

SCOTTISH VANGUARD

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" Everything in the world is purchased by labour... every person...ought to enjoy the fruits of his labour, in a full possession of the necessities and many of the conveniences of life. No one can doubt but such an equality is most suitable to human nature. "

(David Hume: 1752)

DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT
FOR THE
PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND.
Certainly! But HOW, and
what, are the implications?

The great upsurge of Scottish sentiment in recent years, reflected in the remarkable growth of the organised nationalist movement, is healthy evidence of widespread discontent with a subservient and economically inferior position, particularly in relation to England, within the British Imperialist State. This sentiment has never died since the fraudulent and quite undemocratic union of Crowns and Parliaments. Moreover, much suffering and great hardships accrued to our people from this imposed union. Today, the consequences are still glaring and cruel. Whilst it would be stretching the term 'democracy' beyond belief to ascribe this quality to the old Parliament of Scotland, the fact remains that some of its actions had progressive qualities far beyond the general rule in those days, in any part of the world, including England. Where else, at that time, would we find a national system of education, universal and free, as in Scotland in 1696? Before the Union of the Crowns Scotland played an independent and a significant part in international affairs. Today, she is a mere pawn.

UNEMPLOYMENT, ROTTEN HOUSING, EMIGRATION, FALLING POPULATION.

Today, with a population of over 5,200,000 but with an annual net loss through emigration of between forty and fifty thousands, the population is falling year by year. It should be noted that in proportion to population, Scotland's emigration rate is the highest of any country in the world today. Today, unemployment is almost 90,000, this being about the annual average for the past ten years and twice in proportion to that of England.

Average weekly earnings of the Scottish worker is at least £1 less than the average for England. Housing conditions in Scotland are amongst the very worst in Europe. This is emphasised in the remarkable report just issued by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee.



(from which these extracts are taken) "the statistics (of slums) make the imagination boggle"; "...found themselves forced to use strong and emotional language"; "The problem is of such dimensions...that action cannot await refined assessment"; "Housing conditions in Scotland have always been relatively poor compared with those obtaining in England"; "273,000 houses should be demolished rapidly"; "Obsolescence and unfitness is a continuing problem"; "...the conditions in some of the rural areas are so bad that no excuse can warrant things being left as they are", and, "...not far short of half-a-million houses will require to be replaced in the near future". Of course, all this has been well known to the workers of Scotland who are heartily sick of generations of empty promises that the housing problem would be solved. Half a million of Scotland's people, a third of them children, are undernourished. Depopulation of the rural, and particularly the beautiful Highland and Borders counties accelerate alarmingly, whilst the already densely populated Clyde-Forth industrial belt is being cluttered up with so-called 'Overspill' new towns, chasing new factories which phantemlike all too often disappear because their Scottish, English, American financiers find them not to be 'profitable.'

WEALTH ACCUMULATES. THE POOR BECOME POORER.

All the evidence proves that today in Britain the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer and that this condition is greatly aggravated in the particular case of Scotland, continuing unabated under a United Kingdom 'Labour' Government.

"I know quite well that in the reconstruction of society, the class interests of those who are on the top will resist the change, and the only factor that can make for a clean sweep in society is the working class. Hence the class war. The whole history of society has proved that society moves forward as a consequence of an under class overcoming the resistance of a class on top of them". (John MacLean, defending himself at his trial in Edinburgh, May 1918.)

About three millions of Scotland's population are of working age, the other two millions being the children and the veterans. At least two and a quarter millions comprise the wage and salary earners - that is, the working class,

dependent upon wages, or unemployment payments, for their existence, by contrast with those who live much better than the workers, by profits and dividends, that is, unearned income. The other three quarters of a million or so consists of the small businessmen, including shopkeepers, rapidly being squeezed out of their 'independent(?) existence' by the industrial giants and the supermarkets. This leaves the hard core of stoneyfaced parasites whose only concern is to secure more, and still more profits - the insatiable appetite of a grossly distorted and degenerate capitalist class.

The gross national product of Scotland per annum is approximately £2,603,000,000 (Two thousand six hundred and three million pounds) or £500 per head of the population, these being minimum figures, based upon the British Government pre-budget estimates. How well our profiteers in Scotland do out of this enormous national product will be realised from the fact that whilst the proportion going to the workers in wages and salaries is about £1,600,000,000 (Sixteen hundred millions of pounds), about £1,000,000,000 (One thousand millions) is kept back by these parasites not to speak of the largely unrecorded hundreds of millions of pounds they receive from their investments outside Scotland. These same investments came originally from the 'surplus' wealth produced by the workers of Scotland, but more on this subject in later articles.

The Workers versus the Company Directors.

ALL the income from Scotland has been produced by the workers of Scotland, and ALL the income from foreign investments has been produced by exploitation of the workers in colonial and other foreign countries. Thus do 'THE HAVES' exploit the 'HAVE NOTS' and live lavishly on 'UNEARNED INCOME'. WEALTH means NOTHING apart from PEOPLE, but by one process or another, privately owned wealth has been stolen from the many by the few. This is not all - a big chunk of the wages and salaries of the workers is taken back, without any delay, by these same capitalist exploiters, a cunning lot, who lend money to the Government, the Local Authorities, the Nationalised Industries, etc., at high rates of interest which, in due course, fall to be deducted from wages by excessive costs of house rents, electricity, gas, coal and oil fuels, transport and Local Government services. Moreover, Pay-as-you-earn Income Tax is deducted before the worker receives his wage packet, by contrast with his employer who pays the Tax after he receives his profits and after he has had ample opportunity to wriggle out of his full share of taxation. The proceeds of this tax are used to pay profiteers and money-lenders who wax fat from Government contracts and so-called 'national defence' expenditure. Over this, the workers of Scotland have no control whatever, certainly not in a United Kingdom Parliament where the handful of Members from Scotland are treated with the contempt most of them deserve.

Scotland's share of the 'Defence' Bill amounts to over £220,000,000 per annum, over £40 per head of the whole population, or per average Scottish family of four and a quarter persons, £170.

'GO BACK TO YOUR MASTERS AND TELL THEM THAT WE CAME HERE NOT TO TREAT, BUT TO FIGHT AND SET SCOTLAND FREE". (Sir William Wallace, before his victory over the English Army at Stirling Bridge in 1298.)

Who, in fact, are the profiteers, money-lenders, the capitalists? They are the Directors of Banks, Finance and Credit Trusts, Insurance Companies, Industrial and Agricultural concerns, Landed

Proprietors, etc., Look up the lists of these Directors and you will find they include, mainly for decorative purposes, a number of Lord Tom Noddies, mostly nit-wits, but of course predominantly the narrow, single-motived, self-centred, dehumanised, arrogant, anti-social and ruthless characters, all of whose property interests have been acquired by the most dubious means and often flagrantly dishonest processes. They are persons of Scots, English, American or other origins, to whom appeals to humane, aesthetic or any higher sentiment, mean nothing beside their grovelling in the muck of profiteering and money-lending. This destroys those fine human qualities so characteristic of most other sections of our population and we must never for a moment forget that capitalists are sensitive only to their true God - PROFIT, otherwise poverty, unemployment, slums, would have disappeared from Scotland long ago. These creatures of selfish gross materialism emerge in the political scene as leaders of grim Tory reaction and ultimately their last resort is to the bloody weapon of fascism in one form or another. When they find that the workers are determined to take the justice they have been denied, including full and constant employment, the social welfare of wives and children, and of the veterans - at present fobbed off with a mere £4 per week or otherwise consigned to drab and inadequate homes for the aged -

these capitalists immediately resort to the savagery which is their jungle characteristic. By contrast, Directors of firms get fees of from £60 to £200 per week, six out of ten of them got their Directorships solely through family connections.

