

SCOTTISH VANGUARD

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"Political Power



grows out of



the Barrel of a Gun!" -

ALL HAIL THE GREAT VICTORIES OF THE
PEOPLE OF GUINEA-BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE
& ANGOLA OVER PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM!

'THEY' have made up their minds

UNITE AGAINST FASCISM!

NO 'FREEDOM' FOR FASCISTS! THEY ONLY
UNDERSTAND ONE THING:-

A FIST STRONGER THAN THEIR OWN!
WHICH THE WORKERS CAN PROVIDE IN ABUND-
ANCE BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF CORRECT
TACTICS & SCIENTIFIC LEADERSHIP - page 2.

Contents also include:-

	<u>page.</u>
"The British Road to a Scottish Parliament.".....	4
Soaring prices & the crisis in agriculture.....	6
The military "rumbled" in 1919.....	7
Ireland - Troops Out!.....	7
Who are the real "spongers"?.....	8
The Scottish Farmer Militant.....	9
A Big Ignorant Parasite.....	10
Chile - a year of brutal reaction and the lessons to be learned.....	11
All foreign forces out of Cyprus! - USA & USSR out of the Mediterranean!..	11
Labour fiddles - Workers struggle.....	12
Comrade Burton Mackay.....	10

1st Oct 1949 - 1st Oct 1974: 25 years of HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS by the WORKERS AND
PEASANTS OF CHINA in building their great SELF-RELIANT, SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S REPUB-
LIC under the OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP of their COMMUNIST PARTY and CHAIRMAN MAO.

For a Workers' Republic of Scotland

"THEY" have made up their minds.

The more astute and ruthless profit-mongers, the capitalists, national and international, whose sole motive is not merely to secure good but aiming to ensure limitless maximum profits, have already made up their minds that the British parliament and its related government machine are no longer capable of securing and preserving maximum profits, despite having, over the years, poured countless thousands of pounds into the coffers of the Tory party. In the context of mounting inflation of the currency throughout the capitalist world these parasites must suppress wage claims and the power of the class-conscious workers' organisations. Hence the emergence of General Walker's 'Unison', Colonel Stirling's 'Great Britain 75', Tory M.P. Colonel Mather's 'Law and Order Vigilantes', Tory M.P. John Gorst's 'Middle Class Association', the National (Nazi) Front, the astute Enoch Powell, and the goodwill towards them all of Lord (Bonkers) Hailsham and Geoffrey Rippon. Clearly these riff-raff have the cordial sympathy of the Engineering Employers' Federation, the Monday Club, some elements in the Orange Order, Aims of Industry, Common Cause, the Economic League etc..

Enormous financial and material resources are behind these agencies of our enemies and, as with Hitler and Krupps etc., very liberal funds are being switched from the old allies to the revived and sub-human weapon of fascism.

These vital and powerful enemies of the people have already made up their minds that the forthcoming 'general election is of no consequence, whoever wins, and will in due course make a supreme effort to sweep aside our feeble 'democratic' institutions to save their monopolist profits by establishing a ruthless dictatorship which could not fail to lead in due course to war in the pitiless scramble for shrinking profitable world markets. That is the nature of the beast.

A MOST REVEALING CASE.

Andrew Steele, ex-army rifleman and a member of the Orange Order, was recently found guilty of having guns and ammunition in his Edinburgh house and sentenced to two years in prison. Steele was accused of participating in a U.D.A. training exercise in Lanarkshire and amongst other items found in his house were literature of the Orange Order and the National Front, Red Hand fatigue cap and 'Lanarkshire' shoulder flash.

This was a most revealing case and

justifies the warning given seven years ago in the first edition of the Manifesto of the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) that as the crisis of declining capitalism deepened fascist and neo-fascist tendencies would be manifested in various ways by apparently entirely different persons and organisations. Now that their clandestine activities in Scotland are exposed they must be ruthlessly uprooted and destroyed.

FASCISM, NEO-FASCISM, AND CRUDE SECTARIANISM IN SCOTLAND.

Racialism as it is experienced in certain parts of England is less of a problem in Scotland, but we are plagued by a certain amount of sectarian squabbling and by dangerous relations with fascism as illustrated above. Fascist creatures fan these embers and one can anticipate that wealthy scum at one end of the social scale and lumpen types at the other will give financial and physical support to their racialist and sectarian ideas.

Still more sinister and subtle developments, however, have been the recent statements of people prominent in private industry etc. in Scotland as elsewhere and whose theme has been the need for "strong government", "real leadership", "bring the troops into the streets". These or similar remarks have come from such as Charles Douglas-Home, H.B. Pirie of Scott and Robertson, Dundee, R.J. Roberts of Fettes (snob) College, Edinburgh. The people must not hesitate to pin-point such neo-fascists whose attitude of hostility to the working class, coupled with the spurious pacifist "give freedom to fascists to express their ideas", is the classic softening-up process which has preceded the transfer of financial aid from obsolete and impotent Toryism to fascism for its brutal seizure of power, as happened, for example, in Indonesia, Greece, Chile and, earlier, in Italy, Germany and Spain. We must know who are the conscious and also the unwitting allies of fascism. We must never be afraid to name and denounce them. Our freedom and safety from brutality are at stake.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FASCISM.

