

SCOTTISH VANGUARD

Journal of the Workers' Party of Scotland

« Marxist - Leninist »

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9d.

WORKERS

- Wage and Salary Earners -

UNITED -

How **STRONG** you can be -

BUT, are you **AWARE** of it ?

Read: "THE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND," Page 11.

- also -

"SCOTLAND - SOCIALIST AND REPUBLICAN" By T.W.FARQUHAR:

"WALLACE - LION AND GUARDIAN OF SCOTLAND" By HUGH McBAIN:

"ON GAELIC" By FINGAL: "PALACES AND HOVELS" By T. MURRAY:

"CHINA PUSHES PRODUCTION" By CHOU HUA:

"PICK AND RIFLE IN ALBANIA" By P. SEKUJ: "ECONOMISM" DAVE SMITH.

* * * * *

"The coward slave we pass him by;

Gie fools their silks and knaves their wine,
their tinsel show and a' that; the
honest man, though e'er sae poor, is king
o' men for a' that."

"Ye see yon birkie ca'ad a lord, wha
struts an' stares - though hundreds worship
at his word, he's but a coof - the man o'
independent mind, he looks and laughs at a'
that."

"The pith o' sense, and pride o' worth,
are higher ranks than a' that."

"It's comin' yet for a' that,
THAT MAN TO MAN THE WARLD OWER, SHALL
BRITHERS BE FOR A' THAT."

(Paraphrases from ROBERT BURNS, (1780).

* * * * *

ROBERT BURNS .



ECONOMISM

By DAVE SMITH.

ECONOMISM, sometimes called Trade Union Politics, is a trend of ideas and theories arising out of the workers' struggle against their bosses for higher wages and better standards of living. It has been a dominant aspect of the labour movement, here and elsewhere, for a long time. 'Economism' exists in the main as limited trade union industrial demands. The workers originally organised themselves so that they could fight unitedly and thus more powerfully for their demands. However, the leadership in the past, and still more openly today, proved themselves to be siding with capitalism against the workers. Many trade union leaders support the Labour Government's 'Wage freeze', even if not all so blatantly as Carron, now Baron Carron, of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and others.. They make a lot of noisy protests, not against the principle of an 'incomes policy' but against the form. They are putting up a smoke-screen in an attempt to hide from the workers, and especially from the members of their own particular union, that they are not doing anything practical against the wage freeze. For example Cousins and company.

It was pointed out in the industrial notes of our last issue that many militant workers who can find no practical expression for action against the wage freeze, through their trade union, have developed other forms of organisation, shop stewards' defence and liaison committees and increasingly resorting to spontaneous direct action strikes. But invariably they still put forward limited economic demands.

The Political Character of the Struggle.

The seamen, during their just strike carried banners pleading with Harold Wilson to keep out of their struggle for the forty hour week - "Seamen v. Shipowners, not v. Wilson". The seamen's strike had a political character. It was the capitalist State they were up against, that is, the political organisation of the capitalists, the weapon of coercion which capitalism uses in times of crisis, as it is now doing to defend the capitalist system. The Harold Wilson 'Labour' Cabinet, acted, as always, against the seamen, but only to be expected as the executive committee of the British Capitalist State.

The 'Communist' Party of Great Britain has been holding back the development of political consciousness amongst the workers. Its leadership has tried its best to prevent the putting forward of real political slogans in strikes, rent fights and so on. They even ban political slogans in Vietnam demonstrations. They wish to confine the fight to industrial demands, in other words, Economism. This line they are taking, not because Gollan and co are working-class with a low political consciousness, but from a middle-class outlook reflecting their 'revisionist' theories. (See our Manifesto.). They protect the Labour Government from real attack by holding on, waiting for the day when 'Communist' members of parliament will be sitting alongside the Labour lot. They thus envisage slowly changing the Tory hierarchy of the State for 'Lefties', when, lo and behold! over a short period the Capitalist State will become a Socialist State.

(Contd p.3.)

'Economism' - contd. from p.2.

What nonsense to imagine the State to be neutral. The Capitalist State can only be dealt with by the workers by "Destroying the old to build the new". Fuddy,duddy thinking, originating in the middle classes, becomes downright reactionary when leading to deliberate attempts to prevent the development of political consciousness amongst the masses.

Push Labour 'Left'.

Apart from the call to 'push Labour Left', in itself a futile reformist demand, by contrast with the need for a revolutionary policy, the 'British' Communists and others have been putting forward their political 'solution', industrial action, or 'Economism' - strikes, petitions, demonstrations, lobbies. Certainly the economic demands must be carried on with utmost energy, but the task, above all, of a Marxist-Leninist Party is to raise the level of political consciousness amongst the masses, not confining the class struggle to mere 'economism', but to utilise the flashes of political consciousness, gained by the workers in the economic struggle and to raise it to ever higher levels. Thus will it be possible to build a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party, able to go forward, backed by the masses, as the leadership to take power from capitalism and transfer it to the workers. (See Lenin in 'What is to be done?').

"Workers' Control"

"Workers' Control". This trotskyite incantation is evidently receiving the wholehearted support of the 'Communist' "Morning Star" and the 'Left' weekly, "Tribune". "Please control us!", this is what the capitalists are saying now. They want a measure of 'worker participation' in the Board Room, such as the farcical trinity of money-lender, trade union and capitalist State, combined in the Fairfield Shipyard device. They all reckon that this will make capitalism more efficient and blunt the class struggle, or so they think. This form of State industrial structure is close to that of the corporate state of fascism, a measure of workers participation with capitalists holding undiminished power. To hold such power, ultimately the most ruthless use of the police and armed forces against the workers is required. There can be no workers' control without "Workers' Power".

"Workers' Power".

Only when the level of political consciousness has risen high enough and a Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Party is built strong enough to achieve the "Destruction of the Old to build the New", which means nothing less than to smash all of the capitalist state and its trappings, will a Socialist State be possible, as the guarantee of full workers' control. The task of primary and supreme importance is therefore that of raising the political consciousness of the workers and the building and strengthening in Scotland of the Marxist-Leninist "Workers' Party of Scotland". Today we witness in Scotland, Wales and Ireland a great upsurge of discontent which must be channelled towards revolutionary socialism, otherwise it will be diverted towards a spurious national chauvinism and the whole struggle to begin over again.

"If there is to be revolution there must be a revolutionary Party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the M.-L. revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working-class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." (Mao Tse-tung, 1948).

SCOTLAND -- SELF-GOVERNING: SOCIALIST: REPUBLICAN

By THOMAS W. FARQUHAR.

(Secretary, Scottish National Party, Ayrshire & Bute Area Council, and Secretary, S.N.P. Stevenston Branch).

Some of your basic ideas I endorse wholeheartedly, such as the fact that I want to see an independent, self-governing Scotland, a really Socialist Scotland, and a Republican Scotland, and I want to see the quickest road taken towards that objective: in present circumstances, I feel that this "road" is the Scottish National Party. The S.N.P. is not all I want it to be, and the same can be said of some of my fellow-members, but in my opinion, for what it's worth, and it's worth a lot to me at least, the S.N.P. is the best Party we have in Scotland, and I am willing to work with anyone who is heading for the same objective even if they only want to go part of the way with me.

Realising that our basic need in Scotland is for an, as-soon-as-possible, break from English Domination and to obtain the machinery to control our own resources and affairs as an independent nation, independent in the sense that we are able, through self-government, to develop our country economically and politically as we think fit, while playing our part in world affairs and contributing our share towards assisting less fortunately endowed fellow-nations in a measure determined by our ability and Christian charity, I feel that items of policy, important as they undoubtedly are, are only academic compared to the necessity of self-government.

The "Leftish" Wing of the S.N.P., like yourself, is concerned with "American Agression" in Vietnam, Korea and elsewhere; the "Rightish" one is concerned with "Communist Influence" and its growth in various quarters such as those under Soviet domination; all with humanitarian ideals are concerned with the millions of people in this world homeless, sick and hungry, and see no excuse or sense in it. The world as a community of nations, has resources in plenty which are otherwise being used; not to the benefit of Mankind.

