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JOHN MACLEAN

50th Commemoration - see page 6.
14th AUGUST 1879 — 30th NOVEMBER 1923

"The present international situation is characterised by great disorder on the earth. Such great disorder is a good thing, and not a bad thing, and it is further developing in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction" - Press Communique of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 29 Aug. 1973.

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For a Workers' Republic of Scotland

Workers of Scotland in a World of Turmoil.

Revolution or Reform?

Few, very few, of our Trade Union & Labour leading people in Scotland consistently relate the economic and political situation of our working-class, the vast majority of Scotland's population, to the international context in which we exist. These people, as well as the leaders of the Scottish National Party, accept the United Kingdom capitalist economic & parliamentary apparatus and political line as the only basis from which to negotiate and discuss - on merely reformist lines of course - questions of conditions of employment & social justice. When, for example, have we heard any of these people discussing the issue of Reformism versus Revolution, at home & abroad, related to the day to day needs of our workers? Our children, from infant school to university, continue to be instructed on the merits of the capitalist principle of 'private profit' without ever being told, throughout their many years of mal-education, that the whole principle of 'private profit' was long ago thoroughly exposed in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 by Marx & Engels as anti-social in its immediate effect upon the workers, the wage-earners, and the basic origin of all modern wars.

The Political Line.

The "Communist" Party of Great Britain provides classic examples of the incorrect political line with its fruitless appeal to the Labour Party 'Lefts' who, as typical electoral opportunists, rallied round their arch-opportunist leader, Wilson, at the recent Labour Party Conference. The CPGB trumpeted the merits of Chilean "Marxism" until its suppression by the pro-USA reactionaries, despite the undoubted honesty & heroism of Allende. Where now is their "parliamentary road to socialism":

"THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING." (Mao Tse-tung).

The enormous triumphs of the Leninist line in the 1917 October Revolution and the Mao Tse-tung revolutionary line in China led to the **great** defeats of home and foreign reactionary forces and the establishment of the Soviet Socialist State & the People's Republic of China. Contrasted with this has been the miserable failure of social-democratic parliamentarianism and Trade Union 'economism', here & elsewhere, to solve the social & economic problems of the workers. Our people have suffered much through being misled by ignorant & self-centred bureaucrats who failed to, or did not wish to, understand & follow the dynamic Marxist teaching & leadership of our own great John MacLean and his revolutionary line in the demand for a Workers' Republic of Scotland as

the most effective tactic for the attack on British imperialism and on capitalist oppression at home.

In this 50th year since the death of John MacLean, our working-class & all those who declare themselves as allies of the workers will do well to study his teachings and their relevance to to-day's circumstances. Likewise and equally imperative is a careful study of the whole of the remarkable political report delivered by Chou En-lai together with the text of the revised Party Constitution with introductory report by Jang Hung-wen at the recent 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China. Especially noteworthy for us are references to: "Fifty years of arduous struggle and the continuing struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads"; "The future is bright but the road is tortuous"; "Uphold proletarian internationalism and oppose great-nation chauvinism"; "Firmly unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties & organisations the world over"; "Struggle against both Right & 'Left' opportunist lines"; "Dare to go against the tide"; "Necessary compromises between revolutionary countries & imperialist countries must be distinguished from collusion & compromise between Soviet revisionism & US imperialism" (Incidentally this points to the different roles of Party & State); "Adhere to the principles of practising Marxism not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open & above-board and don't intrigue and conspire"; and "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today". Those pseudo-revolutionaries who live on mere slogans and strain their eyes looking for short-cuts that never were will be well advised to study the great and successful masters of Marxism if they are not to be bewildered and overwhelmed by events.

The Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) warmly acclaim these important decisions of the Chinese comrades as most adequately reflecting the situation not only in China, but as containing principles upon which the workers and peasants of other lands must base their ideology and revolutionary struggle. They prove how essential patience and scientific preparation are for success in building up correct strategy for the defeat of the enemy. In this connection it is important to note that the Chinese comrades recognise that the main contradiction in China is still that between the proletariat & the bourgeoisie and that they must never forget class struggle particularly in relation to cultural matters. Well may Enver Hoxha declare, "We see in the great People's Republic of China the unbreakable fortress of Socialism, the determined fighter against imperialism".

Self-Reliance - a First Principle.

As with the Chinese Party & people, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people led by Enver Hoxha, and demonstrated so thoroughly by the Vietnamese & other Indo-chinese peoples, self-reliance must be an abiding principle for our struggle in Scotland. We know full well that

the leadership of our Party will be judged by our people and the fraternal Parties abroad by the correctness or otherwise of our political line and practice, just as these other peoples have judged and found not wanting their great Marxist leaders.

What might be termed the quite unprecedented 'experimental period' of international relationships after the triumph of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia demonstrated the desirability of a departure from the more formal centralised international leadership which had been regarded as necessary during the years when the Soviet Union stood alone and was anxious to give support to and gain support from the revolutionary movement throughout the world. Outside Russia, the bourgeoisie won the battle for power which occurred immediately after the imperialist war of 1914-18, and from the necessity of self-reliance emerged the successful Soviet policy of "Socialism in One Country".

With the development of the international revolutionary forces the adoption of a generalised international political line was regarded as most appropriate in the new circumstances. This line was endorsed in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 of the 81 World Communist Parties, including the USSR & China, which clearly defined the nature of the revision of Marxism and designated the USA as the leading imperialist state. The CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), under the leadership then of Khrushchev, and continued today by Brezhnev & Kosygin, betrayed this important step despite strenuous opposition from the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania. This treachery to the international movement was meekly followed by a number of other Parties, including the "Communist" Party of Great Britain, thus destroying the great international unity which could have confronted US imperialism with an impossible task in its efforts to expand its economic and military exploitation of many smaller nations. The mighty Soviet Union of Lenin & Stalin has been dragged back by the Kremlin bureaucrats to a dangerous route of social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) and great-nation chauvinism - the process of capitalist restoration. Thereby was the onus thrown upon small nations to adopt policies of self-defence without the gigantic co-operative force which the Moscow Declaration envisaged.

Fraternal but Free Relationships.

Our Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) does not presume to interfere in the internal affairs of Marxist-Leninist Parties or organisations in other countries and, of course, would equally strongly reject any attempt at interference or superimposed leadership from outside its ranks; at the same time eagerly studying the historical experiences, good or bad, of fraternal Parties abroad, especially

The Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) hails the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Aug. 24-28 1973).
 Congress Documents available from Vanguard Books (Scotland) - 12½P.
 1. Report to the Congress: Chou En-lai.
 2. Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution: Wang Hung-wen.
 3. Constitution of the Communist Party of China.
 4. Press Communiques of the Congress & Central Committee.

those richest of all, the Chinese and Albanian as well as the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Stalin. Incidentally, it is noteworthy how some self-designated 'revolutionaries' and other inquisitive critics of the 10th Congress of the Chinese Party assume the right to 'insist' that the C.P.C. should explain fully for their superior (!) personal satisfaction, why this or that statement was not developed as their critics demand; as if such critics have some prescriptive right to dictate when and by what process the C.P.C. should publicize matters of Party internal history or policy.

All this brings us back to the fact that, as stated in our Constitution and Manifesto, and in accordance with the dictum of Lenin that it is 'absolutely wrong not to take the national characteristics of one's own country into account in the struggle', there can be no final emancipation from capitalism for the workers of Scotland except on the basis of class unity for revolutionary change. Self-reliance of the workers with leadership enlightened by the lessons taught by the masses and concretized in the Marx-Lenin-Mao theories of scientific socialism, especially as applied by John MacLean in Scotland.

At the same time, whilst rejecting any form of mere patronage, our Party holds out the hand of mutual discussion and co-operation to all, at home or abroad, willing to grasp it. The utter degeneracy of bourgeois leadership in the USA and in Britain, and their sycophantic hangers-on, reflects the unprecedented weakness of imperialism, both an inspiration and a challenge in the certainty that imperialism will die, sooner rather than later, if the political line of the Marxist-Leninist Parties is correct tactically, vigorously pursued and readily adaptable to changing circumstances. This must be the basis for any form of tactical unity of forces required in the interest of the workers. The grim events of Indonesia, Greece, Chile, South Africa etc. provide salutary lessons on the failure of 'popular' leaders to arm their peoples, in contrast with the success of reactionary leaders in reserving the military machine to attack unarmed workers.

Today's events in the Middle-East dramatically illustrate the use made of an artificially created state of Israel as a bridgehead for Imperialism.

John MacLean.

14th August 1879 - 30th November 1923.

Proletarian Internationalist - Revolutionary Patriot.