There are numerous such parasites in Scotland, all of whom could be identified by working class people, and they include spivs whose huge incomes often come from jerry-built 'HOMES for the people'. Other aspects of the shocking abuse, misuse and theft from our talented workers will be dealt with in subsequent issues of "The Scottish Vanguard". For lack of opportunity and good prospects in Scotland, the thousands of our young and vigorous who emigrate soon find themselves in the clutches of the capitalist interests of their 'new' country, pounced upon by the brethren of the very profiteers and money-lenders they thought they had left far behind. What of those who remain in Scotland? The basic essential industries, agriculture, mining, engineering, shipbuilding, food, textiles and clothing, housebuilding, gas, electricity, transport, distribution, etc., employ, often very wastefully (e.g., milk and coal delivery), about one and a half million workers. The other six hundred and fifty thousand or so are generally employed in what, under Socialism would be, in most cases, quite useless insurance, banking, administrative and civil service jobs. A Socialist Scotland would streamline production for use and not for profit, thereby providing full scope, in creative full employment for all, in industrial and cultural activity. Our youth especially would find in their native land an attractive assured and stimulating future.

" A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat" "To the extent that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, to that extent, we are always in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else, for it, because we are the staunchest and most consistent enemies of oppression. In so far as the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation stands for its own bourgeois nationalism, we are against it". (LENIN.)

At no time since the Union of Parliaments has the position of Scotland's workers been any different. All British Governments - Tory, Liberal, Labour - have performed the same function, that of the executive committee of the capitalist interests of British imperialism. Under Wilson the situation gets worse. Yet the decaying 'Communist' Party of Great

Britain bleats about the possibility of securing the revolution, without which Socialism would be meaningless twaddle, through the United Kingdom Parliament. (As we go to press we learn that the leaders of the 'Communist' Party of Great Britain contemplate 'revising' mark you, their sterile 'British Road to Socialism' anti-marxist programme declared the untouchable basis for their future only a year ago). All these Parties and the Scottish National Party subscribe to the fiction that the Parliament of it of the British Capitalist State is an instrument of democracy for the workers.

A WORKERS' STATE versus The Capitalist State.

Faced today with an acute, and for rapidly increasing numbers a very personal economic crisis, the workers of Scotland, particularly the young workers who may have been deluded by what appeared to be everlasting post-war 'affluence', have today to face realistically the grim facts of Tory, Labour and Liberal failure to provide economic and social security for themselves and their families. They are compelled to question the ability of the much vaunted 'British' way of life, the British Parliament, British private enterprise, British 'Freedom', British Trade Unionism, the British 'Commonwealth' and British Imperialism, in fact summed up as the British Capitalist STATE, to meet their basic needs in social security, food, clothing and shelter. Is it surprising that they are now asking what 'Democracy' here means in practice.

It is clear that what many have been led to believe is 'the finest democratic system in the world' suffers from defects that history has shown to be quite irreparable, indeed there has really been little or no democracy at any time in our history.

Democracy means government of the people, for the people BY the people, in other words majority rule. Who are the majority in Scotland, as everywhere else throughout the world? Clearly and overwhelmingly, the working-class. Thus, democracy can mean one thing only, rule by the workers, FOR THE WORKERS. However this correct slogan will be a hollow sham without the workers, the majority, having economic power, which in simple terms means that the working-class of Scotland must have in their own hands, completely and without any reservations whatever, all the means of production, distribution and exchange. It must be obvious to anyone living in the chaos of so-called private 'enterprise', with its booms and slumps, unemployment, poverty in the midst of plenty, that the present, the capitalist system, is a dismal failure. The late Michael McCreery declared that 'We must destroy the old to build the new', and how true this is of the position here today. Reformism, Parliamentary chatter and promises, trade union negotiations within capitalism-always defeated in the long run in their efforts for substantial betterment, thus revealing the failure of 'economism' and the need for revolutionary political action all have been exposed as a sham, in the cruel experiences of succeeding generations of workers.

The press, radio, TV, parliament, often the pulpit, are used today, as hitherto to foster the lie that the British STATE is a benevolent friend of ALL the people of these islands and of the world. Many workers are deluded by this lie, in spite of the fact that Marx and Engels, long ago proved conclusively that always, The STATE is the method and machine by which the ruling class imposes itself upon the struggling opposition class, in our case upon the workers. In this connection also, it is necessary to differentiate clearly between 'A State' and 'A Nation'. In his famous essay on 'State And Revolution', Lenin quoted approvingly Engels statement about the United Kingdom (as a single State)"- where the two islands are peopled by four nations and in spite of a single Parliament, three different systems of legislation exist side by side even today". This is of course still true in 1967, if somewhat modified by the separate Irish State. Stalin, in his equally famous and still very relevant essay on 'The National Question', when dealing with his suggestion for a Soviet of the Nationalities, as a second chamber to the Soviet of the Union, stated, "We should have an organ which would reflect the specific interests of the Nationalities--"and"we shall have many occasions to discuss the National Question, for National and International conditions change, and may change again". Members of the Scottish National Party should carefully study these two very great authorities.

Democracy is SELF-RULE by the WORKERS.

We have seen that Democracy means workers self-rule, that there can be no freedom to rule for the majority, if the minority retain ownership of the means of life for all. Thus we come to the simple conclusion that "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", is workers democracy, achieved by transferring economic power from the hands of the exploiters to those of the exploited, a revolutionary political change. The Class War is imposed here today by the minority upon the majority and can only be ended by a revolutionary change. If the

Capitalist minority refuse to accept the democratic rights of the majority, as has been and still is so often the case, and attempt to retain power by force, then they will have to be met by force. As the workers are the greatest force they will win swiftly if united for the purpose, but not if divided foolishly into sections calling themselves by many names, 'Billy's And Dans', 'Blacks or Whites', 'Labour, Liberal, Tory', and so on.

The political struggle in Scotland, as in England, Wales and Ireland, today is a CLASS STRUGGLE and the workers will forget this at their peril. But the workers require a WORKERS' PARTY, based upon scientific socialism, Marxism - Leninism, by which the great and unprecedented successes of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and China were secured in their revolutionary overthrowing of their capitalist and colonialist oppressors and foreign invaders.

"THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND - MARXIST/LENINIST", which is always ready for the closest co-operation with the workers of England, Wales and Ireland is today the only Party in Scotland capable of providing leadership based upon democratic - centralism and whose interests are solely concerned with the rights, struggles and triumphs of the working-class. This is the vanguard Party of the struggle for the revolutionary change without which the aspirations of the workers cannot possibly be realised. History is very clear on this point. 'The Workers' Party of Scotland' sees its policy developing in the context of a rapidly changing world situation, in relation to British Imperialism, the so-called British Commonwealth, and particularly to the great National Liberation Movements of today. It is obvious to our party that not for a moment must we ignore American Imperialism, whose focal point of attack is its bloody aggression against the people of Vietnam, as the greatest menace to the peaceful and high aspirations of the decent people, the workers, of all lands. Peace cannot be secured by appeals to the goodwill of the USA aggressor, but only by destroying the Imperialist USA and his allies, the strongest of which are the British capitalists whose spokesman is the Wilson 'Labour' Government. Having regard particularly to the American military nuclear submarine and other installations on Scottish soil, /We carry a grave direct responsibility to secure their removal as a contribution to the struggle of the Vietnam Nation. But we must note the shocking support given to USA action in Vietnam by the Chairman of the Scottish National Party, when last July he declared that, "we doubt if a self-governing Scotland, or any elements therein, would have got into a flurry about the extension of warlike action by the USA in Vietnam,--nothing will be gained by attacking the U.S. unilaterally. They are not solely responsible--. Had they in fact used their strength more ruthlessly and more logically--the war might not have been extending". In this attitude to a small nation heroically defending itself against a powerful aggressor, and as we Scots have still to demonstrate similar self-sacrifice for Scotland, surely Arthur Donaldson is in a very small minority in his Party.