Yes, I am concerned over these problems, and I want to see them solved, just as I want to see other things put right. I think of problems nearer home too, such as those in Belfast prisons, detained during Her Majesty's The Queen Of England's pleasure, there for years without a trial, their only "crime" being that they preferred Irish to English rule over Ireland, and are suspected of having done something effective about it. I think of the thousands of my fellow-countrymen and women and children forced to live in slums, others to leave their homes to seek elsewhere that which their own country, under English control, cannot give them, a job, a decent wage, a decent home and security; I think of old people I know and of many others I don't, even in this day and age, going short of necessities, paying their rent the one week and buying coal the next because they can't afford to pay for both together; All this while millions of pounds are squandered every year by the various political forms of egotistical scum, parasites and self-centred rogues running our country's affairs from Westminster!

English M.P.'s have one thing in common - English interests and requirements must come first, and everyone else can go to Hell or wherever else abroad they fancy; Our so-called "Scottish" M.P.'s of whatever Anglophile Party, must rely on getting their "licenses" to operate as M.P.'s from their English Headquarters; their Policies, if they wish to obtain or regain power, as each of them definitely do, must be made to appeal to the majority, and how many in that "majority" live here? (Contd. Page 5.)

From p. 4.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE - JUNGLE WARFARE.

VICTORIOUS VIETNAM

All forms of English governments have allowed the economy of the northern half of their own country to deteriorate and lag behind the south, so what chance have we in Scotland of serious, beneficial consideration?.

One of your articles refers to the "Solidarity" of workers throughout the U.K.; how many English Nalgo members supported the efforts of their Scots counterparts for, and right to, parity in wages with their English "comrades" and "fellow-workers" How many English miners supported demands by their "Scots mates" for enquiries into Scots pit-closures because of alleged financial loss, demands which the N.C.B. apparently having something to hide - or English jobs to protect - refused?.

How many English policemen protested when their Scots mates wage increase was "frozen" while theirs was granted?. What about the Scots electricians, working for "coolie" wages alongside higher-paid English "fellow-workers" whose only qualifications for higher wages lay in the fact that they were employed by an English firm?.

And so it goes on, ad nauseum; and so it will go on while we in Scotland are prepared to tolerate English domination and control of our affairs!

Our resources are used to bolster England's economy, which is as bankrupt as England's morality; they live beyond their means and we are taxed to subsidise them.

I like to help the lame, the halt, the blind and the sickly, because I feel that it is right and decent that I should do so, but to Hell with subsidising a senseless selfish spendthrift who is thanklessly hypocritical as well. "Solidarity" with such as these I find unbearable, and, until they change their ways, undesirable.

I absolutely abhor and detest the very idea of Scotland being run from London by these egotistical, hypocritical, parasitical scum, and want no part of it.

Yes, Scotland suffers also from absentee-landlordism and the effects of the free-for-all of jungle-warfare known as "Private Enterprise" (isn't it funny that the one thing "Private Enterprise can't stand, and won't tolerate in fair measure is "Private Enterprise"?.); but these, like other faults and problems in our system can best be dealt with by the people most directly affected, the Scots themselves, with Self-government!

The Workers' Party of Scotland completely supports the successful struggle of the Vietnamese People against U.S. aggression and calls for the stepping up of all positive actions in support of their just position as embodied in the Four Point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Five Point Statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The W.P.S. REJECTS George Brown's and Johnstone's 'peace' proposals and others like them, as dishonest. They are mere smokescreens to delude public opinion and attempts to hide further steps of aggression.

The Workers' of Scotland have a very special responsibility to the Vietnamese. As it is our duty to drive out of our land all American forces and installations indeed there can be no security and freedom, but real danger for Scotland until this is done. Victory to Vietnam. (Resolution of the C.C. of W.P.S.)
29/5/67.

ALBANIANS WITH THE PICK IN ONE HAND
THE RIFLE IN THE OTHER

by P. Sekuj - Music by P. Yakova - available

On fields, in shops, on lathe and loom we all engage in work and song,
Our thriving land like spring in bloom, keeps growing beautiful and strong;
For greedy foes that brag and strut, that gnash their teeth in wrath and hate
Albania is too hard a nut, for them to crack and go unscathed.

Refrain.

With rifle held fast, with pick in hand.
We honour the past and build our land;
We march side by side in triumph led,
The Party our Guide forges ahead.

In kindergartens, nurseries, where youth is reared with tender care,
The youngsters sing with joy of peace, and grow like lilies, hale and fair,
But if the foe obstructs their zeal, impairs their health, breaks up their fun,
He will face up to shells of steel for Party people are all one.

From p.5.

PRIME OBJECTIVE, SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is undeniable that the Scots nation is more stably socialistic than the English, and it is therefore reasonably acceptable that a self-governing Scotland would elect a socialistically inclined form of government, irrespective of the utterances of any individual in the present Home Rule Movement; therefore it is also reasonable to assume that, having in time rid ourselves of Anglophile influences and stupidities, we would be well on the way to appointing a national leading figure appointed on the grounds of his or her ability, not on mere accident of birth, hence finally a Scottish Socialist Republic.

I don't suppose I'll ever see it, my present state of health makes this appear to be impossible, but at least I'll have my share in laying its foundation!

So then my prime objective is self-government for Scotland, in any shape or form, in preference to being controlled by any shape or form of English government. Everything else must remain academic and secondary, and deviation a waste of time. Confinement of my activities to this objective forces me to deny myself many things and to sacrifice others of less immediate importance; it is not a matter of being "narrow" but of being realistic and reasonable.

There is little point in producing grey hairs on account of "man's inhumanity to man" anywhere in the world, or shouting about Vietnam, Korea, India, Africa, America, the brutality of war, or anything else, indeed, it is ludicrous, pathetic, and futile to do so when, as was the case before Stevenston became a Burgh, we couldn't even build a public lavatory without permission from London.

While we in Scotland have no effective say in the running of our own affairs it is hypocritical, even if ignorantly so, to suggest that, as we are, what we think want or feel has any effect whatsoever on world affairs and problems.

As each election campaign comes and goes, one can see the advance of the S.N.P. as a force in Scotland, and with it the growth of public support, also the hastening of the day when we will again have a government of our own choice; what was once and even quite recently, "an airy-fairy idealism" is fast approaching as a

(Contd.p.7.) reality

SINISTER!!

The June meeting of the Educational Institute of Scotland, had before it a proposal by Mr David Lambie, B.Sc., of Glasgow, urging withdrawal of their affiliation from the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession.

Mr Lambie claimed that of the 138 Bodies affiliated to the Confederation, 70 were SUBSIDISED TO SOME EXTENT BY THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY WHO WERE AN ESPIONAGE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Mr Lambie urged that affiliation should be withdrawn until the matter had been investigated. He added,

"We should 'hrow off the C.I.A. chains that bind us. We have nothing to lose but our trips abroad". The E.I.S. could not remain affiliated and at the same time criticise other nations for accepting money from Communist sources.

Mr William Monaghan, an ex-President of the E.I.S., persuaded the majority of the delegates from accepting the proposal to withdraw, declaring that he had never at any time known of the Confederation's work being interfered with by anyone.

(Well! Well! of course Mr Monaghan, presumably well outwith the tentacles of the C.I.A. octopus, would not be taken into the confidence of that very shady cloak and dagger organisation of L.B. Johnson & Co., Ltd. Ed.)

From p.6. 'Scotland, etc.'

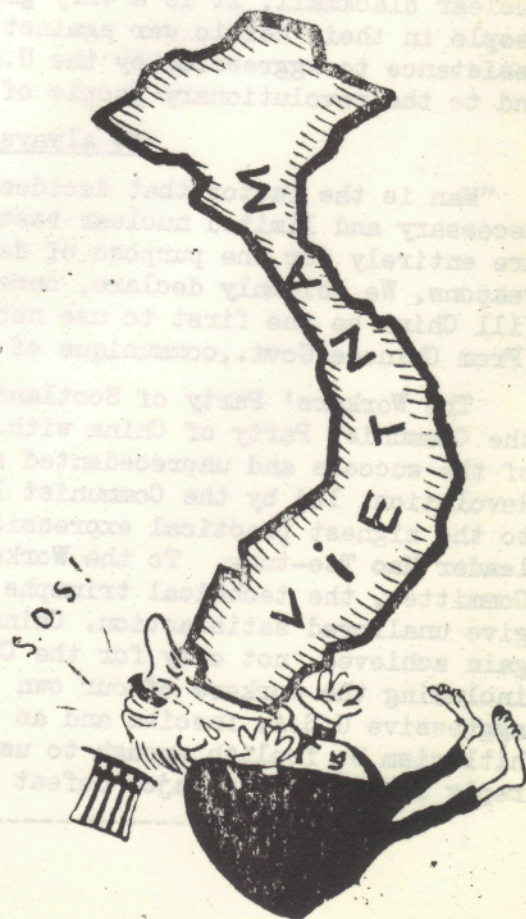
We must not at this stage above all divert our efforts and energy towards other ideals but look on the achievement of Home Rule as the first milestone on our way, because, until we reach it we cannot possibly choose the way we want to go and be in a position to effectively decide. Yours for a free Scotland and a better world. Thomas W. Farquhar.

