

SCOTTISH VANGUARD



organ of the
Workers' Party
of Scotland
<Marxist - Leninist.>

★ For a Workers Republic of Scotland ★

"THE ONLY
WAR
THAT IS
WORTH
WAGING
IS THE
CLASS WAR,
THE
WORKERS
AGAINST
THE
WORLD
EXPLOITERS"
John Maclean,
1915.



Volume 5 no. 2.

Price 3p.

Economic Crisis and Class Struggle

GOVERNMENT FOR CAPITALISM.

Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution there is not one single instance of failure by a government of the United Kingdom to perform successfully the main function and motive for its existence. This has always been to consolidate & perpetuate "the exploitation of man by man", - profits for the minority and mere subsistence for the many. The subsistence allowed has, of course, been a little higher in the UK because of vast colonial and financial exploitation of the natives of other lands. And when, for one reason or another, domestic crises, produced by the growing dissatisfaction of the workers, led to the resignation of Tory governments, the Labour Party took the helm to steady the capitalist ship and to guide it to still higher dividends and profits.

CLASS COLLABORATION.

The Labour Party has been ably supported in these treacherous activities by the bigwigs of the Trades Unions, the Trades Union Congress and its Scottish subsidiary, the STUC. Notorious examples are the betrayal of the 1926 General Strike followed by the class collaboration of Turner, President of the TUC, and Mond of the then Federation of British Industries; the empty trumpeting of the post-war Labour government; Barbara Castle's "In Place of Strife" - prelude to the notorious Tory Industrial Relations Act. Now we have the disgusting spectacle of the chumminess of Feather & Heath chattering about "inflation" when the real purpose is to prevent the workers from obtaining a bigger slice of the cake and threatening the profits, rents and dividends of the non-producing parasites - the people represented by Heath & co. in the executive machine of UK capitalism - the Westminster government.

DIRECT POLITICAL ACTION.

Recent industrial actions reveal an encouraging tendency for the rank-&-file workers to reject bureaucratic instructions from Union headquarters, to recognise the necessity for a shorter working week with increasing wages, disenchantment with overtime working, and a recognition that action cannot be confined to the premises of their own employment (miners at power stations, dockers at transport depots etc.). Nevertheless the old pattern of compromise and disconcerting decisions, negotiated from above, continues, and generally the mass of workers has not reached a necessary stage of revolt

persuaded by the intensified propaganda of press & TV to support Heath & co. This situation clearly indicates the necessity and urgency of recognition by the workers that their economic demands must be extended to the highest political level by direct action to establish Workers' Power through their own 'ad hoc' Action Groups.

FAILURE OF THE "ALTERNATIVES".

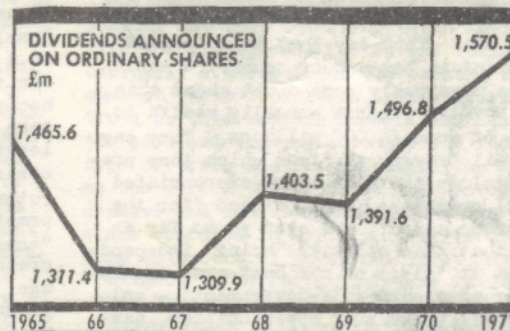
The complete and obvious failure of the policies and practices of the Labour Party, the Trades Unions, the "Communist" Party of Great Britain, the Scottish National Party, and the Trotsky "General Strike" idealists, must be recognised as a basic fact and the starting point towards a Marxist-Leninist scientific alternative. The class structure of our society with its many contradictions, in the national & international contexts, requires to be clarified by the widest understanding of the startling facts - the vast and increasing wealth of the few, the rising profits and the conspiracy of silence about the role of the profiteer, the land-owner & the financier.

Heath talks humbug about a "united people" and his "government of all the people". Thus have the people been deceived over and over again. Relative to modern circumstances the relationship of rich and poor remains unchanged today, as has always been the case under capitalism. Therefore the need today is for the workers to develop a revolutionary attitude of mind, casting aside the reformism of all the conventional movements referred to above, and making direct attacks by whatever means they may find necessary - without consulting the Heaths, the Wilsons or the Feathers.

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP OR FASCISM?

The correct policy of our Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) based upon the teachings of the great exponents of Marxism - Lenin, John MacLean, Stalin, Enver Hoxha, and Mao Tse Tung - has yet to make a serious impact upon the workers of Scotland, but it must do so as a result of our activities as a national party.