This year the working people of Scotland commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the death of John MacLean, their greatest son, born in Pollokshaws, Glasgow, of parents who came originally from the Highlands; his father was a potter, his mother a weaver. The Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) has always been the first to point out the importance of the life and teachings of this great Marxist for the workers of Scotland in particular in their struggle against the British monopoly capitalist ruling class and its state. We firmly believe that this 50th Commemoration year will enable more and more of the workers of Scotland to come to know about John MacLean and to deepen their understanding of what he stood for. It is also a very encouraging sign that many Communists and working people in England, Ireland & Wales and elsewhere are eager to learn about John MacLean and the working-class struggles he led.

Why are we commemorating the 50th Anniversary of his death? What

(continued from page 5)
adventurism, eagerly supported by Harold Wilson & his gang. We must also note here the disgrace of British troops in Ireland, and our failure to eject from Scotland US Polaris & British submarines from the Holy Loch & Faslane, and the many other NATO installations throughout Scotland. Now we witness the international financial sharks busy grabbing the newly discovered off-shore oil, desecrating our environment and providing rosy dreams for our naive nationalists who anticipate vast affluence from the oil which is already being stolen.

Every organisation or individual claiming to be motivated by a desire to enhance the welfare of the non-privileged must be concerned solely with the erding of 'the exploitation of man by man'. Such exploitation is the only factor in modern times preventing economic security, social justice, and uninkhibited political, cultural, and patriotic self-expression for the individual in the context of socialism. The attitude to the exploitation of man by man is today the only & final test of the quality of correct ideology and policy.

THE NEED FOR A REALISTIC MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN SCOTLAND IS SURELY SELF-EVIDENT. THE WORKERS HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP TODAY WHICH IS NOT PHONEY, TO THAT OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND (MARXIST-LENINIST) LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF OUR GREATEST REVOLUTIONARY, JOHN MACLEAN!

is the significance of the vigorous interest in his life and teachings which has not ceased to develop since our Party took the initiative leading to the formation of the John MacLean Society six years ago? Is it true to say that this 50th Commemoration year is of purely academic, historical interest to a small number of book-worms & romantics, that the situation in Scotland and the rest of the world has undergone such fundamental changes over the past half-century that his life and teachings are of no practical significance?

Earth-Shaking Changes.

It is certainly true that there have been tremendous changes and developments on a world scale in those fifty years - the most earth-shaking & significant of which has been the establishment of proletarian socialist states such as the People's Republics of China & Albania where the workers & peasants have seized political power. At the time of MacLean's death only one such state existed - the Soviet Union where the workers & peasants led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks had seized state power in the Great October Revolution of 1917. These years have also seen the great development of the national liberation movement - particularly in Asia, Africa, & Latin America. MacLean, like Stalin and James Connolly & others, was a Marxist authority on the national and colonial questions and, like the great Lenin, had a brilliant understanding of the important role which the national liberation movement plays in the disintegration & violent destruction of imperialism. He scientifically understood that the national liberation movement and the struggle of the workers of the world against capitalist exploitation and oppression are allies in the same cause, and he put this correct theory into revolutionary practice in the concrete conditions existing in Scotland.

His profound analysis of the situation in Scotland was embodied in the slogan for "the Scottish Workers' Republic". Although, like Connolly in Ireland and proletarian internationalists the world over, he realized that it was imperative to unite with all the genuinely patriotic, anti-imperialist elements of the population, being a Marxist he held that, if the struggle for Scottish national self-determination was to be fully successful from a strategic point of view for the vast majority of the people of Scotland, the lead in the struggle must be taken by the workers themselves. He was no bourgeois nationalist.

Lenin and MacLean.

The respect and fraternal regard these two working-class leaders (who unfortunately never met) had for each other is well known - a bond cemented in their common revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war of 1914-18 and to the sell-out politics of the 'socialists' of the 2nd International who supported this war. MacLean was a firm supporter of the

Bolsheviks & the October Revolution in Russia and, as well as being elected an Honorary President of the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets together with the German Leibknecht, was appointed Soviet Consul in Glasgow. MacLean welcomed the founding of the Third (Communist) International and was in full agreement with Lenin and the International Communist Movement on the need for revolutionary proletarian vanguard parties of a new type armed with correct theory in the different countries of the world which would provide political leadership for the working-class. Whereas Lenin in Russia felt that one such Party was necessary for Britain as a whole, MacLean felt the need for a separate Party in Scotland, to take into account the important national characteristics of the struggle and the in many respects more advanced political situation there than in England. Otherwise he was in agreement with and guided by Lenin & the Bolsheviks and their great practical and theoretical experience.

This being said, it is important to understand the significance of the two bodies in which MacLean sought to develop the political, ideological and organisational needs of the working and patriotic people of Scotland. First and foremost was the Scottish Workers' Republican Party, the highest expression of the political aspirations of the working-class, the embodiment of its revolutionary traditions and will to power. The second was the Scots National League (not to be confused with the Scottish National Party) - a united front in alliance with other non-proletarian patriotic elements including Ruairidh Erskine of Mar. Only MacLean's untimely death brought about by selfless toil in conjunction with the ill-treatment suffered during his frequent incarcerations in the capitalists' jails brought this work to a premature end, precluding its further and fuller development.

Not a Reformist or Revisionist.

While warmly welcoming the tremendous development in the struggle to 'rediscover' MacLean and what he stood for, we would be failing in our duty if we failed to denounce the hypocrisy of so-called 'left-wing' 'revolutionary' organisations which, while jumping on the band-wagon (since they are powerless to resist its progress), stand opposed to everything MacLean ever stood for.

The first of these is the revisionist 'Communist' Party of 'Great' Britain which claims that MacLean was "a sick man" at the end of his life. This may be true - as it is of most people who are shortly to die - but it will never serve as a healthy Marxist attitude to political differences; from the workers' point of view the present political sickness of the CPGB is a much more significant matter. This attitude of theirs towards MacLean stemmed originally from his principled refusal to

join the CPGB when it was formed, for reasons already stated - they thus made what should have been a disagreement between comrades into an unprincipled attack. Although in the 25 years or so after MacLean's death the CPGB was the Party of the working-class and did much positive and valuable work in opposing fascism and defending the workers' interests, they never rectified this early mistake.

Why is it that now, when they have completely abandoned Marxism-Leninism and been engaged in betraying the workers and supporting the capitalist Labour Party for some twenty years, when they have completely taken on the features of MacLean's mortal enemies - the revisionists of the 2nd International - they are trying to make out that he & they are struck from the same mould? At the same time as they abandon ever more of what he stood for (i.e. revolutionary change) they gloss over their past ignoring of him and try to put him in harness along "the British Road to Socialism" (this is the name of the CPGB's sell-out programme in which they claim that the bourgeois parliament is a fine thing and that the working-class can come to "power" by electing 'Left' M.P.'s).

National Revolutionary Line.

So far was MacLean aware of the bankruptcy of this sort of policy for the workers of Scotland that when he stood for election in Gorbals as a candidate for the Scottish Workers' Republican Party in 1923, he wrote that, if elected, Westminster would be the last place he would go - "This policy of a Workers' Republic in Scotland debars me from going to John Bull's London Parliament". His policy was that the workers of Scotland should themselves "declare for a Republic" and that they "ought at once to select representatives from all over Scotland to form a Workers' Parliament in Glasgow with powers and support to take control of all industries, set all the fit to work, control all the products, distribute these products as required for production or human consumption, and export all surplus goods for those of other lands needed by us in Scotland". This revolutionary national line has nothing in common with the CPGB's Kilbrandon-type plan for "a Scottish Parliament". Their reformist proposals, together with those of the Tories, Labour, Liberals & Scottish Nationalists are just window-dressing to be "granted" by British imperialism in an attempt to buy off the struggle for genuine national self-determination in Scotland. Such a 'solution' of the question bears no comparison with the revolutionary tactics visualised by MacLean in his Townhead Election Adress above (July 1923).

Nor did MacLean share the present pacifist illusions of the CPGB about the ruthlessness with which the capitalists will suppress the workers as soon as they feel their profits and class power threatened. He described capitalism in his famous speech from the dock at his trial for sedition in Edinburgh on 9th May 1918 as "dripping with blood from head

to foot", and, while very firmly opposed to imperialist war (from a revolutionary, not a pacifist point of view), he was in no way opposed to the workers using revolutionary violence when their enemies would resort to reactionary violence to stop the advance to socialism - "The only war that is worth waging is the Class War, the workers against the world exploiters" (Vanguard, Sept. 1915, "Our Prospects and Policy").

Finally we should note the tragic situation which has developed in the USSR, the first socialist state which MacLean lived to see, where the ideological masters of the CPGB, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionists, used the death of Stalin in 1953 as the opportunity to openly seize power and to embark on a policy of social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) and capitalist restoration. There can be no doubt as to where MacLean (or Lenin) would have stood in relation to their super-power politics, their trampling on democratic and national rights inside and outside the USSR.

Genuine Internationalism or Empty Phrase-Mongering?

