

SCOTTISH

MARXIST ★
LENINIST ★

VANGUARD

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The Workers Party of Scotland

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WILSON

CASTLE



CONTENTS INCLUDE ...

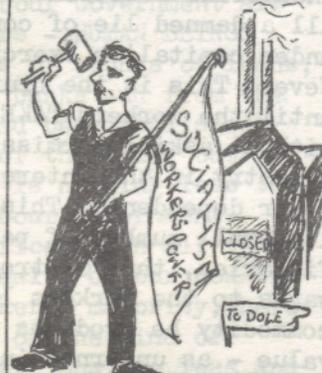
★ THIS IS TREASON!

★ AN INVITATION TO DR. M'INTYRE

➤ VERSUS <

THE WORKER

BARBARA'S STRIFE IN LEITH



FOR A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF SCOTLAND

This is TREASON!

Leadership in nearly every sphere of the economic, political and social "Establishment" of Britain is weak or ignorant, more probably both, except in the small but powerful group of financiers and industrial tycoons, whose extreme right-wing is racist and fascist in its outlook and plans for action. These people are a set of scoundrels, utterly selfish, ruthless and determined to retain their class domination and without hesitation will stoop to any form of repressive action to prevent a loss of their dividends and profits. Let workers have no illusions.

However, there is potentially a much greater power, than these people - overwhelmingly greater - a UNITED WORKING-CLASS - the vast wage and salary earning majority - with a programme based exclusively on the Class interests of their majority. The workers must no longer tolerate compromises with the employers and/or social-democratic "Labour" Governments on the lines, for example of the "negotiations" about the Upper Clyde Shipyards, allegedly in the interests of "saving" the industry. Saving it for what? Well may the question be asked. According to the pundits of the capitalist press, the Employers Federations, the Home and Foreign Bankers, our industry is on the point of collapse, due to industrial relations being "tinged with anarchy" and so forth. All a damned lie of course. When did the workers in any industry under capitalism exercise power over the policy of the Management? Never! This is the crux of the whole matter and will remain so, until the workers TAKE POWER entirely into their own hands, without asking permission from any tycoon, and proceed to run industry in the interests of the whole working population and their dependents. This means eliminating the profit system with its small number of parasitical and enormously wealthy beneficiaries, thus destroying the right of these people to pay as wages to the workers less than fifty per cent of the value of the commodity he produces and to pocket the balance - the 'surplus' value - as unearned income. (Incidentally, these non-working drones are never in any danger of becoming "lazy workers").

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Workers must not be deluded by the seeming complexity of the financial structure of the capitalist State, still tolerated unfortunately by the workes here. It is not at all surprising that few workers have the faintest understanding of such terms as 'Debentures'; "Preference Shares"; Liquidity"; Industrial Capital"; "Finance Capital"; "Balance of Payments"; "International Monetary Fund"; "Bank of International Settlements"; "Inflation"; "Deflation"; "Exchange Controls"; "Common Market"; "Free Trade"; "Public Debt"; "Sterling"; "Visible and Invisible Exports", etc., etc. These terms and the weird language of the Stock Exchange and High Finance effectively prevent workers from recognising the fact that they are the 'dialect' of those who, day-in and day-out, rob the workers of over half of the wealth, produced only by the workers who live by earning. These robbers swindle the people on a scale that puts 'train robbers' and all the other insignificant small-fry racketeers absolutely into the shade. There is no source of wealth other than that created by the skill of the workers allied to the great natural resources of the world. Money does not make money, despite advertisements urging you to "make your money work for you". Money is not wealth but merely a token of exchange. Capitalist Finance is the refined description of a gross and barefaced swindle of the workers.

The practical importance of these matters is highlighted by the position of the Upper Clyde Shipyards consoritum, where Management, Trades Union Officials and the Labour Government are openly trading the jobs of thousands of workers - HUMAN BEINGS WITH WIVES AND FAMILIES - for so many millions of pounds of loans, at high rates of interest of course, from the banks and from the proceeds of taxation. Who said that slavery had been abolished? Scotland is a wealthy country in every sense of the term. but material resources are in the wrong hands. It is nothing less than treason on the part of the Trade Union and Labour Government bureaucracy to allow human beings to be sacrificed when all that is necessary is to effectively transfer the wealth of our country from the capitalist small minority to the workers' majority. There is a grinding and growing anxiety at the back of the mind of every worker throughout our country today that jobs are less and less secure, that in spite of the assertions of glib writers for

the capitalist press and publishers, we are reverting to conditions of insecurity, unemployment and under-employment, so well remembered by the parents of the post-war generation of workers.