Despite the apparently brilliant prospects facing the Scottish National Party, it will fail to solve the problems of the Scottish workers, largely because it supports such contradictory objectives as 'freedom' for Scotland tied up with the nine-man dictatorship of the Common Market; N.A.T.O. the tool of American Imperialism; continued acceptance of a United Kingdom, and leaving the land, the factories, the banks, the finance and insurance corporations in private ownership.

The Scottish National Party specifically rejects the Class nature of our society and the impossibility of reconciling the interests of the workers with those of their employers in a capitalist State. In its aims it states: "The National Party stands for All the Nation, All sections, All people in it, welded in a common purpose, devoted, dedicated to the social and economic emprovement of All". Think of it! It is proposed to 'improve' the social and economic position of the Lairds, The Slum Landlords, the Financial Sharks, the Jerry Builders, the Profiteers, etc., and when did these parasitic leeches have a 'common purpose' with their victims? Such is the muddled thinking within the leadership of the Scottish 'National' Party, who talk about Scotland, as though consisting of a united peoply of all classes, something quite unheard of in the whole history of mankind since the emergence of social classes. No, no! Scotland consists of two main and diametrically opposed classes whose economic and therefore their political interests can never be reconciled.

"What then is the crime of which I am accused? It is sedition. A term familiar to power, familiar to corruption. ...All who have ventured to stem the tide of corruption, to come forward in the hour of danger and save their country have been branded with this epithet"

Thomas Muir at his trial in 1793, when he was banished to Botany Bay.

"Means" and Methods"
must be exclusive choice
of the Workers.

The means by which the Scottish workers, as in the case of the working-class in every other country, can achieve complete emancipation and rise to their full stature, must be chosen exclusively by the Scottish workers, who would of course always seek the goodwill of others, inside or outside Scotland, as they would willingly offer similar mutual co-operation to achieve Socialism. Means and methods will be dictated by developing circumstances, but at no time restricted by the present Capitalist Class imposed 'legal' system, or by doctrinaire preconceived methods. Neither can it be the concern nor serve the interests of the workers to hide their revolutionary programme on an assumption that it would be 'dangerous' to let the enemy know their aims. With Mao Tze-tung our Party wholeheartly agrees when he says, "Democracy for the People and dictatorship for the reactionaries, when combined, consitute the People's democratic dictatorship", and, "The People's dictatorship must have the leadership of the working-class".

The Workers 'Party of Scotland, provides realistic leadership. There cannot be any 'spontaneous' scientific leadership of the class struggle, it must be consciously provided and this is possible only if decisions are made on a correct theoretical basis and carried out in a most practical manner. Hence the supreme importance of 'Dialectical and Historical Materialism', and the rejection of metaphysical fairy tales and wishful thinking as the starting point of our advance towards a correct policy and methods for any circumstances.

Pessimism has no place in the outlook of the Workers' Party of Scotland, but /-

supreme confidence in the outcome of the mighty struggle now proceeding for the final overthrow of the last bulwarks of colonialism and imperialism. The enemy is in dire straits, despite seeming strength, but he will not die voluntarily, he must be destroyed. It is the task of the rising working-class and their closest comrades, the peoples engaged in their National Liberation struggles, to unite to speed up the process for the great victory looming ahead. The Vietnamese in particular are showing the way and must have our support. They are in the very front line of the battles. No doubt great dangers still exist but our Party utterly rejects the fatalistic view that mankind can be destroyed by any of the products of his own intellect. Humanity does not commit suicide and Communists are neither tired o' livin', nor feared o' dyin'. Confidence in the Scottish workers and in the workers of Britain and all the world and in the radiance of their socialist future, is the basis of the programme of the Workers' Party of Scotland. All friends are urged to study our policy, published and developed in this and subsequent issues of "The Scottish Vanguard" and to join with us in the glorious task of establishing a Socialist Republic of Scotland, as our contribution towards the creation of a Communist world where exploitation of man by man will no longer be possible and lasting peace will prevail.

(Feb. 1967 - 1/1)

"The Editorial Board".

"The Way Forward"

As a valuable footnote to the foregoing we append the following quotations from "The Way Forward", written by the late Michael McCreery, viz.:

"A genuine Communist Party must be established in England, in Scotland and in Wales"; "In what ways will the new Party differ from the old?"; "It will be based, Firstly, upon the principle of proletarian internationalism"; "Secondly,.. fight to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "Thirdly,..relate the struggles on all immediate issues...to this central and final goal, the establishment of working-class power"; "Fourthly, in the struggles for all immediate aims, and for the final conquest of power, the main line of the Party will be to mobilise the mass of the people for action. This demands organisation of the Party at the place of work"; "Fifthly, ...fight for positions and progressive policies in all Trade Unions and Co-operatives....but it will resolutely oppose the false idea that capturing of positions within the legal organisations of the Labour Movement, and the capitalist state within which they operate, is the road to working-class power", and, "Finally, not bureaucratic but democratic-centralism will operate... Full discussion..must be accompanied by united action to implement this agreed policy, with each basic unit itself translating general policy into action within its local field of work". The Workers Party of Scotland regards "The Way Forward" as the correct application of Marxism-Leninism in the circumstances in which the workers find themselves today. (Ed.)

COMMENTS:- Constructive, critical, stimulating and objective - in prose, rhyme and cartoon line drawings, or simply as short letters to the editor, will always be very welcome by the Editorial Board for their consideration.
Address to Editorial Board, c/o 21, Castle Road, Newton Mearns, Glasgow.

" THE COMMON-EXPLOITERS-MARKET " by T.MURRAY.

What is 'Common' about this Market? Certainly not the interests of the workers of the countries, all capitalist, of the Treaty of Rome: but the 'common' interests of a dominant gang of West European profiteering capitalists, determined to get together for the more efficient robbery of the workers and for mutual protection from their predatory American Big Business rivals.

Wilson, fervently and openly supported by Sir Alec Douglas Home, declared at the Eighteen Country Council of Europe (out of thirty-four countries in Europe - the presumption of these eighteen!) that "the Unity of Europe is going to be forged", and that "We shall speak from strength to our Atlantic partner", as though subservient Wilson had not already received permission to go ahead from his Atlantic 'Partner' ! Wilson's buddy, Brown, gaily proclaims that entry into the Common Market can mean a rise of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ % in the cost of living in Britain, but that Britain will become strong. Incidentally, the President of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales has just declared, relative to British membership, that "it seems the weekly food budget for a family of four might rise by about twenty-five shillings". Bottomley, Overseas Development Minister, declares that "Britain will soon be the healthiest and most vigorous giant on the European scene".

" THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN MODERN NATIONS IS USUALLY MONOPOLISED BY THE BOURGEOISIE AND HAS SIMPLY BECOME AN INSTRUMENT FOR OPPRESSING THE COMMON PEOPLE". (Sun Yat Sen.)