THE WORKERS OF HONG-KONG

The Workers' Party of Scotland unhesitatingly allies itself with the workers of Hong Kong and Kowloon in their claims for improved minimum conditions of labour, the release of their imprisoned comrades and for full democratic freedom.

The W.P.S. recognises that the British occupation of Hong Kong and Kowloon is a privileged position which must be subordinated to the general interests of the Chinese people who have the sole right to determine the future of these territories.

Revolutionary greetings to the workers of Hong Kong and Kowloon.
(W.P.S. Central Committee
Resolution, 27.5.67.)



FROM FEUDALISM TO NUCLEAR POWER**ONLY FORTY-SIX YEARS.**

"Let the reactionaries at home and abroad tremble before us. Let them allege that we are no good at this and that. Through its unswerving endeavours the Chinese people will steadily reach its goal", said Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in 1949, and in 1958 he said, "I think it is entirely possible for some atom bombs and hydrogen bombs to be made in ten years time."

"We solemnly announce to the people of China and the whole world that this brilliant prediction, this great call, of Chairman Mao has been realised. On June 17th. 1967, after the five nuclear tests in two years and eight months, China successfully exploded her first hydrogen bomb- another leap in the development of China's nuclear weapons, into an entirely new stage. China has atom bombs, guided missiles and now the hydrogen bomb. This greatly heightens the morale of the revolutionary people throughout the world and greatly deflates the arrogance of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. This success has further broken the nuclear monopoly of U.S. Imperialism and Soviet revisionism, a telling blow at their nuclear blackmail. It is a very great encouragement and support to the Vietnamese people in their heroic war against American Aggression, to the Arab people in their resistance to aggression by the U.S. and British imperialists, and their tool Israel, and to the revolutionary people of the whole world."

We always mean what we say.

"Man is the factor that decides victory or defeat in war. The conducting of necessary and limited nuclear tests and the development of nuclear weapons by China are entirely for the purpose of defence, with the ultimate aim of abolishing nuclear weapons. We solemnly declare, once again, that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. WE ALWAYS MEAN WHAT WE SAY."
(From Chinese Govt., communique of 19th. June.)

The Workers' Party of Scotland greets this the fortysixth triumphant year of the Communist Party of China with uninhibited enthusiasm, especially at this time of the success and unprecedented significance, for all mankind, of China's Cultural Revolution, led by the Communist Party, raising the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the highest practical expression through the wise thoughts of their trusted leader Mao Tse-tung. To the Workers' Party of Scotland, through its Central Committee, the technical triumphs making possible the hydrogen weapon of China give unalloyed satisfaction. China's possession of this weapon is the greatest gain achieved, not only for the Chinese, but for all the peoples of the world, including the workers of our own Scotland, it is the great counterpoise to aggressive U.S.A. fascism and as the guarantee that should these successors of hitlerism be foolish enough to use this weapon they will be met by a devastating reply in kind and a major defeat for imperialism.

"The Lion and Guardian of Scotland"

WILLIAM WALLACE

Excerpts from a fine biographical note by

HUGH McBAIN.

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" I NEVER WAS A TRAITOR...BUT I ACKNOWLEDGE ALL CHARGES OF HAVING ATTACKED ONE WHO NEVER WAS MY MASTER"

This could be the voice of poet and revolutionary Garibaldi, of Kossuth, of Simon Bolivar or of the Virginian farmer throwing off the shackles of Britain's George III. But in fact, the words belong to the thirteenth century, at a trial that took place in the Royal Grand Palace of Westminster, a trial that ranks as one of the most vicious judicial murders in all history and which stained the career of an English king. The words are spoken by a man who has been brought from Scotland, after betrayal by one of his close friends, bound and chained to his horse and guarded by a whole company of English men-at-arms. Arriving in London he is watched by six fully armed men although he is chained hand and foot to his prison wall. The entire populace of thirteenth century London had flocked to the city gates to witness the entry of this man who, for almost twenty years, had struck fear into the hearts of every burgher, every citizen of the English capital. In the morning, he is taken to the Palace of Westminster, already packed with serried rows of Bishops, Noblemen, Knights, anyone of any consequence in the whole of England, assembled for the most awesome spectacle of their lives. A murmur of what, in other circumstances, would be excited reverence goes up from the crowded benches as the prisoner is led in, and there is good reason for this. The legend, colourful as it is, does less than justice to the figure on which every eye is riveted. At least six feet nine inches high and three feet across. Set against the battle stained green of tunic and hose, the curling auburn hair, red beard, dark deep eyes, make a striking contrast, as the giant looks calmly towards the empty north bench which is waiting for the judges. Five men in judicial ermine are filing slowly from an ante-chamber to their places. The central one of the five begins to intone a Latin indictment. He pauses for a moment after the accusation of treason, to which the prisoner replies in denial, the only words he has spoken since his arrival; but, as if he had heard nothing, the judge, Peter Malory, continues into a sentence the most terrible that mediaeval justice can devise. Of what is the prisoner accused?

"Treason - To be Hanged Drawn and Quartered"

He is accused of treason, mass murder, sacrilegious spoliation, burnings, lootings, rapings, inciting revolution, murders of members of the English Royal Household, attempts on the person of the King himself; and is sentenced to be hanged, drawn, quartered, to have his entrails burned and to have different parts of his body spiked on show at different parts of the country as a warning to other treasonous insurgents. The prisoner is unmoved. Yet the prisoner was a man of blood, he did not deny the charges of killing, burning and threatening the safety of the king and his subjects; rather, though he did not deign to speak his demeanour seemed to suggest that he was resolutely proud to answer nay to affirm the charges.

(Contd. p.22)

REVISIONISM

Marxism and Leninism prove conclusively that, based upon the fact of the class struggle is the absolute necessity of the revolutionary and physical overthrow of the capitalist class, by the workers, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the only road to Socialism.

Today the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, preceded by Tito and his Yugoslav 'Communists', have departed from the theories and successful practical application of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, continued and raised to new high levels in China by Mao Tse-tung and in Albania by Enver Hoxha. The Soviet Party leaders are slavishly copied by, amongst others, the leadership of the 'Communist' Party of Great Britain, and all of them, in effect, declare that times have changed and that a peaceful and painless transition to Socialism is still possible. Such notions are a repudiation of Marxism-Leninism, by ignoring the fact of the continuing class struggle, the real character of the capitalist and the unchanged sanguinary policy of imperialism, thus rejecting the fundamental necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Throughout the world new, or reconstituted Marxist-Leninist Parties are developing rapidly as anti-revisionists and the Workers' Party of Scotland is one of these.

FASCISM IN GREECE

The Workers' Party of Scotland notes with bitter feelings the intensified fascist suppression of the Greek peoples' will by a military coup, primarily instigated by U.S. Imperialism, the masters of their Greek puppets.

Greetings from the W.P.S. to the workers of Greece, with the promise of our utmost contribution for the revolutionary overthrow of all the forces of the new fascism. Long Live the Greek Workers and Peasants. (W.P.S. Central Committee Resolution)

27.5.67.

"L.B.J.!! L.B.J.!!"

(Tune: Cumberland Gap.)

By THURSO BERWICK.

COME ALONG BOYS, SING A LITTLE SONG;
VICTORY FOR THE VIETCONG.

(Repeat)

Chorus:

L.B.J., L.B.J.,
HOW MANY KIDS DID YOU KILL TODAY?

(Repeat)

UNCLE SAM, UNCLE SAM,
WANTS TO WIPE OUT VIETNAM.

(Repeat)

Chorus:

UNCLE HO, UNCLE HO,
CHASE THEM BACK TO THE ALAMO.

(Repeat)

Chorus:

STARS & STRIPES AND A DOLLAR BILL,
THAT'S THE LICENCE FOR TO KILL.

(Repeat)

Chorus:

HOW TO GIVE THE YANKS A SHOCK,
A SECOND FRONT AT THE HOLY LOCH.

(Repeat)

Chorus:

WHERE HAS HAROLD WILSON GONE?
CRAWLING TO THE PENTAGON!!!