The second group of hand-waggoners with regard to MacLean are the various Trotskyite sects, less numerous but more vociferous in view of their non-proletarian composition and intellectual detachment from the working people. Their fine-sounding but absurd theories of so-called "permanent revolution" bear no relation to concrete reality and the actual needs of our workers. They reflect a total lack of understanding of the nature of imperialism as analysed by Lenin, followed by Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. They completely deny the revolutionary role and implications of the national liberation movement which is one of the essential features of MacLean's political thought; their self-acclaimed "internationalism" is in reality sterile cosmopolitanism - a 'Left' front for their anti-working-class essence. Had MacLean lived, he would, like Lenin, have recognised their frenzied opposition to the Soviet Union & the People's Republic of China, to Stalin & Mao Tse-tung, as well as to other proletarian states and leading communists, for what it was and is - pure reaction.

It is noteworthy that in his Gorbals Election Address written a week before he died and referred to above, MacLean recognised the realities of the world situation at that point - the uneven political and economic development of capitalism in the different countries of the world - which made necessary the successful Soviet policy of 'Socialism in One Country': - "Russia could not produce the World Revolution. Neither can we in Gorbals, in Scotland, in Great Britain. Before England is ready I am sure the next war will be on us. I, therefore, consider that Scotland's wisest policy is to declare for a Republic in Scotland, so that the youths of Scotland will not be forced out to die for England's markets. I accordingly stand out as a Scottish Republican

candidate feeling sure that if Scotland had to elect a Parliament to sit in Glasgow, it would vote for a working-class Parliament. Such a Parliament would have to use the might of the workers to force the land and the means of production in Scotland out of the grasp of the brutal few who control them, and place them at the full disposal of the community. The social revolution is possible sooner in Scotland than in England..... 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".

(Lest it be protested that MacLean mentions Trotsky once or twice, it should be remembered that this was at a time when Trotsky claimed to be accepting Lenin's leadership and had even joined the Bolsheviks. Many comrades even in the USSR, hoped that he might really overcome his petit-bourgeois instincts and he was allowed to get away with his international posturing and inflated claims for a time; but it was not long before he was again revealing his unprincipled and egotistical opposition to Lenin, Stalin & the Bolsheviks.)

Against 'Social-Democracy' & 'Economism'
"Through Marxism to Revolution - the Only Way"

Since there are some who will find the above 'unnecessary' and 'sectarian' we should point out that, while we fully realise that many of the rank and file of these organisations are genuinely misled by more sinister elements, the revisionist 'Communist' Party and Trotskyism are not just matters of theoretical and historical debate but represent dangerous contemporary trends. In particular, by the support they give to the capitalist Labour Party, telling the workers that it is "better than" the Tories, can be turned "left", and should be voted for, they assist the bourgeoisie in misleading the working-class into continued acceptance of capitalism. This also makes it easier for the reactionaries to establish an outright fascist dictatorship when 'parliamentary democracy' gets in the way. While at first, in his days in the Social Democratic Federation and the British Socialist Party, MacLean hoped that the formation of the Labour Party would be a step forward for the workers, he was also one of the first to realise that it was never a revolutionary party and that it very rapidly went completely over to the bourgeoisie. What the workers needed was a proletarian vanguard party of a new type on the model of the Bolsheviks - the Scottish Workers' Republican Party which was totally free of parliamentary, reformist illusions.

While fully supporting the Trade Union & economic struggles of the workers (his stature in the movement on Clydeside in particular was second to none), MacLean saw that it was only independent revolutionary political action with the leadership of a proletarian party which would enable the

workers to achieve lasting economic security and social justice - political work as the life-blood of all economic work. In this connection he saw the need "to formulate an immediate programme that will appeal to all workers, and so prepare them for united action. We must have such a programme that no capitalist government can concede, one that must necessarily bring a clash of the dominant class" (Vanguard, May 1920, "A Fighting Programme Needed"). This realisation of the importance of such a programme sprang directly from the Bolshevik experience where the revolutionary programme was embodied in the slogan "Peace, Bread, & Land!"

We can see then that MacLean stood opposed to narrow 'economism'. That he saw the need to impart a revolutionary political consciousness and leadership to the strike movement is fully borne out by his attempts after the 1914-18 war to co-ordinate the economic struggles of the different sections of workers over pay & conditions etc., to give them a revolutionary political perspective, and to develop the campaign for a General Strike which would inevitably pose the question of State Power and its revolutionary seizure. This practical understanding of the potentials of the situation and the implications of such a campaign are far removed from the dangerous, diversionary cries of many of our 'Lefts' for "a General Strike to bring down the Tories". Whereas they see a hypothetical General Strike as the prelude to yet another General Election, he saw the immediate possibility at that time of a General Strike playing an important role in presenting the opportunity for the overthrow of the British imperialist state. This was just before it became apparent that the revolutionary tide outside Russia was on the ebb - leading directly to MacLean's emphasis on the possibility of a revolutionary seizure in Scotland - his realisation that the fight for a Scottish Workers' Republic would best serve the strategic aim of workers' power as well as of national self-determination for Scotland. (cf. his preface to "Russia's Appeal to the British Workers" by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, August 1920).

In the light of the present upsurge in the economic struggle which is generally lacking in overall correct leadership and elementary co-ordination, we again see the supreme relevance of MacLean's practical & theoretical approach today - and, bearing in mind the attitude of 'our' Trade Union leaders today, note what MacLean said of their predecessors 50 years ago - "The government has the majority of Trade Union leaders in the hollow of its hand, and can easily manipulate them against us - with comparative safety to the leaders at that" (The Call, 23 Jan. 1919, "Now's the Day and Now's the Hour").

In passing we should say something of MacLean's work with the Co-operative movement. He fully recognised the frailty of these small

independent, democratic societies in the face of the great Trusts but hoped that the establishment of a National Co-operative Society would strengthen the movement. In fact MacLean also foresaw the dangers of bureaucratisation which such a development would involve. Like the Labour Party at the time, the Co-operative movement was relatively young and the inevitability of their shedding any proletarian character as long as capitalism continued had not yet been practically demonstrated. No further comment is needed than to point to the recent fate of the Scottish Co-op which got a severe bruising while engaged in financial speculation and was promptly "rescued" (swallowed up) by its English "counterpart" (competitor).

Teacher - Proletarian Fighter.

MacLean was totally committed to the need for practical revolutionary work on every front. As well as his concrete assistance in many individual cases of hardship and victimisation, we should note here; his support for and efforts to extend the workers' committees especially on Clydeside; his efforts to help the unemployed get organised; his part in the Rent Strike Movement; his support for the crofters, the Coll Raiders, against Lord Leverhulme and the Secretary for Scotland (cf. "All Hail, the Scottish Workers' Republic", Gorbals election leaflet, Aug. 1920); his production of the revolutionary journal "the Vanguard" as well as his articles in other papers; the tremendous importance he attached to Marxist education for the workers and his life-long efforts in that field (cf. his "Plea for a Labour College for Scotland", Feb. 1916, as well as his economics class pamphlets and lecture notes); and finally there was his campaign to distribute propaganda and agitate amongst the masses of the working people when he formed the Tramps' Trust in June 1920 and travelled the length and breadth of Scotland distributing leaflets and pamphlets and holding meetings indoors and out (the size of MacLean's audiences is legendary) to acquaint the people with Marxism and the proletarian political line.

Amongst the literature distributed in this way were 20,000 copies of "The Irish Tragedy - Scotland's Disgrace" by John MacLean MA - a telling indictment of British interference in Ireland and the use of Scots troops. This not only shows MacLean's great love for the Irish people and the lessons he drew from their struggle, it again shows how relevant his teachings remain. It should be stressed that, while MacLean took account of the national characteristics of the struggle in Scotland and the tactics and strategy which followed, he was always a proletarian internationalist and saw that the workers of England, as well as those of Ireland & Wales were our closest comrades in the same great international cause, along with the workers and oppressed peoples of the rest of the world. At the same time he was clear that co-operation in the struggle "must be

based on the wills of the free national units" (Vanguard, Dec. 1920).

"Back to Communism and Forward to Communism"!

There have been great changes since MacLean's time - the forces of progress have made giant strides developing into "an irresistible historical trend - countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution!". British imperialism in particular is no longer the leading world power it then was, but it is still a power. Imperialism & reaction are still with us despite the set-backs they have suffered, and as long as they exist the danger of war remains. Even before the 1)14-18 war was over MacLean was stressing that, if capitalism survived, further wars were inevitable (cf. his "Condemned from the Dock" speech, May 1918); the intervening years have amply fulfilled his prediction. The workers of Scotland are still exploited and oppressed and the class struggle has continued to develop albeit unevenly due in large measure to imperialism's enjoyment of colonial super-profits; but the working-class's basic aspirations for economic security & social justice remain unfulfilled, Scotland's democratic, national rights denied her. The example of MacLean shows us that the workers of Scotland must & will put an end to all this, his theoretical teachings help light the path, and his experience is now ours.