LESSONS FROM FAILURES.

What is to be done now? The workers must spurn the advice of certain trade union officials who cannot see any alternative to the policy of the employers, the bankers; the Wilson-Castle-Jenkins political frauds, behind whom are the international financiers of the USA and Switzerland. Such rotten advisers must be thrown overboard by the workers. Our workers today must learn lessons from the failures, during this century, of the efforts of the pioneers of such products of working-class politics as the Socialist Labour Party, The Social Democratic Federation, The Independent Labour Party, the British Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain, whose policies were narrowly sectarian or stemmed from the assumption that the peculiar structure of the Labour Party and Trade Unions relationship, in the context of the British Parliamentary system, would ultimately lead to reforming capitalism out of existence and thus to the realisation of Socialism. John MacLean had no such illusions. Today we must return to his demand for a Workers' Socialist Republic of Scotland in which the Profit system and unemployment must be treated as a disease of capitalism, to be eliminated in co-operation with the workers of England, Wales and Ireland, joined together with the struggles of the peoples of all lands still suffering from imperialist rule.

ENTANGLED IN THE MACHINERY OF THE "STATE".

How is this to be achieved? and when? Certainly not by relying upon the Parliamentarians and the obsolete Trade Union structure. They have been tried and found wanting. As clearly demonstrated by the great Marxists, the workers cannot build socialism on the ruins of a capitalist foundation. Parliament and the trade union machine are part of the capitalist "Establishment", even the formerly militant shop stewards have become entangled in the Machinery of the capitalist State. Every move by the workers through these bodies has been frustrated and efforts to secure justice defeated by so-called 'Constitutionalism' and remote 'Negotiations'. Back we must come to the necessity to "Organise at the Place of Work". So long as workers continue to have faith in those 'Leaders', who have repeatedly let them down, so long will the betrayal be continued. So soon as the workers proceed to establish their own independent 'Councils of Industrial and Political Action',

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recognising that such shibboliths as "Workers' Control" and "Nationalisation", under capitalism are mere diversions from the necessity of securing absolute "Workers' Power" to overthrow capitalism and introduce Socialism.

Workers' self-reliance begins at their own places of work, not in some far-away London, Paris, Moscow or Peking, etc., and action can begin now without waiting for some abstract saviour to do the job. Action here will not fail to bring a ready and comradely response from the workers everywhere and will be the finest contribution we can make to the mutuality of the world's workers' struggles for Socialism and harmony.

We are well-taware that problems of leadership and the dangers of self-seeking bureaucrats attempting to take over are very real as exemplified by the degeneration of leaders, both parliamentary and industrial, who having risen on the backs of the workers under social-democracy, are now basking in an elevated social sunshine far removed from the daily grind of the workers and concerned with little else than preserving their personal privileges.

The Workers' Party of Scotland, (not by the way, you will note, the 'Scottish' Workers' Party) was formed to promote scientific socialism on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Lenin, applied in our particular part of the world by John MacLean and developed since by the great continuers of subsequent years and today. Leadership in the W.P.S. is based upon the principles of Democratic-Centralism whereby no member elected to leadership status, however eminent, would be immune from the right of the electing members to recall him, or her, at any time they found this to be necessary for any reason. Such leadership is only developed however on the basis of an ever-rising political consciousness and theoretical understanding by the membership as a whole. This implies continuous Marxist-Leninist educational work, application to the circumstances of our own case and enriched by the experiences and examples of the workers of other nations. We have much to learn from the great 1917 Russian Revolution, and subsequent developments, from the triumphant success of the Vietnam 'David' against the 'Goliath' of American Imperialism, from the quite astonishing success of the small nation of Albania and certainly from the unique Chinese phenomenon of The Great Cultural Revolution.