How eloquent these humbugs of the Labour Government become when extolling the virtues of the capitalist system. How easy they seem to find it to ignore the sufferings of the great number of unemployed, the

poverty-stricken and the homeless workers of Britain. Again and again, terms like "Britain", "Scotland", "Europe" are deceitfully used as though meaning the teeming millions of people, when, in fact, they camouflage the ruling capitalist minorities. They are concerned only with consolidating their means for exploiting workers and natural resources, to safeguarding and expanding their profits. This can only be, at all times and in all circumstances, against the economic and social interests of the working-class.

HAROLD, ALEX AND TED.

We are not told, by either Labour or Tory marketeers, that their precious Treaty of Rome organisation is ruled by a dictatorship of nine men, armed with such extraordinary autocratic and final powers that they can order the closing down, redevelopment or expansion of almost any industry, including the redistribution of labour, in any of the member countries. For example, shipyards in Scotland could be arbitrarily closed down if Wilson, Douglas Home, Heath & Co., succeed in getting the British State into the Common Market. Similar action has already happened in the present Common Market countries. Where then our vaunted British 'Sovereignty', and what then of Scotland's fight for freedom? To add a touch of comedy we find the "Scottish National Party" declaring that "A free Scotland would certainly negotiate for entry to this (Common Market)".

The working-class in every one of the Common Market countries, as in every capitalist country in any part of the world, have a common interest in overthrowing their capitalist tyrants.

Their common interest is in establishing a cooperative fraternity of the workers of all nations for mutual help in developing the economy of their countries, not as a handful of western Europeans but in common with all Europeans from the Atlantic to the Urals, and beyond to all the world! Workers of all lands unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains.

"IT WILL NOT BE ENOUGH, BECAUSE, FOR ALL THE SUCCESSES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT, IMPERIALISM WILL REMAIN, CONTINUE IN FORCE - AND CONSEQUENTLY, THE INEVITABILITY OF WARS WILL ALSO CONTINUE IN FORCE. TO ELIMINATE THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR, IT IS NECESSARY TO ABOLISH IMPERIALISM". Stalin, 1951.

Industrial Organisation:- By Dave Smith.

The Labour Movement in Britain is in a weak position and impotent against the Labour Government's wage freeze and anti working-class policies. The seamen and the railwaymen tried for an improvement in their wages and conditions before the freeze became law. The railwaymen were immediately sold out but it was not so easy to break the seamen. They had had a prolonged struggle before the strike and were better organised at rank and file level. Their strike lasted six weeks during which time they were unable to activate support for their just claims, either in Britain or abroad. No general strike was to develop the struggle against Government economic policy, an extremely weak position for the workers. Their defeat was a clear victory for capitalism and a warning to all others trying to break the coming freeze. Then came the big 'legal' stick with colossal fines for breaking the freeze.

Why has this freeze sailed through so easily? Too many of the workers were prepared to 'wait and give it a chance'. This stems from a low political consciousness. Many still believe that the Labour Party will bring in Socialism gradually, or at least pay more attention to the interests of the workers than do the Tories. They have paid plenty attention alright. In the present crisis there are decreasing opportunities for side benefits. It is an all out attack on the working class and their organised forces, simply to increase profits and save the day for capitalism.

Too many Labour supporters, sincere though they may be, are blinded by faith in a pipe smoking servant of capital. Wilson tells us now that still 'we need a prices and incomes policy'. The freeze is to go on unless it is smashed by the workers. What is the Scottish Trades Union Congress doing against the freeze? Too many of the hierarchy of the Labour Party and in the Trade Union movement, whether they realise it or not, are simply the agents of capitalism ('The Labour lieutenants of the capitalist class'). These people have got the trade union movement so ham-strung with red tape and 'Conivering' that many workers are relying increasingly on shop stewards and factory committees in the hope of securing more direct economic power against the boss. The shop stewards movement endeavours to expand its organisational basis by linking up many shops and trades.

(contd. ...P.23.)

JOHN MACLEAN.

Biographical Note by JOHN BROOM, M.A.

'Hugh MacDiarmid', in a series of three articles in "The Scots Socialist" in 1940 & 41, wrote of the difficulty confronting anyone attempting to write a biography of John Maclean. "To do so is to handle lightning...to write such a book would lead one to commit in the name of reality many a sin against left utopianism, for one must report the ridiculous, the inefficient and the reactionary in the Communist movement, as well as its noble, delightful, intelligent and moving aspects". James Maxton and Maclean's younger daughter both attempted the task, but gave up because they came to the conclusion that they were too personally involved in the turbulent story. MacDiarmid himself had a go, but pressure of work forced him too to abandon the considerable undertaking. Now, after many vicissitudes, and set-backs, the present writer has succeeded in completing a full-scale biography which, it is hoped, may soon be published. The following article is intended as a short appetiser.

Son of a Potter.

John Maclean was born in Pollokshaws in 1879, the sixth child of a potter, who had been forced to move south from his father's croft in Mull during the hungry forties of the last century. John's mother was also Highland born and bred, and after her husband's premature death from 'potters chest' she brought up her large family single-handed. John wrote of this period, "It was the knowledge of the sacrifice made and self-denial endured by my mother and sisters to enable me to be educated, that made me resolve to use my education in the service of the workers". Maclean graduated, "M.A.", in 1904 at Glasgow University, and became a teacher of general subjects in various schools under the Govan School Board. But his consuming interest from early manhood was the emancipation of the working classes. By reading Blatchford's "Merrie England", he was converted to Socialism and by "Das Kapital" to Marxism. He felt that in Marxism he had found a philosophy which would put his, as yet unformed, Socialistic ideas on a scientific basis, and give a meaning to his life.

The 'Social Democratic Federation'.

Around 1903 he joined the Social Democratic Federation, a Marxist organisation founded by H.M. Hyndman in London in 1880, and swiftly became the principal speaker and debater of the Scottish Branch. Up to the outbreak of the 1914 war he stumped the length and breadth of the country, organising strikes, leading processions of the unemployed and agitating tirelessly for the overthrow of the capitalist economy. In 1911, the 'British Socialist Party' was formed by an amalgamation of the S.D.F. the 'Independent Labour Party', 'The Clarion' groups and various other left-wing societies. H.M. Hyndman was appointed chairman. But there was grave dissention within the new Party, almost from the start, Hyndman and some of his colleagues had become very jingoistic in their ideas, and were calling for a big navy to defend Britain from possible German aggression. They were opposed bitterly by the 'internationalists' within the B.S.P., including of course, Maclean. When war was declared in 1914, the great majority of Socialists everywhere threw their principles, courage and honour to the winds and pledged full support to their native country's cause. Yet, in spite of the great general bet-

royal

there were a few brave men in every land who remained true to their International Socialist faith, including James Connolly and John Maclean in the British Isles.

Anti-imperialism and Imprisonment.

