

THE MANIFESTO

of the

WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND

(Marxist-Leninist)



(As revised and adopted by the National Conference of the Party on 10th May, 1970.)

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF SCOTLAND, DECLARES THAT:

1. SCOTLAND IS A NATION COMPOSED OF TWO CLASSES - those who live by EARNING wages or salaries, the vast majority of our people - THE WORKING-CLASS - and the WEALTHY BOURGEOISE MINORITY, whose luxuriant living is derived from UNEARNED INCOME, dividends, profits, rents, in other words, THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN - THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

2. The SCOTTISH NATION is a grossly UNDERPRIVILEGED part of the IMPERIALIST STATE known as GREAT BRITAIN, whose dominant power and authority is the ENGLISH CAPITALIST ESTABLISHMENT.

3. THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS OF SCOTLAND HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THAT OF THEIR EXPLOITERS; whether they be Scottish Lairds, Capitalists and Financiers, English Imperialists, or the business interests of American Imperialism. The Workers of Scotland can secure FULL JUSTICE, SECURITY OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AND LASTING PEACE, only by UNITING AS A CLASS nationally, to overthrow the parasitical minority in Scotland, and by LINKING CLOSELY WITH, in particular, the WORKERS OF ENGLAND, WALES and IRELAND, AND WITH THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, without all of whose support permanent economic security and lasting peace is quite inconceivable.

4. DEMOCRACY IMPLIES GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE BY THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE - that is by the WORKERS.

"Democracy for the people and dictatorship for the reactionaries, when combined, constitute the People's democratic dictatorship." (Mao Tsetung) Democratic self-expression of the workers can take various forms of mass action, much more direct and effective than the illusory merits of a parliamentary electoral system which will only continue to be tolerated as long as it remains useful to the Capitalist State. The Capitalist State is never anything other than the means whereby the exploiting minority asserts its power to own all the means of production, distribution and exchange, thereby stealing from the workers a large part of the value of the wealth,

all of which has been and is being produced by the mental and physical effort of the workers and none of it by the parasites - the exploiting minority.

5. Whilst the WORKERS MUST BE SUPPORTED IN EVERY EFFORT THEY MAKE to secure improved economic conditions and social justice under capitalism, and as an inevitable part of their revolutionary struggle such actions cannot, in themselves be other than ameliorative reforms all of which, without any exception, fall far short of the justice, security of employment and standards of social services, which the productive capacity of the workers could very easily secure under Socialism. The history of ECONOMIC DEMANDS, made repeatedly over so many decades of working-class struggle, by our Trade Unions with what support has been forthcoming from Labour Members of Parliament, proves the utter failure of such "ECONOMISM", to solve for the workers what is for them, an ever present economic crisis. This fact becomes particularly obvious at this time when increasing numbers of workers are becoming aware of the hypocritical conduct of political and industrial Labour Leaders and the abandonment of any attempt by successive Labour Governments to introduce Socialism. Industrial action will fail over and over again unless always linked closely to positive and direct political demands and action.

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

The truth is that ever increasing numbers of the workers and of the oppressed Peoples and Nations are realising that "Political Power grows out of the barrel of a gun". (Mao Tsetung),

7. THE CAPITALIST 'ESTABLISHMENT' is the seemingly permanent complexity of Monarchy, Parliament, Local Government, Nationalised and Private Industry, The Banks, The Stock Exchange, The Armed Forces

and Police, The State Church, The Press, The Radio and the Judiciary together with the vast multitude of Boards, Commissions, Consultative Councils, Trade Union-Capitalist Productivity Bodies, etc., etc., which, incidentally, attracts hordes of sychophantic hangers-on, many deliberately chosen from the ranks of the workers, to become the loyal stooges of the Capitalist 'Establishment'.

