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SOLIDARITY SCOTLAND



6^D

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.

WORKERS CRISIS !!

DONT BE FOOLED

WE HOPE THAT WORKING PEOPLE ARE NOT BEING FOOLED BY TALKS BETWEEN WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES AND WILSON, GUNTER, STEWART OR BROWN. These men who deliberately created the conditions to cause large-scale redundancy are now being asked to 'solve' the problem. WHAT A TRAGIC FARCE! These politicians have a policy they are determined to push through despite the promises, cliches and platitudes they mouth to workers' delegates. British capitalism must be made competitive in order to capture more world markets - even if it means causing unemployment in other countries. To cut the cost of British products they intend to screw down workers' wages and with accompanying legislation they hope 'to put the working-class in its place'. Needless to say bosses and management are delighted. With legislation and redundancy threats they see their chance to smash shop-floor militancy and oust strong shop stewards committees.

WAGE CONTROL ONLY

WAGE CONTROL IS NOT BEING ACCOMPANIED BY PRICE CONTROL. Prices continue to go up. Even with price control profits would continue to rise and the shareowners' dividends (frozen for a certain time) would accumulate and be paid out at the end of the freeze. But wage rises which workers would have got will not exist to be paid out once the freeze is over.

THE REAL OBJECTIVES

WE MUST BE AWARE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY. Although the serious redundancy issue must be dealt with first, it is the government's long term plans which must be closely watched. Their aim is to have the state (law) interfering on behalf of the bosses to curb militant workers and shop stewards; and also to strengthen the trade union bureaucracy (their partners in crime). As every worker knows 90% of all actions taken are roundly condemned in unison by government, bosses and union bureaucracy, as 'unofficial'. To try and take power from the workers' shop-floor organisations and invest it in the Labour Party lackeys in the union hierarchy is the great desire of both British Government and employers.

A NEW LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS

Working people must look to further horizons. Appeals to politicians and the TUC are pathetic. They represent the workers as much as Hitler represented the Jews. Neither can this struggle against the Labour Government be won by electing the Tories next time. All political parties believe the same thing - British capitalism must exploit the British workers even more. Parliament is a fraud. Despite the facade of political democracy - a miserable vote every five years to elect one set of rulers - dictatorship reigns supreme at work. No workers can get rid of their bosses in either private or national industry. The bosses remain to pounce off our labour, to sack us, to speed up production, to organise work and to control our lives during our job hours. Wilson, Heath and Grimond are committed to allowing management to dictate to us, and to be answerable to the shareholders or nationalised boards and not the workers whom they employ.

TO WORKERS WE SAY

STRENGTHEN YOUR SHOP-FLOOR ORGANISATIONS

Despite the conniving in government circles by politicians, TUC leaders and employers, the real struggle will continue as always, on the shop floor. It is here that the government's policies can be reduced to ruins. VICTORIES ARE NOT WON AT LABOUR AND TUC CONFERENCES OR AT MEETINGS WITH CABINET MINISTERS.

Act yourself! Don't expect your MP to help you! Ignore those who will sell you out! Build up and strengthen the shop-floor organisations! Be ready to oppose fines and jail sentences which may arise from legislation to outlaw wage bargaining and accompanying strikes! Make sure your shop stewards committees are not isolated and put on the chopping block for the employers, the law and the union executive to wield the axe! Debate all ideas which may be able to subvert, obstruct or destroy the legislation! Build up national committees of shop-floor representatives so that any attempt to victimise a minority in one area can be replied to with massive solidarity support throughout the country. (Remember your enemies - the Government, the Tories, the employers, the union executives and the police - are nationally organised.)

USE OUTSIDE HELP

Many left-wing groups are more than willing to assist working people fight the government and its supporters. Use the help of libertarian socialists (ourselves), trotskysts, syndicalists, communists and any other left-wing groups. They have knowledge, experience, ideas, willing activists and printing equipment. Listen to their ideas for what they are worth, but make sure you dictate to them and not them to you! Make sure your activities are not being organised outwith your control for political ends which not may be the same as yours. OUTSIDE HELP IS VERY VALUABLE SO LONG AS WORKERS KEEP CONTROL OF THEIR OWN ORGANISATIONS AND DONT LET THEM SLIP INTO THE HANDS OF A PROFESSIONAL ELITIST LEADERSHIP.

Two strands of activity go on around the Communist Party in relation to industrial action. The first involves the Communist Party members on the shop-floor. The second is the role of Party officials at Party HQs. Often there is a tie-up. At times they are at variance. On many occasions CP members on the shop-floor act contrary to directives from Party officials. Give credit to the communist militants on the shop-floor when they do good work! But bear in mind the activities at Party HQ. (Remember also that the Labour, Tory and Liberal Parties, the employers' spies and the Special Branch, all operate behind the scenes in industry.) and the trade unions.)

CONCLUSION

One day we hope, the working people will throw out the bosses, the political careerists and the union bureaucrats and thereafter, manage and control every aspect of society themselves. (at work and out of it.) In Paris (1871), Russia (1905, 1917), Spain (1936-7) and Hungary (1956) the seeds of workers' control and management flowered before being cruelly crushed by powerful tyrannies.

MILK ED

Donald Hutton, former activist in the Busmen's breakaway union, writes here about his new job on the MILK RUN. Many milk depots are unorganised union wise. Unorganised in the sense, that the men have no, on-the-spot, rank and file representatives. We do not expect the official union machinery to do anything for their members. But with no 'shop-floor' organisation situations, such as are described here continue unchecked.

Mention milk deliveries, and one immediately visualises a chirpy, milk-boy whistling away as he delivers the daily pinta. But what about the driver? Here the picture dims somewhat! Take a close look sometime, if you're up that early and you will see someone who is far from cheerful. He will probably look downright worried, especially if it is near the weekend; a time when most other workers are beginning to brighten up.

Why should he look so worried? Well this is the time of the week when he has to try and collect the money due from customers. It is not enough that he has to start at 5a.m. (except Sunday with its 'long lie' and 6a.m. start) but he is also expected to re-start on a Friday evening at 5p.m. and wark until 9p.m. or later collecting money. This money must be paid in by Monday and should the driver be short in his pay-in, then he has to make good himself.

It is concern over giving in the correct money each week, that makes me check my books for hours in my spare time, to make sure that every roll, pint of milk and carton of cream is accounted for. Poor bloke who doesn't keep a book to ascertain what has been loaded on his lorry every morning! (It would be wrong to suggest that in some depots, the depot foremen who load the lorries might 'accidentally' cut you short on items and charge you at the end of the week for them.)

Quite often a driver terminates his employment only to discover that he leaves with no wages. His week's wages and lying-time is retained by the firm to cover shortages which they claim he is responsible for. I believe the legality of this is open to doubt. Nevertheless it is common procedure.