The present situation can be traced back at least to the abject failure of the Second International to oppose the war in 1914; the lack of correct theoretical understanding; the success of the Russian Revolution; the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Europe and its subsequent dec-

line; the 1926 General Strike and its threat to the British capitalist establishment. Thereafter revolts by the workers were suppressed by force in one form or another - thus the triumph of the bourgeoisie leading to the development of fascism, capitalism's ultimate weapon, in several countries. Labour leaders were frequently seduced by the perks provided by the capitalists and thus were in fact allies of the enemies of the workers. During this period efforts were made often in large, even vast, demonstrations which too often suffered from pacifist ideas leading to foolish appeals to avoid countering fascism by the physical power of the workers and to rely upon 'constitutional' or parliamentary methods.

WHAT IS FASCISM?

Georgi Dimitrov, the great Bulgarian Marxist-Leninist, who, with extraordinary bravery, successfully defied and defeated the German Nazi courts, described fascism as "a most atrocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people" - "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialist elements of finance capital". In his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 Dimitrov stated that, "Before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory".

It would be a profound and serious mistake to equate social-democracy and revisionism with fascism itself, except in that they generally fall into the category of those who fail as described above by Dimitrov. The Trotskyists often allege that Stalin and the Comintern did equate the social-democrats with the fascists in the late 20's and early 30's. They do this through their usual practice of covering up the actual facts and manufacturing lies to 'prove' their interpretation, in a vicious attempt to discredit Stalin and the Comintern and cover up the role of Trotskyism.

We have definitely witnessed over the past few years such 'pre-fascist manoeuvring' by the bourgeoisie - from anti-immigration laws and the arrest of pickets to statutory and "voluntary" attempts to restrict wages and incorporate the trade unions into the state structure, as well as

the use of the army in Ireland. But as these measures which, in the main, rely on some pretence of 'democratic consensus' for their imposition meet with the resistance of the working class, significant sections of the monopoly capitalists are becoming increasingly impatient with the fetters and expensive facade of 'parliamentary democracy' and the conventional parties' failure to deliver the goods, and are now turning to fascism.

Fascism is an international phenomenon in the fight against which the working people of the world have gained considerable experience. It operates according to general laws of the period of the decline of imperialism, while having particular characteristics peculiar to individual countries and also inducing deep contradictions amongst the capitalist states. This was dramatically illustrated when the Soviet Union under the undisputed leadership of comrade Stalin, and the anti-fascist forces of the world united to destroy the Nazi power and fascist Italy.

Whilst in all circumstances fascism rests ultimately on the physical force of the capitalist state, monopoly capitalism naturally attempts to create favourable public opinion through the creation and financing of reactionary political organisations and demagogic leaders, and by appeals to "national unity". They also try to split the working people by playing upon racial and sectarian differences in order to 'divide and rule'. The capitalist press T.V. and radio give extensive space to the fascist point of view as we have experienced to the full in recent months, with no opportunity to Marxist-Leninists to counter these spurious "news" items.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS FOR ACTION IN SCOTLAND TODAY.

The reality of the class struggle has settled the question of the strategic importance of the working-class as the final and reliable source of a powerful movement against the reactionary force of fascism. The question of tactics, however, is not by any means so clear. "We are many, they are few" but, meantime, the enemy have the weapons, the capitalist state machine with its "legality", its police, its armed forces, its foreign friends. Such vast power must and can be wrested from the minority. Correct tactics can most certainly achieve this, but not by throwing masses of the naked against the serried ranks of bayonets or even batons.

Theoretical clarity and correct analysis of the circumstances linked to scientific preparation, as distinct from mere wishful sloganising, will produce correct

tactics based upon an enlightened leadership which the talents of our working class can provide in abundance. Such realistic leadership is crucial and at no time will confuse the desirable with the possible, Hence the importance of learning from the history of the struggle against reaction, lessons of failures and successes. Too often deep enthusiasm and selfless bravery have been dissipated owing to lack of far-seeing and skilled leadership. The achievements of correct leadership and the great and successful post-war struggles, generally based upon guerrilla actions resulted from recognition of the need to attack when the enemy is weak, to avoid direct confrontation with a stronger foe and ultimately, by a combination of skilful leadership achieving victory. Such successful leadership had analysed carefully and objectively all the circumstances of the context in which they operated. We must learn the same lesson.

STRENGTH FROM UNITY.

Of course 'Unity is Strength', but unity with whom? Wilson, Heath and Thorpe constantly talk about their anxiety to promote the interests of all the people of the U.K. and the Scottish National Party claims to be dedicated to the social and economic improvement of all the people. There can be no unity between the people, especially the working masses, and the fascists and neo-fascists and their capitalist masters whose aim is the absolute suppression of all forms of democratic self-expression.

"The British Road"

- TO A SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT!?

At a meeting in Partick Burgh Halls, Glasgow, on 29.8.74 on the subject of 'A Scottish Parliament and the Fight for Socialism', Jimmy Reid put forward the following definition of a nation (with which we do not disagree):-

"A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

When asked by a worker in the audience as to why in the whole course of his address he had made no mention of John MacLean, Reid, who is well-known for his references to the New Testament, stated that he did not believe in quoting from "Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung or Sir Harry Lauder (sic!)".

We can only conclude, therefore, that in his important work 'Marxism and the National Question' written in 1916 J.V. Stalin

It must be clear that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the decent humane people of all ideologies and the fascists. Fascism must be destroyed before it gets a chance to destroy us.