Finally, John MacLean was not a "saint" - "During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slanders. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it. At the present time, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the working-class movement concur in this 'doctoring' of Marxism. They omit obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie" (Lenin on Marx in "the State and Revolution").

JOHN MACLEAN STOOD FOUR-SQUARE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT,
THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN SCOTLAND! (D.T.)

Pollokshaws shopping centre, Sunday 2 Dec. 1973. Unveiling of Memorial Cairn to John MacLean by his two daughters, Mrs Nan Milton & Mrs Jean Wilson, and the Provost of Glasgow, followed by Commemoration meeting in Pollokshaws burgh Hall. Other events, publications scheduled - write for details.

Organised by THE JOHN MACLEAN SOCIETY.

Who are 'WE'?

Who is 'THE BOSS'?

What is 'SCOTLAND'?

What are 'THE MULTINATIONALS'?

What is 'OURS'?

Industrial & other 'TROUBLE' in Scotland.

Ambulancemen, farm workers, electrical power engineers, electricians, engineering workers, firemen, civil servants, journalists, junior doctors, hospital staff, grocery workers, Glasgow dockers & meat market workers, car workers, miners, nurses, post-office workers, public health staff, post-graduates, sugar refinery workers, railwaymen, students, teachers, electricity supply workers etc., etc.....

In addition to the millions of housewives, pensioners, lower paid workers in many other spheres suffering from rising prices, rents and so on, the above list gives some indication of the widespread dissatisfaction amongst the workers in Scotland just now. Challenging their respective employers, these workers too often believe that they are dealing directly with 'the Boss', when, in fact, in most instances they are dealing with mere agents of forces whose real nature and motives are hidden behind a facade of high-sounding names, "Scotland" this or "British" that. The workers are rarely assisted to a better understanding of their real enemy by Trades Union leaders whose political ineptitude, bureaucratic dictatorship, often down-right self-interest and unprincipled co-operation with the Capitalist State machine generally characterises Union leadership today. Such 'leaders' openly or by implication accept the idea that references to Scotland & the U.K. are to united entities of ALL the inhabitants in which 'WE' have a common interest, ignoring (or cynically using) the fact of there being 'two nations', the 'haves' & the 'have-nots' - representing the reality of the class war.

Some try to present their particular industry, even nationalised industries, as quite separate from the capitalist state & government, thus fostering a mere pretence that the particular 'Boss' can act regardless of government policy but within 'the Law'. It is questionable if many of the too often politically illiterate Union leaders understand the nature of capitalism and its highest stage of imperialism. However, the operations of the Industrial Relations Act and the "friendly" talks between the Trades Union Congress General Council & Heath are providing a great education for the industrial masses. This is evidenced by increasing tendencies to take direct action which, unfortunately, through lack of a united working class, is generally frustrating and only a partial success.

Likewise the Union leaders try to keep any action, whether economic and/or political, within controllable boundaries; while seeming to 'go with the tide', at the same time they continually endeavour to limit the scope of any action in so far as they can. Their careers consist of a continual 'balancing act' - controlling their members on the one hand & avoiding complete exposure as 'the labour lieutenants of capital' on the other. This assessment is fully borne out by the continuing struggle of the engineering workers against the fascist Industrial Relations Act and the massive 'official', 'legal' thieving of their funds. The AUEW leadership is trying to control the quite justified militancy of the rank & file by channeling it into a campaign of one-day token strikes which are achieving nothing for the workers, and have the effect of disillusioning many with further action as well as of improving the position and standing of the leadership at the state level where some of the 'Lefts' see the whole exercise as part of the 'struggle' for the return of another anti-working class Labour government.

Resolute 'Unofficial' Action.

The recent notorious action of two Unions instructing their members to get to work by breaking the picket lines of another Union in dispute with the management was a sad commentary upon the lack of unity and a disgrace to those responsible (and all credit to those workers who refused to obey them). Where resolute 'unofficial' action is taken, positive, even if limited, results are often secured. The splendid near 100% unity of the Glasgow Firemen has been a first-class object lesson to all. The speed with which troops were organised for Glasgow Fire Service is indicative of the role of the capitalist state and its ability to deploy armed forces for even more sinister purposes if thought necessary. Let the workers accept the logic of this and their need to prepare for self-defence, remembering that well before the great General Strike of 1926 the Baldwin government had its plans fully matured, including the deployment of its armed forces. Incidentally, the Glasgow members spurned their Fire Brigades Union special conference block vote, a most undemocratic device compared with the deliberative vote of the Glasgow mass meeting. In spite of attempted sabotage by the Scottish Trades Union Congress, that weaponless satellite of the British TUC, swift, massive and practical help came from the workers in other industries, and widespread public sympathy became alarming facts for the Trades Union and Tory government bureaucrats to face. This whole episode amply confirmed the view held by the Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) since its inception in 1966, that 'ad hoc' ACTION GROUPS formed by the workers on the job are the positive, indeed the only effective answer to the capitalist class and the trade union bureaucrats, especially when the higher political objective is kept in mind. We congratulate the firemen on their unity, tenacity and the quality of their leadership.

Trade Union Mal-Education.

However, growing political consciousness amongst the workers, often arising from the frustrations of wages trailing behind rising prices and costs, still reflects the limitations of a profound interest in immediate economic demands. Consequently far too little interest is still given to the topical and related implications of politics, national & international. No real assistance to enable the workers to understand this context is provided by the TUC. The autumn 1973 TUC education service for Scotland, covering eleven week-end schools, three day-schools, and thirty weekly special classes contains not a single reference to the nature of the capitalist state, to the class structure of society and to the dictatorship of capitalism over the lives of every worker and his family. Dreary reformism and conformism is the essence of TUC teaching. By contrast we recall the demand of our great revolutionary John MacLean for independent working-class education based upon the need for the transfer of power to the workers, the seizure of power by the workers, and the primary importance of leadership through a Workers' Republican Party.

Returning to the question of "Who is the Boss?", our workers have to face the fact that the vast development of multinational companies, together with the extensive intrusion into Scotland of foreign capital and foreign-owned firms have removed the real 'Boss' far from any direct contact with the workers. John R. Finn of Glasgow University declares that whilst about 70% of the manufacturing plants in Scotland are Scottish-owned (nominally at least), they employ only just over 40% of the industrial workers. Thus well over half the workers in Scotland are employed by concerns with their headquarters and 'hiring & firing' policy decisions, the real 'Boss', entirely outside Scotland, sometimes thousands of miles away (all of which would appear to be perfectly acceptable to our patriotic politicians & labour 'leaders' including the Nationalists). Coupled with this deplorable situation is the ease with which highly sophisticated new forms of production, always for enhancing profits of course, are introduced to enable per capita output to be increased, with no increase in work-force or reduction of hours, but often redundancies in consequence. It should be noted that the Railway Unions seem to be willing to co-operate with the management in promoting railway development schemes which envisage a run-down in the number of employees, to give just one example. The notorious Highland Clearances which drove thousands of families forcefully from their homes to make way for sheep and deer, is now continued throughout rural Scotland where mechanised agriculture and poor wages and conditions (as well as land-speculation & the developing oil-rush) have further denuded the population. At the same time a lunatic policy of creating New Towns (which could very well have been established in the Highlands & Border counties) in the midst of the present unbalanced concentration of population in the industrial

Forth-Clyde belt has been pursued without regard to human and social considerations generally but to provide industrial estates for capitalist exploitation. Parallel with all this is the scandal of overtime working, essential to supplement the basic wage required for minimal subsistence. Thus today the average number of hours worked per week greatly exceeds those of the immediate years before the 1939-45 war. There is ample evidence of the growing resentment of workers, especially those with families, against this overtime racket and the need for wages adequate for the good living which modern production, under socialism of course, could provide for a very short working week. In Scotland this situation is aggravated by persistent unemployment twice as high as for the United Kingdom as a whole.

Those Country? 'Our' Country?

When politicians talk about a policy for 'our' country, as smarmy Heath is constantly doing by claiming that the capitalist class government represents "ALL the people of the UK", they do so to disguise its real character as the executive committee of a predatory profiteering minority. This minority takes for itself and its flunkies, two thirds of the value of the products of our workers, hence the enormous profits declared in recent years, up by over 21% in the last year to October. These profits, money stolen from the workers, are invested by the profiteers, wherever it suits them at home or abroad, solely with the profit motive and entirely regardless of social utility in this country. Thus, it is possible for Heath to buy his toy, a £40,000 yacht, and for a parasitic princess to receive, added to her income annually about the same amount. Thereby are our workers, without their consent, being used to provide capital, much of it used in the intense trade wars going on between the capitalist countries, and the tensions generated thereby creating the conditions for the frequent war crises which will be ended and lasting peace secured only when the workers of the world finally destroy the last vestiges of imperialism and establish a genuine socialist fraternity. It must be obvious to increasing numbers of workers that willy-nilly they are engaged in political movements extending far beyond their homelands into the wide international sphere. Therefore, the economic security and social problems of themselves and their families cannot be solved and their yearning for lasting peace satisfied except by political action which is not concerned only with problems of current wages and conditions of employment.