AND

ALL THE WAY WITH L.B.J.

**THE MANIFESTO
of the
WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND**

(Marxist - Leninist)

WORKERS - Wage and Salary Earners - OF SCOTLAND !

UNITED, HOW STRONG YOU CAN BE - BUT ARE YOU AWARE OF IT ?

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND, DECLARES THAT:

1. SCOTLAND IS A NATION COMPOSED OF TWO CLASSES - those who live by EARNING wages or salaries, the vast majority of our people - THE PROLETARIAT, and the WEALTHY BOURGEOIS MINORITY, whose luxuriant living is derived from UNEARNED INCOME, dividends, profits, rents, in other words, THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN.
2. The SCOTTISH NATION is a grossly UNDERPRIVILEGED part of the IMPERIALIST STATE known as GREAT BRITAIN, whose dominant power and authority is the ENGLISH CAPITALIST ESTABLISHMENT.
3. THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS OF SCOTLAND HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THAT OF THEIR EXPLOITERS; whether they be Scottish Lairds, Capitalists and Financiers, English Imperialists, or the business interests of American Imperialism. The Workers of Scotland can secure FULL JUSTICE, SECURITY OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AND LASTING PEACE, only by UNITING AS A CLASS nationally, to overthrow the parasitical minority in Scotland, and by LINKING CLOSELY WITH, in particular, the WORKERS OF ENGLAND, WALES and IRELAND, AND WITH THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, without all of whose support permanent economic security and lasting peace is quite inconceivable.
4. DEMOCRACY IMPLIES GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE BY THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE - that is by the WORKERS. "Democracy for the people and dictatorship for the reactionaries, when combined, constitute the People's democratic dictatorship". Democratic self-expression for the workers can take various forms of mass action, much more direct and effective than the illusory merits of a parliamentary electoral system which will only continue to be tolerated as long as it remains useful to the Capitalist State. The Capitalist State is never anything other than the means whereby the exploiting minority asserts its power to own all the means of production, distribution and exchange, thereby stealing from the workers a large part of the value of the wealth, all of which has been and is being produced by the mental and physical effort of the workers and none of it by the parasites - the exploiting minority.
5. Whilst the WORKERS MUST BE SUPPORTED IN EVERY EFFORT THEY MAKE to secure improved economic conditions and social justice under capitalism, and as an inevitable part of their revolutionary struggle, such actions cannot, in themselves be other than ameliorative reforms, all of which, without any exception, fall far short of the justice, security of employment and standards of social services, which the productive capacity of the workers could very easily secure under Socialism. The history of ECONOMIC DEMANDS, made repeatedly over so many decades of working-class struggle, by our Trade Unions with what support has been forthcoming from Labour members of parliament, proves the utter failure of such "ECONOMISM", to solve for the workers what is for them, an ever present economic crisis. This fact becomes particularly obvious at this very moment when the whole bottom is falling out of the high hopes...

...held by many workers with the election of another Labour government leading only to Labour/Tory wage freeze, common 'exploiters' market collaboration, supported by leaders of the trade unions. Industrial action will fail over and over again unless always linked closely to positive and direct political demands and action.

6. DIRECT POLITICAL ACTION BY THE WORKERS, united to achieve Socialism, must always be the conscious objective of every action by the workers, whether by strikes for limited objectives, mass demonstrations or, when they find it expedient, to promote or to support particular candidates in parliamentary, local government and other forms of elections under the present capitalist system. MEANS AND METHODS BY WHICH THE WORKERS WILL SECURE SOCIALISM MUST BE THE UNRESTRICTED CHOICE OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES, who are not obliged to accept any form of representation prescribed by the capitalist minority. The transfer of POWER and the ownership of the means of life from that minority TO THE WORKING-CLASS MAJORITY will be a REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE which, when resisted by force, will have to be IMPOSED by the force of WORKERS POWER, that is, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. History has clearly demonstrated that there is NO OTHER COURSE, no middle course, and that any COMPROMISE BY THE WORKERS ALWAYS WORKS OUT, in the long run, TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE CAPITALIST MINORITY.

7. THE CAPITALIST 'ESTABLISHMENT' is the seemingly permanent complexity of Monarchy, Parliament, Local Government, Nationalised and Private Industry, The Banks, The Stock Exchange, The Armed Forces and Police, The State Church, The Press, The Radio and the Judiciary, together with the vast multitude of Boards, Commissions, Consultative Councils, Trade Union-Capitalist Productivity Bodies, etc., etc., which, incidentally, attract hordes of sycophantic hangers-on, many from the ranks of the workers, who become the loyal stooges of the 'Establishment'.

Also, and particularly at this historic period of the decline of capitalism, its 'Establishment', embraces not only the virtual coalition of Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties (Wage Freeze, Common Market, etc.), but also the 'Communist' Party of Great Britain with its absurd acceptance of the Westminster parliament as the 'British' road to socialism. Also embraced in the 'Establishment' is the Scottish National Party, consciously by its leaders, but presumably unconsciously by most of its ordinary and working-class members and supporters. The National Party admires the monarchy, is prepared to accept continued integration with the capitalist structure of the United Kingdom, accepts the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and welcomes the great and continuing inroads of American Capitalist interests. The National Party specifically rejects the class structure of our social system and the impossibility of reconciling the interests of the workers with those of their employers in a Capitalist State. It states, "The National Party stands for ALL the Nation, ALL people in it, welded in a common purpose, devoted, dedicated to the social and economic improvement of ALL". Think of it! To "improve" the economic, etc., conditions of the Lairds, the Slum Landlords, The Financial Sharks, the Jerry Builders, the Profiteers, etc. Such muddled thinkers talk about Scotland as though consisting of a united people of all classes, something unheard of in history since the emergence of social classes.

Powerful though this 'ESTABLISHMENT' is, ITS PERMANENCE IS ILLUSORY. It is perched uneasily upon a pedestal whose foundation is rotten with degeneracy and corruption and ruthless self-seeking at the top, and with insecurity, unemployment, poverty, dilapidated housing and frustrated millions at the bottom.

A UNITED WORKING-CLASS determined to destroy the old to build the new, as has already happened in very large areas of the world, can topple the 'Establishment' in Scotland, thus contributing enormously to the essential destruction of the British Imperialist State. At the same time the rapid decline of British Imperialism, and prospective disintegration of its State structure will certainly induce continued...

(Manifesto of W.P.S. Contd.).

...and still greater intervention by the newer and more powerful United States imperialism, as it is doing brutally in Vietnam and elsewhere now. Already extensive American armed forces and arms dumps and control centres are established in Scotland and these will be called upon, without hesitation, to act against the workers of Scotland, the moment our Scottish and English neo-quislings feel no longer strong enough to beat off the attack of the workers, and their property interests and privileges are seriously threatened. No doubt the plans are well matured in the minds of the more astute and determined neo-quislings.

This again adds very great and urgent emphasis to the wide international implications of the struggle in Scotland and the primary responsibility of the workers of Scotland to demand the return from foreign service of all Scottish service personnel, too often compelled to do filthy and bloody work for British Imperialism in Aden, Malaya, Guyana, etc., to demand the dissolution of all armed forces now established on Scottish soil and, above all, to drive out of our land all American forces and installations. There can be no 'freedom' for Scotland until this is done. The example of divided Ireland is a clear case in point.

8. JOHN MACLEAN, the great Scottish Marxist of this century was correct in demanding a Workers' Republic of Scotland, that the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, together with the great "Communist Manifesto" of 1848, are as relevant for the workers of Scotland today as when first published. Drivel is talked and written today of 'Marxism being out of date', mostly by people who have not even seen, far less studied this very remarkable document of Marx and Engels and from which the following quotations seem very appropriate, viz.:

"Communism is already acknowledged ... to be itself a power...high time that Communists openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies...The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of society...All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority... Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country, must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie...The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of some by others...the first step in the revolution by the working-class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy...will use its political supremacy to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the Proletariat, organised as the ruling class and to increase the total of production. In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. The Communists bring to the front, as the leading question in each (country), the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time... The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

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

(Manifesto of W.P.S.Contd.)

'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 our Party, 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. This is the task of the working-class and their closest comrades of the National liberation movements and to be united to speed up the process for the great victories immediately ahead. The heroic Vietnamese are showing the way and have our unqualified support. Great tasks and even dangers still confront us but our Party utterly rejects the fatalistic view that mankind will be destroyed by 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 England, Wales and Ireland and of all the world, and in the assured radiance of their Socialist future, is the basis of the programme of the Workers' Party of Scotland.