From the beginning Maclean never doubted for a second that the war was basically an imperialist struggle for markets and as such totally wrong. By his example, he inspired the converted and strengthened the waverers. The B.S.P. party organ, 'Justice', which was controlled by the Hyndman faction was violently pro-war from the start, and after September 1914 all articles by Maclean were banned. To counteract the influence of 'Justice', Maclean in 1915, launched a vigorous anti-war periodical of his own which he called, like those who have initiated the present brave venture, "The Vanguard". In October, 1915, Maclean was arrested and charged with making speeches likely to prejudice recruiting. In particular he was alleged to have said, "I have been enlisted in the Socialist Army - God damn all other armies". After his trial he was convicted and sent to prison for five days after refusing to pay a £5 fine. At the same time he was dismissed as a teacher, by the Govan School Board, ostensibly for insubordination. Freed now from school duties, Maclean threw all his energies into the anti-war struggle. But the Government were now prepared to go to any length to curb the Clyde 'wild men'. Early in 1916 The Glasgow "Forward", (then edited by Tom Johnston), Maclean's "Vanguard" and the newly established "Clyde Worker" were suppressed. Maclean was arrested again in February and charged with sedition. He was found guilty and sentenced to three years imprisonment. He suffered considerably, but as a result of tremendous working-class agitation, he was released after fourteen months.

"IN LABOURING ACCORDING TO TRUE
PRINCIPLES FOR OUR COUNTRY WE ARE
LABOURING FOR HUMANITY; OUR COUNTRY
IS THE FULCRAM OF THE LEVER WHICH
WE HAVE TO WIELD FOR THE COMMON GOOD".
(Mazzini)

The Great Russian Revolution
November, 1917.

The Bolshevik revolution in November 1917 filled Socialists everywhere with the hope that a world-wide workers' uprising against capitalism was at hand. But nowhere was the jubilation more intense than on the 'Red Clyde'. Lenin, early in 1918

appointed Maclean as the first Bolshevik Consul in Scotland. But he had barely started on his duties when he was once more arrested for seditious activity and convicted. This time he got five years. During this trial he delivered his famous speech from the dock, containing the words, "I come here, not as the accused but the accuser of capitalism, dripping with blood from head to foot". The armistice in 1918 cut short this sentence, but Maclean's health had been gravely affected. He had been on hunger strike for some months, as he believed his food was being drugged. However, he stood for Labour in the Gorbals at the General Election in December, and, although well beaten by the Coalition candidate, George Barnes, he polled nearly 7,500 votes. In the years following the armistice Maclean continued to fight unceasingly on behalf of the down-trodden. Unemployment loomed large after 'the glorious war to end wars', and tired hungry and dispirited men could be seen at every street, corner. Maclean addressed meeting after

"John Maclean" (Cont'd)

meeting and wrote article on their behalf. For his pains he was the guest of His Majesty for two further terms in 1921 and 1922, though this time under much less rigorous conditions.

A Scottish Communist Party.

In 1920 the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed from an amalgamation of various left-wing organisations, including the British Socialist Party. Maclean however, refused to join, as he wanted a distinctively Scottish Communist Party and one which could not be dictated to from Moscow. Gradually, he became more and more antipathetic towards Willie Gallacher, Tom Bell, Harry McShane and the other 'official' communists who, he believed, were betraying the working classes. Early in 1923, having ceased to call himself a communist, he founded the "Scottish Workers' Republican party" and in the General Election of the same year put himself forward as a candidate under this label, but he caught a chill through campaigning in all weathers, developed pneumonia, and died on November, 30th., a week before polling day.

Wording-Class Education- "The Scottish Labour College"

Maclean's greatest positive achievement was probably in the sphere of working-class education. For over ten years his weekly evening Economics Classes attracted hundreds of workers and gave many of them a startling new insight into the economic forces governing their lives under capitalism. In 1916 Maclean founded the Scottish Labour College, which had been his dream for many years. Unfortunately the College declined drastically during his various terms of imprisonment, and after quarrelling with various members of the committee, Maclean eventually resigned. The College did not survive him for long.

Ever since Maclean's death the orthodox communists have been claiming that his mind became unhinged during his latter years, and that this accounts for his antagonism toward the newly-formed Communist Party and his advocacy of a 'Scottish Workers' Republic'. William Gallacher, in his "Revolt on the Clyde" and Tom Bell in his monograph on Maclean repeat this assertion 'ad nauseum'. There is no use denying that following his dreadful prison experiences in 1918 Maclean became increasingly suspicious of even his closest friends. He clearly did develop a kind of persecution complex that made him imagine at times that almost everyone's hand was against him. He delivered many scathing denunciations of his former comrades and associates and some, (especially those against Gallacher) were of a personal virulence which cannot be defended or even excused. But it is a gross exaggeration to deduce from this that Maclean at this time was mentally diseased. There is a world of difference between insanity and delusions of persecution to which we are all subject occasionally. Maclean's speeches and writings during his last years, and especially his private letters to his wife and daughters, the last of which was written only a fortnight before his death, reveal no trace of mental derangement. The onus is on those who claim that Maclean's mind became unbalanced to prove the cruel charge. And this they have signally failed to do.

'United the diverse elements in Scottish life'.

James Maxton described Maclean as, "A Scot of the Scots, a synthesis of all that
cont'd 18

"THE SCOTTISH VANGUARD"
-THE ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR-

Before liberation from the Italian and German fascist occupation, only 22 years ago, Albania was by far the most backward primitive, feudal and illiterate of all the European countries. She had no University, no Teachers College, No Agricultural College, No Theatre, No National Orchestra, No Ballet, No Opera, No National Library, No Factories, or other industrial development, other than some small oil and mineral exploitation by Italian colonisers. Her agricultural was extremely primitive. Now however, Albania has got all the cultural and industrial elements mentioned above, an amazing transformation, regarded by qualified observers as the most remarkable and unprecedented in history for such a very short period of years and especially for a country of less than two million population and no bigger than Wales.

In his remarkable speech at the recent Fifth Congress of The Albanian Party of Labour, held in Tirana, ENVER HOXHA, their great leader and one of a small group of seven, meeting secretly in Tirana in 1942, who founded the Party, gave convincing reasons for their success. Above all he stressed the importance of the role of a revolutionary party of the working class and it is important for the struggle of the workers of Scotland to quote a short passage from Enver Hoxha's speech; as follows: -

President Ho Chi Minh, of North Vietnam, reiterated the demand of the whole of the people of North & South Vietnam; "That the United States end aggression in Vietnam, halt bombing and other acts of war against N. Vietnam unconditionally; withdraw all forces from South Vietnam, and allow the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs. He also demanded that the Vietcong be recognised.

"THE HISTORIC EXPERIENCES OF OUR PARTY HAS CONFIRMED THE LENINIST THOUGHTS THAT THE VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT OVER THE BOURGEOISIE, THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKING-CLASS, A PARTY WHICH IS LOYAL TO MARXISM-LENINISM, AN ORGANISED PARTY WHICH IS ABLE TO LEAD AND GUIDE THE WORKING MASSES IN STRUGGLE AND WORK. THIS IS A UNIVERSAL LAW OF THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. THE WEAKENING OF THE PARTY'S ROLE, NO MATTER TO WHAT EXTENT, AND EVERY DEPARTURE FROM MARXIST-LENINIST

PRINCIPLES, CREATES FOR THE WORKING CLASS THE GREAT DANGER OF REMAINING DISORGANISED AND DISARMED IN FRONT OF THE CLASS ENEMIES, IT CREATES THE SOURCE OF IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL DEGENERATION, THE DANGER OF LOSING THE VICTORIES ALREADY ACHIEVED AND THE LIQUIDATION OF THE PARTY, THE DANGER OF ITS CONVERSION FROM A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, INTO A REVISIONIST, REFORMIST AND BOURGEOIS PARTY".

The experience of this small Nation, is probably the finest example for the workers of Scotland today. The 'Scotsman' newspaper recently observed that "Albanians are not for export, but Italians Yugoslavs, Greeks, Turks, Spaniards and Portuguese are; if they all stayed at home, unemployment would rise alarmingly". They should have added Scotland to their list. Albania, thanks to its Socialist economy and Marxist-Leninist leadership is forging ahead and is short of Labour. T. Murray.