Workers Here and Workers There

It is not such a far cry as it may seem to some to link the politics of our workers with the circumstances facing the workers in other lands, especially when we find, for example, that the same U.S.

capitalists who are today exploiting our country transfer the profits to the USA where they are used to bolster the economy underlying the policy of the Nixon government. Nixon, the commander-in-chief of all the armed forces of the USA, can and does alert for war some of his most important forces based on Scotland's soil.

It is important and urgent that our workers should be fully alerted to the fact and all it implies that Scotland is not 'Ours', but is 'Theirs' and that the dangers to peace and security referred to above cannot be avoided until the position is reversed. Absolute ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange can only be returned to the rightful owners, the workers, the producers, to end for ever 'the exploitation of man by man'. This will not be achieved by such sly diversions as 'Productivity Schemes', 'Profit Sharing', 'Workers' Control' and 'Membership of Boards of Directors', etc, whilst remaining under capitalism, but only by seizing power from the capitalist minority, as was done by the workers and peasants of Russia in 1917 and the Chinese in 1949, but not by parliamentary process. As Lenin pointed out, "The workers and peasants voted with their feet" - direct action. Thus must the workers everywhere, here as elsewhere, take the imperative revolutionary step without which they must remain in servitude and insecurity.

(T.M.)

Chile

"It is not enough to achieve power through elections. The people should have been armed or have had an army at their service."... "We were unarmed. We were not prepared for the bombings." So said Mrs Allende, widow of the late Chilean President on 20/9/73. She pointed out that the Chilean army, with its class formation, is an army which has been at the service of the ruling class always. Condemning the role of US imperialism she continued, "Foreign intervention had existed since the inauguration of the Popular Unity Government." The revisionist 'Communists' who remain blind to the lessons of the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile, even claiming that it confirms "the parliamentary road to socialism", should realise that their political line shares no small blame for this terrible situation, and take note of Mrs Allende's words. Otherwise they will be helping the reactionaries to repeat history, not as farce, but tragedy after tragedy! Even Allende's anti-imperialist measures in defence of national sovereignty and independence were too much for domestic and foreign reactionaries to tolerate. The determination with which the people of Chile and everywhere else in the world reject reformist notions, will be matched only by the relentlessness with which they build up their fighting capacity on all fronts.

As soon as the coup took place, the revolutionaries who were ready for it started to strike back, workers defended their work places and districts, arms in hand. The people of Chile are continuing the struggle until final victory over imperialism and domestic reaction.

Buses for Who?

by a Dundee Bus Conductor

To many people, the Transport Manager of Dundee Corporation Transport is there to provide a service to suit the social needs of the working class in Dundee. It must be made absolutely clear that the D.C.T. Transport Manager is a representative of the money-lending financiers who want the maximum return on their investment. Since 1960, there has been a reduction of over one million bus miles and that amounts to a huge cut in service, considering that places such as Whitfield housing scheme were not built at that time. During the same period, there have been twenty two million less passengers carried, but at the same time income has gone up by £872,000 to over £2,000,000. All through these years, services have been cut and jobs lost, and will continue to be lost with the introduction of One-Man-Operated buses. At the moment it appears that the number of jobs lost will be as high as 50% by 1975.

With the introduction of O.M.O. buses, there should have been two main advantages, - 1) The passengers should have had a reduction in fares as there had been a reduction in the amount of wages being paid out. But what did you get? - Fares increased under the pretext that the buses were not paying their way! 2) The O.M.O. drivers should have had a big increase in wages; they are now doing 100% more work for a small increase in wages! It must be pointed out that these new buses are capable of carrying 27% more passengers, coupled with improved qualities in tyres, engines, etc. - improved methods of production, which all workers in their respective jobs will know about. D.C.T. received very good agreements with the Transport and General Workers' Union for the introduction of O.M.O. buses at the expense of the conductors and other workers attached to the buses. It must be asked who is to benefit from all this improved method of production, higher fares, greater exploitation; the passengers? No! The bus workers? No! All the way down the line, the financiers, the Michelins, Shell B.P.s, Alexander's Coach Builders, etc. who operate behind the thin veneer called D.C.T.

Transport and General Workers' Union Leaders
False Friends of the People.

In the past few years, this Union has not received any agreement which has led to a real increase in workers living standards, witness the jobs being lost with the introduction of O.M.O. buses, service times cut (speed up), the increased exploitation of the workers who are left. Those who are thrown on to the dole were put there, not because of some industrial misconduct, but by a boardroom decision, and it must

be said that there is collusion on the Union's part. The T.G.W.U. are prepared to negotiate on wages and conditions only, leaving the bosses to put fares or prices up at a stroke, through the Traffic Commissioners, who are as independent from the bosses as your fingernails are from your fingers. Previous industrial action of withdrawing labour has often led to defeat and to disillusionment with further strike action; the idea that withdrawal of labour is the only tactic is wrong; there are methods which can be used in conjunction with the passengers, who are our greatest allies, our own working class, e.g. continuing to operate the buses but refusing to collect fares.

The Workers Party of Scotland (M-L) firmly supports 'unofficial' workers' action groups and points out that, however genuine shop stewards may be, they are all too often tied by bureaucratic union rules and become firmly bogged down in the ever-increasing red tape. The workers produce all the wealth in this world and it is our absolute right to take all that we produce and use it for everyone's benefit. The Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) firmly believes, as does the Communist Party of China, that 'of all things in the world, people are the most precious. People are the decisive factor in the social productive forces. They are first of all producers and then consumers. As producers, they ceaselessly concentrate on production in breadth and depth and can produce more products than they consume.' (Peking Review, No17). The question must now be asked, whether the workers on the buses and our fellow workers who use them are to continue to be the means of producing the wealth, not for our benefit, but for the financiers, the Michelins, the Shell B.P.s etc., who will be receiving great increases in profit for 1973/4, while we workers will be receiving the boot, phase 3 and increasing poverty. Workers everywhere, organise! Set up your workers committees and take up the political fight!

Footnotes: 1. Free Bus Service - Although it is a very nice thought, there can be no such thing as free buses, unless D.C.T. are prepared to stop paying exorbitant interest rates to the moneylenders - £81,000 for 1972 or 9% of income. (This does not include the Michelins etc who also took their share from the lucrative supply contracts.) These few parasites received this for doing absolutely nothing, while the workers had to perform labour to receive their wages!

2. It's interesting to note that with the state of war in the Middle East, and the possibility of petrol rationing, the last time it happened in 1956 the D.C.T. carried their highest ever amount of passengers - thirty million more than they carried in 1972 - (still ran at a 'loss!!!'). We doubt if the buses could cope with an increase of that size.

To transport workers in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and elsewhere - We believe that conditions are no different from the set-up in Dundee, and we would like to hear from you. (D.M.)

STALIN.

Practical Worker.

Twenty years ago last March, one of the greatest working class leaders in modern times died - comrade Joseph Stalin. It is doubtful if anyone has been more maligned or misrepresented in modern history. Comrade Stalin, or 'Uncle Jo' as he was affectionately called by millions of class-conscious workers, was and is represented by his enemies the capitalist media, bourgeois historians, and their Trotskyite and revisionist running dogs as a madman, despot, butcher and tyrant. That these scum hate him so much is some measure of the relentlessness with which Stalin led and protected the workers of both the USSR and the world.

Stalin's mother was a peasant and his father a worker. They were Georgian which was at that time an oppressed national minority within Czarist Russia. This background gave Stalin a firm class consciousness and at the age of 15 he joined the Marxist underground where he came into contact with and became the closest follower of Lenin and joined the Bolsheviks. In the early period he acted as an organiser of the workers within Russia. Stalin went through much for his beliefs including exile in Siberia by the Czarist regime. He played an important role as a Party worker during the Russian Revolution, eventually arriving at the posts of General Secretary of the Bolshevik Party and the man in charge of Pravda, the Bolshevik paper. During the Civil War & the foreign intervention after the Revolution Stalin began to emerge as an important military leader. In 1919 he was sent to Tsaritsyn (later Stalingrad) to see that supplies were getting through, only to find the city surrounded and heavily infiltrated by counter-revolutionaries. He took control and saved the city by "rooting out the counter-revolutionaries and organising the rout of the White Army" - over Trotsky's head (or ineptitude). From then on he was sent to trouble-spot after trouble-spot.

Socialism in One Country.

Lenin, Stalin and the other Bolsheviks hoped that the Russian Revolution would spark off other revolutions. When this did not happen, however, they refused to give up the struggle for socialism in Russia (which now became the Soviet Union). Stalin led the workers and peasants in building an advanced socialist state which the workers of the world and other oppressed peoples would take as an example and inspiration. Trotsky disagreed with this line, saying that it was not possible to build socialism in the USSR since it was so 'backward' etc. - this was nothing but a reactionary, defeatist argument. Stalin himself had no illusions and saw that the workers had many enemies at home & abroad.