If a Marxist-Leninist leadership does not succeed in establishing itself as the accepted leadership of the workers, then we may expect the unholy alliance of the Feathers, Heaths, Wilsons, Carrs, Jenkins & Powells to continue to impose their tyrannous hardships upon a leaderless working class. If & when these people fail then the hard-faced



July 1966 - Dividend freeze for one year
1967/1968 - Dividend "moderation"
March 1968 - 3 1/2% dividend ceiling
Jan 1970 - Dividend restraint ends

LABOUR'S
"FREEZE"

Source: Stock Exchange, London

RICH GET RICHER

The chart above shows the affect of "Freezes" on dividends. While workers get wages frozen and the old folk get fobbed off with a miserable £10 "Xmas gift", the wealthy who never go hungry, ill-clad, or badly housed however high prices are inflated, benefit from this cutting of wage costs and retention of capital by the companies by getting even bigger pay-off when the Freeze ends. And so develops the continuing and all too familiar story of these vast fortunes building up behind closed doors in various bank accounts etc. - every penny milked from the social labour of the working class. This phenomenon is as old as class society and has reached its zenith in 20th century capitalism.

5% of the population own 40% of the personal wealth (not to mention the even more vast corporate funds which these parasites dispose of) and, despite the loud threats of successive Labour/Tory governments against the "greedy" workers, profits continue to soar and most companies offer record dividends to their share-holders each & every year with a few notable exceptions. Thus, according to the magazine "Management Today", the profitability of the top British companies is now clearly better than their American counterparts.

Amongst top "Scottish" concerns is House of Fraser

DIRECT POLITICAL ACTION.

Recent industrial actions reveal an encouraging tendency for the rank-&-file workers to reject bureaucratic instructions from Union headquarters, to recognise the necessity for a shorter working week with increasing wages, disenchantment with overtime working, and a recognition that action cannot be confined to the premises of their own employment (miners at power stations, dockers at transport depots etc.). Nevertheless the old pattern of compromise and disconcerting decisions, negotiated from above, continues, and generally the mass of workers has not reached a necessary stage of revolt against the theory that decisions affecting themselves as a class can be reached only by compromises with their employers, their determined and unyielding class enemies.

The fact must be noted that many workers will be influenced by the "control of prices" "£2 ceiling on wage increases"; "need to protect the lower-paid & pensioners"; and promises of "Great Future Prosperity" and other hypocritical embellishments, and so may be

of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist) based upon the teachings of the great exponents of Marxism - Lenin, John MacLean, Stalin, Enver Hoxha, and Mao Tse Tung - has yet to make a serious impact upon the workers of Scotland, but it must do so as a result of our activities as a national party.

If a Marxist-Leninist leadership does not succeed in establishing itself as the accepted leadership of the workers, then we may expect the unholy alliance of the Feathers, Heaths, Wilsons, Carrs, Jenkins & Powells to continue to impose their tyrannous hardships upon a leaderless working class. If & when these people fail then the hard-faced capitalist class will speedily transfer their allegiance and money to the Colin Jordans and other avowed fascists, as did the German business interests to Hitler. Profits must be safeguarded at any cost to the people.

THIS MUST NOT HAPPEN IN SCOTLAND, BUT
LET US HAVE NO ILLUSIONS.

.....

Labour/Tory governments against the "greedy" workers, profits continue to soar and most companies offer record dividends to their share-holders each & every year with a few notable exceptions. Thus, according to the magazine "Management Today", the profitability of the top British companies is now clearly better than their American counterparts.

Amongst top "Scottish" concerns is House of Fraser which recently switched large sums into International Caledonian Assets to cash in on the British (and European) "property boom" where billions are made from a 2 minute phone call. At the other end of the scale are what are often
(continued on page 2)

OIL & THE S.N.P.

WASTED RESOURCES.

After its total failure to lead and direct the powerful spontaneous development of national consciousness in the late 60's, the SNP has been wallowing about in a mire of secondary considerations and political red-herrings. The latest of these which it has seized upon as a drowning man clutching a straw, is the discovery and development of substantial oil and gas resources in the Scottish sector of the North Sea. They say that this "proves" that Scotland is not a "poor country" - as if there were previously some doubt about this, when our workers produce annually wealth to the value of some £4,000 millions. They say that the oil "revenues" (from which they presumably exclude the huge chunk expropriated by the oil companies) must be used "for the benefit of Scotland", and even go so far as to claim that this oil will "bring" independence, that it "gives us our best-ever opportunity for advancing Self-Government" - and they know all about such opportunities, having become expert over the years in wasting them.