In all these instances the prerequisite of success has been the revolutionary overthrow of the old order, not its reform. Here too must be faced the absolute necessity of 'Destroying the Obsolete to Build the New'. It is mere wishful thinking that we can achieve what they have achieved without a similar revolutionary struggle.

(Editorial Board.)

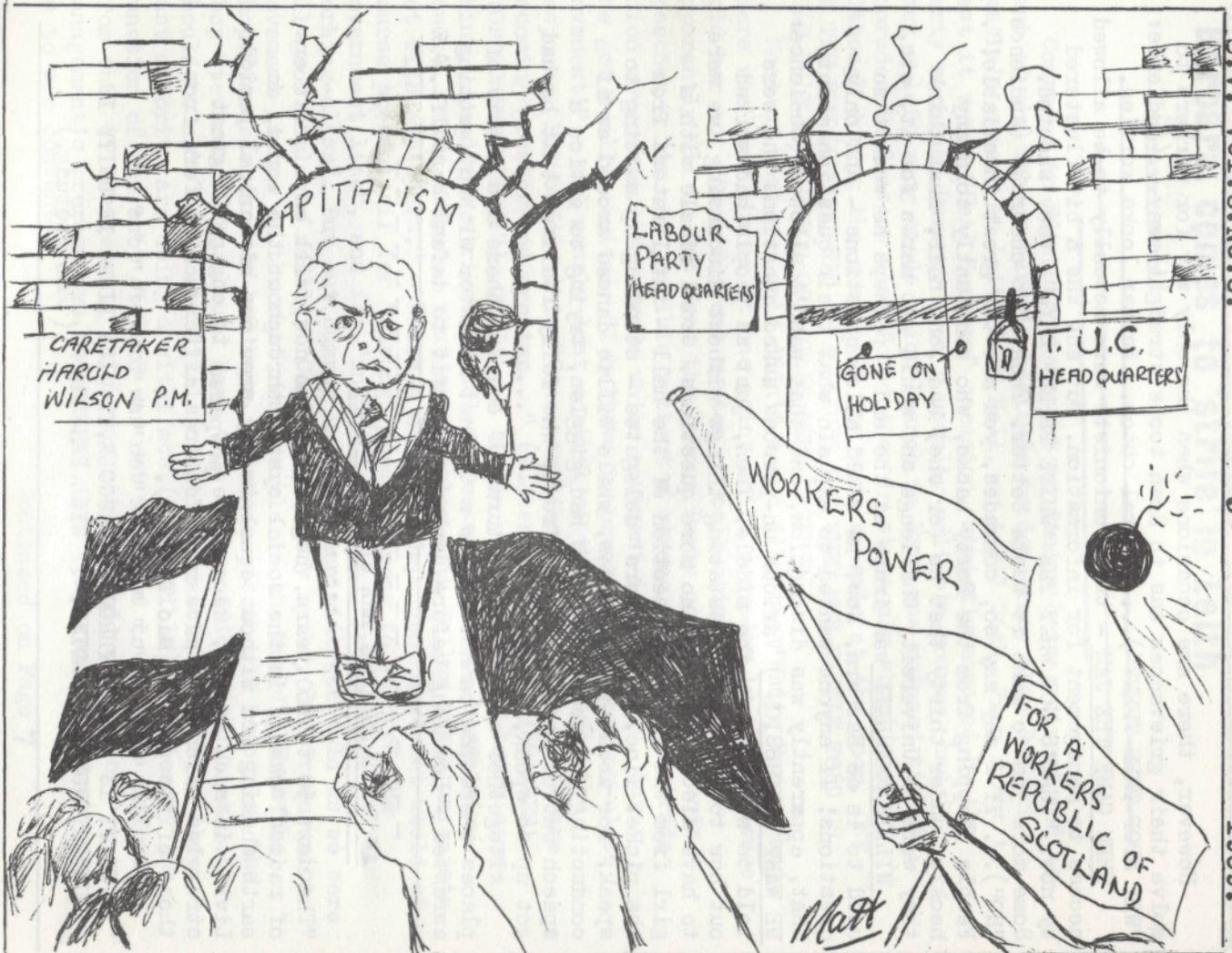
Barbara comes to 'strife' in Leith

By ANNE GRAY.