WAGES AND HOURS

The turnover of staff is fantastic. I'd estimate it at 50% a year or more. We no sooner learn the name of a new colleague than we discover he has been replaced by an even newer colleague.

The salesmen work a seven day week. This is the only country in Europe where they do. Firms are afraid to reduce the working week in case their competitors take advantage. (this shows how terrible the union is) This state of affairs is also bolstered up by the few rather 'remarkable' men who have remained in the job for an appreciable time. Their contention is

THE UNION OFFICIAL

Wee fat full-time union official
waistcoat bursting with status
thirty years off the tools
grovels at the bosses' table
looking for a handout
for a dram
to give him strength
to climb on the workers' backs
GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

that a shorter working week would mean a drop in wages. Such is the logic of firm's men, who must have been cut off from well organised workers for years.

The basic wage is £12:6:0. Sunday and the rest day, which is not optional, adds another £5:10:0. Commission varies according to the size of the run. Every run has a pitch figure. The amount of money collected over this figure is used to calculate the commission; which is approximately 1/- in the £1.

Thus commission can be anything from £1 to £5.

Vehicles are badly maintained and often break down causing salesmen to finish late. On one occasion it took two hours to repair a diesel lorry and then the driver was expected to carry on and finish his run.

PART TIME BOYS

It is impossible for a salesman to collect the weekly takings by himself. He has to rely on his part-time boys. If they pay him short then that is his worry, since the firm expect him to make good all losses.

If the youngsters dont turn out on a run then the driver must carry on and deliver all the milk on his own regardless of finishing time, with no overtime paid. People of course get their milk for lunch not breakfast!

The employment of part-time boys, which we cant do without, is a problem. It is illegal to employ school children below a certain age. If caught by the police and charged, the firm pays the driver's fine but the driver has the charge placed against his record.

Incidentally the kids are paid slave-labour wages of 15/- to £1.

THE UNION

You may ask what the union does about these awful conditions. USDAW is both disinterested and weak. But why should they care? Union dues are deducted from our wages, so we cant hold it back from them. Branch meetings are unheard of in many depots. How's this for democracy? The union organiser (?) periodically visits a depot and informs members of decisions which have been made in members names. The huge turnover of staff and the attitude of the long-serving firm's men is, in the main, the reason why the workers have not got down to organising themselves in the depot.

So being unorganised we suffer on two counts;

- (1) We have both long hours, and work during bad times of the day and week.
- (2) We have a set-up where the onus is on the delivery men to get the money returns on what they distribute, and not on the firm. We get 'done' for employing youngsters, in order to get the job done.

In other words we are expected to undertake work which should be the employer's sole concern; carry the can for it; while the bosses sit back and rake in the profits. In an odd way, it's like being in business on your own, without the usual recompense, while at the same time your labour is still being exploited.

HUNGARY 56

Bill Wallace, a SOLIDARITY supporter in Dundee has sent us this article on the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of October and November, 1956.

In October and November 1956 the workers in Hungary rose up in arms against their 'communist' rulers and the might of the Russian Army. Estimates of the numbers killed range from 20,000 to 50,000 Hungarians and 3,500 to 7,000 Russians. The vast majority, 80 to 90 %, of the wounded and killed were young workers, while students represented only 3 to 5 %.

It was the workers who were the backbone of the revolution. They were not fighting for 'the return of capitalism, landlordism and Horthy fascism' as Palme Dutt claimed in the Daily Worker of the time. What they were fighting for was Freedom, National Independence and Socialism.

This was made clear by the list of demands put forward by the newly formed National Council of Free Trade Unions. They were as follows;

"POLITICAL"

- (1) That the fighting cease, an amnesty be declared, and negotiations begun with the Youth delegates.
- (2) That a broad government, comprising representatives of the Trade Unions and of Youth, be constituted with Imre Nagy as its president.
- (3) That the country's economic situation be put to the people in all honesty.
- (4) That help be given to people wounded in the tragic battles which had just taken place and to the families of victims.
- (5) That, to maintain order, the police and the army be reinforced by a national guard composed of workers and young people.
- (6) That, with the support of the trade unions, an organisation of young workers be formed.
- (7) That the new government start immediate negotiations for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungarian territory.

"ECONOMIC"

- (1) Constitution of Workers' Councils in all the factories, to establish
 - (a) workers' management
 - (b) a radical transformation of the system of central planning and direction of the economy by the state.

- (2) Readjustment of wages; immediate rise of 15% in monthly wages less than 800 forints and of 10% in wages less than 1,500 forints. Maximum monthly wages to be fixed at 3,500 forints.
- (3) Abolition of production norms except in factories where the workers council elects to keep them.
- (4) Abolition of the 4% tax paid by unmarried people and childless families.
- (5) The lowest pensions to be increased.
- (6) Family allowances to be increased.
- (7) Speed-up of house building by the state.
- (8) That the promise made by Imre Nagy be kept regarding the start of negotiations with the Government of the USSR and other countries with a view to establishing economic relations ensuring mutual advantages by adhering to the principle of equality.

The resolution concluded by demanding that the Hungarian Trade Unions should function as before 1948.

WORKERS COUNCILS

The first of the economic demands of the Trade Unions, the constitution of Workers Councils, had in a great many cases already been implemented by the workers themselves in the factories. Throughout the country HUNDREDS OF WORKERS COUNCILS WERE CREATED. According to Hubert Ripka, a Czech Social Democrat, in the middle of the fighting, workers proclaimed 'a programme of radical and political social change. This was a spontaneous development. There were no government directives or any central leadership.... Workers Councils took over the management of the FACTORIES... In Hungary they were born of a spontaneous popular movement, and they soon became the living organs of a rising democracy and the effective instruments of a fighting revolution.'

PROBLEMS

the silly man
on the Scilly Isles
ponders his pipe
while left-wing sectarians
in their blindness
seek solutions
in the darkness
of their own arseholes.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON

The number of people in the Councils varied considerably. So did their programmes. But all included demands for the abolition of the A.V.O.

Read 'HEATWAVE', the with-it, swinging, arty journal of the libertarian 'left'. Quarterly from Charles Radcliffe, 13 Redcliffe Rd, London SW10.
2/- including postage.

(secret police), for the complete withdrawal of Russian troops, for political and civil liberty, for workers management of all factories and all industries, for independent trade unions and freedom for all political parties, and for a general amnesty for all insurrectionists.

In some places a practical programme for workers' management of the factories was formulated. For example on the 31st October, a workers meeting took place at which delegates from twenty four large concerns were present; among others were the delegates from the Ganz Railway

Works, the Ganz Shipyards, the Ganz Electrical Works and the Mavag and Lang Engineering Works.