Having previously squandered their support and resources in a futile electoral campaign which sought to cure Scotland's ills by drinking further from their poisonous source - the Westminster Parliamentary Dictatorship, they now propose to expend large amounts of money and time conducting "the most intensive campaign ever mounted by the SNP" to "publicize the tremendous potential of the oil finds to Scotland" and also "to show that independence alone will give Scotland the right and power to use these revenues for her own needs."

THE UNANSWERED QUESTION.

There is no doubt that this oil, which has been known about for some time, represents considerable potential wealth - no doubt either as to who, under the present circumstances, stands to benefit from it - the international monopolists and the financiers of British Imperialism; but the misguided "plan" of the SNP leadership to devote everything to putting this oil to what they imagine to be political purposes betrays yet again their total lack of concrete political perspective amidst all this welter of petty-bourgeois wishful thinking - because they make no attempt, as usual, to answer the main question which they themselves raise, the main issue confronting the people of Scotland - "HOW IS THIS INDEPENDENCE (without which, as they say, there will be no oil benefits) TO BE ACHIEVED?"

SELF-DETERMINATION.

The Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) has said enough over the years on this question not to warrant its repetition here; we content ourselves with the following observations which should be carefully considered by all who profess to care about Scotland's future, especially the membership of the SNP. Even as the SNP leadership, together with other self-styled "patriots", was rushing about over the past year sounding off about such secondary matters as North Sea Oil and pursuing such "hopeful" developments as the SNP assembly and its Commission of bureaucratic and clerical nonentities who were despatched to Westminster with a set of "proposals" ridiculous even by the standards of such pious delegations, they have been letting pass (one might almost say "deliberately sabotaging") yet another opportunity to place foursquare before the people of this country the most crucial issue - that of National Sovereignty and, more importantly, how to achieve it.

This is the National Convention of Scotland whose policy statement was reproduced

AHEAD FOR OUR PEOPLE. The determination of the people of Scotland, not the oil and gas in the North Sea, is the key to Scotland's future.

SCOTLAND'S QUISLINGS.

If the SNP leadership refuses to acknowledge this - continues to fob off the national aspirations of our people with spurious "publicity campaigns" - they will be exposed as a clique of self-seekers caring nothing for the fate of their fellow countrymen and hoping only to use the support of their sincere and genuinely patriotic followers as a lever with which to come to an unprincipled arrangement with Westminster whereby, in return for a measure of personal power and prestige in the shape of some superficial "constitutional concessions", they will be prepared to sell Scotland further into bondage. This is the inevitable trend of their present course and if they fail to change it patriots within the SNP must look elsewhere for a responsible leadership with a genuine programme.

Duncan Toms.

NOW'S THE DAY &
NOW'S THE HOUR,
ORGANISE!
FOR
WORKERS' POWER.



The UCS "Work-In"

WHO PAYS, WHO PROFITS?

When the UCS "Work-In" began in 1971 progressive opinion throughout the world hailed it as a bold and imaginative step taken by the workers of Clydeside in the face of the Westminster Dictatorship's plan to carve up the UCS yards, drastically reduce the work-force and hive off the remnants to private enterprise. It is of the utmost importance to realise that, despite claims to the contrary and despite the great campaign for "the Right to Work", British capitalism has more or less succeeded in its designs. In more than one way it got more than it bargained for. Funds contributed by workers from all over the world made possible a sort of holding operation while Dan McGarvey of the Boilermakers toured the USA looking for a suitable "charitable" institution to get the government out of its difficulties. It was not the efforts of this knight errant or labour lieutenant of capital, however, that brought the Marathon Shipbuilding Co. down on the Clydebank yard like an eagle on its prey, but the profitable openings in the development of North Sea Oil and the building of rigs. Meanwhile the setting up of Govan Shipbuilders moved relatively quietly ahead. The 'high' point was reached this summer with the signing of the various labour agreements and the formal ending of the "Work-In".

"GOOD" AGREEMENTS.

Even a cursory examination of these agreements, which Jimmy Reid has described as "good", is enough to reveal their weakness from the workers' point of view. Apart altogether from strike penalties, arbitration procedures, and a substantial increase in the rate of exploitation, is the fact that there is no concrete

(RICH GET RICHER, continued) referred to as "good, healthy, little" Scots companies which are, in fact, customers (read "victims") of the London finance groups like ICFC which have them in a stranglehold of mounting debt. And so the vast wealth created by the workers increasingly finds its way to fewer and fewer pockets, while Roy Jenkins assures himself that the old idea of a proletarian battle against an elite of parasites is out of date and that the dividing line no longer runs between manual workers and the rest of the community, as though the latter assertion supports the former. Communists have always been clear that the dividing line in capitalist society runs between a minute handful of parasites and the vast majority of the people.