Our allies for justice and defence against fascism will be, must be, from amongst the broadest sections of the people whether trade unionists, catholics, presbyterians, housewives, youth, patriots, indeed all who cherish and aspire to a just and equitable society. Unity of all genuine anti-fascists must be based upon a simple straight-forward policy and programme of action by all and any means necessary and denying fascism and fascists any rights whatever of so-called 'free speech' and organisation. Remember Hitler's claims to such freedoms and the bloody sequel!

We must not look askance at allies with whom we may disagree on general political, cultural or religious questions when such allies are concerned as we are, are above-board in their dealings and having no ulterior motives, to destroy fascism as the enemy of all that is meant by democracy for the people, but to deny liberty and freedom for the fascists the opportunity to steal ours.

Beware of the agent-provocateur. Defend all the elements of democratic rights we at present possess.

OUR LIABILITIES - Disunity and thus dissipated leadership.

OUR ASSETS - The masses of our people.

had a premonition of this address by Reid and quoted from it since the exact wording of the above definition of a nation is to be found therein. Anyone doubtful of the truth of this incredible tale should consult volume 2 page 307 of Stalin's Works (Moscow 1953) where he or she will find the said definition transcribed - 58 years before it was uttered! It may be a cause for some concern, not to say indignation, to see that comrade Stalin did not acknowledge the source of this quotation - but perhaps he did not believe in quoting from Sir Harry either.

In answering the question about John MacLean, Reid made the quite unjustifiable suggestion that MacLean, in calling for a Workers' Republic in Scotland, had somehow relegated the class struggle to a secondary position. In fact MacLean's position was that the workers of Scotland would secure neither socialism nor self-determination

through the British imperialist United Kingdom Westminster parliament and that that they should rely on their own efforts and organisation and the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard party to secure both. The dangerous bankruptcy of the opposing parliamentarian line was fully revealed when, in answer to a question on the menace of resurgent fascism, Reid played down the question and suggested that in some ways it could be viewed as a bit of a joke.

DEVOLUTION FROM WESTMINSTER OR REVOLUTION
HERE?

The opportunist schemes and demagogic promises of Labour, Tories, Liberals as well as the Kilbrandon 'Communists' on the question of a Scottish Assembly etc. are designed simply to deceive the people of Scotland into giving up their demand for national self-determination and to buy time for British imperialism which will never 'grant' this democratic right to the people. And when this deception fails to keep the people quiet imperialism will inevitably try and grab the big stick of fascism with which to impose 'unity' on 'the British nation' just as it was imposed in 1707 by a tiny clique of landlords and lawyers backed by their counterparts in England.

Even emergent capitalism in Scotland was unhappy with the first fifty years or so of the Union - until the benefits of its part-share in the British imperialist blood feast consequent on the 'industrial revolution' bore fruit. Although some of them are today less enthusiastic about the Union due to the decline of British imperialism, as a whole they rely too much on the U.K. state for the protection of their wealth and power at home and abroad to risk breaking it up at this late stage. While many of them have had their 'national' appetites whetted by the discovery and development of oil in the Scottish sector of the North Sea they must know that for them to get sovereign control over it, besides being beyond their capabilities, would involve a physical confrontation with their erstwhile partners in England who are already spending future oil revenues. Thieves will fall out but such a confrontation would throw everything into the melting-pot since the mass of the people, having fought for national self-determination, would not be prepared to hand over the fruits of their struggle to parasites of any nationality - especially if, as proposed by the SNP, the same international oil monopolies were to be allowed to continue their robbery uninterrupted.

Consequently sections of the capitalist class in Scotland are content for the moment to use popular aspirations for self-

determination as a lever to get themselves a bigger slice of the British imperialist cake. A reformist 'nationalism' claiming to represent all the people and "dedicated" to the illusory British parliamentary 'constitutional' road to self-government "within the Commonwealth" suits them as a pressure group to this end.

SELF-RELIANCE.

As the people of Scotland stand up in the dignified role of self-reliance any 'support' from these parasites will rapidly dwindle; their 'patriotism' will evaporate in the face of any real threat to the status quo which guarantees their wealth and privilege.

Only the working people of Scotland - the vast majority - have the motivation, power and ability to pursue the struggle for genuine national self-determination through to the end by any and every means they find necessary - through the spirit and practice of self-reliance which inspired our greatest national figures - William Wallace, Thomas Muir of Huntershill, the rebels of 1820 and John MacLean. (D.T.)

Postscript: The Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) is from time to time criticised from the 'right' and from the 'left' for being "too communist" and "too nationalist". This is a suitable opportunity to restate the basic political line of the Party on the question of socialism and self-determination.

The people of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland have the same main enemy in British monopoly capitalism. The British imperialist United Kingdom state as well as denying the democratic right to national self-determination of the people of Scotland Wales and Ireland, guarantees the continued exploitation and oppression of the working class in all four nations who have a profound common interest, along with patriotic non-proletarian elements, in smashing that state. What could be more desirable than a combined struggle against the common enemy to establish Workers' Republics in all four countries (the question of federation and/or other arrangements to be decided according to the free wills of the co-operating units). It would be quite unjustifiable to rule out even the possibility of such a united revolutionary movement.