A resolution was adopted at this meeting setting out in nine points 'the basic rights and functions of the workers councils! The first four points stated that the factory is the property of the workers, and that the overall control of the enterprise is invested in the democratically elected council of the workers. Other points were concerned with the definition of the rights of the workers councils.

For example;

- (a) to approve and ratify all projects concerning the enterprise.
- (b) to decide the basic wage levels and the method of assessing these.
- (c) to decide all contracts dealing with the export of goods.
- (d) to decide on the conduct of all credit operations.
- (e) to control the hiring and firing of all persons employed in the enterprise.
- (f) to appoint the director of the enterprise, who is to be responsible to the workers council.

GENERAL STRIKE

From the morning of the 24th October the vast majority of workers in Budapest were on strike. Thinking that the revolution had been a success the workers had agreed to return to work on the 5th, November. However the surprise attack of the Russian Army on the 4th, changed the situation completely and a general strike was called for. Never was there a more complete general strike. The white-collar workers and all the employees of every public institution, the staffs of every school and university, all followed the industrial workers lead.

By the 12th November military resistance had almost completely ceased, but the strike continued. Kadar, the new prime minister, then made more promises. He promised that the secret police would be abolished. He was ready to negotiate with Kremlin representatives about the complete withdrawal of Russian troops. He also expelled twelve leading Stalinists from the Party. This caused a few workers to return to work. But there was still a partial strike.

The government was forced to negotiate with the workers councils since, as a UN special report on Hungary states, "The Workers Councils emerged from the Revolution as the only organisations commanding the support of the overwhelming majority of the people and in a position to require the government to negotiate with them, because they constituted a force able to bring about a resumption of work."

The negotiations achieved nothing; so towards the end of November, the government tried another method to reduce the workers' resistance. As the industrial area of Budapest was the base of this resistance, the peasants were forbidden to bring food into the area except by permission of the government. At the same time ration cards were issued, but only to workers

Read 'MEGATON', the lively
journal of Aberdeen YCND.
6d. plus postage, from Bob
Comrie, 288 Hardgate, ABERDEEN

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literature.

who reported at the factories. But still the strike continued for several weeks.

THE MEANING OF THE REVOLUTION

The meaning of the Revolution has been explained very well by Andy Anderson in the LONDON SOLIDARITY BOOK, 'HUNGARY 56' when he states, "In the organisation of their Workers' Councils and in the reorganisation of their Trade Unions, the Hungarians had shown an awareness of the fact that 'the revolutionary organisation will not be able to fight the tendency towards bureaucracy unless it functions itself according to the principles of proletarian democracy and in a consciously anti-bureaucratic manner'. The various councils that sprang up all over the country had the greatest possible autonomy. As far as we have been able to discover, no one ever questioned the principle that delegates elected to the Central Councils should be revocable at all times. The principle became an immediate reality, automatically accepted and acted upon." (page 41)

"The Hungarian Revolution of October 1956, wrote its message in the blood of thousands of ordinary working people, particularly the youth. The message is that, today, the class struggle throughout the world is not one between East and West, Labour and Tory, or between employers and trade union leaders. It is the struggle of the working class for its own emancipation. It is the struggle of the working class against all the bureaucratic regimes, institutions and ideologies, which, in both East and West obstruct its road to freedom."

NEWS FROM CLOUD CUCKOO-LAND

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. (Pekin Review.)

ABOUT OURSELVES

ACTIVITIES Since our last edition we published 'Workers Crisis' as a leaflet. 750 were given out at Linwood and 250 at other spots. We have also printed a booklet of 'Irish Republican and Anti Royalty' Songs which went well at Celtic Park. DEBTS Payment of bills is atrocious. We cannot print a new edition until we have been paid for the previous one. PLEASE PAY UP. SALES We must continue to push sales up. Let's try to get over 600. Can you sell more? Can you get us another seller? EDITORIAL BOARD At last the Editorial Group is started. Attendances have been good. All supporters can participate!

WHO'S BOSS.

forget the hour just go in late
ignore the timekeeper at the gate
smoke your fag in the wc
prolong the minutes drinking tea
take time to pick the form horse
all this is money lost by the boss

hold workers' courts in the firms time
fine the blacklegs who commit the crime
use the canteen for a film show
combine all this with a week's go-slow
mix the gambling school with the work-to-rule
if the chargehand comes just play it cool

and remember, men
midst the factory walls
are machines to bite off the manager's balls
then STRIKE
when the noose
is loose
and make sure
it's unofficial

production for production's sake
consuming in the carrot's wake
calling all the foremen swine
when exhausted on the assembly line

curse the pope and boot the queen
fuck Rangers blue and Celtic green
punch the boss dont lick his arse
when the revolution comes to pass

the grouse will shoot back

GEORGE WILLIAMSON

READ

SOLIDARITY

10/- for twelve issue. (postage free)

GLASGOW ISSUE From N. McLeod, 20 Eiderpark St, Govan, Glasgow SW1.
LONDON ISSUE From B. Potter, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

PERSONNEL MEN

The inescapable logic of the capitalist system, is to use the latest scientific techniques in the field of psychiatry, psychology, sociology and communications to try and manipulate workers into conforming or to destroy those who defy them by denying them employment. As machines become

more and more important by increasingly multiplying the effort of the worker who operates or maintains them, then that continuous quest for a 'bit more' machine utilisation is what the profiteer demands. Highly mechanised production is commonplace and the day of the automatic factory draws near. On no account can those whose 'natural personality' may waste machine time be tolerated. Therefore it becomes progressively more profitable to invest in the 'vetting and weeding out' techniques of the psychologist and psychiatrist. Conscious or unconscious rebellion by a worker against being a machine minder, a machine loading device or a general purpose robot, is not to be tolerated.

A great conspiracy against what little is left of individual freedom is being put into effect by Personnel Managers and others in industry using Social Science techniques. Possibly 25% of the population will be affected by these measures. Economically and politically they have vicious implications.

Basically one has 'freedom to work' (ie choice within capitalism) if one can get another job, if you feel like it. There are good reasons for job mobility (apart from the capitalist ones) and threats to them should be resisted by workers. (By job mobility, we don't mean Wilso-Gunter enforced movement but 'job choice' within the limits of capitalism) It is this movement from 'choice' which is being threatened by developments in the personell office.

Personnel Managers have always had power, but thanks to organised labour the level of unemployment is pretty low and they can't pick and choose as they used to. But now they are attaining new powers to keep certain groups of people permanently unemployed. We will look at these groups later.

The horror of the thirties for the unemployed in America and the fact that the capitalist search for profit means there are no 'ethics' in the Personnel Manager's job, is captured by the writer Henry Miller, when he describes his four years as Director of Personnel at the Western Union Telegraph Co, New York.