No wonder these same parasites keep their reports in which they advertise their ill-gotten gains & exhort each other to reinvest the loot in such-&-such a company which "promises massive returns", well away from the "gutter" press, itself engaged in a daily battle to keep the workers in a state of ignorance and disunity. At the same time these personal fortunes are only one aspect of the private ownership of the means of production, and in putting an end to the latter state of affairs the workers must show at least as much determination as capitalism does in building up its vast fortunes.

presentation of the fight as being again "Tory Doctrinaires" was fully in accord with the reformist politics of the "Communist" Party of Great Britain and its infatuation with the capitalist Labour Party. This was highlighted by the sight of Wedgewood Benn marching with the men of Clydeside even as the thousands made redundant when UCS (of which he was the "architect") was first formed were still rotting on the dole.

"COMMUNIST" BOMB DISPOSAL.

The announcement of the government's intention to carve UCS up into profitable bundles created an explosive situation on Clydeside, if not throughout Scotland where there were already 130,000 unemployed. Reid, Airlie etc., however, came to the aid of the ham-fisted Tories and performed the delicate defusing operation to the applause of Labour & Union time-servers and a goodly section of the capitalist media. What, after all, is a temporary loss of face for the Tories compared with the continuing profits of British & US capital? The "Communist" Party is certainly earning its place in a "structurally reformed" British Imperialist state.

With leadership like this, it is no wonder that the UCS workers failed to rise above the continuing round of narrow self-defeating economism (highlighted by the antics of the Boilermakers whose fault was not that they wanted too much but that they tried to achieve too little) But the struggle is, of course, by no means over, and, despite its temporary diversion by false "leadership", the UCS "Work-In" has provided workers with a valuable example. As the problems endemic to capitalism - anarchy in production redundancy etc. - recur on the

"proposals" ridiculous even by the standards of such pious delegations, they have been letting pass (one might almost say "deliberately sabotaging") yet another opportunity to place foursquare before the people of this country the most crucial issue - that of National Sovereignty and, more importantly, how to achieve it.

This is the National Convention of Scotland whose policy statement was reproduced in our last issue and which could hold out hope of developing a powerful independent national leadership in forthright opposition to the Westminster Dictatorship by rejecting its parody of democracy, and thus affording the people of Scotland "the Greatest Opportunity in their History for Genuine Democratic Self-Expression and positive action". Whatever the subjective attitude of the SNP "leadership", the fact remains that **ALONG THIS ROAD AND THIS ROAD ALONE LIES THE WAY**

agreements and the formal ending of the "Work-In".

"GOOD" AGREEMENTS.

Even a cursory examination of these agreements, which Jimmy Reid has described as "good", is enough to reveal their weakness from the workers' point of view. Apart altogether from strike penalties, arbitration procedures, and a substantial increase in the rate of exploitation, is the fact that there is no concrete assurance of definite employment - only vague "undertakings". This is not to say that things can meaningfully be otherwise under capitalism, but one of the worst features of the whole affair from the working class's point of view was the deliberate failure of the Shop Stewards' leadership, avowed "Communists", to bring forward the real political issues raised by the whole struggle. Their

self-defeating economism (highlighted by the antics of the Boilermakers whose fault was not that they wanted too much but that they tried to achieve too little) But the struggle is, of course, by no means over, and, despite its temporary diversion by false "leadership", the UCS "Work-In" has provided workers with a valuable example. As the problems endemic to capitalism - anarchy in production, redundancy etc. - recur on the Clyde, they must be linked up with the condition of the rest of the working class in Scotland in order to bring about the only real solution through the development of revolutionary class-consciousness. This will be done by firmly nailing the real culprit - on the Clyde as elsewhere - not "Doctrinaire Toryism" but the capitalist regime of the Westminster Dictatorship which must be overthrown by the whole of the working class.

Aid & the EEC

At the recent "European Summit" in Paris Heath & Pompidou were outdoing each other in posing as friends of the "poor & underprivileged". Pompidou, we were told by the sycophantic "Euro-press", was determined to get as much as possible for the developing nations, while Heath was equally "determined" to obtain "a regional policy". It was made out that somehow these two objectives were mutually exclusive and that there was likely to be a clash between these two philanthropists over the questions of "foreign and regional aid".