9. THE PROGRAMME OF OUR PARTY IS ONE OF ACTION, to secure results which our workers have been striving to attain for whole generations, and which are still out: with their grasp - full employment and prosperity for all - a crash programme to solve the housing problem - justice for the veterans of labour - attractive prospects in Scotland for our Youth.

Illusions that such elementary justice can be secured without a bitter and revolutionary struggle against the many and varied, and often disguised, subtle weapons of the leaders of big business, the landowners, the national and international financiers, are surely being shattered by the antics of Wilson's Labour Government, his 'Common-exploiters-market' coalition with the Tories, the failure of the Trade Unions to secure wages adequate to meet the rising cost of living, all adding up to a dreary prospect of more years of frustration and poverty in the midst of plenty.

A UNITED WORKING CLASS with a MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, highly disciplined, on the basis of a leadership created by DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM is the most powerful weapon they can possess,

USE IT, WORKERS OF SCOTLAND:

YOU ARE YOUR OWN SAVIOURS;

YOUR STRENGTH, EXPRESSED IN TAKING ALL NECESSARY ACTION

INTO YOUR OWN HANDS WILL INSPIRE OTHERS AND WIN ALLIES

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM,

ALWAYS NECESSARY AND TODAY IMPERATIVE.

Study our Policy and join with us in the glorious task of establishing A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SCOTLAND and as our contribution towards the creation of a Communist World where exploitation of man by man will no longer be possible and the basis for lasting world peace will be established for all time.

(The Manifesto of the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist))

Issued by the Central Committee W.P.S.

On 24th. May, 1967.

CHAN ANN SAOR A MHAIN ACH GAIDHLIG

Not Only Free But Gaelic by Fingal

(Force of circumstances compel us to give below a mere summary of an interesting and very original article, but it is proposed to include in our No. 3 issue, probably as a supplement, a much more extensive treatment of this important subject by the same author together with supplementary items....Ed.)

The Gaelic language is the most Scottish thing we have, yet the great majority of Scots are still all but unaware that it exists while even those who call themselves nationalists attach but little importance to it. It is a rapidly dying language despite the palliatives administered to it within the last few years or so.

It is a stark fact that Scotland's national language can only be saved and made to flourish again by it's protagonists adopting a completely revolutionary approach to the question of it's revival.

Many sincere lovers of Gaelic still think of it as belonging only by right to the inhabitants of that geographical area of our country which has become known as The Highlands, a name incidentally which the Gaelic language does not admit of. Gaelic for most of Scotland's recorded history was the language of the whole country and it was being spoken in what are termed The Lowlands.....until a much later date than we have hitherto been allowed to believe.

After the Union it became one condition of an indenture that when a youth of either sex was to be bound on the Edinburgh side of the Forth the apprentice should be taught the English language.

It is plain hard fact that only by the numerical support of the much larger population of the industrial belt can Gaelic ever hope to revitalise itself.

If all this would appear to the reader of such a down to earth publication as the Scottish Vanguard as utopian, airy-fairy, pie-in-the-sky nonsense they would be well advised to consider the miracles wrought by the peoples of countries such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Denmark and Finland in bringing back their national languages from the brink of the grave.

I contend that if Gaelic is again allowed to regain it's rightful place as the national language of all Scotland logic and history would be satisfied.

A true nation would be on the map of Europe again, re-vitalises by the complete awareness of it's quite distinctive national identity.

ADEN & OIL

The Workers' Party of Scotland declares that the interests of the workers of our country and all the workers in the British State demands the immediate withdrawal of all British forces in S. Yemen (Aden) and the abrogation of all British imposed treaties on Aden and the neighbouring communities, recognising that profits from oil are the prime motive for continued British Imperialist activity in the Middle East.

The W.P.S. rejects the spurious arguments of the British Labour Government to be a disinterested force for peace and stability, the role of Wilson, Brown and Co being that of miserable social democratic tools of the capitalist oil exploiters.

(W.P.S. Central C'ttee Resolution.27.5.67)

PALACES FOR PROFITEERS — HOVELS FOR WORKERS

by Tom Murray

"THE PROBLEM IS SO GREAT THAT THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN TRYING TO MEASURE IT ACCURATELY". This is the criticism of previous lack of any serious attempt to assess the scale of the housing problem in Scotland, made by a sub-committee of The Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, a Government body, in its report, 'Scotland's Older Houses' (HMSO.10/6). They go on to say, "The man in the street does not appreciate how great the problem is...The arithmetic of the environmental poverty in which a large section of Scotland's population live is almost unbelievable".

So illuminating is the report that we quote freely from it.

"We have had access to the preliminary results of the first national housing survey carried out in Scotland. This clearly shows how inadequate are the official returns of unfit housing. We suspect that even the survey figures understate the problem, but they show that, whereas the official returns indicate about 100,000 unfit houses, the true figure is considerably greater. Some 144,000 houses are unfit or have a life of less than five years. There are a further 129,000 short-life houses which would probably have been included in the first category were this not already of such large dimensions. This gives a total of 273,000 houses which should be demolished rapidly. We think the target should be to get rid of them within ten years: an average of over 27,000 demolitions a year. By contrast the present rate of clearance of unfit houses is only 15,000 a year. At this rate there would be a shortfall in 1977 of 123,000 houses. But even this does not indicate the full extent of the problem. Obsolescence and unfitness is a continuing problem. Even if the whole of the 273,000 houses were to be demolished within fifteen years - an impossibility at current progress - there are a further 193,000 houses which have a life of 15 to 29 years. Many of these would undoubtedly have been regarded as having a considerably shorter life if there were not so many worse houses which must be cleared first".

Not a Once-and-for-all Problem.

"This underlines the fact that the clearance of unfit and totally inadequate houses is not a once-and-for-all problem which is capable of being solved in five or ten years - or even within a lifetime. It is a continuous factor which forms an essential part of housing policy. It is also a large factor, and would be so even if there were not such a huge back-log to make up. --- It has been put to us that the only way of solving the slum problem is to build more houses. In one sense this is self-evidently true. But is by no means wholly true: indeed in some respects it is perniciously misleading. The only real way of getting rid of slums is not only to build houses to replace them but also to ensure that the slums themselves are in fact demolished. Since the war nearly 600,000 new houses have been built - sufficient for over a third of the population. Yet the slums remain in alarming numbers...what is really required is both a larger house-building programme coupled with an implemented phased programme of slum clearance... Slum clearance will proceed at the desirable rate only if local authorities ensure first, that families living in slum houses receive proper priority for rehousing and secondly, that the houses which they vacated are in fact demolished.....]

.....many Council houses are being allocated to families with less urgent needs than those left in unfit houses".

'Must underline our shock'.

"We must underline our shock at the conditions in which incredibly large numbers of Scottish families have to live. Previous Committees of inquiry have said the same thing for at least fifty years". (Yes and Marx and Engels many, many years before that, and this is 1967. Ed.) "Yet the problem remains and will remain unless a higher priority is given to rehousing families living in bad conditions and demolishing the houses which they vacate....The enormity of the problem in Glasgow should not, however, obscure the very different but acute problem of unfit housing in rural areas. We ourselves have seen families inhabiting rural cottages in unbelievably squalid conditions...the landward areas of several counties appear to have proportionately a bigger problem than that which appalled us in Glasgow...conditions in some of the rural areas are so bad that no excuse can warrant things being left as they are. We have found ourselves forced to use strong and emotional language. Some may feel that this is inappropriate for an official committee of enquiry; but we have no hesitation in expressing ourselves thus. We place the blame squarely on the shoulders of the central government...a realistic assessment of the total need for replacement - without regard to powers, resources or finance - must be faced up to nationally and locally.

THE STATISTICS WE HAVE QUOTED MAKE THE IMAGINATION BOGGLE. THE SITUATION CALLS FOR ACTION ON A SCALE WHICH HAS HITHERTO BEEN REGARDED AS UNATTAINABLE".

700,000 Scots Live in Slums - Not from Choice.

The foregoing is a shocking indictment of the capitalist system, "where wealth accumulates and men decay". The Workers' Party of Scotland has no illusions that the drastic reforms urged by the committee will be effected under our profiteers regime. The private builder failed to meet the most modest housing needs of the working-class, but the moneylender sailed in to charge heavy interest, accompanied by his associate the owner of site land, charging enormous sums before the local authority could proceed to build. The so-called 'Economic Rent' is based upon this sheer robbery of the worker-tenant called upon to pay excessive rent from his wedding day until long after his family have been reared to adulthood.