Does this mean that the people of Scotland must wait for such a united revolutionary movement to develop before exercising their democratic right to national self-determination? Should they "postpone" the question "until socialism is established in Britain"? Certainly not! To adopt such a stance would be equally indefensible and

would be tantamount to denying that very right to self-determination. It would be 'Great British' chauvinism in a 'left-wing' disguise. The people of Scotland have a duty not only to themselves but to the people of England, Wales, Ireland and the rest of the world to pursue to the utmost the struggle against British imperialism through resolute and self-reliant action.

SOARING PRICES FOOD SHORTAGES AGRICULTURAL CHAOS
MOUNTAINS OF BEEF HUGE STOCKS OF BUTTER BANKRUPTCIES

The farmers in Scotland, England, Wales and the rest of western Europe are marching and demonstrating - trapped between the rising cost of feeding-stuffs, fertilizer and machinery on the one hand, and falling prices for their produce on the other. Their profit margin is so small that they threaten to halt production of meat, milk, butter, cheese and eggs unless they receive a substantial increase for the produce, either by subsidy or direct from the housewife. In either case the consumer pays, directly or indirectly, and the vicious circle continues; another round of wage demands, another rise in prices - a problem "BEYOND THE WITS OF MAN TO SOLVE" - "MEN HAVE RACKED THEIR BRAINS IN VAIN TO SOLVE IT" (two statements heard on the radio). The farmers are fully justified in their demands as are the workers in their struggle against a lowering of their living standards.

The capitalist class, unwilling to face the real cause, place the responsibility for inflation on the workers, on their "continuous demands" for "exorbitant increases" in wages "without regard to the national interest". The workers' demands for increases, essential to prevent a decline in their standard of living, are the effect of inflation and not the cause.

"SCOTTISH WORKERS' REPUBLICAN PARTY"

This was the name of John MacLean's great Party the revolutionary political line of which is being carried on today by the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist). Recently a group of Trotskyites (mainly members of the 'International Marxist Group') started calling themselves by this name. They should not be confused with the Party of MacLean's time, nor with the WPS(ML).

THE REAL CAUSE OF INFLATION.

The cause of inflation is to be found in capitalism itself - 'defence expenditure' (war preparation), the insatiable demands of finance capital, currency speculation, the 80,000 million Euro-dollars disowned by the United States. In the fiscal year 1975 the USA will spend 22,000 million dollars on 'defence' - 12,000 million for military aircraft, vessels and other means of war, 9,000 million for research and development of new-type weapons, and a further 1,000 million of "military assistance" will be given to the Saigon regime. As the USA's currency is not tied to gold, nor their spending tied to the budget, a great amount of inflated paper currency goes into circulation.

On 21st January 1973 a £523 million leap in Britain's 'defence' bill was announced, bringing the total up to £3,365 million for 1973-74. Faced with a record financial and economic crisis, they yet find increasing amounts to spend on instruments of war. Imperialism, hell-bent on its own destruction, races towards its doom and, sensing the instability of the structure, the forces of fascism re-emerge - an ominous sign of storms ahead for the trade unions and all progressively-minded people.

WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND
(MARXIST-LENINIST)

All correspondence for Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) & Scottish Vanguard to:-
c/o Vanguard Books,
270 Paisley Road,
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Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Enver Hoxha, John MacLean, James Connolly, books and periodicals from China, Albania, Vietnam at Vanguard Books - open on Wednesdays 6-8 pm & Saturdays 10 am - 2 pm. Send for book-list of socialist literature.

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Correspondence, articles etc. always welcome for possible publication.

PEKING REVIEW - an invaluable political weekly on Chinese & world affairs - £1.80 per year from Vanguard Books. Also GEORGI DIMITROV'S Report to the 7th Congress of the Communist International, 1935 - "FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM" 65P

All donations to Party funds for publications, leaflets etc. most welcome.

It may be well to remind people that, during the unstable period for the capitalist system that followed the imperialist war of 1914-18, the British government seriously considered using the armed forces on an extensive scale against the workers (as they did in Glasgow in 1919) and sent the following documents to all units:-

"Secret and urgent.

(form number)

- 1) I am directed to inform you that, until further notice, you will furnish information on the headings hereunder as regards the troops in your area, and that you will arrange for a report to reach this office without fail not later than first post each Thursday morning.
 - a) Will they in various areas respond to orders for assistance to preserve the public peace?
 - b) Will they assist in strike-breaking?
 - c) Will they parade for draft overseas, especially to Russia?
 - d) What has been the effect of Army Order XIV of 1919 on the men; do they consider the policy of dividing the army into the classes of 'demobilisables' and 'non-demobilisables' a sound one, and, if so, do they think that the line of cleavage has been equitably fixed; is there any dissatisfaction with either the principles or the details of that order, and, if so, what are your recommendations?
 - e) Any other information or suggestions.
- 2) You will give your own views for the information of the General Officer Commanding.
- 3) You will, of course, understand that any material change in a situation and any cases of disorder or indiscipline are to be reported at once.
- 4) The above is to be circulated to all Officers Commanding Stations, Formations and Units in the area under your command and, to save time, you will please instruct Officers Commanding Stations to forward reports under the headings given above direct to these Headquarters, attaching any report from an Officer Commanding Formation or Unit which is of importance. They will quote the above number and mark the reports "Secret and Urgent".
- 5) I am to add that the above is required with a view to the establishment of an efficient Intelligence Service, whereby the Army Council can keep its finger on the pulse of the troops, and that the information desired is required for the information of the Secretary of State.