In fact, as anyone in the least acquainted with the operations of international monopoly capitalism knows, these two policies fit together neatly to ensure even larger profits for these "aiders" of the developing countries and the "regions". Just as Pompidou was in fact calling for the European co-ordination of the neo-colonial system whereby "aid" is extended to the developing nations in order to reap even bigger super-profits in return and to tie these countries economically & politically to imperialism, so Heath was calling for the European co-ordination of that "regional policy" whereby some of the vast reserves of wealth which capitalism has stolen from the workers in the form of taxes is used to subsidize individual capitalists by giving them hefty grants to build premises & pay wages in "regions" (e.g. Scotland) where high unemployment both holds down wages and might also contribute to the people's disaffection with the capitalist system.

All of which goes to explain why the predicted clash predictably failed to develop and both schemes appeared happily alongside each other (veiled in suitably pious language) in the final communique. It also goes to show how the workers in "regions" such as Scotland should follow the example of so many of their comrades in the "developing nations" and take matters into their own hands, thus making possible the only real solution to our unsolved crisis - that is the ending of the exploitation of our labour and resources and the building of an independent socialist economy. The resources are there - the revolutionary will of the class-conscious workers can do the rest.

IRELAND — Our Tasks

Statement of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Scotland (Marxist-Leninist).

IMPERIALIST CRISIS.

The long struggle for Ireland's freedom - that struggle which John MacLeán realised held many lessons particularly for the workers of Scotland - has developed rapidly over the past three years. The continuing crisis of British (& World) capitalism has meant that a large section of the people of what is now occupied North-Eastern Ireland have been denied even the most elementary and basic civil rights, while the whole of the working population, of whatever religion, colour or origins, face increasing economic and social insecurity - unemployment, bad housing, declining living standards, as well as physical violence and death from the armed forces of Imperialism which is attempting to pass its crisis on to the backs of the workers - just as it is doing on this side of the Irish Sea.

At the same time the industrial & rural workers and small-holders in the allegedly "Independent Republic of Eire" are subject to exactly the same anti-socialist pro-British type government as are their compatriots in the 6 Counties. Throughout Ireland, and most obviously in the 6 Counties, the workers on Sunday go to their different denominational churches; on Monday, however, the same workers meet together to work side by side in the same textile, engineering works & shipyards, to receive the same wages and suffer the same insecurity whether they are of different religions or of none. The wages or unemployment "benefit" is the basic minimum provided by capitalist employers to enable the workers to sustain their capacity to produce profits for the investors who are also a mixture of diff-

erent religions. Thus the common class interests of the workers are the unifying factor which will certainly impel the workers of all-Ireland in due course to unite against their common enemy.

CRIMINAL DECEPTION.

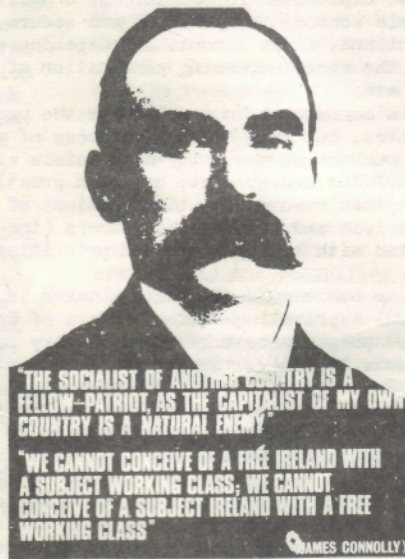
Although it becomes clearer with every passing day that the struggle in Ireland - like the struggles all over the world - is basically a struggle of the working class against their exploiters, nevertheless the truth is that British Imperialism has used in the past and continues to use any and every type of trick and misrepresentation as well as the direct use of force and provocation to deceive and confuse the Irish masses and their class comrades in Britain, to divert them from this central question. They have used "religion", "terrorism", "peace initiatives"; they have tried the "soft" approach and the "tough"; they will do anything to ensure their continued political and economic domination over Ireland in one form or another - "make trouble, fail, make trouble and fail again til their doom", that is the logic of their behaviour which is tightening the noose around their own necks.

All the various moves to prettify British Imperialism and make it appear as a blameless "peacemaker" are on the same level of sincerity as the "peace proposals" and "Vietnamisation-Escalation" plans of US Imperialism in Indo-China - all further attempts to divide and rule by pretending that it is someone or something other than Imperialism itself which is responsible for the absence of peace in the first place. All the great exponents of scientific socialism have continually pointed out that Imperialism with its unbridled urge to expand, exploit and dominate inevitably brings war, death and destruction, and that these will only come to an end when Imperialism itself is finally destroyed by the peoples of the whole world.

SCOTLAND'S SHARE.