"CHECK AMERICAN CULTURAL AGGRESSION"

Translation from 'VOICE OF THE PEOPLE' organ of the Communist Party of Belgium,
(Marxist Lenninst)

There is unfolding in China, a proletarian cultural revolution of extraordinary breadth and historic importance, aiming to raise 700 million people above self-interest, to turn them into men and women entirely directed to serving the collective, towards building the basis for Communism. At this very moment American Imperialism, on the other hand, is mounting a real cultural attack on the peoples of the world.

The ideologues of the White House aim to spread, as widely as possible, the virus of the "American Way of Life", the "Great Society", so dear to Johnston.

The great principles of this "ideology" are well known: the search for maximum profit, the satisfaction of all the individual desires of the privileged at the expense of the interests of the community. As a corollary to this sordid view of the world comes the means of realising it: violence, corruption, cynicism: the utilisation of all human weaknesses, organised into collective vices, and carefully nurtured by the government. Briefly, American Imperialism wants to export the supreme form of moral degeneracy which characterises American Society - degeneracy which is one of the best sources of profit, both direct and indirect, for American high finance.

THE WHITMAN CASE.

The case of Whitman, the Austin University tower killer, has aroused public opinion throughout the world. But in the U.S. itself, although there were voices raised to accuse the regime of the murders, it must be admitted that they were ridiculously few.

Television continues its daily apologue of brutal violence to accustom the televiewer to the sight of American power trying to establish itself throughout the world by fire, blood, poison, and torture. The American Marine and his 'exploits' of disembowelment and incendiary are more than ever before, the example set to the young.

The cartoon-strips always depict humanity 'free' in the laws of the jungle - the law of the 'strong' destroying the 'weak', the law of bombs wiping out justice. And all this under the tragi-comic-beacon-light of the Statue of Liberty illuminating the putrifaction of a government of oppression, exploitation, and domination, of a government pledged to maintain in slavery hundreds of millions of human beings.

THE DEATH GAME.

What is more, the Whitman case has created a frenzy of pseudo-scientific 'studies' of Whitman character, heredity, life and complexes, - studies whose most certain result is to arouse the imaginations of other Whitmans to action. Already, we learn from a Brussels weekly, the most popular game in the U.S. is the death game. This a parlour game to which a large section of the young people, and especially of the students, devote themselves. The champion is the person who invents the most radical and most original method for liquidating his fellows. In the course of these charming competitions the young men or women participating demonstrate boundless imagination, inventing new methods of strangling,

"CHECK AMERICAN CULTURAL AGGRESSION"

electrocution and dynamiting, of which the most hardened 'specialists' of Brooklyn or Chicago might be jealous. It is true that this game has remained innocent, so far, being played only 'as a joke'. But no doubt these exercises set going, in hundreds of thousands of brains, a search to find the most spectacular, most unexpected or most sadistic murder, leaving deep and lasting impressions and preparing the next 'floweing' of real killers.

CRIME WAVES.

The same paper gives a list of examples, no doubt already well surpassed, of 'extraordinary' crimes committed in the United States in the last few years, and reports and increase in the rate of 'multiple' murders. In the U.S. in 1965, excluding 'spectacular' crimes, there was one murder for every hour, as revealed by Edgar J. Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of investigation, last July. Then look at the 'extraordinary murders' of the past 20 years, 1946-66: Bill Heirens killed seven people; Two accomplices jointly killed seven; An ex-serviceman gunned down thirteen people in the open street; Two robbers killed seven; A nineteen-year old College boy and his fifteen-year old girl friend claimed eleven victims; Two layabouts wiped out a family of four, and a killer, so far unidentified, known only as 'The Boston Strangler' cost the lives of eleven people, and so on.

"THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN FACE OF USA IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION, DECLARE FOR 'TURNING HATRED INTO A POWERFUL MORAL LEVER', AN THAT "NOTHING IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN INDEPENDANCE AND FREEDOM. WHEN VICTORY DAY COMES, OUR PEOPLE WILL REBUILD OUR COUNTRY AND ENDOW IT WITH BIGGAR AND MORE BEAUTIFUL CONSTRUCTUINS" (Ho Chi Minh).

BARBARA BEIDLER, a twelve years old American girl wrote a remarkable poem criticising USA Napalm bombing in Vietnam and part of which is quoted on this page. It was published in "Venture" a magazine for Presbyterian Sunday Schools and for which there was a standing order for 13,000 copies for use by U.S. Armed Forces Chaplains. The USA Defence Department, describing the poem as "an embarrassing item" cancelled the order on the recommendation of a group of their Chaplains Board. Comment superfluous.

NAPALM BOMBING -
VIETNAM CHILDREN
ARE SCREAMING.

"There, there was the flash-Silver and Gold,
Silver and Gold
Silver birds flying,
golden water raining.
The rice ponds blazed
with new water.
The jungle burst into gold and sent up little birds of fire.
Little animals with fur aflame.
THEN THE CHILDREN FLAMED.
Running-their clothes flying like fiery kites.
Screaming-their screams dying as their faces seared.
The women's baskets burned on their heads.
The men's boats blazed on the rice waters....
LISTEN AMERICANS,
Listen clear and long. The children are screaming in the jungles of Haiphong"--.

"THE SCOTTISH VANGUARD"

'DIVIDE ET IMPERA'
(Divide & Rule)

Celtic nil, Rangers six!
Man, the world's in an awfy fix.
Rangers nil, Celtic five!
Oh no ! Man alive!
You have no hope,
Kick the Pope.
Dinna be silly,
Hang King Billy.
What's it all for Billy and Dan,
This thing that splits the workin' man?

Fists and bottles tae fight each ither,
Man, ye'er fightin' ye'r very brither!
Your bosses gloat and smile wi' glee.
they're robbin' ye rotten, but ye canna see.
Ye'r eyes are blinded by orange and green.
Loyal tae the Pope, or loyal tae the Queen.

Stop this fightin', cease this rant!
Dinna swallow their hellish cant!
they are your enemy, the capitalist class,
Stick ye'r boot right where it hurts.
WORKERS ARISE, UNITE TOGETHER!
Stop fightin' ane anither.

Green or orange, Black or White,
Socialism is our commom fight.
The Workers' State-where producer is king,
Creator of all. We'll dance and sing.
Ye'll have ye'r sight wi' the comin' day,
As we chase the capitalists night away.

"SEAMUS"

OUR CAMPAIGN

THE PUBLICATION OF THIS NO. 1 OF OUR
"SCOTTISH VANGUARD" IS, IN EFFECT, AN
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN
OF "THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND" TO
PUBLICISE ITS PROGRAMME AND VARIED ACTIVITIES.

DETAILS OF ITS MEETINGS, CONFERENCES,
STUDY CLASSES, SPECIALISED BOOKS, PAMPHLETS
AND LEAFLETS WILL BE INTIMATED IN THE
FUTURE ISSUES OF 'THE S.V'.

LISTEN FRIENDS
to
HANOI,
PEKING,
TIRANA,
and hear the truth
direct from
VIETNAM,
CHINA,
ALBANIA.

English language
radio broadcasts
every day on the
undernoted programmes
(Greenwich Time):-

From PEKING-
8.30 to 10.30 p.m.
on
58; 48.3; 42.4 and
51 meters (Except 58m.
omitted from 9.30p.m.)