Comrades in Edinburgh have yet to find a better direct indictment of the Labour Party's attitude to democracy than Barbara Castle's speech at Leith Town Hall, on April 26th. From first to last it was a "Heil Barbara" occasion, strictly managed by the Party machine. Rumour, from a usually reliable source, has it that a left-wing trade union Branch in Fife was refused tickets; comrades in Glasgow also found them in strangely short supply, although during the meeting a few were on sale at the door. ONE OF THE FEW LOUD BURSTS OF APPLAUSE WAS WHEN MRS CASTLE TOLD US THAT FULL-TIME UNION OFFICIALS WERE UNDERPAID!

Most of what she said didn't sound like the 'White Paper' and there was near uproar at one point while comrades in the audience told her so. "An efficient system of collective bargaining" - apparently all we get from the Labour Party now, even in their speeches - "is not possible without a strong, independent trade union movement... the trade union movement is too weak". Later she got really excited; "I believe in power to the working-class movement!" - and nearly lost control of the meeting amid the response. But before this; "Concentrations of employer power are becoming greater and greater..." (Audience: "NATIONALISE THEM! STOP COMPENSATION!")... "If you listen you might even learn something... endless strikes... endless weakening of the bargaining power... many disputes that are battles with fellow trade unionists, not with employers!" - Which a strong independent movement would of course prevent, if for "strong" read, "strong to enforce the Government line", and for "independent" read "independent of the working-class". But our Humpty Dumpty schoolmistress told us we were all good children really; "Contrary to Tory myths, our trade union movement is one of the most responsible in the world". Even the Shop Stewards weren't bad boys. "Managements should recognise the Shop Stewards... who should have time off... office facilities... should be able to do his vital industrial relations work... the vast majority are doing a vital, most responsible job". Clearly the function of the shop steward was not supposed to be much different from that of Management, which was not "the old concept of Management's prerogative to manage", but "Management's first duty is to win consent".

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GREETINGS TO THE
Revolutionary Government of the Republic
of South Vietnam.

By Colin Lawson

Those of us who have followed with unstinted admiration the skill, courage and undiminished zeal of the people of Vietnam in defending their homeland from waves of foreign intruders are enthused to learn of the creation by the people of South Vietnam of their own Provisional Revolutionary Government. This is an occasion of the greatest significance for all nations and peoples struggling against foreign oppression and the brutality of Imperialism. The creation of a government of the Republic is evidence of the defeat of the American aggressors by the National Liberation Front and the fact of administrative authority and control over most of the country by the people.

I cannot do better than quote the message of Premier Chou En-Lai in his message to President Huynh Tan Phat of the New Government, intimating recognition by the Peoples Republic of China, as follows,

"The Chinese Government has always regarded the South Vietnam Front for Liberation as the genuine legal representative of the South Vietnamese people, and the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in China has long enjoyed the status of a Diplomatic Mission. The South Vietnamese People have waged a long and arduous war under the leadership of it's National Front, and in so doing their very aim is to defeat the U.S. aggressors, overthrow the South Vietnamese Puppet clique and establish their own revolutionary political power. And now, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Vietnam alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, together with the other patriotic forces in Southern Vietnam, have held the congress of Peoples' Representative and decided to establish the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. This is a natural development of the South Vietnamese peoples war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for National Salvation."

It is obvious that our Vietnamese friends are unimpressed by the Yankee promises to withdraw voluntarily from their country and that the policy of the new government will be to strive for the complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors and their puppets. The great leader of the Vietnamese people, President, Ho Chi Minh declares "our armed forces and people should further strengthen their solidarity, fight perseveringly... to win still greater victory".

The Ninth Congress
of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
April, 1969

NOT MERELY SOMETHING HAPPENING FAR AWAY BUT
IMPORTANT FOR SCOTLAND, AS FOR EVERY OTHER NATION.

The proceedings of this Congress, and especially the Political Report submitted by Lin Piao, must be studied carefully, seriously and with a high degree of objectivity, as befits the greatest event in this period of the world struggle against imperialism and the advance towards world socialism.

The Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) has embarked upon the task of study and understanding of this historic occasion, particularly relating to lessons we can learn from the experience of the colossal revolutionary struggle and especially the triumph of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Our Party congratulates the Communist Party, and the workers and peasants of China, on their success and the implications for the workers and peasants of the whole world. We are well aware that only a handful of the workers of our countries in the European and North American spheres have had even the tiniest opportunity to be informed about the proceedings of the Congress. It is the duty of all Scientific Socialists, Marxist-Leninists, to give wide publicity and to explain its meaning and importance to our people. It is the prior duty of everyone to understand and acknowledge MAO TSETUNG as the greatest living creative artist of revolutionary thought and action, despite attempts at denigration by the contemporary pigmies of bourgeois and revisionist politics. The latter have surrendered to imperialism by the mere fact of their anxiety to collaborate with imperialism for a phoney 'co-existence' instead of working for a firm political and military alliance with the Peoples Republic of China for the final defeat of reaction everywhere and above all of USA imperialism.

We, who have yet to achieve the revolutionary change from capitalism to Workers' Power, just as necessary in the interests of the workers here as for their comrades in China, pay respectful tribute and offer thanks to Mao Tsetung for the immense contribution which his Thought has made in summing up experiences, analysing the surging revolutionary forces of this century, revealing the facts of the vast resources of the rising revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants today, contrasting with the degeneration

Continued on Page 11.

of burgeoise imperialism and its helter-skelter plunge towards final destruction under the leadership of the most degenerate of all, the United States of America. At the same time, and an equally valuable contribution, Chairman Mao has rescued the Marxist-Leninist Movement from the false assumption that the revolutionary triumphs of Workers' Power are anything more than the essential beginning of the final struggle to eliminate the deep-rooted and still very dangerous bourgeois individualistic and self-centred ideology. This ideology lurks below in the thinking of many, even in the ranks of workers and peasants, ready to emerge immediately the vigilance of the Marxists is allowed to stray.

It is our intention to make the lessons of the Congress widely known. Soon we expect to have ample supplies of the translated report and to use it for frequent quotations in our "Vanguard" Such study and quotations will soon serve to emphasise that only fools suffering from self-deception can afford to ignore what has happened and is happening in this remarkable country of 700,000,000 highly cultured people.

Tom Murray.

"JOHN MACLEAN AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE."

Contents:

- John MacLean's last message.
- Foreword by Thurso Berwick.
- Ballant O'John MacLean by Sidney Goodsir Smith
- The Ghost from the Past by Jim Fyfe.
- John MacLean by Hugh MacDiarmid.
- The Main Article by Nan MacLean
- Milton on her father and "Scottish Independence".

.....

This is the first publication of the John MacLean Society. Price 1/-. Postage 4d. from the Society or from the W.P.S. Literature Dept., c/o Bookstore, 105-107 Morrison St, Edinburgh 3.

"The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900 - 1921"

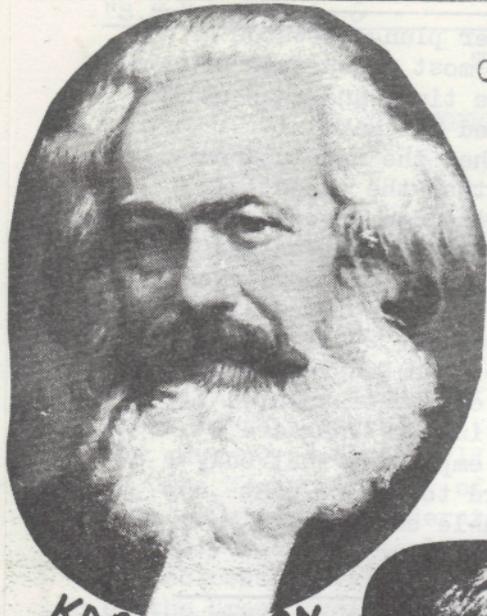
By **WALPER KENDALL.**

- John MacLean's "Open letter to Lenin".
- John MacLean on Clydeside in World War One.
- Why MacLean never joined the Communist Party of Gt. Britain.
- THE TRUTH ABOUT MACLEAN'S ALLEGED HALLUCINATIONS".**

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 All discussed in detail - new and hitherto unpublished material - a remarkable new study of a remarkable period.