(sgd).....
for Command."

Somehow the Daily Herald obtained these secret circulars and published them on 13th May 1919. When the next Army Estimates came before Parliament Adamson read out these circulars and asked the War Secretary for a full explanation, touching off a heated debate. (PD, 116 (29 May 1919), cols. 1470-1570). (M.G.)

IRELAND - Troops Out !

The recent strike organised by the 'Ulster Workers' Council' was a sharp illustration of the fact that there can be NO BRITISH 'SOLUTION' TO IRISH QUESTIONS apart from leaving the Irish people (of all religions or none) free to settle their own affairs. All the major 'problems' in the north of Ireland were and are caused by British imperialism and it is the primary obligation and internationalist duty of the people of Scotland (and England and Wales) to demand and work for AN IMMEDIATE END TO BRITISH INTERVENTION IN IRELAND - in particular the WITHDRAWAL OF THE ARMY and the

ENDING OF INTERNMENT.

No British imperialist government, Tory or Labour (who are just as determined to preserve the interests of the capitalist and imperialist exploiters at home and abroad - sending troops to Korea, Malaya, and Aden as well as Ireland) has offered or will offer the people of Ireland anything but exploitation and repression. Now the fascist Enoch Powell and the Hitlerite National Front are poking their pig-snouts into Ireland in a last vain attempt to stem the tide of history for their British imperialist masters. Long experience shows, e.g. Algeria, Aden,

Vietnam, Africa, that imperialism will never 'give up' until forced to - the historic task in which the Irish people have long been engaged and in which they must have the full support of our people.

WHO ARE THE REAL "SPONGERS"?

Wilson's frenzied attack on the people of northern Ireland as "spongers" (a reference to self-interested British imperialist 'aid') is worthy of particular note by the working people of Scotland since similar "regional aid" - "development grants" and "employment premiums" - are used to attract parasites north of the border in order to "sponge" off the workers here. It used to be further alleged until the recent development of off-shore oil that government expenditure in Scotland amounted to more than the taxes collected. Even if this were true it would only be an exposure of the depressed state in which British monopoly capitalism holds the Scottish economy.

We await with anticipation a televised attack by Wilson on those close cousins of the Irish "spongers", the Scottish "soakers", who are showing their 'gratitude' to that well-known charitable institute, the British imperialist U.K. state by stepping up their demand for national self-determination.

This government 'aid' (which is infinitesimal, £40 million for 1972-73, compared with the lion's share of Scotland's gross national product of £6,000 million which goes to the capitalists, and compared with the enormous government hand-outs from which the monopoly capitalists benefit anyway) comes from the taxes paid and the total wealth created by the working people. In other words a chunk of the wages earned by the workers goes straight back into the pockets of the capitalists to help them pay the next lot of wages without the usual intermediate stage of the wages being exchanged for high-cost housing and exorbitantly priced foods and other commodities and services. To put it another way, as well as the working class creating all the real wealth of society, they are also, through the intermediary of the capitalist state, actually PAYING A PROPORTION OF THEIR OWN WAGES, in the same way that they pay their own unemployment "benefit", "social security" and the rest of the "welfare" state.

THE JOHN MACLEAN SOCIETY.

meets on the FIRST SUNDAY OF EVERY MONTH in the TRADES UNION CENTRE, CARLTON PLACE, GLASGOW.

3 pm - Business Meeting.

4 pm - Public Discussion Meeting.

The Society is concentrating its efforts on re-establishing the SCOTTISH LABOUR COLLEGE, independent working class education as pioneered by MacLean in Scotland.

CAPITALISM & FOREIGN INVESTMENT OR SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE?

In behaving in this way monopoly capitalism is again revealing its own redundancy since it shows that the working class could regulate production and consumption without having to support a tiny group of enormously expensive parasites in the process who are a fetter on the development of production. But it is a well-established fact that "the capitalists will do anything for the workers - except get off their backs".

The people of Scotland, Ireland and other lands have no more need for this sort of 'assistance' than they have for foreign imperialist investment (U.S., British, or whatever) which, far from 'solving' any problems, simply creates new ones and aggravates existing difficulties since its sole purpose is to extract maximum profits for the monopoly capitalists who will only "provide employment" so long as it is profitable for them to do so but will close down and pull out (at little cost to themselves but at great cost to the people) as soon as this ceases to be the case - as instanced by the closure of countless branch plants in Scotland and the more recent examples of Robertsons Jam Factory in Paisley, Beaverbrooks in Glasgow where the workers are continuing the fight to save some of the jobs by setting up their own paper, the Scottish Daily News, as well as the case of the cut-back in production at Singers, Clydebank leading to "work-sharing". NOR SHOULD WE OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT SCOTTISH CAPITALISTS EXTRACT LARGE SUMS FROM THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY FOR INVESTMENT ABROAD TO EXPLOIT THE WORKERS THERE FOR GREATER PROFITS.

In struggling to put an end to this parasitical bean-feast in a self-reliant socialist republic, the workers of Scotland will not be "biting the hand that feeds them" - they will be "KICKING THE TEETH THAT BITE THEM".

25 YEARS OF SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE.

The Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L)
Hails

THE TWENTY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
CHINA ON 1ST OCTOBER 1949.

