CND also had about 50,000 leaflets which said this. No mention was made of such revolutionary action as strikes and work blacking. They asked for volunteers to give them out. A few stalwarts came forward. Most of their respectable members did not fancy getting their clothes dirty on the city's industrial wastes. At the end of the week they were left with about 30,000. Perhaps this is a blessing.

There were supposed to be factory gate and shipyard meetings.

Committee of 100 members offered to speak, since CND could find very few speakers in their own ranks. CND reluctantly agreed, but told them to be careful what they said. On turning up for several meetings Committee speakers found no CND, no platform and no audience. So the week came and went and the "message" to the Glasgow workers went unheeded, as they went off to the terraces at Parkhead and Ibrox.

A PRIEST

One of the problem priests is the Rev. Clyne Middleton, chairman of the rather posh Edinburgh CND, who has steered his group bravely along the paths of Edinburgh respectability. On hearing that the Committee of 100 were to march through Edinburgh to the RSG shelter, the week after the Spies for Peace revelations, he told the press that his CND were not taking part. This prompted an editorial in the local press, saying that they were pleased that their city CND were not going on the march with the motley Glaswegian subversives, who were coming to wave their obnoxious Spies for Peace pamphlet in the hallowed streets of their capital. And on a Presbyterian Sunday, if you please. The Committee secretary replied, saying, that it was up to the rank and file CND to decide individually if they wanted to go on the march. On the Sunday about three hundred supporters of Edinburgh CND joined with other Scottish subversives at the Mound. Edinburgh CND officials were there telling their members to go to an indoor meeting, but they were rightly snubbed by the rank and file, who preferred more exciting things to Sunday table talks.

MAY DAY

At the May Day rally last year, militants gave Anthony Greenwood a real heckling amid shouts from CND Labourites to shut up and give a fellow ban the bomber a hearing. A hearing meant letting him tell us all to vote Labour. The Anarchists tried to wreck the meeting with a walk-out in protest. Those who supported know what Wilson said, when asked what his colonial secretary would say to the decision to keep the Holy Loch base. "Mr. Greenwood always agrees with me." For him a sell-out of CND for a cabinet post is well worth it.

THE FUTURE

Militants wishing to revive the movement have learned from their past experience and realise that it must be based on a rank and file working outside the traditional "legal" approaches and free of the suffocating grip of those respectables who abhor revolutionary direct action. Appeals for industrial action must be made direct to the workers and not to trade union officials. Break-ins at civil defence and military establishments and firms building nuclear bases will continue, in the

quest for secrets, that are being hidden from the people. Leaf-letting of troops with anti-war, seditious literature will continue. Setting up anti-war cells in the armed forces will be attempted. Sabotage might be continued. Disruption of security and defence department telephones will carry on. Action at bases, taking such a toll of Committee of 100 militants should be suspended and only revived if the numbers are big enough to ensure a chance of success. We hope support for the militant, disruptive and subversive Scots Against War group will grow. Most important; the attack on the bomb and the military must be part of the larger offensive of rank-and-file workers against the whole powerhouse of our capitalist bureaucracy.

Tom Macdonald.

ACTION

The following leaflet was distributed by Solidarity (Glasgow).

With so many militants around wanting to help the workers during struggles with the employers, a group has been set up to try and do this. This will allow people who are not directly involved in disputes, either on the job or in the union, to take solidarity action with their fellow workers. ACTION will be the main purpose of this group, not resolution passing nor arguing about the fifty "royal" roads to socialism, nor swapping the newspapers of the various left-wing "in" groups.

The object of the group is to help create working-class consciousness and solidarity, by propaganda and STRUGGLE, and create sympathy for strikes and other working class action, among the public who are too easily turned against their fellow workers by the vicious propaganda of the yellow press.

The group could be extremely valuable during "unofficial" disputes, when the workers are deserted by the bureaucratic trade union leaders, for it is then that they lack the finance and organisation of the trade union apparatus and so the need for outside help is greater.

The group will not seek to "lead" or "get in" on strikes for factional ends. Nor will it be a self-appointed messiah trying to take the workers along one of the "correct" paths to socialism. Instead it will line up with the workers against the bosses be they state or council officials or private employers, and we will put ourselves at their disposal during strikes, go-slows, overtime bans and work-to-rules, and try and help by producing and distributing literature, flyposting and sloganpainting, providing transport and organising supporting demonstrations.

We call on all militant left-wingers to support this group.

FURTHER ACTIVITY

Solidarity supporters in Scotland and elsewhere are discussing the question of further activities. Do we remain only a literature publishing group encouraging the workers in struggle or do we attempt to organise ourselves on a formal basis for other action. The obvious fears among us are of the danger of bringing about some small guy bureaucracy, which could easily occur with such an organisation being set up at present when there is very little support for our ideas. There is also the possibility of being lumped with the left-wing factions as an elitist, vanguardist or self appointed leadership group, with the subsequent growth of suspicion about us among workers in struggle. We have stressed that our action group would try and put itself at the workers disposal, instead of trying, as other factions do, to install itself as the leadership.

Among the suggestions we have had for other activity are, making a banner and publicising the group on marches etc, holding street and factory gate meetings, taking part in direct action on social and political issues such as rents, evictions, warrant sales, royalty, big business etc, and standing at local elections on an anti-election ticket similar to the objective of the former London Workers Association.

We feel that this whole issue should be well aired and we would like correspondence on it.

THE QUEEN AND THE ILP

We hear that the National Administrative Council of the ILP has a letter before them from a member asking them to call and organise an anti-royalty demonstration at Buckingham Palace on the themes, "Out with Royalty" and "Give the palace to the Homeless." The object is to ask London homeless people to come on an action, which would attempt to install them in the palace. It is realised that the demonstration would only be a token attempt because of our friends the police, the well known guardians of our establishment, but such an action would be indeed revolutionary. We would support it and are sure that many other left-wing militants would also.

A subscription of 4/6 would ensure the next 6 issues of Solidarity (Glasgow). For 9/- you can get the next 12 issues of Solidarity (London) from 197 Kings Cross Road, London, WCI.

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