From HANOI -
For half and hour
from 10 a.m.; 1 p.m.
3.30 p.m. & 11 p.m.
on
25; 31; & 240 meters,
(Except at 3 p.m. when
32m. in place of 31)

From Tirana -
For half an hour
from Midnight; 6.30 a.m.:
8 p.m. & 10 p.m.
on
31.95 and 41 meter
bands (Except Midnight
when only 41m.)

If you do not posses
a radio with short wave
bands you will never
regret obtaining one-
to hear the truth.

is healthiest and best in our stormy history: the honesty, the forthrightness, the perseverance, the deep humanity, the shrewd practically, the undiluted materialism". Maclean, as Macdiarmid has pointed out, united the diverse elements in Scottish life in a unique way - he was of Highland stock, his work lay in the great industrial belt in the lowlands and he married a Borders woman. The Unification of Scotland, highland and lowland, rural and urban, was complete in himself. MacDiarmid has often claimed that Maclean was the greatest Scotsman of this century. Some of us might prefer to reserve that high honour for the Bard himself, but there can be no doubt that Maclean was a towering figure in Scottish working-class history. Many of the evils he fought against are still with us and it behoves those of us who desire and believe in the brotherhood of man, equality of opportunity, a planned economy, the freedom of Scotland and the abolition and of the threat of war, to try to ensure that one of the greatest champions of these ideals did not live and die for them in vain. (John Broom).

"MACLEAN HAD EVER BEEN THE MORTAL ENEMY OF BOURGEOIS RESPECTABILITY AND CONSTITUTIONAL FORMALITY" (Tom Bell.)



"Now, there are two different attitudes towards learning from others. One is the dogmatic attitude of transplanting everything, whether or not it is suited to our conditions. This is no good. The other attitude is to use our heads and learn those things which suit our conditions, that is, to absorb whatever experience is useful to us. That is the attitude we should adopt."
Mao Tze-Tung. 1957.

N.F.L. VICE-PRESIDENT HUYNH TAN PHAT'S STATEMENT ON NGUYEN DUY TRINH'S ANSWERS TO JOURNALIST W. BURCHETT

On January 30, 1967, Huynh Tan Phat, Vice-President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, granted an interview to L.P.A. on problems in which public opinion in Vietnam and the world is interested.

After, condemning Washington and Saigon puppet authorities' objection to the Front's order for suspension of military attacks on the occasion of the Lunar New Years Festival, Mr Huynh Tan Phat stated his opinion on the reply of the D.R.V. Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh to journalist W. Burchett on January 28. He energetically condemns the U.S. imperialists' aggression in both South and North Vietnam. On U.S. "escalation" in the D.R.V., Mr. Phat said:

"The bombing and strafing of North Vietnam by the U.S. is an utterly gross encroachment upon the sovereignty and independence of the D.R.V., seriously offending the sacred national sentiments of our people throughout the country and the conscience of progressive mankind.

The Vietnamese people are one, Vietnam is one. The heart grieves when the finger is cut. The crimes of the U.S. imperialists against our kith and kin in the North have aroused profound indignation among our people in the South and deepened their hatred for the U.S. aggressors. The South Vietnamese people together with their northern compatriots are still more determined to fight and foil all aggressive schemes and acts of the U.S. imperialists so as to fulfil their sacred task: Liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam, and achieve eventual reunification of the Fatherland.

The South Vietnam people resolutely demand that the U.S. Government stop at once and unconditionally its bombing and all other acts of war against the D.R.V. So long as the U.S. imperialists undertakes raids on North Vietnam, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people will intensify their fight and inflict sterner punishment on them to avenge their kith and kin in the North."

On the statement of D.R.V. foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh, Mr Phat said:

"The answers given by D.R.V. Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh highlighted the great victories of the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country, and the heavy defeats and stubborn nature of the U.S. imperialists aggressors. Mr Nguyen Duy Trinh has expressed the heartfelt sentiments and firm support of the North Vietnamese people for their South Vietnamese kith and kin. The position and attitude of the Government of the D.R.V. is very clear and shines with justice. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation fully approves and supports this correct position and wellwishing attitude, since it conforms to the urgent and legitimate demands of the Vietnamese people as a whole. We are firmly convinced that it will enjoy the sympathy and warm support of the peace-and justice-loving people in the world, including the progressive American people."

Mr. Huynh Tan Phat then brought into the fore the N.F. L. position on the settlement of the Vietnam problem:

"With regard to South Vietnam we resolutely demand that the United States stop its war of aggression, withdraw all its troops and weapons and those of its satellites, dismantle its military bases, respect the national rights of the South Vietnamese people, namely independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, reunification of the Fatherland and settlement of our own affairs by ourselves. It must recognize the Front as the only genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam.

"Reality has proved that though the U.S. imperialists deliberately oppose and deny the resistance war for national salvation of the South Vietnamese people and refuse to recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, our fight has not ceased to develop powerfully and has been recognised by the whole progressive mankind as a just fight and a great contribution to the struggle for freedom and peace in the world. The more the U.S. aggressors increase their troops and intensify the war, the more they will be condemned and opposed by the American people and the peoples of other countries in the world.

The distinguished Canadian surgeon, Norman Bethune, went to Spain in 1936 to work at the front with Republican forces in their resistance to Italian and German Fascists and their Franco quislings. In 1938 he led a medical team to China to assist the Chinese in their resistance to the Japanese invasion and worked in the liberated areas until he contracted blood poisoning through operating on wounded soldiers without adequate rubber gloves and died in Hopei Province on Nov. 12th, 1939. This dedicated member of the Canadian Communist Party is the subject of a famous article "In memory of Norman Bethune", by Mao Tze-tung which is the theme of a special study in "The Liberation Army Daily" of 21st. Decr. last. We feel that the quotations we publish are of great practical value for Communist education, as much here as in China or elsewhere.

Urging all to learn from Norman Bethune, Mao stated "WE MUST ALL LEARN THE SPIRIT OF ABSOLUTE SELFLESSNESS FROM HIM. WITH THIS SPIRIT EVERYONE CAN BE VERY USEFUL TO THE PEOPLE. A MAN'S ABILITY MAY BE GREAT OR SMALL, BUT IF HE HAS THIS SPIRIT, HE IS ALREADY NOBLE-MINDED AND PURE, A MAN OF MORAL INTEGRITY AND ABOVE VULGAR INTERESTS, A MAN WHO IS OF VALUE TO THE PEOPLE".

'eradicate self-interest and foster the concept of public interest and establish the communist world outlook of wholehearted devotion to the public interest. The current great proletarian cultural revolution in China, in the last analysis, is a great ideological revolution to eradicate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology and to eradicate self-interest and foster public interest'. By contrast, 'The kernal of the bourgeois world outlook is the concept of self-interest, selfishness, advancing one's own interests at the expense of others; and extreme individualism'.