Twenty five years of revolutionary advance: on the international front - as a leading force in the proletarian revolutionary and national liberation movement and against the hegemony of U.S. & Soviet imperialism. on the economic front - great victories despite U.S. blockade & Soviet sabotage. on the cultural front - continuing revolution with criticism of Confucius & Lin Piao.

The Scottish Farmer Militant —

Has He Become a 'Red'? - If Not, Why Not?

As one who was a farm worker until my early twenties and, therefore, familiar with the general attitude of mind of the agriculturalist, and having participated in numerous demonstrations by industrial workers since then, it was to me a somewhat amazing spectacle to see over 2,000 farmers from many parts of Scotland, as distinct from their wage-earning employees, marching with banners and numerous slogan placards to interview the Secretary of State for Scotland at St Andrews House, Edinburgh on 10.9.74. That they had an overwhelming and very urgent case for action is borne out by such facts as rocketing prices of feeding-stuffs, fertilizer, machinery, oil; tomato industry on the verge of collapse as happened to the Scottish sugar beet industry a few years ago; cattle losing £20-£40 per head; no market for calves; cattle and sheep rearers in the hills and uplands facing financial ruin; milk production uneconomic; pigs losing £3 per head; egg losses at 5P per dozen and guaranteed price for beef cancelled by the government. A few days later the protest was reinforced by west of Scotland farmers to Glasgow Corporation and by Highland farmers at Oban.

THE FARM WORKER - THE WORKING FARMER - THE 'GENTLEMAN' FARMER.

Whilst fully appreciating the significance of these facts we must fill in some serious gaps. The wage earning farm worker, a very highly skilled primary producer of the most important of all commodities, food, is still shockingly underpaid, even by comparison with his industrial comrade and generally living in the feudal system of the tied cottage which he must vacate at the whim of his employer. His numbers have fallen dramatically with the mechanisation of agricultural and horticultural processes. This must continue on a calamitous scale if production falls as predicted by farmers.

The whole situation is bound to aggravate the hardships of the working farmer. Those who survive the depression will endeavour to save themselves by turning more and more into themselves and their families by mechanisation, long working hours - often 7 days a week. This has already happened in countless cases of the smaller farms, in stock-breeding and feeding in particular. No wonder that many sons and daughters, however much they love the land and country life, leave to find more remunerative and socially acceptable lives outside agriculture, frequently to white collar jobs where their talents are often wasted in socially negative professions, leaving the uncongen-

ial rural struggle to aging and otherwise less vigorous members of the rural community

The financial parasites, including categories of so-called 'Gentlemen' - non-working - farmers have seized the opportunities presented by post-war subsidies to invest in the purchase of many of the best, and certainly not the less fertile, hill farm lands, and have co-ordinated production on large-scale bases with a small labour force, thus reaping great profits. These people contribute nothing of social value that the working farmer could not have done better. Thus the tendency has been towards big scale 'factory' farming, the basic aim always, of course, to maximise profits for the non-producing exploiter. Numerous examples can be given of this process with its catastrophic effect upon rural social and cultural values and employment - in particular of the Gaelic speaking, crofting communities.

LAND - RENT - INTEREST - MIDDLEMEN.

The working farmer and the farm employee both suffer through the burden of rents imposed by landowners all of whose 'rights' of ownership have no historical basis of social justice. In fact such 'rights' arose originally from strong-arm thefts of common lands, seizure of church lands at the Reformation and gifts from monarchs for services rendered. All these lands are now graced with 'legal' title-deeds based upon 'laws' enacted by rump parliaments or simply by the decision of one or another dictator. All private owners of land should be compelled to produce title-deeds provided by god, the reputed creator of all land. Because of accident of location much land is grossly overvalued to add another burden upon the food producer. There are also vast areas given over to the exclusive recreational activities of the parasites.

Furthermore the agricultural primary producer, like his industrial contemporary, is saddled with enormous interest rates on all capital required for the development of production, whilst profits to quite useless middlemen in the trade in fertilizers, feeding stuffs and machinery are simply a form of capitalist theft. A factor in the decline of agriculture has been the stupid creation of New Towns which detach vast areas of valuable arable land in our central industrial belt when such New Towns should and could have been scattered in the Highlands and certain Border areas where great stretches of less fertile land are available.

All agricultural questions must, of course, be related to the needs of the vast consumer community who, incidentally, were

taxed to provide the heavy subsidies equivalent to the total farm wages bill for many years after the last war. Agricultural producers must be prepared to find themselves partners of and not rivals of the industrial workers when socialism has destroyed the present bankrupt and unjust capitalist system. Instead of international rivalry between food producers, our people will find themselves in harmonious co-operation with contemporaries in Europe and the rest of the world.

OUR FARM POPULATION MUST INCREASE.

Not so long ago the rural areas of Scotland, especially the Borders counties, and, before the notorious Highland Clearances, large populations of working farmers, wage earners and crofters were sustained by comparison with today's serious shrinkage. This can and must be repaired, but only on the basis of high incomes and the removal of all the parasitic impositions referred to in the foregoing.