We of the Workers' Party of Scotland see these statistics not merely in terms of cold arithmetic, but in terms of living people, our brothers and sisters, totalling about 700,000 fathers, mothers, sons and daughters actually living today in slum conditions out of a population of only five millions.

Of course the report quoted tells only one part of the terrible story of Scotland's rotten housing conditions. Very many of the non-slum houses of the workers are grossly overcrowded, young couples living with their 'in-laws' and other forms of subletting, legal and illegal. Of this there are no reliable statistics. Moreover, there is an important feature related to the housing famine, never mentioned, even by our Labour and Nationalist Parties, the fact that the wealthy minority live in large houses with SEVERAL VERY LARGE ROOMS PER PERSON compared with the working-class majority who live SEVERAL PERSONS PER..

.....SMALL ROOM. This is by no means a negligible factor. For example, it was found during the 1940's war period that if habitable rooms in the city of Edinburgh had been conscripted, as people were, and rationed, there would have been 70,000 rooms in excess of one per person, man, woman or child.

A 'Crash' Programme is Imperative.

At the present, or any contemplated increased rate of house building, our young couples must face the fact that tens of thousands of them will not be able to secure a good quality home within the next twenty years. Also, neither the report quoted nor any of the other 'Authorities' on the subject apparently envisage the situation which will arise if emigration stops and Scotland has to absorb the 40 to 50,000 young people now leaving our country every year.

In this bleak housing prospect the only hope is in a 'crash' programme which must involve a nationally organised building industry taking it out of the hands of the present profiteering and jerry-building vampires; ending the waste of skill and materials on useless commercial buildings; the re-distribution of existing under-occupied large houses as an immediate and substantial palliative and the reconditioning of existing out-of-date houses, together with the adapting of modern office blocks for housing.

But, the Workers Must have Power.

Under the present capitalist, profitmongering system there can be no solution and the workers of Scotland must take into their own hands the rehousing of themselves, as for example the two million people of Albania have done and where within the next few years every family will be living in a modern home. The workers of Scotland will not secure the position the Albanians now enjoy by relying on anything other than their own strength. They will get adequate and attractive homes when they take power as a class into their own hands. The profiteers will of course resist, first, and as hitherto, by guile, but when they realise that the game is up, or in grave danger, they will cast aside their parliamentary or social-democratic disguises and resort to brute force in a final attempt to hold on to the loot. A united working-class, the vast majority of our people, will not fear these degenerates and will win the battle for homes and domestic decency.

"NATIONALISM"

"I AM COMPLETELY A SPANIARD, AND IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO LIVE OUTSIDE MY GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDRIES; BUT I HATE HIM WHO IS A SPANIARD ONLY TO BE NOTHING MORE. I AM A BROTHER TO EVERYBODY AND I DESPISE THE MAN WHO SACRIFICES HIMSELF FOR AN ABSTRACT NATIONALIST IDEA ONLY TO LOVE HIS COUNTRY WITH A BANDAGE OVER HIS EYES". (GARCIA LORCA, the Spanish poet assassinated by Franco's fascists on 19th. August, 1936).

THE ARABS

and

ISRAEL

The Workers' Party of Scotland rejects the proposition of the British and United States of America Governments that they have any right whatever to interfere in the affairs of the Arab peoples.

The W.P.S. is fully aware that the Israeli State is an artificial creation primarily in the interests of British and U.S. Imperialisms and does not enjoy the goodwill and support of a considerable proportion of world Jewry.

We recall with pain and shame the ignoble role of the pre-war British Government, the Vatican and the Capitalist Governments of the world generally, in their desertion of the Jews persecuted by fascism and the subsequent mass murder of millions of them who could have been saved by world action against Hitler.

The leaders of the Israeli capitalist State have a shameful record of collaboration with British, French, U.S.A. and other reactionary governments, and now also with the neo-nazi West German government, and have no claim to represent the world Jewish community.

The interests of the Jewish workers are identical with the interests and unity of all the Arab workers. The National Liberation Anti-imperialist Movements of the Arab Peoples must be at one with the Marxist-Leninists of Israel and the W.P.S. offers it full co-operation with these comrades in their part of the gigantic world movement for the final overthrow of imperialism.

(W.P.S. Central Committee Resolution

27.5.67.)

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

CHINA PUSHES PRODUCTION FORWARD IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

by Chou Hua

What has been the impact on the country's production, of the great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China, a revolution initiated in 1966 and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung?

An apt answer to this question is provided by the record grain and cotton harvests achieved last year.

In fact, the cultural revolution and the movement for socialist production are very closely interrelated. The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionise peoples ideology and consequently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. Revolutionary people all over the country look upon the cultural revolution as the key link: they take a firm hold of revolution and of production so as to guarantee that both go forward.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, millions upon millions of revolutionary workers and cadres have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thoughts better. They have greatly enhanced their political consciousness, thus giving greater play to their enthusiasm for work and their ingenuity. Having seen through the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, they have overthrown them, combined with those taking the socialist road, and become real masters of their enterprises. They have broken away from outdated rules and regulations which fettered production and simplified cumbersome administrative set-ups. As a result, production keeps rising and technical innovations continue to be made in various parts of the country.

Reports from industrial enterprises in Shanghai, Peking, Harbin and many other cities show that output began to rise

(Contd. p.20)

(contd. from p.19.) China, etc.,:

immediately after the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries. In Shanghai, China's biggest industrial city, gross output value for January, the month when the seizure of power took place, rose 10.7% compared with the corresponding period last year and production plans for February were overfulfilled.

Recently, the 'Peoples Daily' featured a number of new products turned out during the course of the cultural revolution. They include 25 meter long rails, high precision digital voltmeters, and a new type grinding stone with resin and graphite filler for super-finishing. In an editor's note, the paper described them as a "glad signal showing that with the triumphant advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution, there will be a new leap forward, both in peoples outlook and in development in production and technique".

Faster, Better, More Economical.

To grasp revolution and stimulate production is a vital policy, formulated by Chairman Mao, guiding workers and peasants all over the country in the great cultural revolution. A letter from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, published in March, to the revolutionary workers and staff and revolutionary cadres in factories, mines and enterprises, all over China, provided a powerful new stimulus. The message expressed the hope that they would become outstanding models for the working people of the whole country in grasping revolution and stimulating production. They should become models in struggling against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. They are urged to persist in the eight hour day and carry on the cultural revolution during non-working hours. They should, the letter said, promote the revolutionisation of their own ideology and carry out production according to the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. The message calls on all revolutionary cadres working in factories and mines to take the lead in doing all work well and to do their best to fulfil and over-fulfill the State plans for Production and Construction.

This message has evoked a lively response in revolutionary workers and cadres throughout the country. They pledge themselves to do as Chairman Mao and the Central Committee have directed and are engaging in revolution and production with even greater enthusiasm. Challenged by the 1966 record harvest of grain and cotton, the Commune members have also taken to heart the policy of "grasping revolution and stimulating production", and are striving for still better results this year. They are drawing strength from the letter from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to former poor and lower middle peasants and cadres at all levels in rural Peoples' Communes all over the country. Published in February the letter urged the Commune members and cadres to work energetically during the spring farming season. It says that those cadres who have made errors should also work hard for the spring farming so as to make amends for their past mistakes.

Triumphs of the Communes.

The Chinese countryside is full of life and vigour. Revolutionary slogans are seen everywhere on village walls; red banners and placards, bearing quotations from Chairman Mao are set up in the fields. From Kweichow Province, South West China, it is reported that an emulation campaign was started between Communes and Production Brigades after discussion of the 'open letter' in all the 4,070 Communes in the eighty counties of the Province. (Contd. p.21).

(Contd. from p.20) "China, etc."

A Front line command for revolution and production has been set up at all levels in Shantung Province, East China. Using Mao Tse-tung's teachings as the basis for its propaganda work, it is organising the masses, and equipping them for the Spring Farm work. Since this command was set up, the farming effort throughout Shantung has been accelerated.