First the grip of the capitalists in industry was broken, then that of the speculators and big property and land owners. It is during this period that Stalin is accused of butchery. In fact comrade Stalin criticised the excesses of the punishment that the workers and peasants meted out to their class oppressors. It is, however, true that the harsher the reactionary oppression, the harsher the revenge taken by the oppressed. After the NEP (New Economic Policy) instituted under Lenin whereby a certain amount of 'free enterprise' was allowed particularly for the Kulaks (better-off peasants) in order to restore the damaged economy and give time for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance - after this had served its purpose, it was decided to abolish all laws allowing any form of capitalist exploitation and expropriation. At the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) Stalin proposed the collectivisation of agriculture (collective ownership of the land and communal farming by the peasants). This was to be achieved not by pressure and brutality but by example and persuasion. In 1930 Stalin reiterated in Pravda that voluntary collectivisation must not be violated; it should be based on the desires of the peasants & their needs. In industry the 5 Year Plans for industrialisation were established.

International Anti-Fascist Leader.

Stalin and the Communist International supported the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, contrary to Trotsky's 'line'. Stalin was aware that this was the front line against Imperialism. When the Spanish War broke out in 1936 he sent part of the Soviet air force, volunteers and arms to help the Spanish Republican Government against Franco. Comrade Stalin was also aware of the dangers of fascism - preparations now had to be made against a war of aggression. A start was made immediately to weed out fifth columnists, nazi agents, Trotskyite sabotage groups and capitalist agents during a period termed the 'Moscow Trials' by the bourgeois press. Thus was ensured the safety of the USSR against the tactics of nazis, as shown by Quisling in Norway, Laval in France, etc. By signing the non-aggression pact with nazi Germany, Stalin defeated the plots of those governments (Britain & France) who had hoped that Hitler would march on the USSR instead. This treaty gave the USSR time to defeat the Japanese, move her industry to the rear of the USSR and put industry on to a war footing. Stalin's tactics defeated the fascists and forced the allies to gallop across Europe to Berlin in a panic. Comrade Stalin led and defended the USSR against fascism and imperialism while, at the same time, rendered assistance to Vietnam, China, Albania, Yugoslavia etc. in one way or another.

Uploder of Proletarian Dictatorship

When Comrade Marshal Stalin died in March 1953, he left a rich legacy to the workers of the world in his theoretical works practical

example and principles. Under his leadership, the Soviet Union rose from an industrially backward and illiterate country to the second greatest industrial country with a wealthy scientific and military force despite all the technical, material and manpower losses resulting from several wars. — No mean feat! No unemployment, free medical attention and education, libraries, universities, preventive medicine, and more books printed under Stalin's leadership in the Soviet Union than anywhere else in the world — and the majority of these books by the workers, for the workers. These accomplishments were along with the birth of Red China, the eastern European countries establishing socialism along with rumblings of more revolution for liberation in the distance. The rising of the national and anti-colonial liberation fronts in Asia, Africa and Latin America evolved during the term of Comrade Stalin's leadership.

When this great Marxist-Leninist was 'denounced' in 1956 at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by the clown Khrushchev (formerly one of the most eager proponents of the 'personality cult') the process of 'deStalinisation' was just an admission of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and co.'s bourgeois reactionary nature. In attacking Stalin, they were attacking the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the USSR, because they wanted to impose revisionism on the Bolshevik Party and the International Communist Movement as a whole. They thus hoped to set the stage for a policy of social-imperialism (Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) and capitalist restoration, in which they are now engaged. Unfortunately for them, these efforts have been thoroughly exposed by the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world, including the Chinese and Albanian Parties, who have stepped forward to take up the banner of the great Stalin, thrown down and trampled on by the revisionists (including those of the Communist Party of Great Britain.)

The main reason why the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionists were able to carry out this counter-revolutionary line was because Marxism-Leninism had not yet developed a satisfactory method of dealing with the careerists, bureaucrats, and other bourgeois elements who would inevitably spring up in the party and state apparatus — a scientific method of continuing the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This problem was resolved by the Chinese experience when Mao Tse-tung personally led and initiated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to pursue the revolution in the realm of ideology and culture (the superstructure) and smash those in power taking the capitalist road.

There can be no impartial judgement of Stalin — only a class analysis. It would appear to be obvious which gained more under his wise
(Contd. page 26.)

On 'Socialism'.

"Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other; Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." — Communist Manifesto, 1848.

Marx and Engels devote twenty pages in the manifesto to a description of the various socialist organisations that had existed up to the publication of the manifesto. These pages are useful for the study of the historical development of socialism, but there has been a historical development since the publication of the manifesto, and some of the socialist groups or parties have faded away, others have revised their ideology. It is therefore imperative that we examine the socialist parties of the present day to ascertain to which of these two great hostile camps each party belongs, the camp of the bourgeoisie or the camp of the proletariat. — "Know your enemies, know your friends." Mao Tse-tung.

Social-Democracy has a long record of betrayal of the working class, starting with the revisionism of Kautsky and Bernstein, whose distortion of the teachings of Marx and Engels was fiercely attacked by Lenin, then the about-turn of the social-democratic deputies in the German parliament and elsewhere resulting in the collapse of the Second International, and the loss of hundreds of millions of lives in four years of bloody war.

The present Social Democratic government of West Germany has demonstrated its allegiance to the camp of the bourgeoisie. "Chancellor Brandt's government recently announced plans for legislation to enforce a ban on Communists from Civil Service posts. Their political beliefs make them unsuitable to become teachers, judges, or university lecturers.

(Observer 23 Sept. 1973)

The social-democratic Trade Union leaders betrayed the workers of this country in the General Strike of 1926. The miners, in isolation, carried on the strike, but in the end hunger forced them to accept defeat and return to the pits at starvation wages.

The Social-Democrats (Labour) under the leadership of Mr Attlee, took over the reins of government in 1945, — a very critical period for the British bourgeoisie. The unions co-operated with the Labour government in a policy of wage restraint. Production per worker increased by 9%. In the same period, weekly real earnings (which were inflated by overtime) increased by 2%, hourly real earnings by 1½% and real wage rates fell by 2½%. In 1950 and 1951, which covers the closing one and three quarter years of the Labour government's period of office, the gross trading profits of companies represented a greater proportion of the gross national product than in any other post war years. (From an appendix to the first Cohen report.

An increase in profits in relation to wages and salaries.)

The Attlee government sent teen-age national service-men to Korea, putting them under the command of General Macarthur (a man detested by the whole American people) and, having sent more teen-age national service-men to suppress the Malayan people's struggle for liberation, he sent head-hunters from Borneo to teach the British youth the art of decapitation. At home Attlee banned all left demonstrations in London.

"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Communist Manifesto, 1848). For services rendered the bourgeoisie bestowed on Attlee their highest honour - Knight of the Garter. Social Democracy is firmly entrenched in the camp of the bourgeoisie and is hostile to the proletariat. They will always betray the workers - just as Wilson & co. have continued the line of betrayal of Attlee & co., attacking the living standards of the workers at home to boost profits, and sending troops to Aden, Ireland and elsewhere.

The basically reactionary nature of Social Democracy is denied by the "Communist" Party and the Trotskyites who facilitate the betrayal of the working class by claiming that a Labour government can be turned 'left' or made to adopt 'socialist' policies. Thus the once proletarian 'Communist' Party has taken up the faded banner of the revisionists of the 2nd International. They describe nationalisation under capitalism as being part of the struggle for 'socialism', ignoring the fact that it simply brings the industries concerned under the direct control of the capitalist state - the bourgeoisie's executive committee. As Engels noted, "...the transformation...into state ownership does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces" (Socialism: Utopian & Scientific). This will only be achieved and true socialism established when "the proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property" (ibid.). It is this recognition of the necessary objective of working class political power - the Dictatorship of the Proletariat - as the precondition for socialism which is the test for whether the various 'socialists' are in the camp of the bourgeoisie or the camp of the proletariat.

(M.G.)

Stalin : (contd. from page 24.)

leadership; it was the working class, the peasants, the poor, the dispossessed, the illiterates and the oppressed nations. No wonder that the capitalists and their gangrenous running dogs hate him! Comrade Stalin was a servant of the working class, carrying out the wishes and the will of the working class, not only of the USSR, but of the world!

(N.B.)

recruits to the army's infantry regiments" (Scotsman 22.11.73). This situation is no less disgraceful now than it was 50 years ago when John MacLean wrote about 'The Irish Tragedy - Scotland's Disgrace'. The potential recruit is first of all a worker, a patriotic Scot, or is he to be the tool of the British ruling class and its officer caste, risking death in the service of those who oppress and exploit the workers of Scotland, England and Wales as well as the people of Ireland of every religion, colour and creed? Are we to accept the propaganda of the capitalist press and TV about the Irish question being a 'religious' one and the British forces being 'peace-keepers' - we must recognise the struggle for what it really is - a struggle between the British boss-class and the people of Ireland (protestant and catholic) over the ownership of Ireland. That same boss-class which owns Scotland at present and against which the struggle of the working people of Scotland, Ireland, England & Wales must be directed if we are to achieve economic security, social justice, national freedom and genuine peace.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

EMERGENCY!