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

Powerful though this "ESTABLISHMENT" is, ITS PERMANENCE IS ILLUSORY. It is perched uneasily upon a pedestal crumbling and rotten with degeneracy, corruption and ruthless self-seeking at the top, and with insecurity, poverty, dilapidated housing and the frustrated, though powerful working-class, seething at the bottom.

A UNITED WORKING-CLASS determined to 'destroy the obsolete to build the new' as has already happened in very large areas of of the world, can topple the 'Establishment' in Scotland, thus contributing enormously to the essential destruction of the British Imperialist State. At the same time the rapid decline of British Imperialism, and prospective disintegration of its State structure will certainly induce continued and still greater intervention by the newer and more powerful United States imperialism, CONTINUED OVER

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LEADERSHIP IN EVERYTHING**

as it has been doing brutally in Vietnam and elsewhere. Extensive American armed forces and arms dumps and control centres are established in Scotland and these will be called upon, without hesitation, to act against the workers of Scotland the moment our Scottish and English neo-quislings feel no longer strong enough to beat off the attack of the workers, and their property interests and privileges are seriously threatened. No doubt the plans are well matured in the minds of the more astute and determined neo-Fascists.

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

8. JOHN MACLEAN, the great Scottish Marxist of this century was correct in demanding a Workers' Republic of Scotland. The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung, together with the great "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" of 1848, are as relevant as ever for the workers everywhere, including our own country. Drivel is talked and written today of 'Marxism being out of date', mostly by people who have not even seen a copy, far less studied the "Communist Manifesto", and from which the following quotations are very appropriate, viz.:

"Communism is already acknowledged... to be itself a power ... high time that Communists openly in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies... The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of society... All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the selfconscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority... Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie... The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating

products that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of some by others... the first step in the revolution by the working-class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy... will use its political supremacy to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the Proletariat, organised as the ruling class and to increase the total of production. In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. The Communists bring to the front, as the leading question in each (country), the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time... The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

The Workers' Party of Scotland, an essential vanguard party, provides realistic leadership. THERE CANNOT BE ANY 'SPONTANEOUS SCIENTIFIC LEADERSHIP OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, IT MUST BE CONSCIOUSLY PROVIDED and this is possible only if decisions are made on a correct theoretical basis and carried out in a most practical manner.

Hence the supreme importance of

'Dialectical and Historical Materialism', and the rejection of metaphysical fairy tales and wishful thinking as the starting point of our advance towards a correct policy and methods for any circumstances. Pessimism has no place in the outlook of our Party, but supreme confidence in the outcome of the mighty struggle now proceeding for the final overthrow of the last bulwarks of colonialism and imperialism. The enemy is in dire straits, despite seeming strength, but he will not die voluntarily, he must be destroyed. This is the task of the working-class and their closest comrades of the National Liberation movements and to be united to speed up the process for the great victories immediately ahead. The heroic Vietnamese show the way and have our unqualified support. Great tasks and even dangers still confront us but our Party utterly rejects the fatalistic view that the human race will be destroyed by the products of man's intellect. Humanity does not commit suicide and Communists are neither tired o' livin' nor feared o' dyin'. Confidence in the Scottish workers and in the workers of England, Wales, and Ireland and of all the world, and in the assured radiance of their Socialist future, is the basis of the programme of the Workers' Party of Scotland, enormously assisted by the Thought and practical teaching of Mao Tsetung, the great continuer and developer of Marxism-Leninism in this final period of the doom of Imperialism.

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

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

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

USE IT, WORKERS OF SCOTLAND, NOW IS THE TIME TO CREATE YOUR 'INDEPENDENT ACTION COMMITTEES'.

YOU ARE YOUR OWN SAVIOURS:

YOUR STRENGTH, EXPRESSED IN TAKING ALL POWER INTO YOUR OWN HANDS WILL INSPIRE OTHERS AND WIN ALLIES FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM, ALWAYS NECESSARY AND TODAY IMPERATIVE.

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

Read "SCOTTISH VANGUARD" Official Organ of the W.P.S. obtainable at our bookshops listed below.

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