To date the Communes in this Province have plowed much more land than in the same period last year, in addition to irrigating and spreading fertilisers on the wheat fields. Good work has also been done in accumulating and preparing manure and building new irrigation facilities. Inspired by the Party's policy of "grasping revolution and stimulating production", Commune members substantially enlarged the area sown to winter wheat and other over-wintering crops and cultivated more green manure crops to be ploughed under before the spring sowing. Since last winter, they have completed large numbers of irrigation and water and soil conservation works and improved low yielding fields in different parts of the country. This will further expand the area of farmland giving stable and high yields. This year the Communes are to be supplied with more chemical fertiliser, pesticide and farm tools than in any other year. Production of farming machinery and equipment is being stepped up.

However, revolutionary cadres and Commune members say that they do not count primarily on material supplies. Their confidence is based first and foremost, they say, on the general raising of political understanding among them brought about by the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao. These sentiments were expressed by Lu Ho, Secretary of the Communist Branch of the Taiping Production Brigade of a People's Commune in Heilungkiang Province, North East China. "We revolutionary cadres and former poor and lower middle peasants should respond to Chairman Mao's call for grasping revolution and stimulating production," he said. "We will carry forward the revolutionary spirit of daring to act and struggle and be pathfinders in the revolution and pioneers in production."

"THE SCOTTISH VANGUARD"

This is an enlarged issue of the "S.V.", sold at 9d per copy, 1/- post free, or at 10/- post free for 12 consecutive issues. It is anticipated that future issues will be developed on a monthly basis. Orders to Circulation Dept., c/o The Bookstore, 63, West Port, Edinburgh, 1. Special rates for six or more copies per issue will be quoted on application.

Contributions in the forms of signed articles and letters to the editor are always welcome for consideration by the Editorial board, whether from members or

or non-members of the W.P.S. but it must be understood that the contents of any contribution do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editorial Board.

BOOKS, LITERATURE AND PAMPHLETS on all aspects of Marxism-Leninism are available, including the following: (Prices quoted are post free)

- "Destroy the Old to Build the New";
- "The Way Forward";
- "Notes on the Lower Middle Class & the Semi-proletariat in Britain";
- "Organise at the Place of Work", &
- "The Patriots" All these by the late Michael McCreery (1/- each)

Chinese, Albanian, Vietnamese, etc. books and pamphlets. Send for details.

Wm. Wallace (contd from p.9.

Indeed, among that brightly emblazoned assembly those who know the reason for that demeanour, those who had tried to fight against him in the field - and those who had betrayed him. The eyes gaze out at the north window, back in space and time to that lonely squire's house by the river Clyde, from which a family has to flee from the terrors of English occupation; father, mother and three brothers, of whom the middle one is already taller than his father and sprouting the red beard of an eighteen year old. He already has a burning hatred of the brutal soldiers of occupation, and this is fed to white heat when he learns, on returning from college at Dundee, that his father and elder brother had been massacred by English troops. This personal loss sets the seal in a growing intellectual and emotional conviction that the Scots are one race, proud and indivisible - that no race of men born free should be subject to the yoke of another.

Guerilla Warfare.

He begins with a few trusted lieutenants to organise guerilla warfare, first on a skirmish scale in various parts of the country, and even finds time to fall in love and marry Margaret Broadfoot, a lovely lowland girl whose farmlands have been confiscated by the English. But his idyll is to be short-lived, for he learned that, as reprisal for her helping him to escape ambush, his wife has been hanged by the Sheriff of Lanark. Crased with grief and terrible rage, he descends at midnight on the town of Lanark and, with the help of the townspeople, awaiting just such a lead, he destroys the English garrison by sword and fire, himself spitting the gibbering Sheriff through with his great double-hilted sword. The standards of the Lion Rampant and the Cross of St Andrew are raised at Lanark and the War of Independence has begun. The news is brought to the long-shanked, steel-jawed king of England, Edward I., whom men from this day on were to call the hammer of the Scots. He is already master of Wales and Ireland: his armies, the most formidable of all Europe, have yet to conquer Scotland. This he solemnly vows to do, even if he has to erase the name of 'Scot' from the pages of history. Nothing stands in his way - nothing but the red-bearded giant who now commands the allegiance of the whole Scottish people, despite the venomous mutterings of their nobility. For this leader of the Nation has no royal blood in his veins, can pretend to no ducal lineage, and is, in fact, the second landless son of a low-born squire. On a bright autumn day in 1297, a brilliant mighty host of 100,000 men, the cream of English Baronies and the very best of feudal fighting men in archers, spearmen and horse is sent over the northern border to wipe a nation from the face of map and the annals of history. The red-bearded giant is on the point of destroying the last occupied fortress, the town of Dundee when news is brought to him of the great scaly monster crawling slowly and irresistibly towards Edinburgh. He knows that there is not a moment to be lost but he is also a general of consummate skill who knows how to use the advantages of local geography, of tactics, of guerilla cunning, and of a knowledge of men. The colossal host has encamped below the castle of Stirling, the gateway to the Highlands and has sent its famous challenge to the Scottish leader - 'To do or die' But he has laid his plans, has deployed his spearmen, and is waiting for the moment to strike, with a force one fifth the size of the enemy.

Tyranny Defied and Victory Won.

From the summit of a hill overlooking Stirling the order is given and thousands of wildly screaming Scots rush downwards to smash into the ordered ranks of the English who have crossed the river while the main force waits behind. The ranks of the southerners waver and break before the savage (Contd p.23)

"Wm. Wallace" (contd. from p.22) onslaught and the main force, brightly-hued pennants fluttering bravely in the breeze begin to lumber to their assistance across the wooden bridge. About half have reached the other side when there comes a tearing rending noise from the bridge at its centre, a point which had received the attentions of a tiny task force the previous night, and hundreds of English Knights are flung in deadly confusion into the swift flowing river, in their heavy armour, never to rise again. It is the beginning of the end. Thousands more of the highlanders, held in reserve, sweep down on the hapless echelons of knighthood, bowmen and infantry. The English put up a brave fight, but after hours of maniacal butchery what is left of them is streaming south before the maddened pursuit of a nation striking for survival. Tyranny has been defied and a people have won the right to breathe freely the sweet air of their own mountains and glens. The steel jawed man brooding in Windsor Castle is by no means finished but now, overlaying his political ambition is a corroding personal hatred of the low-born squire who dared to defy him. The original drive to create a United Kingdom is still there, all must give way to the destruction of the Scots and the capture, alive if possible, of the red hyena who leads them. Another army is mustered and within a year the mighty concourse of English power is surging northward to avenge the humiliation of Stirling. After Stirling, Sir William Wallace, in reprisal against the devastation of his native land and of his people, had penetrated into England as far as St Alban's, outside London, and had challenged the English to pitched battle, but Edward had been in France to deal with Philip, and the Regency Council has made a deal with the Scottish general, who recognises that his first duty is the rehabilitation of his country and who then retires up the length of England, taking what spoils he deems fit to recompense, but careful to avoid injury to women and children, to non-combatants and to holy places.

Wallace bluntly told the Lords and Commons of Scotland that if any peer of the realm decides to accompany him in his punitive plundering of England, he shall do so at his own risk, in the knowledge that if he is captured he can expect no ransom. Inevitably the nobility are furious, notably Red John of Badenoch, Stewart of Bonskill and a nobleman of Norman descent, the Earl of Carrick, who claims the Scottish Crown by lineal descent, and who at that moment is leading a section of the host marching north, as a vassal of Edward. The man in green, appointed Guardian of Scotland by popular consent, meets the disaffected nobles to plan a strategy against the approaching battle. There is a stormy scene. The barons claim that Stewart, the senior peer of the realm should lead the nation into the field, while The Guardian, supported by his blood brother, Sir John The Graham, maintains that he must honour the elective wishes of the people, to lead the Scottish army. There is no doubt as to who is best fitted to do so, but the nobles see in this question a finality of decision, and utterly refuse to follow a low-born squire into battle.

Wallace Deposed and Tragic Consequences.

The factions retire from the meeting, each determined to go their own ways. In such fatal division they are finally drawn up at Falkirk to meet the assembled power of England under the generalship of Edward, supported by, amongst others, the Earl of Carrick. Wallace, following his own strategy watches in horror the fury of the English leopard descend on the unprotected squares of spearmen and rip them to pieces. Red John is already disappearing from the bloody field his cavalry intact, for a battle, not against the invader, but in an inglorious scramble for the Scottish crown. But the Lion of Scotland cannot bear more to see the methodical decimation of his fellow Scots. He leads in a breathless charge against Carrick's flank to win the shelter of a wood across the river Carron. (Contd. P.24.)

"Wm Wallace" (Contd from p.23.)