Many trials undoubtedly lie ahead for the Irish patriots and many mistakes will doubtless be made in the course of the struggle - but it is only in this way that we become tested and strong. Whether British Imperialism rules directly in Ulster or through a puppet regime such as Stormont, or whether it rules covertly but effectively through a "home-grown" reactionary regime in the South, the tasks of the Irish masses remain as clear as when James Connolly posited them in 1916 - to throw British Imperialism, lock, stock, & barrel, out of Ireland, and to go on to build a Socialist Republic, united, free & strong. The means and methods by which the Irish people secure these ends, including the use of arms, are a matter for the Irish masses alone to decide. They are not obliged to accept any restrictions on their mode of struggle imposed by their enemies, nor are they called upon to follow the meddling "instructions" issued by individuals and groups in Britain, often calling themselves revolutionary and claiming to be the friends of the Irish masses but in fact forming the "left" wing of British Imperialism which has been interfering in the affairs of the Irish for centuries.

Our task is not to issue orders to our comrades in Ireland who, in all probability, are better informed on the situation there than we are, nor is it to be side-tracked by Westminster propaganda and the capitalist press, but to resolutely support our fellow workers in this struggle by agitating for the recall of all British troops, many of whom are Scots whose own interests could not be more diametrically opposed to the job they are now



Why Prices Are Stable in China

Among the many things that members of the recent Scotland-China Association visit to the People's Republic remarked upon on their return was the almost incredible stability of prices in China. Most prices are the same as they were in 1950 while many (e.g. fertilizers, diesel oil, radios, plastic articles, enamelware) have steadily DROPPED, as agricultural and industrial output steadily increases without the continual crises of over-production and inflation so familiar to us in the West. Thanks to this China's currency, the Renminbi, has been stable over a long period and its prestige on the international market is growing steadily. At the same time food prices have been stabilized by using state funds to purchase agricultural

of affairs came to an abrupt end with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

In "Peking Review" no. 40 Hung Chiao asks, "Why is it possible to maintain price stability over such a long period? The basic guarantee for this is that, under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have overthrown imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism and set up their own state power." In China, where the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, there is no capitalist competition or a state of anarchy in production. The national economy is developed in a planned and proportionate way within a unified state plan and the task of commercial enter-

Why Prices Are Stable in China

Among the many things that members of the recent Scotland-China Association visit to the People's Republic remarked upon on their return was the almost incredible stability of prices in China. Most prices are the same as they were in 1950 while many (e.g. fertilizers, diesel oil, radios, plastic articles, enamelware) have steadily DROPPED, as agricultural and industrial output steadily increases without the continual crises of over-production and inflation so familiar to us in the West. Thanks to this China's currency, the Renminbi, has been stable over a long period and its prestige on the international market is growing steadily. At the same time food prices have been stabilized by using state funds to purchase agricultural produce from the peasants while keeping the price at which it is sold to the workers in socialist industry at the same level.

But things have not always been so in China. In the 12 years from 1937-1949 the Kuomintang government of old China inflated its currency 140,000 MILLION times & prices rose 8,500,000 MILLION times! It is no accident that this state

of affairs came to an abrupt end with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

In "Peking Review" no. 40 Hung Chiao asks, "Why is it possible to maintain price stability over such a long period? The basic guarantee for this is that, under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have overthrown imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism and set up their own state power." In China, where the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished, there is no capitalist competition or a state of anarchy in production. The national economy is developed in a planned and proportionate way within a unified state plan and the task of commercial enterprises is to serve production and meet the needs of the people, and not purely for making profits.

90% of the state revenue is derived from internal accumulations by state-owned enterprises and the other 10% from the collective sector of the economy and other sources. Increases in revenue depend on increasing the socialist production and not on increasing the taxes.

people secure these ends, including the use of arms, are a matter for the Irish masses alone to decide. They are not obliged to accept any restrictions on their mode of struggle imposed by their enemies, nor are they called upon to follow the meddlesome "instructions" issued by individuals and groups in Britain, often calling themselves revolutionary and claiming to be the friends of the Irish masses but in fact forming the "left" wing of British Imperialism which has been interfering in the affairs of the Irish for centuries.

Our task is not to issue orders to our comrades in Ireland who, in all probability, are better informed on the situation there than we are, nor is it to be side-tracked by Westminster propaganda and the capitalist press, but to resolutely support our fellow workers in this struggle by agitating for the recall of all British troops, many of whom are Scots whose own interests could not be more diametrically opposed to the job they are now doing, and to call upon the Westminster Dictatorship to leave the people of Ireland to settle their own affairs. But above all, we shall give most concrete and invaluable support to our comrades in Ireland when, in a determined and consistent manner, we take up our posts in the anti-imperialist struggle and set about the establishment of a Workers' Republic here in Scotland.