"State of Emergency" - "Energy Crisis" - "Miners and Electrical Power Engineers" - "oil cuts" - "petrol rationing" - "power cuts" - "record trade deficit" - "stock exchange drops" - "pound slumps" - "highest ever price rises." - "inflation" etc.

All this has sharply revealed the inherent instability of Capitalism, its total reliance on a "reasonably" docile labour force, and the exploitation of the resources of other lands (Arab oil), as well as on the "good faith" of the international financiers and money speculators in their own system, and the ability of the industrialists who benefit from inflation to keep it within "reasonable" bounds. This crisis atmosphere has also been used by the various politicians to invoke a so-called "War Spirit" - "national interest" "who rules Britain?" etc. (The capitalists, aided by Tory/Labour etc. politicians and Trade Union misleaders, rule Britain.) Notably we see Roy Jenkins, recently returned to the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party, feeling out the ground for joint Labour/Tory action. What is to be the response of the workers to these continued disruptions and hardships imposed upon them by the capitalist system. What are the tactics and strategy we should adopt and who will provide leadership?

GUERRILLA WAR. Whilst there is much to commend any form of guerrilla industrial action arising spontaneously from a revolt against conditions

unalleviated by bureaucratic 'official' negotiations, the historical fact remains that the bureaucrats in government and Trade Union spheres have always finally won the major battle. The best that the worker guerrillas have to show for often considerable sacrifices in lost wages is a minimal improvement, leaving the wealth and complete political power still in the hands of their political enemies.

THE ESSENTIAL POLITICAL OBJECTIVE. The Labour and "Communist" Parties and the Trades Union General Council continue their hitherto successful propagation of the spurious notion that radical reforms leading to Justice for the workers can be secured through the capitalist parliamentary machine, based upon demonstrable absurdities about the 'merits' of Nationalisation within capitalism, electoral reform, by the preservation of 'our' constitutional 'democracy', and respect for negotiations with such organs of the enemy as the Confederation of British Industries, other Employers' Associations and Government Ministries.

DIRECT ACTION GROUPS. All reactionary forms of so-called 'National' leadership, ever ready to sweep aside civil rights by invoking "Emergency Powers", will certainly continue until such time as the workers have thrown up through their own 'Direct Action Groups', in one form or another, entirely new types of leaders who are dedicated to the essential objective of taking political power from the capitalist minority and securing such power for the working class majority. These new leaders would have a clear theoretical understanding of the principles underlying the necessity for the absolute dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no doubt whatever that today within the ranks of the workers potentially many such leaders exist and there is ample historical evidence for this. They will be leaders who will be untainted by the rotten careerism, narrow selfishness and greed of those who believe that "Profit is the Spur", having accepted traditional ideas and standards implanted by our capitalist orientated schooling and academic systems. For an understanding of the motives of today's 'leaders' in Party politics and industry one must trace them back to their childhood and youth. To them no hint was offered by school church or State that the problems of our society cannot be solved without "Destroying the Old to Build the New".

AN ENTIRELY NEW LEADERSHIP. The Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) recognises that the essential emergence of such new leaders can certainly lead the way to industrial and political unity of the workers, in whatever industry or sphere they are employed and on the theoretical basis of Marxist, Leninist and Mao Tsetung teaching. The leadership of the Workers' Party is crucial in the process, Thus will the seeming bewildering procession of troubles, emergencies and crises at home and abroad, cease to be real terrors or anxieties for our people no longer

Indochina.

Historic Victories in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos.
US & puppets violate agreements, Lon Nol at the brink.

The hammer-blows delivered against imperialism, and the unsurpassed fighting spirit of the three peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are an object lesson for the peoples of the world in what can be achieved by an oppressed nation united in arms in a just cause. We pay tribute here to the quality of leadership, the political, diplomatic and military skills, the strategy and tactics of the people of Indochina, as represented by the revolutionary governments and liberation forces of South Vietnam and Cambodia, the Lao Patriotic Front in Laos, and, of course, the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Their capacity for struggle, heroism and sacrifice is more than a match for the desperate adventures of US imperialism and its hangers-on; theirs is a massive contribution to the cause of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, who benefit both materially and spiritually from these titanic efforts. The continuing violations of the Paris Agreements by US puppet Thieu, his brazen bombing of the liberated areas with the 3rd largest air-force in the world, supplied, manned and serviced by the US, and his suppression of the people under the Saigon regime, can only serve to embed him and his allies further in the mire, and must be forcefully condemned by all who uphold the cause of justice and peace in the world.

While warmly acclaiming the unprecedented movement of international solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, especially the militant opposition of many to their government in the USA, we must note in particular the all too inadequate measures taken in this country to provide concrete support for our Indochinese comrades. The failure to force successive governments, Labour and Tory, to dissociate themselves from the US war of aggression, and the continued existence on our soil of US military and nuclear bases (apart altogether from US owned industry and investment) are just two major instances. We state this not to detract from the positive support which has been forthcoming, but as a sober reflection on the tasks which lie ahead, if we, in Scotland, are to even begin to measure up to the lofty standards set by our fellow workers and peasants in Indochina.

Emergency! (continued from page 29.)

blinded by conventional ideas of loyalties to 'superior' saviours but proud to be self-reliant elements of the superior creative qualities of a triumphant working-class.

Housing—Rents.

An Everlasting Crisis.

Between the virtual collapse of local authority housing development, the decline in New Town & Scottish Special Housing Association 'starts', and the impossible mortgage rates of the Building Societies, many thousands of our people - especially the young - can say goodbye to any hope of getting an adequate home for many years to come - unless entirely new and militant forms of mass action are taken. This applies too to the large number of occupied sub-standard houses due for demolition or 'redevelopment'. At the same time those who have secured for themselves a house, private or local authority etc. (and the great majority of Scotland's workers live in local authority housing) find the 'privilege' increasingly expensive. Why are rents and rates so high?

Land-owners - Contractors - Financiers.

Although local authorities acquire derelict or sub-standard property by compulsory purchase order, the land on which the houses stand still has to be bought. This is owned either by a profiteering absentee landlord or speculator, who, having made a fortune over the years by leasing his land to house-factors etc., now stands to profit over again by selling at the going rate! How ^{do} these people get the land in the first place? - By direct or indirect inheritance of common lands originally stolen from the people. The price of this land has trebled over the past five years.

Then the building companies tender contracts to local authorities - even those with direct labour departments. Having paved their way, often with personal favours in the council chamber - whether Tory or Labour controlled - so that their vastly over-rated estimates will be accepted, these contractors are certain of high profits! At present they are using the excuse of shortage and expense of labour & materials to boost prices even further while concentrating on the even more profitable office and hotel building etc.

Then there are the money-lending financiers who also enjoy vast unearned incomes. Although it is the local authorities who borrow colossal amounts from these parasites to finance what building programme there is (among other things), it always falls to the workers to repay not only the initial loan but also the accumulated interest. Thus some 75% of your rent money goes straight to the money-lenders and the total debt owed to them by local authorities in Scotland is over two thousand million pounds (£2,000,000,000) - that is about £400 for every man, woman & child in Scotland. £170 millions of interest is paid out on this last year and is continually increasing with inflation & high interest rates.

All these parasites are an integral part of the capitalist system and work hand-in-glove with government & local authority to extract the profits from the working people in the form of extortionate rents and rates for private and council tenants as well as owner-occupiers. The Housing Finance (Scotland) Act represents a concerted campaign to intensify this exploitation even further. Two increases have already been imposed and rents will be doubled by 1975. What can workers/tenants do to resist these exorbitant exactions?

Workers' & Tenants' Direct Action Groups.

Reliance upon local authorities to keep rents down, solve the housing problem or even deal with elementary grievances has proved to be a wasteful diversion. The 'fight' put up by a number of authorities in Scotland against the last two increases in rent has been a vote-catching sham. In thus heading-off the danger of the mass of tenants mobilising against the increases, they have sabotaged any possibility of repelling this dictation by the government (backed up by the Labour leadership's declarations that 'the law must be obeyed'). Unfortunately this line was reinforced by such organisations as the Scottish Council of Tenants whose conference in September simply expressed support for 'non-implementing' authorities and organised a deputation to Westminster (the WPS alone stood out to oppose these diversions) instead of recognising the need to prepare for and organise mass resistance - direct action by the workers and tenants themselves outwith the capitalist legal machinery.