"I've heard so many terrible tales, that I've hardly got an ounce of sympathy left. That's a horrible thing to say, but it's true. In one day I've had as many as six men breakdown and weep, and beg me to do something for them and if not for them, their wives and children. When I couldn't give a man a job myself, I went to my friends and begged them to give a man the work he needed. I brought them home and fed them. I fixed them up on the floor when the beds were full and gave them money. I got hell all round for doing too much and neglecting my wife and kids. My boss looked on me as a fool and instead of praising me for my efforts, bawled hell out of me. I was always between two fires; one above and one below, and I saw finally that no matter how much I did it was just a drop in the bucket. I'm not saying I grew indifferent or hardened. No, but I realised it would take a revolution to make an appreciable change in conditions. And when I say a revolution, I mean a revolution. Something more radical and sweeping than the Russian Revolution, for instance....."

A voice crying in the wilderness of crushed men. And company goals

are still the same despite the ostentatious display of so-called welfare schemes. The welfare is of course not for everyone; only for 'efficient cogs', whom the company considers 'reliable'.

And who are the 'unreliable' ones. The ones who are not 'socially or mechanically' efficient by the company standards. These are the people the personnel managers are watching out for.

UNSUITABLE

Firstly there are the naughty 1 in 8 people with records of mental illness, alcoholism or recurrent physical illness. All are potential liabilities for the efficient-minded company. My first experience of the rejection of someone in this category was during my apprenticeship, when I was in the Personnel Office waiting room and got talking to a bloke who wanted a job as a draughtsman. He had a degree in Civil Engineering and a good job, until he had a nervous breakdown when his wife left him. For over a year he had been unemployed and was trying to get any kind of job in which he could use his technical skills. His civil engineering knowhow would have been invaluable in some of the projects we were involved in. Yet, taking into account his capabilities, the Personnel Manager rejected him (as many others had) on the grounds that it was 'probable' that he was emotionally unstable and therefore liable to cause friction and trouble in the company. The only time - Personnel Managers have told me - an employee, who has had a temporary breakdown, might get a 'fair' deal, is if he has worked with the firm a long time and his experience is considered worth having. And at the same time create the image to its other employees that the company is 'human' and 'considerate'.

Companies often boast proudly about looking after their employees, after making sure that no-one who needs looking after gets through the door.

The second category are the 'contra suggestables', the rejectors of authority. Those who will not tolerate being screwed down or humiliated by some boss who takes it out on them. These guys will say 'stuff your job' in a minute to either the 'softsoap' or bullying boss. Once these 'natural anarchists' do this a few times their job mobility is marked down in the files as a result of 'resentment of authority'. What the company wants from its workers (and managers) can be seen from the statement of a major US Consulting Firm employing 40 psychologists who organised the recruitment of managers. "The one crucial trait for managers was the respectful concept of authority." However the manager has an advantage over the worker in that W.A. Whyte in his book 'Organisation Man' tells them how to outwit these batteries of psychologists by cheating.

A healthy disrespect for authority is seen quite differently by those in power. In the US Journal 'Iron Age' there was an article entitled 'Psychology seeks out misfits.' It told of the Armco Iron and Steel Corporation's new enthusiasm for psychology which is a 'funny word for a technique that lifts the iron curtain that humans often hide behind and many employees were finding they had no place to hide'. The pay-off according to Armco Iron was that the company was able to cut from 5% to 1% the numbers of new employees who had 'undesirable or borderline personality faults.' In other words the employers are no longer content to label

anyone as a 'rebel, troublemaker, too independent, union man', they seek to totally discredit persons by using psychiatric terms to imply that men who don't fall in love with the social structure of the industrial company are in some way insane.

The sacred cow is the company, which is rational, wise and all-knowing. To the employers, its 'corporate' wisdom exceeds that of its parts - an integral part of fascist political philosophy.

The third category of 'undesirables' are those who use any of the firm's facilities to further causes, ideas and interests of a social and political nature. To the company all these people don't give their total energies to the firm. And of course, those who talk about 'union solidarity' or attempt to inculcate political consciousness are seen rightly as the enemies of the system.

The fourth group of persons may be capable of good work of quality but are slow and therefore considered incompetent. One usually finds that the undesirable 'qualities' which the system brings out in people don't come to fruition in many of these people, eg money, status seeking and egocentric power seeking.

Sweet Mary your production's low
Just dry your tears and go
For speed and greed are rated high
But love for others no.

The poor Marys get lousy references and when someone phones to find out why she was sacked they usually get told the reason.

These attitudes and classification processes predominate in the US for picking managers, foremen, office staff, and shop floor personnel. In other words everybody! They are being used more and more here.

THE WIFE

to them among
In the US some firms look to the wife as a possible rival to their managers, foremen and senior staff. In a 1951 issue of 'Fortune' an executive was quoted mournfully, "We control a man's environment in business and then we lose it when he crosses the threshold of his house. Management therefore has a challenge in creating a favourable attitude on the part of the wife that will liberate her husband's total energies for the job." 'Fortune' continues, "Management knows exactly what kind of wife it wants (1) highly adaptable (2) highly gregarious (3) realises her husband BELONGS to the corporation." Later 'Fortune' put it even more vividly in carrying a report on 8300 executives, which stated, that the "wife must not demand too much of her husband's time or interest, because of his single-minded concentration on his job, so that even his SEXUAL activity is relegated to a secondary place."

Music and artistic activity is frowned on as detracting from a man's energies say many US Personnel Directors. It's just a matter of time before it becomes a universal attitude and it is applied to all workers.

IN BRITAIN

A friend of mine went after a Metallurgist's job at the 3M company. At the

interview he was quizzed not only about his ~~own~~ politics, but his father's and mother's, and about a lot of other private matters. Not wanting to tell the Personnel Officer that his father was a communist shop-steward at Austin, he then asked the PO if his name was McCarthy and stormed out. These types of interview are happening all over the place.

At Linwood Rootes compiled a blacklist from lists of Trades Council Delegates and Shop Stewards. Incidentally it didn't do them any good because the workers got new, raw, inexperienced stewards to do the negotiating and as a result there was a great plague of strikes which might not have occurred with more experienced stewards.

However blacklists do exist and some day all the firms are going to put them in the memory of a computer, which will check out in a few minutes, the political history of anyone who may be after a job, and send it by teleprinter to any Personnel Manager who wants it.

The computer has revolutionised the processing of information and as central and regional computing services develop, a 'master employment' record will be compiled by the employers. It has already been done by a Midlands firm for 'credit-worthiness' and they have the criminal and debt information on about five million people on punch cards. They can tell you about people who have been in 'trouble' in around five minutes. There are already links between commercial and military intelligence units and this will grow. This behind the scenes link-up will probably occur when the police get their way and have everyone fingerprinted.