The circumstances facing our industrial workers forces upon them the necessity of revolutionary scientific socialism, the highest expression of our developing social order, as the only alternative to continued insecurity and the scandalous profiteering of the decadent capitalist class. As vital primary producers our agricultural community cannot fail to find themselves as close allies of our industrial workers and thus enemies of all forms of capitalist exploitation, however disguised in flowery claims to 'democracy' with which these enemies may embellish their greed by their virtual monopoly of the press, radio, T.V. and publicity media. Some of them are now turning their thoughts to fascism in one form or another as these owning class robbers find themselves no longer adequately served by 'parliaments', and, as always in the circumstances of declining power, resort to the bloodiest of all reactionary weapons against the people. Only ill-informed, even ignorant fools, can suffer from the illusion that such brutality cannot happen in Scotland.

A WORKERS' REPUBLIC OF SCOTLAND.

Our Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) policy demanding a Workers' Republic of Scotland certainly embraces all the rural workers and related industry and services every bit as much as our urban workers. Even at today's capitalist estimate of Scotland's ANNUAL National Income of £6,000 million can, if retained in Scotland, provide all the capital required as the basis for agricultural and industrial (including off-shore oil) developments necessary to ensure a greatly improved standard of living for a rural population much greater than today's. We hope that the grim realities

AMADAN MÒR GUN FHEUM.
(Big ignorant parasite)

Comunn Na Cànain Albannaich (the Scottish Language Society) recently wrote to the notorious Distillers Company Ltd. (one of Scotland's biggest monopoly capitalist concerns and peddler in Britain of the drug thalidomide) asking them to support Gaelic by using bilingual signs and labels on their products, particularly on Skye.

In reply DCL chairman MacDonald claimed that the future of the island would not be helped by a movement designed to encourage the "resuscitation" of the Gaelic tongue. "It is, I believe, well known," he babbled, "that the standard of education of the people of Ireland was greatly reduced by the projection of a similar concept there." In other words the national language, culture and history of the people of Scotland, Ireland and elsewhere is of no use to monopoly capitalism and, in fact, represents a big threat to them so they will continue their policy of trying to destroy it.

Frang MacThomais, chairman of Comunn Na Cànain Albannaich, said, "This is the most ill-conceived, arrogant and damning statement I have ever seen by a firm whose very profits have been made from the sweat off the back of Gaelic speakers", and he has asked the members of An Comunn Gaidhealach to boycott DCL products at the annual Mod in Dundee.

*** COMRADE BURTON W. MACKAY. ***

Died on 19th September in Edinburgh in his 76th year. Comrade Burton was a Communist who had a whole lifetime of association and activity in the movement for revolutionary socialism. Imprisoned for a long period for refusing army service in the imperialist war of 1914-1918, he thereafter threw himself into the political and industrial struggle with undiminished zeal. As a bus driver in the Stirling area he was a staunch activist in the trade union movement and continued this work right up to the end in the Old Age Pensioners Association.

He was a Marxist-Leninist who upheld proletarian revolution and national liberation against the betrayal of the revisionists and the "British Road to Socialism". A great admirer of John MacLean he supported the Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) from its inception and the Central Committee takes this opportunity to register deep appreciation in memoriam.

for Scotland's food producers will impel them to study the implications of capitalist failure and the alternative road so clearly mapped out by the Marxist-Leninists. (T.M.)

Chile

THE LESSONS
OF ONE
BRUTAL YEAR.

Cyprus

WITHDRAW ALL
FOREIGN
FORCES!

A year has passed since the U.S. backed fascist coup in Chile. Thousands of working and progressive people have been arrested, tortured and murdered and democratic rights suppressed - the characteristic features of fascism. Although the western press was continually harping on the terrific rate of inflation in Chile during Allende's Popular Unity regime, they are almost completely silent about the fact that it is now much worse - running at over 700% per annum - bringing untold suffering and privation to millions of workers and peasants while the U.S. imperialists and the Chilean reactionaries wax fat.

The activities of the notorious U.S. multinational ITT to prevent the election of Allende having been previously exposed, a further aspect of U.S. imperialist intervention (undoubtedly by no means the whole story) was recently revealed when Kissinger admitted to the U.S. Congress that the CIA (of whose ruling council he is chairman) had been heavily subsidising reactionary circles in Chile against Allende. The "untainted" side-kick and successor of the thoroughly discredited Nixon (who was, all the same, a representative specimen of the U.S. ruling class) Gerald Ford leapt to justify this outrageous admission with the worn-out old claim that they were "protecting democracy" by which he has in mind the U.S. imperialist interests which the people of Chile were in the process of expropriating.

In lending genuine internationalist support to the people of Chile in their struggle against the U.S. backed fascists, it is essential that the people of the world take to heart the fact that the immediate damage has been done (while the Chilean people will undoubtedly achieve ultimate victory over imperialism and domestic reaction) and learn the lessons of this setback (together with those in Indonesia and Greece where the same thing happened) by casting away all pacifist and reformist illusions. The armed forces of the capitalist state are the bourgeoisie's ultimate line of defence which they will inevitably use to protect their wealth and power. The armed forces of capitalism can never 'make' or 'protect' revolutionary advances. As Allende's widow said, "It is not enough to achieve power through elections. The people should have been armed or have had an army at their service". This profound truth has been most positively illustrated in recent years in Indochina and 'Portuguese' Africa.

"WITHOUT A PEOPLE'S ARMY THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING."
(Mao Tse-tung).

The Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cyprus (particularly, from our point of view, those of British imperialism) and the recognition of the national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the island. The people of Cyprus have a vigorous tradition of struggle against imperialism - in particular against British imperialism - in the course of which their national rights were established.