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GALLERY
OF
GREAT



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V.I. LENIN

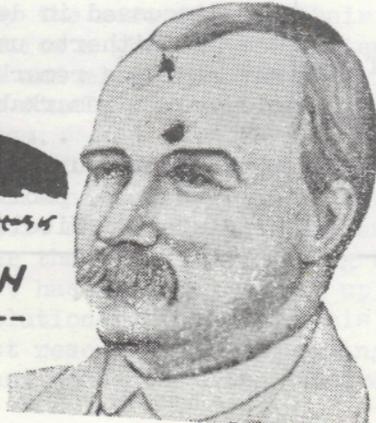


MAO TSE TUNG



John MacLean

JOHN MACLEAN



JAMES CONNOLLY.



ENVER HOXHA.

REVOLUTIONARIES.
All of them
"DIALECTICAL
&
HISTORICAL
MATERIALISTS"

See notice on
Page 13.

Study their
Great Writings-
See Page 13.

"THE ROLE OF A VANGUARD PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS"

and its basis

"DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM"

will be discussed at a W.P.S.WEEK-END STUDY GROUP - Sat.16th.(2.30-5.30)& Sun.17th.(11-5) August, in Glasgow. NON-MEMBERS welcome. Apply with fee, 5/-, to Secretariat(See page 15.)

* AS LETH AN T-SLUAIGH.

* MAR CHUIMHNEACHAN ATR TORMOD PEUTAN.

* AM BODACH AMAIDEACH A GHLUAIS NA BEANNTAN.

(MAO TSETUNG)

Clò-bhuailte le Pairtidh Luchd-obrach na h-Alba Duneideam. 1969.



This first translation into GAELIC of the "Three Constantly Read Articles" by MAO TSETUNG ("Serve the People", "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains"), is printed and published by "The Workers' Party of Scotland (M.L.) May 1969, Price 1/-. Postage 4d. from W.P.S. Literature Dept., c/o Bookstore, 105-107 Morrison St., Edinburgh. 3.

Our New Literature Service

Readers will be interested to learn that our Party expects soon to acquire its own centrally situated Bookshop in Glasgow and that facilities have already been secured for setting up a fully stocked agency for the sale of the widest possible range of Marxist, International and creative literature especially Chinese and Albanian publications, in a bookshop soon to be opened at 105-107 Morrison Street, Edinburgh 3.

From
"SIDLAW BREEZES" By kind
permission of the authoress

MRS MARY BROOKSBANK,
Dundee.

LENIN

Simple greatness, clear-thinking brain,
Devoid of all illusions, knowing well
History's lessons never teach in vain,
Mankind's recorded strivings his future tell.
And you, who tireless, guided, led,
A mighty nation from its centuries' thrall,
Speak to us still, two decades dead,
The world's proletariat "shall conquer all."
Surging forward, like a mighty sea,
Relentless, overwhelming, the pygmy great,
Whose superficial greatness must forever be
Stemming the tide of progress. The people's fate.
Fearful of changing history, new times, new ways,
Exposed, like futile driftwood in the sea of time;
What are revolutions but evolution's phase.
Our glorious future deemed a heinous crime.
Link by link has slavery's chain been broken,
Czars and Kaisers from their thrones been hurled;
Fuhrers and Duces are silenced when we have spoken,
We are the people, this is our world.

MODERN ART

I canna mak oot whit I'm seeing,
My heid feels fair in a whirl;
Sir, wad ye say without leein',
Is that a dog or a girl?
In aesthetics I'm sadly deficient,
At culture I've never been grand;
My intellect seems insufficient,
I'm afraid I just don't understand.
Picasso depicting a lady?
Well, sir, as far as I see
(Tho. in matters artistic, a baby)
Her feet's where her head ought to be.
What's that on the side of her arm, sir?
Her eye, did you say? Not a wart?
I didn't mean any harm, sir;
I admit I know nothing of art.



WHY SHOULD WE IDLY WASTE
OUR PRIME

By Robert, Burns.