Checks kept on workers now are very limited because the costs of processing information by manual methods are prohibitive, but with time the computer will change all that.

Then the files on individuals will be more detailed and accurate than the ones the Nazis kept on the Jews.

This is the way TOTALITARIAN DEMOCRACY will work; a kind of insidious and creeping neo-fascism, that will turn the Personnel Managers into political Gauleiters. So meantime you square pegs in round holes, look out! If they can't cut the corners off a little man in a white coat will come and take you away.

ALAN PARKER

ONE PARTY UNIONS

Excerpt from the 'FACING REALITY' pamphlet, "BE HIS PAYMENT HIGH OR LOW.
THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS IN THE SIXTIES." by Martin Glaberman.

One of the confidential management newsletters, of which US businessmen are so fond, predicted last autumn that the 'US labour movement is in for more and greater turbulence'. The reason for this is assigned to 'a growing rank-and-file revolt against union leaders'. This revolt goes deeper than gripes against union leaders and is 'rooted in the impersonality of the factory assembly lines, the facelessness of modern life, the fear for one's individuality'.

Two aspects of this forecast are of special interest. One is that it views the US working class as infinitely more radical than any wing of US socialism or radicalism believes. Socialism in the US has so committed itself to varying concepts of the backwardness of the workers that it is unable any more to grasp the reality. The second is that the management view is in fact more conservative than the actual situation.

'Most of the present generation of union chiefs are safe', said this report. Yet McDonald of the Steelworkers is already in deep trouble and seems on the way out of office. That he was challenged by his second in command, Sec. Treas. IW Abel is indicative of both the widespread opposition to the union leadership and the difficulty of this opposition finding expression. In 1958 DC Ratrick, a local steelworkers leader, challenged McDonald for the presidency of the union. Although he seemed to have the overwhelming support of the big steel locals in the Pittsburgh area, he lost to McDonald by a vote of one to two. There was some doubt at the time whether Ratrick had been voted down or counted down, since the election, by membership ballot, is supervised by the International Union. There seems to be a certain pertinence to that doubt: the authority of the International Union in elections is exercised through the office of the Sec. Treas. and McDonald's confidence in that office was so slight (when the Sec. Treas. was running against him,) that he produced a motion for an impartial outside agency to run the election, to the Executive Board. The board voted against him and there are those who are so cynical that they believe he lost his chance for re-election then and there,

The Steelworkers Union never had a strong democratic tradition. The United Auto Workers, however, is generally believed to be the most democratic and progressive of the large US unions. Yet even here the opposition is both general and distorted - distorted because the top union officers are practically untouchable by the rank-and-file (unless, as with the Steelworkers, they fall out with each other). In 1961 in hostility to their union's policies and contracts, the auto workers imposed the greatest turnover of local union officers in the history of the union. The significance of the local elections was not lost on those higher up. A top UAW official noted that, 'The rank-and-file couldn't get at us, so they took it out on the local union guys'. In 1963 once again, one third of UAW local presidents were voted out of office.

That Reuther himself is untouchable and that a McDonald can only be challenged by an Abel is one of the facts of union life in the US. The days of vigorous union factions and a democratic internal life ended in the 40s. What now prevails is the one-party state. A conservative professor of labor relations, Clark Kerr (President of the University of California who fought the Berkley Campus Free Speech Movement and has served on the UAW Public Review Board) notes, without disapproval; 'Unions and Corporations alike are, with very few exceptions, one-party governments'. The only exception in the US is the International Typographical Union. Does this description have the ring of Stalinist totalitarianism? The parallel is not at all superficial.

'...A study of seventy international union constitutions, the formal instruments that rule a membership of almost 16,000,000 workers, shows among other things that in most of these seventy unions power is generally concentrated in the hands of the international presidents, with few restraints placed upon them, that discipline may be enforced against union members, with little regard for due process, and that (cont. on p.22)

PROVO MYTHS

In our last issue we published an article by a Dutch Comrade about the Amsterdam Building Workers and their fight against the Dutch Government and Police. In this second part he deals with the 'PROVOS' who according to the Official Press played a large part in the disturbances. This writer sees it differently.

As soon as the rioting stopped the whole of official Holland did its best to shove all the responsibility for it on the backs of the Provos. Newspapers of every shade followed the example of the Mayor of Amsterdam in accusing the Provos of causing the riots. But for to understand the character of the struggle correctly, the official explanations and accusations must be ignored and the facts seen as they really were.

Firstly, the Provos have themselves denied all connection between their publications and working-class struggle. On the afternoon of June 15th, the day when the struggles were at their height, one of the Provo leaders appeared on TV. He was Bernard de Vries who recently was elected to the Amsterdam City Council. When asked by the interviewer, he stated very firmly that there was a deep gulf between the Provos and the Building Workers which could not be bridged easily. "We Provos" he said, "are non-violent in principle. Actions like those of the Building Workers are completely contradictory to the aims of our movement. It's quite true that the protests of these workers have our sympathy, but that doesn't mean to say that we would have helped them practically in this struggle; in fact the opposite is true. This morning we held a meeting in front of the docker's statue where the workers get together to listen to their speakers, and we asked them if there were any possibilities for us to give them some help on a material level. We thought the Provos could set up subscription lists and take them round the doors. The Building Workers rejected our ideas and said to us, 'Our class struggle and your struggle as Provos are completely different things.' "

Secondly; after the riots the Dutch police, who had, along with the others, blamed the Provos for the trouble, made a series of arrests. These arrests were made on denunciations or on a shred of suspicion. Among those arrested, there were no Provos at all, in complete contradiction to the official statements. The only exception among a whole lot of Building Workers was the arrest of a young Provo. For the Home Secretary, this was a classic example to justify his theory on who started the trouble. Unfortunately for him, the day after he told parliament that the arrest proved that there was a connection between the Provos and the Building Workers, the Amsterdam police were obliged to declare publicly that the arrest was a mistake since he wasn't in Amsterdam at the time of the riots. He had been arrested because his name was the same as one which an informer had given, and he had been arrested very quickly without any prior investigations.

THE DIFFERENCE

To make it easier to understand what went on, I wish to quote a Dutch writer from Amsterdam University who has just published a pamphlet dealing with the disturbances and in which he puts very clearly the differences between the workers and Provos. He writes,

"The old town of Amsterdam is full of offices and big shops suitable for an international centre, a working-class area with picturesque streets and decrepit houses. Housing and traffic problems make life very difficult there. The old contradictions of capitalism are felt as a reality of everyday life and for the people who live there it seems as if the official unions are not their allies but their enemies in the class struggle. But some of those who live in the city centre have few contacts with the workers. (cont.-below)

for drinking purposes. This indiscriminate use of a precious liquid is ruining the economy and seriously undermining the Glasgow Brewers' profits.'