The Greek Colonels having embarked on an aggressive military adventure in Cyprus, Turkey replied in kind. That these events were possible is fundamentally due, not to any basic conflict of interest between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, but to the unstable situation created in the eastern Mediterranean by U.S.-Soviet rivalry and contention for world hegemony. This again exposes the true situation behind the much-trumpeted "detente" against which the people of the world (and in particular of Europe which is the focal point of super-power rivalry) must be on guard.

Both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) have large numbers of warships prowling about in the Mediterranean, keeping a wary eye on each other and ready to take advantage of any developments. On the diplomatic front also they are like a pair of vultures haggling over the prey and waiting to swoop down with various concocted "international solutions" to other people's problems through which they can get their fingers in the pie and establish control over the situation.

SIKKIM - OPPOSE INDIAN ANNEXATION!

Last June, by imposing an Indian dictated 'constitution' on this tiny Himalayan state, India not only deprived Sikkim of its right of independence and self-determination, but sought to incorporate the country into Indian 'political institutions'. Indira Gandhi claimed that this had been "requested" by Sikkim (the same bogus excuse used by her Soviet revisionist backers when they invaded Czechoslovakia) but, as the Hindustan Times pointed out, "No country or people voluntarily choose self-effacement.....the Indian government is not going to persuade the world that Sikkim's annexation to India represents the will of the Sikkimese people".

"COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION & THE PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!"

Labour Fiddles - Workers Struggle

Having failed to suppress the workers' struggle against the capitalists' attempts to make them pay for the crisis through legal measures such as Labour's 'In Place of Strife' and the Conservatives' 'Industrial Relations Act' as well as the wage 'restraints' of both, British monopoly capitalism is now using the Labour government's "social contract" with the Trades Union Congress in an attempt to damp down the class struggle of the workers and hide the fact that they are preparing to increase unemployment and lower real wages by establishing a fascist dictatorship in order to smash the political and economic organisations of the working class. Its main function is this second one, since it is already evident that the class struggle cannot be damped down but can only become more acute.

More and more sections of workers are struggling for economic justice without regard for the provisions of any alleged "social contract" cooked up against their interests and without their consent. Nurses, engineers, teachers, miners, clerical and industrial workers in the motor industry, transport workers together with other sections on a national and local level have taken or are taking action. Employees of Hoovers, Distillers Co. and Scottish bus workers have also taken industrial action, disregarding the 'instructions' of Union 'leaders', showing that they do not regard themselves as in any way obliged to support Labour and its "social contract".

THE ROLE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

is to deceive the working people into continued acceptance of capitalist exploitation. No Labour government has ever 'granted' anything which the working class had not already effectively won through its own decisive action. Together with self-seeking trade union leaders, it is used to disarm the workers and divert their struggle when the intolerable burdens of capitalism have aroused the workers' anger and fighting spirit. Apart from this a Labour government is no different from a Conservative or any other capitalist government, their job being to regulate the class struggle which is the basic feature of present-day society in the interests of the parasitical minority. Whether 'legally' or 'voluntarily' they are intent on putting the trade unions into a capitalist state strait-jacket and on increasing the share of the national income which goes to the non-productive parasites by reducing the share which goes to the vast majority - the working people. They have con-

tinued the capitalist policy of trying to divide the people along racist lines through the use of "immigration" laws against Asian, African and West Indian national minorities. They are as determined as their Tory "opponents" to uphold the interests of British imperialism abroad; the export of capital for super-profits (to South Africa for instance) continues on the same massive scale while they sent troops to Korea, Malaya and Aden as well as Ireland to suppress the anti-imperialist struggles of the people there. Despite recent electioneering promises they have refused to allow the people of Scotland and elsewhere to exercise their democratic right to national self-determination. They have continued a policy of abject servitude towards U.S. imperialism, refusing to throw them and their military bases out of our land and supporting their brutal interference in Indochina and elsewhere as well as that of the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. Their tattered 'nationalisation' platform (in so far as it is not mere empty electioneering) whereby the capitalist state takes over certain key industries in the interests of the whole capitalist class because of their importance for the whole of industry (e.g. steel) together with the fact that they are not "profitable" and must be run down (e.g. coal and railways) is fully in accord with the development of state monopoly capitalism.

PREPARING THE GROUND FOR FASCISM.

To claim that the workers are "better off" under a Labour government is simply to say that British monopoly capitalism appears to be prepared to throw the workers a few more crumbs. This is a particularly dangerous line at present since, while the workers bend to look for these crumbs, capitalism is preparing to hit them over the head. Labour with its "social contract" and appeals for "national unity" is THE ANAESTHETIST FOR THE FASCIST SURGEON. They are even protecting the fascists (e.g. Home Secretary Jenkins defending police action in Red Lion Square) despite the fact that history shows that if the fascists get power they do not spare the social-democrats either. It was the same in Weimar Germany where the social-democrats, who held various government positions, were more interested in combating communism than fascism, thus splitting the working class movement and giving Hitler his chance.

FASCISM WILL NOT BE DEFEATED NOR SOCIALISM ESTABLISHED THROUGH CAPITALISM'S EPHEMERAL BALLOT-BOX BUT THROUGH THE UNITED AND ORGANISED PHYSICAL POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS!