.....

RENTS ~ Revolutionary Dual Tactics

The just struggle of millions of Council tenants against the increases in rent being imposed under the Housing Finance Act is developing rapidly. Most of the Labour councils which were making loud & angry noises and threatening not to "implement" the Act have now revealed themselves in their true colours as partners with the Tories in the nation-wide robbery from the workers. And so the main lesson is continually hammered home - the working class can rely on itself alone in the struggle against capitalism and the capitalist Tory & Labour parties; that only DIRECT ACTION - not parliamentary or local elections - can secure results.

It is clear that the "Housing Finance Act" is designed to raise property values still further and to rob still vaster amounts from the workers in the form of rents, in order to swell the purses of the money-lenders and speculators. At

the same time, by offering new "rebates" to a minority of workers, the attempt is being made to split the opposition of the working class to all forms of capitalist rent. With this in view, it is obvious that the reformist demand of the Labour & "Communist" Parties for "the repeal of the Housing Finance Act" is a totally inadequate slogan for the working class. It is the same as asking a considerable minority of workers to refuse a decrease in their rents. But more importantly it is pandering to the idea that even extra-parliamentary actions by the workers themselves should be directed towards parliamentary or legislative objectives as a priority.

Workers certainly must, and will, refuse to pay increased rents as well as organising themselves both industrially & residentially to repulse any capitalist attack in the form of evictions etc. At

the same time they have no interest in fighting to return to the pre-Housing Finance Act position where the rent robbery was carried out on much the same extensive scale. Our answer to this fresh piece of capitalist trickery must be to move the struggle forward to still higher levels of working class consciousness in order to develop the attack on capitalism itself - the fount of all forms of the exploitation of man by man including the exorbitant rents & rates which the workers are forced to pay. This applies to owner-occupiers of old sub-standard houses as well as to Council tenants. The fight against exorbitant rents cannot be divorced from the workers' overall class struggle against their exploiters - the struggle for socialism where, with a policy of "Housing for the People", rents will be reduced and eventually abolished. Workers are perfectly capable of building and living in houses without the "services" of the money-lenders once the necessity for DIRECT REVOLUTIONARY ACTION to eliminate them is realised.



VIETNAM WILL WIN — DESPITE SOVIET "FRIENDS."

Reaction the world over received a much needed boost when, at the same time as the US Imperialists were further expanding their war of aggression against Vietnam under the disguise of "peace", revisionist chief Kosygin "warned" the north Vietnamese and "Vietcong" Charge d'Affaires in Moscow that they should continue the talks with the US. In fact, as everyone knows, it was the US Imperialists who were disrupting these negotiations with their delaying tactics worked out with the puppet Thieu.

There is no direct evidence that the Soviet social imperialists are bringing pressure to bear on the Vietnamese by threatening their supply of arms, but in the light of this move together with the recent exposure of their role in the Middle East where they were supplying the Arabs with arms which were little better than scrap-iron for practical purposes, it is almost certain that these degenerates are working in close co-ordination with US Imperialism to undermine the struggle of the Vietnamese people. All of which is fully in accord with the revisionists' renunciation of revolutionary armed struggle and their chauvinistic behaviour towards the peoples of the colonial & neo-colonial countries.

At the same time, while talking "peace", Nixon is borrowing huge sums from US Imperialism's reactionary allies & lackeys to pour even greater amounts of military equipment into southern Vietnam, thus by-passing the refusal of the US Congress to grant further funds for the war. But despite all this the Vietnamese are bound to win - the recent manoeuvres of the US are an admission of this, brought about not by their own "wisdom" or "peace-loving" nature but by the boundless heroism of the Vietnamese people who are determined to liberate their homeland.

BOOK REVIEW.

"African Liberation Movements - Contemporary Struggles Against White Minority Rule." by Richard Gibson. Pbl'd by the Institute of Race Relations. Ptd by Oxford University Press. £3-50.

I cannot claim to be an authority on the above subject despite a life interest in the struggle of the African peoples, but, having read Richard Gibson's book, I feel much better informed on the profound complexities and

Nationalism & Internationalism

SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE.

Following the teaching of John MacLean, the Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) sees that the establishment of a Workers' Republic of Scotland would be not only a heavy blow for the British Imperialist state but also a great step forward for the working class in Scotland. We see this as being the only possible and correct path for the workers of Scotland to follow not out of romanticism (although the memory and example of patriots such as William Wallace will always serve as a lesson and inspiration - even as the great Scanderbeg does for the workers and peasants of the People's Republic of Albania), nor out of "local nationalism" or chauvinism - but based on a scientific class analysis of the British Imperialist state as we now find it.