Flora Dogweed. Head of Parks Dept. 'Our parks and open spaces are being destroyed by members of the public who persist in using them. A proposal is at present in front of the committee to surround all parks and open spaces with electrified fencing. Entry will only be allowed to authorised persons ie., councillors and senior officials. They're my parks anyway.'

They stir up the people who come to Amsterdam for its reputation as an international cultural centre. They move among the writers, artists, intellectuals, and students and beats who crowd this quarter. But even if the circumstances of their lives are the same, or perhaps even more miserable than the workers, there is still an important difference. For the worker life in the old town is something he has to

WATCH IT, PAL!

Recently Assistant Chief Constable Kelso of Glasgow fulminated against the provision of free legal aid for those whom the police considered guilty of the crimes with which they were charged. This interesting statement aroused our curiosity about how other 'public servants' considered the public services with which they were concerned, could be improved.

Ed. Teach. Director of Education.

'There are too many children starting in our schools who are uneducated. This is diverting many teachers from the important job of distributing school milk and maintaining discipline.'

Al. Jailem. Chief Magistrate.

'Too many people are coming before me who are obviously guilty. This is ridiculous! These criminals should be dealt with by the police. I need my sleep.'

A. Flood. Head of Water Dept.

Too much water is being used

P. Shit. Head of Cleansing Dept.

We have decided to ask the council for permission to stop collecting rubbish in areas where too much is deposited. Our incinerators are over strained.

N.O. Ayre. Head of Health Dept.

Overmuch of the city's fresh air is being breathed. The police must take action against people found choking on it and people who store it in their house by opening their windows and letting it in.

LAURA NORDER

submit to. The others - the 'intelligentsia' came to the old town of their own will, looking for something which they thought they couldn't find elsewhere. A free existence where no-one interferes with them before they begin their professional lives. Some of them are rich, some poor, but a poor member of the intelligentsia can speak more easily with a rich one, than he can with a worker who is his neighbour. The mental differences between workers and intellectuals shows itself in politics. For the worker, their attitudes are fixed by economic contradictions and the wages they seek. For the intellectuals the way to politics is not through their own experience. It is quite possible they can be extreme left radicals but in a totally different way from the workers. The things that interest them are, for example, the Vietnam War or Indonesia or other abstractions. (within the context of working-class politics) Perhaps someone will benefit from this thought, but it is unusual for a member of the intelligentsia to take an active part in class struggles."

This shows very precisely in one way how the Provos and the workers live in an entirely different world. The Provos in effect place themselves outside the existing social system, outside the official norms of society, but they are in no wise the representatives of the class, which, in consequence of their social position and according to their true character, is by nature the enemy of today's society. They do not act as an active section of the working class, but as a category in which every phenomena of class disappear.

A short time before the events in Amsterdam, among certain working class circles in Holland, it was predicted to the Provos that the strength of their struggle against the police and official society would disappear, at the first shock of the class struggle. What happened in June justified this attitude. All other opinions, even among the revolutionary groups, both in Holland and elsewhere, concerning the relationship between the class struggle and that of the Provos mistakes the social character of these two milieus.

MODS AND ROCKERS

At first glance, what seems to justify this erroneous opinion is the confusion between the practical attitudes of the 'Blousons Noirs'. The Provos are a small group with clear-cut ideas on traffic in Amsterdam, non-violence, opposition to atomic war, militarism and on the transformation of political life by mass action into, very much, young peoples' organisations. It is a group which belongs to a certain background - that of the intelligentsia.

The Blousons noirs, on the other hand, are for the most part from an entirely different social level. Usually they are working class, but they don't have precise ideas simply because they are not intellectual. One can understand their attitude towards official society when one realises that they are young workers, who have been placed in contemporary industrial society in an era of automation and assembly line production, with no hope of getting out of it.

Their actions are dictated by class hatred (almost unconscious) against a society which condemns them to life as an object to be manipu-

ated. But when, now and again, they react violently, it is a relaxation of tension, which has existed for a long time between the dreams of their youth and the real life which they have to submit to.

If it is written that on June 15th, it was no longer the Building Workers, who were the most active on the streets of Amsterdam, it is quite correct. However the statement does not change the working class character of the riots of that day. While the Provos remained completely inactive, parts of the working class were showing their feelings of discontent and of hatred against a reactionary police force, and the ways that things are at present.

This struggle had a direct connection with the class struggle of the Building Workers. If they had used up all their forces on the Monday Evening and Tuesday, the working class of Amsterdam were ready to take their place. After saying this, it must be added that if the official accusations that the Provos were responsible was correct, why was it that workers in other parts of the country had joined in? I have never noticed Provo activity making any impression on the working class. Not because they were 'shocked', by the Provos like the middle-class and the authorities, but because the workers know very well that at the bottom of all Provo activity there is a climate of social reality which is completely foreign to them. If, for example, the Provos write in their magazine that they prefer being idle to working because they don't want to be exploited, the workers reply that if you are a proletarian and forced to work to live, this is a luxury they can't afford.

CAPITALISM ^E AND A THEORETICAL ARTICLE CONSCIOUSNESS

By JIM EVERARD

Like many others in the Marxist arsenal, the phrase 'bourgeois consciousness' has been so misused and overused that many people now doubt whether it has any meaning at all. However, the phrase once did have a clear meaning and I would like to examine this meaning, to see if it still helps us understand our society. I will try to cut through both the 'marxist' misuse and overuse of it, and one hundred years of establishment propaganda against it, and try to see through the label to its contents.

The basic question will be this; can it be that many of the ideas and opinions we take for granted are actually an 'optical illusion' caused by the social organisation of the world we live in? Can we, by taking a more careful look at this world of ours and its social organisation, learn to see through these 'optical illusions' and understand our life more accurately and better? I believe the answer to these questions is yes.

One of Karl Marx's deepest insights was his recognition of human consciousness (including revolutionaries) being profoundly affected, con-

ditioned, ever determined by the typical social relationships in any given society. Whether this rule need always apply does not concern us here. In a society like our own, where propaganda, advertising and organised mystification in general, substitute for social consciousness, the rule certainly does hold. We have been so thoroughly brainwashed that many of us would deny the fact of having been brainwashed.

If, then, our social organisation has a profound effect on our consciousness, we have to ask what are the salient features of our social organisation.

In capitalism, the two most basic models of social relationships are to be found in the market relationship and in the structure of the factory. If you analyse these two models carefully, you may be surprised to discover that an amazingly great part of our living patterns reflect one or more aspects of these basic models. You will discover that the imitation of these models, almost always unconscious, penetrate even the more intimate areas of private life, both in our behaviour and in our way of thinking. You will also understand better the nature of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, as I will show in detail later on.