He succeeds, but his blood brother, The Graham, is mortally wounded. The victory however, is with Edward. At dawn The Guardian retraces his steps across the charnel house of the battlefield and at last with a shattering cry of grief finds his dead brother. His mother had died fleeing from English troops, his younger brother caught and executed, and now he feels utterly alone. He is again a hunted man with a price on his head and only a few trusted friends, like Sir John Menteith, for Edward considers the victory hollow one until he has captured this outlaw. The hunt is on and ranges from the Tweed to the Grampians, decrees posted offering high reward for information. But, no one knows of his whereabouts, for the common people are capable of a loyalty never shown to any of their nobles and are waiting for the rallying cry once more to drive the hated invader from their shores. Edward, trying every ruse, short of massacring the whole Scots population, but in despair appeals to Vallance, the renegade Scot of Bothwell, who in turn asks a friend of The Guardian to help him and who agrees for the consideration of a stretch of land and a substantial purse of golden English crowns. They learn that The Guardian will visit a house outside Glasgow. The 'friend', assured of a friendly welcome, and in agitated concern, tells the outlaw that an English force has located him and is coming out at full speed. The Guardian is puzzled but does not distrust the friend who has been with him almost from the beginning - whose name is Sir John Menteith. The latter presses The Guardian to consent to an escort out of reach of the English. It is only when having allowed himself to be bound in the apparent pretence of being Menteith's prisoner so that they may not be challenged by any southern troops - only when he gazes from his horse at the tightlipped grey face of his trusted captain that The Guardian's faith in men dissolves and he bows his head before the long, dusty ride south to the English Capital.

Within the hour that the courier brings the news, Edward has summoned five justices, an indictment and summary sentence are drawn in legal Latin, and the stage is set long before the prisoner has come in sight of London. Nobles, Squires, Serfs, men, women and children pour towards the city gates to watch the entry of the 'outlaw'. There appears a company of horse clustered around the proud figure of a redbearded giant, whose arms and legs are shackled. He is taken to the Palace of Westminster to be tried according to the principles of English law. When Justice Malory has finished reading the sentence, the prisoner is oblivious of the watching faces of the judges, and amongst the others, Sir Alymer Vallance, Bishop Bek, Sir John Menteith - and yet another - The Earl of Carrick, who is to ride that day from London, northwards to Scone, to have himself crowned, Robert The Bruce, King of Scotland.

The prisoner is taken outside to be tied spreadeagled on a hurdle, harnessed to horses for the journey to the place of execution at Smithfield where the gibbet has been erected, together with a pavilion for 'noble' spectators. The hurdle comes to a halt, and from the pavilion strides forward a long-logged steel-jawed figure. He stares down at the upturned face of the captive but what he sees there makes him suddenly start, whip round to the executioners and cry on them to begin their work. The prisoner is led to the scaffold but before he mounts he speaks again, the second time since he entered the city, to ask for a priest to shrive him. The Archbishop of Canterbury moves forward to administer extreme unction, but a voice hoarse through the silent air, that of a greyhaired, shrill, anger-crazed monarch, "Shrive that vermin of Hell, Archbishop, and you die with him". Canterbury halts for a moment then calmly proceeds with the last rites. The noose is placed around the prisoner's neck and he asks for a priest to hold a psalter book open so that he may read from it. His eyes were so fixed as long as consciousness remained.

So dies Sir William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland, (Contd p.25)

A KING'S LESSON.

King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary,
(1458-1490) Told by William Morris.

The King heard his peasants were overworked and underfed. He summoned his Council, Baillifs and Lords who told him the peasant Carles were stout and well able to work and had meat and drink more than enough. The King misdoubted that they were all liars and one day led them all out to a day's work at the peasant's chores. The following discourse took place on the return journey: Said the Captain: 'As the potter lives by making pots, so we live by robbing the poor.' Said the King: 'And my trade?' 'Thy trade is to beking of such thieves, yet no worser than the rest.' The King laughed, 'then shall I tell thee my thought while yonder Carle spake?' 'Carle' I thought, 'were I thou or such as thou, then I would take in my hand a sword, or spear, or were it only a hedge stake, and bid others do the like, and forth we would go; and since we would be so many and with nought to lose, save a miserable life, we would do battle and prevail, and make an end of the craft of kings and of lards and of usurers, and there should be one craft in the world, to wit, to work merrily for ourselves and to live merrily thereby.'

Said the Captain, 'This then is thy sermon. Who will heed it if thou preach it?' Said the King: 'They who will take the mad king and put him in a king's mad house, therefore do I forbear to preach it.' 'Yet it shall be preached.' 'And not heeded,' said the Captain, 'save by those who behead and hang the setters

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND.

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 to the Secretary,
The Workers' Party of Scotland,
c/o The Bookstore,
63, West Port,
EDINBURGH, 1.

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AN IMPORTANT REMINDER TO ALL OUR
FRIENDS:

1. S E L L THE VANGUARD.
2. INTIMATE A REGULAR SPECIAL DONATION TO THE 'SCOTTISH VANGUARD FUND'.

All cash in crossed orders
or cheques to Treasurer,
Allan Laidlaw, at above address.

forth of new things that are good for the world. Our trade is safe for many and many generations.'

The peoples of Russia, China, Cuba and Vietnam and many others have this century seen the light so clear to Corvinus and acted by flexing their mighty muscles to destroy the tyrannical minority. They will most certainly be followed by ever increasing numbers of nations, and not last, we are certain, by the Scots workers.

"Wm. Wallace" contd from p.24 So dies Sir William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland, the man who from the blood and tears of the War of Independence created the deathless spirit of the Scottish Nation, who by his example inspired all those great spirits who were to succeed him in history in the dedicated task of freeing their homeland from tyranny and setting up a policy where no man treads upon the neck of his brother. As they crept away from that place of execution the principal witnesses hear again the calm voice which each, Vallance, Menteith, Carrick, were to hear until their dying day, "I NEVER WAS A TRAITOR".

* * * * C U R R E N T T O P I C S . * * * *

INCOMES IN SCOTLAND:

2640 persons in Scotland have incomes of not less than £10,000 each per annum, but, 68% of Scots incomes were below £1000 per annum.

(In England 61% were below £1000 per annum)

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POVERTY IN SCOTLAND:

A recent conference in our Capital City of Edinburgh decided to launch a Scottish campaign against poverty, to undertake research, to educate the public and to appeal to national and local bodies.

Good, but lack of wealth is not the cause of poverty, but the mal-distribution of wealth.

There is every reason why all concerned with the terrible fact of widespread malnutrition, pain and suffering for the guiltless should read our W.P.S. Manifesto (p.11), and for positive action join our Party.

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BRING THE ARGYLLS BACK
TO SCOTLAND.

On 6th. April last we saw pictures on the BBC Newsreel of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders being trained in the south of England, in the gentle art of dealing with the natives of Aden, pushing them around, throwing them to the ground, frisking them, etc., etc., before they left for a nine months tour of duty there.

Now we see pictures of that training being used, and good lads of ours and theirs dying - for what? For the people of Aden and the Yemen the struggle is for the national freedom from foreign domination which we Scots likewise hope to achieve. But the Argylls! They have been sent there to protect the fat prosperity and safety of the oil profiteers and other brigands of commercialism. Who gave the Westminster Government the right to send them there? Not the Scots who certainly were not consulted. Bring them home right now. Why should more and more widows, children and sweethearts weep for those who should never have been sent there?.

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY
APPEALS TO THE BUSINESS MEN
OF THE U.S. A. FOR HELP TO
SCOTLAND. Fie, Fie, Fie!!!!

"Persuade more U.S.A. Firms to come to Scotland to help solve the unemployment problem" (Scots Independent 5.8.67)

SHAME on such Scottish Nationalists who have no faith in ourselves to solve the unemployment, or any other Scottish problem for that matter, without the help of profiteering Yanks.

The workers of Scotland have the will, great talents, and when they have taken over the wealth of Scotland, all the resources needed to create a prosperous life for themselves - of course retaining the substantial sums which, under the S.N.P. notion, would go out of Scotland as profits and into the pockets of the tycoons of the U.S.A.

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CRIME IN THE U.S.A.

Murder, rape, robbery and assault, an increase over last year of 11%, 30 murders per day and a total of 3,250,000 serious crimes, the highest ever recorded. Goods stolen valued at £215,000,000. Cars stolen one per minute - all last year, in what is awesomely described by sychophants as "the greatest power in the world", but more aptly described by Chairman Mao as a "paper tiger".