This can be done by the workers/tenants organising on a street etc. basis. Organised forces of workers and tenants could sweep aside local authorities etc who don't heed the people's wishes and would be free to mobilise their own resources in rent strikes and other campaigns. Workers and tenants can only resolve the 'housing problem' along with all their other problems by positive and determined action, and ultimately by the seizure of POLITICAL POWER from the parasitical few, as advocated by John MacLean in his call for a Workers' Socialist Republic of Scotland. Scotland's workers produce wealth to the value of about £5,000 millions per year. Provided it is retained in Scotland and placed at the disposal of its creators, this wealth, plus the manpower which has been made 'redundant' by improved 'productivity' and production for profit rather than social need, is a more than adequate basis from which to set about solving all of Scotland's problems - not least, that of adequately housing our people.

Footnote: On 15.9.73 the sub-convenor of Glasgow Corporation housing committee revealed that evictions for 1973 would total over 800 (200 in 1968, 400 in 1971) with arrears totalling an estimated £1 million. If the Labour champions of City Chambers are genuinely concerned for their 'slock' they should stop these scandalous evictions.

(C.F. & V.B.)

Middle East - War & "Peace".

Israeli Aggression. The recent war in the Middle-East & its continuing aftermath have shattered the illusion of 'detente' in the world, fostered in particular by the Soviet social-imperialists (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds). That 'detente' in so far as it applied to the Middle-East was simply a tacit 'legalisation' of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the continued denial of the fundamental national rights of the Palestinians. The Zionist state of Israel is not 'a homeland for the Jews' but an imperialist bridgehead in the Middle-East and as such has no 'right' to exist; whereas in a democratic, non-sectarian state of Palestine Jews would enjoy full democratic rights along with Moslems, Christians & others.

Super-power Rivalry & Collusion. The recent counter-attack of the Arab & Palestinian forces against Israeli aggression threw the two super-powers - USA & USSR - into a panic since the situation of 'no war, no peace' they had been seeking to impose for their own ends was rudely shattered - things were getting 'out of control'. Daggers drawn in their rivalry for influence & power in that strategic part of the world, they were, nevertheless, united in their opposition to the fierce anger of the Arab & Palestinian peoples.

To those who are under the impression that the Soviet Union is the staunchest supporter (even the instigator!?) of the Arab struggle, we point out that this 'assistance' is entirely self-interested & ultimately bogus. As well as supplying Israel with urgently needed manpower, the Soviet social-imperialists only agree to supply the Arabs with weapons as and when they themselves see fit in order to retain maximum control over the situation in their own interests. Nor is this arms-dealing without financial benefit to themselves since they demand in return much-needed foreign currency to boost their flagging economy, as well as other political, economic and military 'favours'.

If there is any doubt about the true alignment of forces over the Middle-East we just need to remember the spectacle of Kissinger - that dirty low-down hireling of a dirty low-down administration - kow-towing with the Soviet revisionists and jointly manipulating the United Nations with them to impose 'stability' on that part of the world. By what right do they appoint themselves keepers of the world 'peace' (i.e. preservers of their own dominion)? It may be that they have met with some temporary success in their efforts to stem the military efforts of the Arabs - the USA overtly, the USSR covertly - (whereas the Palestinians fight on) but in the process it becomes clearer to the people of the world that you cannot rely on one super-power to defeat the adventures of the other. We defy those who attempt to put China in the super-power bracket to produce a shred of evidence of China making any agreement at the ex-

pense of a third party or parties other than imperialism itself.

Concrete Support for Arabs & Palestinians. Apart from the need for solidarity with the Arab and Palestinian people, two sharp lessons can be drawn by the workers here in Scotland. Firstly that while imperialism lasts "detente" is an illusion. There can be no peace in the Middle - East or anywhere else so long as rival imperialisms use the world as an arena for political, economic and military operations, suppressing the just struggles of the people of all lands in the process. Nixon's alerting of U.S. nuclear and military bases throughout the world including those in Scotland (without so much as a 'by your leave' to 'our own' debilitated bourgeoisie) shows the immediacy of the danger.

Secondly these events have brought into sharp focus some other realities of the present international situation. The quite justified use of the 'oil-weapon' by the Arab states has revealed the extent to which imperialism relies on the exploitation of the resources of the developing countries. As well as U.S. imperialism becoming enraged at the refusal of its erstwhile junior partners in western Europe to tow the line in the face of the oil-embargo, coming as it does on top of the developing antagonism in several spheres between the Common Market and the U.S.A., the Western European States were themselves most indignant at the way they were ignored by the Super-Powers in the Middle East events. Nor have these events been without their effect on the fragile "unity" based on self-interest of the E.E.C. it self.

Knowing that U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-imperialism are equally keen in their rivalry over the European sphere we in Scotland along with the people of the rest of Europe and the world must be aware that we cannot rely on our own immediate oppressor- British imperialism- to defend us in the process. Our first duty to ourselves and the peoples of the world including the Arabs and Palestinians must be to attack that system of imperialism where we find it which is primarily "at home" and in the process of establishing a Workers' Republic here in Scotland kick out those Yankee submarines etc. from the Holy Loch and elsewhere which it is only too likely were and are sailing from here to the recent theatre of war.

from
Cont. P35) wasted effort on the part of genuine patriots

Footnote: While distributing our by-election leaflet "Tory Promises, Labour Promises, Liberal Hypocrisy and SNP Humbug" in Govan and North Edinburgh we were often asked why we opposed the SNP which was "a united front for independence!" We agree on the tactical need for a united front but hope that the above shows how it is precisely in tactics that the SNP is totally bankrupt. Apart from this they go beyond the single issue of "independence" by welcoming foreign investment, NATO, the Monarchy etc. It takes more than a few renegades from the Tory & Labour Parties etc. to make a united front which is worthy of the name.

Kilbrandon & Govan.

Amidst great publicity the Kilbrandon oracle on the British constitution (that famous unwritten one that they make up as they go along) has finally spoken. Like most oracles what it had to say was not worth hearing and, equally predictably, is already being forgotten. Our purpose here is not to remind anyone of its worthless contents but to expose the illusion that this Report (and the S.N.P. win at Govan) are of any great significance for the people of Scotland.

When Winnie Ewing was elected for the Scottish National Party at Hamilton in 1968 we said, "There is a way ahead but not via Parliament." On Margo MacDonald's election at Govan in 1973 we say, "History repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce."

To the "Communist" Party of "Great" Britain especially its Scottish committee who have all but claimed responsibility for Kilbrandon we say, "When you have finished advising imperialism on how to organise its state, perhaps you will find time to study Marxism-Leninism on the subject."

Is it not the case that the political machinery of the UK imperialist state is specifically designed to guarantee the power and wealth of the minority ruling class? That as well as seeking to ensure the continued exploitation of the toiling majority throughout the UK, the state apparatus seeks to preserve its territorial integrity by keeping the smaller nations within the unified British state? Who will deny that for these purposes the ultimate authority of the state rests on physical violence as evidenced in Aden, Ireland and during the whole course of England's imperial disintegration? Are not such trappings as the Westminster Parliament and Royal Commissions simply lacquer on steel? They are used to divert and bog down potential threats to the power and unity of the imperialist state, leaving violence to be used as the ultimate resort. British imperialism is like an old cat which knows well how to play with its food, claws retracted - until the food makes a genuine attempt to escape.

This is the level on which Kilbrandon should be judged - this is the reality of the strategic and tactical subservience to imperialism represented by the Parliamentary electoral line of the SNP and CPGB. Will the people of Scotland, the vast majority of whom are increasingly class-conscious working people, be "granted" a genuinely democratic National convention by the very imperialism which benefits from their subservience and exploitation or shall they rely in the first place on their own resources and initiative to create their own fighting institutions and hurl, not a couple of MP's, but a DIRECT CHALLENGE at the Westminster Dictatorship. Without this perspective, all else is so much - Cont P34.



Joseph Stalin
see page 22

1820 Commemoration.

The Radical Revolt of 1820 was marked by the annual march from Glasgow Green to Sighthill Cemetery on 9 Sept. organised by the Scottish Martyrs Commemoration Committee. (Sec. John Murphy).

At the monument to Baird, Hardie & Wilson - patriots & early trade unionists - there were several short speeches including one from Duncan Toms on behalf of the WPS who described the Radicals as true patriots & democrats in the tradition of Thomas Muir & John MacLean. Freddy Anderson recited his fine Ballad of the Calton Weavers.

"The Cheviot, the Stag, & the Black, Black Oil" by John McGrath, performed by the 7:84 Theatre Co. (7% of the population owns 84% of the wealth).

This versatile group have done a very useful job taking this excellent 'Ceilidh Play' on an extensive tour of the often remote areas with which it is most immediately concerned as well as performing in the big centres. Its mixture of history & humour, song & dance all adds up to a sharp exposure of the motives & methods for the treatment of the Highlanders from the Clearances for sheep & game to the present oil-rush. Their next production will be 'John MacLean Lives!'

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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