THE MARKET

As any introduction to economics will tell you, a market is a place where commodities are bought and sold. This leaves 'commodity' to be defined. A commodity is a product which is produced in order to be sold. Every commodity is a product, but not every product is a commodity. When American Indians, before the coming of the white man made canoes for the use of their tribe, they were not making commodities; they were making products. There are many societies where commodities don't exist. As little as a century ago, there were areas of Scotland where commodities were neither produced or used. The clan made all its own products in common and therefore did not need to buy or sell. In capitalist society, on the other extreme, almost everything produced becomes a commodity.

This is a central fact in our life. In a world of commodities, human relations are converted into relations between things, or at best between people and things. In philosophy this is called reification, when people and social relationships come to be treated as mere things. In our capitalist world, even a man's work becomes a commodity, which he sells for a higher or lower price. The specific price he gets for his work is not the essential thing in the relationship. Essential is the fact that his relationship to his work, is that of any seller of a commodity to what he sells. His work is not a meaningful activity whereby he creates the material things he needs to live. It is not an activity from which he derives pleasure, satisfaction or development of his human capacities. It is simply an object of sale. With the wage he earns, he will go to the market again and buy what he needs. There is no direct relationship however, between the content of his work and the rest of his life.

This social relationship strikes its counterpart in consciousness in the prevalent attitude that labouring people would not work if not forced to. 'Man is naturally lazy', as the saying goes. The commodity work has been so dehumanised in our society that we are incapable of conceiving work as a pleasurable, self-fulfilling activity. And in fact, as long

as work continues to be the miserable alienated activity typical of a capitalist business organisation (or its imitation in Russian state socialism) men will never do it unless forced by economic need, or by the whip.

I realise this description does not conform to the subjective attitude of all workers. Many workers have a certain amount of interest in the content of their work beyond just wage earning, and a tiny number even get real and deep satisfaction out of their job. But this number is getting smaller and smaller and it is the tendency of capitalism to abolish them completely. More and more modern work is becoming completely meaningless, stupid routine activity. More and more the modern worker tends to have only one relationship to his job: the selling of his labour power in order to be able to buy the things he needs to live. It is important here to recall that the exceptions you find exist despite the system not because of it. They exist because human beings fight the system, not because the system itself is human. Its tendency is to reduce people to objects, but people have needs and are forced to fight the system. This way islands of humanity appear amidst the inhumanity. Human beings fight the system, thus preventing its internal tendency from developing completely. Class struggle is not just an empty catchword.

This commodity type relationship has important consequences for the working class as a whole. The first and most obvious consequence is what happens to the product of your work. As we saw, your work power is simply a commodity that you sell on the 'labour market' as the economists call it, for whatever price you can get, or force your employer into giving. Now in our legal system, once you sell something you no longer dispose of it. It belongs to the buyer. This goes for your work power and for the product your work produces. Both belong to your employer to dispose as he sees fit. As to the product of your work, you can get no more than that portion of it which your wage will buy back.

A hundred years ago, before workers had organised effectively into unions, this aspect of the commodity relationship was very important. On the labour market, so-called free competition prevailed. The result was literally starvation wages with the capitalist grabbing all the rest. But this has changed. The unions never did succeed in abolishing the commodity relationship in labour, and today at least, that is the last thing in the world they want to do. They did however succeed in raising the price of the commodity. As a result, today's wage is usually enough for the bare physical necessities. And if you are a skilled worker, you may even live quite comfortably.

The fact that you cannot dispose of the product of your work has a second consequence, which is of primary importance today. To understand this, you have to look at the problem from the point of view of the working class as a whole, as against the boss class as a whole. From this point of view a large part of what workers produce consists of what economists call 'investment goods'; that is plant and equipment. To your boss it may be just plant and equipment, but for the working class, it is a condition of your work. Since you do not have the right of disposal over the products of your work, and since the products of your work yesterday become the conditions of your work today, these conditions, under which you spend almost half your adult waking life (including time to and from work) are dominated by your friend the boss. As a member of the working class, you are in the absurd position that the products of your own creation have become your

lord and master. This is only the logical consequence of the commodity relationship dominating work in our society. If you sold your work power, and accepted this relationship as right, by what right can you complain about the miserable conditions of your work. Logically, you cant, unless you question the whole rotten system.

To go beyond capitalism for a minute, it is not important what legal form all this takes. You notice I haven't stressed ownership, but rather right of disposal, because ownership is only a legal question. In real life what counts, is not legal technicalities, but real power. It is basically not a question of the workers not owning the product of their work. It is a question of their not dominating the product of their work, but rather being dominated by it instead. Whether the functionaries that carry out the domination are capitalists or communists doesn't matter, since domination is domination. For the working class, the alternative to capitalist bosses is not communist bosses, but rather being its own boss, ie. collective workers management of production. Capitalist and communists alike think this idea is utopian. They should! It's against their interests. If you think its utopian you've been brainwashed!

From the moment you start selling your work power to an employer, you've sold your soul!. If you work in a small office or plant, the boss may be a nice guy and the atmosphere may be human. But this is despite the system not because of it. The bourgeoisie are human too and have human needs (as individuals not as a class). But the inherent tendency of capitalism is expressed by the perpetrators of time and motion study and by the efficiency experts. To them you are just data for the computer. If you dont fit, they throw you out. As far as they are concerned, humans are to serve production not the other way round. Even in a larger plant, if you and your workmates are militant enough, you may through struggle win a certain amount of control over the conditions of your work. But remember, you've won it by struggle against the system. If you dont fight, you get nothing. Or your employer may be listening to an industrial psychologist who has convinced him that if he makes life more pleasant, he can squeeze more production out of you for the money - like feeding in soft music to cows at milking time. Even here you are being treated as objects. Your life isn't being made more pleasant because you are human beings, but because management thinks you will be a more efficient production machine, if you are not too unhappy. That again is reification. To the bosses, you are things not people.

If you are an average worker you probably have had many of these ideas. The important thing is to realise the connection between your individual situation in your plant or office and the position of the working class as a whole, and it is also important to realise that the degrading, inhuman conditions of modern work are the necessary result of a society in which human work has degenerated into a mere commodity, and is bought on the labour market as a 'factor of production' as the economists call it, to be entered on the cost accountancy sheets along with plant and machinery.