'ONLY WHEN A MAN COMPLETELY UPROOTS THE BOURGEOIS CONCEPT OF SELF-INTEREST AND DEVOTION TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST CAN HE REALLY DISCARD ALL THOUGHT OF SEEKING PERSONAL FAME AND GAIN, BE AFRAID OF NEITHER HARDSHIP NOR DEATH, AND BECOME UTTERLY DEVOTED TO OTHERS WITHOUT ANY THOUGHT OF SELF, SERVE THE PEOPLE WHOLLY AND ENTIRELY, AND BECOME VERY USEFUL TO THE PEOPLE. A NEW SOCIETY NEEDS MEN OF A NEW TYPE TO BUILD IT'. But, 'The eradicating of self-interest and the fostering of the public interest in the ideological sphere is a long, hard process of struggle. Such struggle will not cease as long as classes and class struggle exist. Private ownership has been in existence for several thousand years; the concept of self-interest of the exploiting classes which upholds private ownership has the deepest influence over people. It is a stubborn enemy which permeates everything. It may be thoroughly repudiated on one particular question and in one particular form today, but tomorrow it will appear again on another question and in another form. Therefore the struggle to eradicate self-interest and foster public interest needs to be carried out repeatedly and continually, throughout one's whole life. Each comrade, new or old, of whatever class origin, must wage such a struggle conscientiously.' '-follow the example of Comrade Bethune, love whatever job is given, be proficient. -be firm in putting politics in command, giving first place to political and ideological work, opposing a purely technical point of view. ONLY GREAT THINKING CAN GIVE RISE TO GREAT STRENGTH.'

THE SCOTTISH VANGUARD

"The struggle waged by the Vietnamese people from the south to the North is a just struggle for self-defence and conforms to all international law. The four points of the D.R.V. and the position of the Front expounded in its 5-point statement of March 22, 1965 which embody the aspirations and fundamental rights of the Vietnamese people throughout the country, are the only correct basis for the settlement of the problem of Vietnam in general and of South Vietnam in particular and have been widely approved and supported by the world's people.

"The people of South Vietnam, united millions as one man under the glorious banner of the front are determined to fight to the end for their sacred fundamental national rights".

INTERNATIONAL NEWS & COMMENT

CHINA:

By Ken Houlison.

The revolutionary masses, are winning ever greater victories, in the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: Inspired, and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are wresting control from the few in authority, who are taking the capitalist road. The defeat of these reactionaries signal the strengthening of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and an extension of peoples democracy.

The success of the great proletarian cultural revolution, means that the revolutionary workers and peasants by mastering the fundamentals of Marxism Leninism enriched with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have made the Peoples Republic of China, an even more powerful bastion of socialism. Because of the universality of Marxism Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought, many very valuable lessons can be learned by Marxist Leninists throughout the world, by a study of the experiences of our Chinese comrades, in their building of socialism in this period. By so doing they will be able to advance still better the socialist revolution in their own countries.

Internationally the Peoples Republic of China pursues its twin tasks, one to further develop the struggle, to isolate the main enemy of the people of the world. "U.S. imperialism. (2) to strengthen the growing struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet leadership at its center. The hysterical outbursts of these people, against chairman Mao Tse-tung and the great proletarian cultural revolution, is proof of their knowledge that the successes of this great event spells the downfall of these guilty men and an end to the revisionist ideas which they spawned.

NOTE Signed articles do not necessarily, in their entirety reflect the views of the Editorial Board.

Our views on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution will be dealt with at greater length in future issues. E.D.

The British people must say no to imperialist aggression and war. We must make it clear to the British government that we will not fight imperialism's wars. British troops must be forced to leave Asia, Africa and Latin America.

**United States and British imperialists —
get out of Asia
get out of Africa
get out of Latin America**



MAKING A CLEAN SWEEP

We trust our readers will bear with us, and excuse the typographical errors occurring in this first issue of our paper. Experience gained will enable us to improve quality in the future.

(contd. from P/10.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

Notable amongst these organisations is the London Shop Stewards Defence committee, formed to fight the wage freeze and anti Trade Union legislation. This is all to the good because they attack the restrictive power of the Trade Union bureaucrats, increase militancy and generally to consolidate the economic struggle. This London committee recognises the need to expand their organisation even further whilst also fighting inside the unions. However, the London Stewards have expressed the view that a new socialist movement can arise out of a Shop Stewards organisation. We cannot agree with this but insist that a revolutionary party must be built up outside the organisations of economic struggle but certainly having roots at the point of production, there-by bringing socialist consciousness into the economic struggle. Special articles dealing with various manifestations of 'Economism', will appear in future issues of the Scottish Vanguard.

"ANOTHER OUTSTANDING FEATURE THAT DISTINGUISHES US COMMUNISTS FROM MEMBERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. IS THAT WE KEEP THE CLOSEST CONTACT WITH THE BROADEST MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. THIS IS OUR POINT OF DEPARTURE: TO SERVE THE PEOPLE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WITHOUT ISOLATING OURSELVES FROM THEM, EVEN FOR A MOMENT, TO START FROM THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND NOT FROM PERSONAL OR CLIQUISH INTERESTS; AND TO HARMONISE OUR RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE PEOPLE WITH OUR RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE LEADING BODIES OF THE PARTY".

Mao Tse-tung.

BOOKS, LITERATURE, PAMPHLETS on all aspects of Marxism-Leninism, especially those dealing with current developments in China and Albania and the rapidly expanding Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the far East, Latin America, etc. are available. Lists will be forwarded on application to our Literature Dept., c/o 21, Castle Road, Newton Mearns, Glasgow.

THE WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOC. SUMMER SCHOOL. will be held August 19-26th, at Wortley Hall, Nr. Sheffield. Details - WMA, 71, Greenfield Gds., London, N.W.2. (Advt.)

"THE SCOTTISH VANGUARD" is sold at 6d per copy (1/- post free) or at 10/- post free for 12 consecutive issues. Special rates for six or more copies per issue quoted on application to Circulation Dept., c/o 21, Castle Road, Newton Mearns, Glasgow. Future issues of our paper will include, in addition to current Scottish subjects, articles on 'The U.S.A. in Scotland', "Vietnam", "Indonesia", "The Gaelic Language", "Culture & Politics".

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND - ITS AIMS

The Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) recognises that the cause of all wars and oppression today is imperialism, the most advanced stage of capitalism, and that only the revolutionary development of socialism can bring peace and prosperity. Our aim, therefore, is to contribute to the destruction of the capitalist system the world over, and the development of Socialist society. To this end we are organised nationally, recognising that some nations will advance to Socialism faster than others and that Scottish nationalism has certain valid aspects which we see as demands for independence and democracy. Independence can be achieved only by throwing off the yoke of the British Imperial State, and all foreign economic, political and cultural domination. To be a democratic country, the majority must rule. This majority is the working-class, the wage and salary earners.

We put before the people ALL the facts in order to develop their awareness and understanding of the implications. From this will grow full political classconsciousness based upon the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Workers' Party of Scotland. Our fight is international. A nation cannot be free whilst it oppresses, or supports the oppression of others. It is our duty to support the National Liberation Movements and the international struggle for Socialism, as the prelude to Communism.

" Scottish separation is part of the process of England's imperial disintegration and is a help towards the ultimate triumph of the workers of the world. "
(late John Maclean).

Many countries have advanced to Socialism, sometimes by different paths, yet the summation of their experiences is similar. By correct understanding and appreciation of the working-class internationally, we can then apply our thinking to changing our domination by a capitalist state and imperialism into domination by a Workers' State. The most correct analysis of the class structure of society and the organisational requirements of the working-class has been made by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tze-Tung.

Many people will support our aims in whole or in part. This is good. These aims must, and can be achieved. We certainly want many members for our Party, but not just numbers. It is important to enlist those really willing to study and fight, thereby helping to develop and enhance the revolutionary quality of the workers. CANDIDATE MEMBERSHIP extends to a period of not less than six months.

ENQUIRIES WELCOMED BY = The Secretary, W.P.S., c/o 21 Castle Road,
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SELL "THE SCOTTISH VANGUARD"

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