There can be no doubt that, owing to the subservient and supportive role which Scotland's economy has been forced to play since at least 1707 when the rising English capitalism forced through a political "agreement" in order to knock out possible economic competition and secure her territories, that we have witnessed in Scotland, first a continued dependence on basic heavy industry, and, since 1945, the ever-increasing penetration of firms controlled from London, New York, Tokyo etc.

This means that, not only have the people of Scotland no control over their own lives, but also that the process of which Marx & Lenin wrote, whereby the great numbers of the petty-bourgeoisie are continually pressed down into the ranks of the proletariat, has been greatly accentuated in Scotland; to such an extent that even substantial sections of what remains of the Scottish National Bourgeoisie and sizeable landowners (the ones who know what land is for) are disaffected with the policies and priorities of British Imperialism.

These basic economic factors taken in conjunction with the long political and cultural deprivation of the workers of Scotland means that all the sooner will they be prepared to take revolutionary political action outwith the bounds of bourgeois legality, thus showing their class comrades in England the way ahead while looking to them for the closest co-operation and support. In these circumstances the workers of Scotland require their own independent leadership composed of their most advanced elements to guide them to national liberation and socialist revolution. In the event, however, of this national question failing to arise before the possibility of the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat on the scale of Britain as a whole, the workers of Scotland and their leadership should then regard it as their internationalist duty to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the latter struggle, having every confidence that the proletarian victory would guarantee the resolution of their national grievances.

But the Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L), guided by dialectical & historical materialism, and basing itself firmly on the balance of class forces and the situation which confronts us, believes that the latter development, however desirable, is unlikely to occur. Scotland's condition has been critical for years now and the workers will not advance by pretending that what now appears as a secondary contradiction does not exist. On the contrary, we must make use of these contradictions, we must plot a course and understand how things develop independent of any man's will - however revolutionary. If we read Mao Tse Tung we find it clearly explained how a secondary contradiction may become a primary one and under what circumstances. When the matter is considered dialectically, i.e. scientifically and from all angles, it will be readily understood how the rediscovery of Scotland's sovereignty and national pride will soon constitute a powerful and progressive movement and a great and glorious part of the struggle for a SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

"PATRIOTISM
IS APPLIED
INTERNATIONALISM."



THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND (Marxist-Leninist)
c/o Vanguard Books (Scotland), 19 North Street
Andrews St., EDINBURGH EH2 1JL. & 270 Dundas St.

BOOK REVIEW.

"African Liberation Movements - Contemporary Struggles Against White Minority Rule." by Richard Gibson. Pbl'd by the Institute of Race Relations. Ptd by Oxford University Press. £3-50.

I cannot claim to be an authority on the above subject despite a life interest in the struggle of the African peoples, but, having read Richard Gibson's book, I feel much better informed on the profound complexities and geographical, racial, economic and political realities of the vast continent of Africa. It can be said that the dignified Black peoples of Africa have nothing whatever to thank the predator Whites for and, finally, will be very wise to rely upon their own intellectual & physical resources for their emancipation from White tyranny and from their own Black mimics of decadent White standards and values.

Tom Murray.

We find it clearly explained how a secondary contradiction may become a primary one and under what circumstances. When the matter is considered dialectically, i.e. scientifically and from all angles, it will be readily understood how the rediscovery of Scotland's sovereignty and national pride will soon constitute a powerful and progressive movement and a great and glorious part of the struggle for a SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

.....

"PATRIOTISM
IS APPLIED
INTERNATIONALISM."



"My sentiments are that in a technological age we must have subjects that are in balance culturally to the materialistic & the scientific. It is a lot of nonsense to say that Gaelic belongs exclusively to the Highlands - it belongs to the whole of Scotland." (Alistair McInnes, Bard of National Mod).

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND (Marxist-Leninist)
c/o Vanguard Books (Scotland), 19 North Saint Andrews St., EDINBURGH EH2 1HJ. & 270 Paisley Rd., GLASGOW G5 8NF. Telephone: 041-429 2476 (Saturdays 12-4.30 pm).

"Scottish Vanguard" - 12 issues, 50p post free. Manifesto of the WPS & book-list of revolutionary literature (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao etc.) post free from Vanguard Books (Scotland). Also correspondence & articles welcome.

Important pamphlet by Lenin in stock - 10p (p-f).
"3 Articles on the National & Colonial Questions".