In history, work was one of the noblest actions. It was by work that man rose above the apes and made himself human. Work was, and can be again in a more human society, man's highest act of self-fulfillment. It was and can be his act of self-creation. Nothing in modern psychology tells us, that work as such, must necessarily be unpleasant. In its degenerate

form in our inhuman society, wage labour is a curse. And if many of us cannot even conceive of work being a pleasurable and satisfying activity, which men would engage in freely, even if not forced, that only confirms our starting point, that our consciousness is profoundly affected, conditioned, ever determined by the social reality in which we live. Our society has in fact all but abolished productive work as a source of satisfaction, and substituted for it hobbies, has all but abolished productive work as a source of pleasure, and substituted for it its packaged recreation, all but abolished work as creation and substituted for that - nothing. Is it any wonder that the social reality produces people who cannot conceive of work except as a plague, the curse of original sin?

If you happen to be a manual labourer, you may think head workers are better off. If you mean in income, you may be right, but in terms of the commodity relationship they are in the same position as you are. A chemist working for industry is a highly specialised and skilled worker, who neither helps determine the object of research nor disposes over the results. He just sells his labour power for a higher price. A journalist for a magazine like TIME or NEWSWEEK, turning out the standardised prose dictated, not by himself, but by the editors, is another case of a glorified wage worker. We will come back to this on the section on the factory.

But work time is only half your waking time. What about the rest? And what about people who don't work? How does the commodity relationship affect them? This will be the subject of another article. (J. Everard, Munich)

ONE PARTY UNIONS (cont. from p.14)

opposition to the incumbent administration is almost impossible.'

This is, of course not true of all unions. But where dictatorial powers are not granted by the constitutions they are exercised anyway in crucial situations. Joe Curran was not averse to using the New York City Police Department to retain control of the National Maritime Union, nor the assistance of the US Coast Guard in keeping radicals off US merchant ships. And Reuther did not hesitate to suspend the officers and place an administrator over the Chevrolet local in Flint, Michigan, for the crime of devoting the whole issue of the local union paper to listing all the grievances (and their outcome) that were not settled at plant level and were sent to higher bodies of the union for further negotiations.

But the problem goes much deeper than the question of formal democracy alone. The hostility of US workers is directed not only at particular union leaders, but at 'the impersonality of the factory assembly lines the facelessness of modern life, the fear for one's individuality' which the unions have come to represent. Even among unorganised industrial workers where union shop elections, conducted by the federal government, used to mean automatic victory for the unions, attitudes have changed. In the aerospace industry not too long ago both UAW and the International Association of Machinists were defeated in such elections.

A number of observers of the US labour movement have begun to recognise that the unions are incapable of solving the most crucial problems which workers face. One perceptive commentator, Paul Jacobs, notes that, 'Automation and the particular unemployment it brings to a particular plant are problems obviously beyond the capabilities of union-management

collective bargaining. But that is only the smaller part of the problem. The heart of the matter is that the unions stand in the way of a solution to the workers problems.'

Clark Kerr, in his defence of the unions, puts it this way; 'The union is often viewed as a disturbing force in society; but it is also a disciplinary instrument. It sets rules of its own and joins with the employers in setting others. Paul Jacobs, delicately weighing both sides of the question, says essentially the same thing; 'Once the resistance of employers to unionisation ceases at the level of principles, the union, through its contracts, becomes part of the plant government, not only a force for justice but also an integral part of the system of authority needed to operate the plant'. Daniel Bell states it more bluntly; 'Less realised is the fact that, in the evolution of the labor contract, the union becomes part of the "control system of management". He becomes as C Wright Mills has put it, a "manager of discontent".'

A committee man at a General Motors plant in Detroit once told a foreman the same thing - to quit trying to discipline the workers and to let the union representative do it for him. (He won his grievance with that argument.)

With the statification of production impinging on his consciousness, Jacobs takes his point one step further. 'Since the war the political and economic role of the unions has been one of continuous and unquestioning alignment with the national authority.'

A whole series of strikes and disputes had been interfering with production in the missile industry until Arthur Goldberg, the Steel Union attorney, became Secretary of Labour and was able to enforce a labour peace that the ordinary capitalist politician could not attain. (Perhaps it was for this service that he was elevated to the Supreme Court)

We hope to print further extracts from this pamphlet on 'MODERNISATION' and 'NEW FORMS OF STRUGGLE'. The pamphlet is available from 'FACING REALITY' Book Service, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48203. 2/- + post)

IF YOU CANT BEAT THEM KILL THEM. (from John O'Hare.)

Earlier this year some six hundred trade unionists employed by 'Sunbeam Electric' at East Kilbride, held a meeting with the management's consent, within the compound of the factory. During the meeting a car carrying a company executive, Mr. Clifford Smith, a managing director from South Africa, mowed into the workers, knocking down and injuring nine young women. (car in hurry to catch plane at airport). Workers immediately attacked car and occupants and endeavoured to overturn it. Riot was only averted by intervention of shop stewards and convenor Pat Howden. On TV Howden and manager Mr. Nighouse were interviewed and Howden remarked that interview afforded rare opportunity to speak to the manager!!!

Would person who sent anonymous Vietnam-Aberfan poem see next 'MEGATON'

PUBLICATIONS

Several people have asked for details of SOLIDARITY publications throughout Britain. Below is a comprehensive list. Many are still available. In addition 1000's of leaflets were printed.

SCOTTISH SOLIDARITY

JOURNAL: 13 editions.
 BULLETIN: 3 editions printed for BUS CREWS ASSOCIATION.
 PAMPHLET: (1) Way Ahead (for the Peace Movement)
 SONGBOOK: Irish Republican and Anti-Royalty Songs.
 FUTURE: Pamphlet on German Workers Movement to Workers Councils. (1918 to 1935)

LONDON SOLIDARITY

JOURNAL: 36 editions.
 BOOKS: Modern Capitalism and Revolution.
 Hungary 56.
 PAMPHLET: (1) Renault Workers Fight Sackings.
 (2) Belgium; The General Strike.
 (3) What Next For Engineers.
 (4) By Their Words Ye Shall Know Them.
 (5) Standard, Triumph Strike.
 (6) Meaning of Socialism.
 (7) The Workers' Opposition.
 (8) B.L.S.P. Dispute.
 (9) Civil Defence Fraud.
 (10) IDO vs. The State.
 (11) Socialism or Barbarism.
 (12) Truth About Vauxhall.
 (13) Homeless.
 (14) Resistance Shall Grow.
 (15) RSGs. 1919 to 63.
 (16) Busmen; What Next.
 (17) Glasgow Busmen in Action.
 (18) Students in Revolt.
 (19) Labour Government vs. The Dockers.
 (20) Vietnam.
 (21) Kent County Council vs. The Homeless.
 (22) Mt. Isa. The Queensland Copper Strike.
 (23) Crisis in Modern Society.

KENT SOLIDARITY

PAMPHLET: (1) Kronstadt 1921.

READING SOLIDARITY

PAMPHLET: (1) Civil Defence and Direct Action.

NORTH WEST SOLIDARITY

Lookout for the first publication from the Manchester area.