Why should we idly waste our prime
Repeating our oppressions?
Come rouse to arms! 'Tis now the time
To punish past transgressions.
'Tis said that Kings can do no wrong—
Their murderous deeds deny it,
And, since from us their power is sprung,
We have a right to try it.
Now each true patriot's song shall be:—
'Welcome Death or Libertie!'

2

Proud Priests and Bishops we'll translate
And canonize as Martyrs;
The guillotine on Peers shall wait;
And Knights shall hang in garters.
Those Despots long have trode us down,
And Judges are their engines:
Such wretched minions of a Crown
Demand the people's vengeance!
To-day 'tis theirs. To-morrow we
Shall don the Cap of Libertie!

3

The Golden Age we'll then revive:
Each man will be a brother;
In harmony we all shall live,
And share the earth together;
In Virtue train'd, enlighten'd Youth
Will love each fellow-creature;
And future years shall prove the truth
That Man is good by nature:
Then let us toast with three times three
The reign of Peace and Libertie!

W.P.S. information

All correspondence to the "Scottish Vanguard", Editorial or otherwise, to the Literature Department of the Party and to the Party Treasurer, likewise all general correspondence to THE SECRETARIAT of the Party be addressed: c/o Bookstore, 105-7, Morrison Street, Edinburgh, 3.

Correspondence for the West of Scotland Area should be addressed to the Organiser, Matt Lygate, 310 Albert Drive, Glasgow, S.1.

Subscription Rates for the "Scottish Vanguard" 9d per single copy, or 9/- for 12 consecutive issues, post free, from above addresses or from Clyde Books, 292 High St., Glasgow. Retail price 6d. and special rates quoted for quantities or wholesale.

Literature lists on application.

ARE POOR BUT WE ARE HONEST
We appeal: To all opposed to Capitalism, to all who recognise in United State Imperialism, the No.1 and most vicious enemy of the world's Peoples and Peace: To all who stand for National Liberation and independence from colonialism: To all who recognise in Social-Democracy together with renegade modern revisionists of Marx-Lenin teaching¹ as the great splitters and deceivers of the working peoples: To all who are for WORKERS' POWER, for justice and an end to exploitation of man by man - for practical help with CASH DONATIONS, ESPECIALLY TO develop the "Scottish Vanguard". Receipts by return. Val Sutherland, Treasurer.

AGGRESSIVE U.S.A. IMPERIALIST BRUTAL WAR AND ABJECT FAILURE IN VIETNAM HAS SOURED VAST NUMBERS OF AMERICAN YOUTH.

"Why the Harvard Campus will never be the same again"

"Among the teachers there was widespread sympathy and support for the alienated young intellectuals -

"ALIENATION", says one youngster, "IS WHEN YOUR COUNTRY IS AT WAR AND YOU WANT THE OTHER SIDE TO WIN" -

- increased by growing anti-militarism and social frustration".

(From recent "Observer" Article).

FROM **John Maclean** TO THE
GLASGOW HERALD

"The poor old 'Glasgow Herald' has seemingly got a nasty knock. Our comrade, R. Erskine of Marr (and the G.H. leaves out all reference to the words 'of Marr'), at a Sinn Fein demonstration in Trafalgar Square, London, to protest against the virtual imprisonment of Archbishop Mannix, stated that the Scottish Gael is preparing to overthrow 'the English Government' and to proclaim the independence of Scotland. The 'G. H.' stresses the fact that the Lothians were captured and peopled by Saxons, and that Scotland is well represented in the Cabinet by Balfour, Bonar Law, Horne and Geddes. Readers will note that the first article by * Comrade Erskine, in our hands before the testy spasm from 'Auld Granny' amused the 'Middle Class', lays stress on the Lothian conquest by the Saxons; and readers do not require to be reminded of the great services rendered to Scotland by all the Scotsmen who ever went to the London Parliament!

The final angry outburst of 'The G. H.' reads thus:-
 'We are discussing serious schemes for removing the local administration of Scotland from Westminster to Edinburgh, and we do not want to have their consideration interrupted by absurd caricatures of their meaning'. Someone might send for Graham Moffat: 'Granny's' leaders will make his fortune!

By the time this appears we expect to have in being a Scottish Communist Council of Action, and in circulation 100,000 leaflets urging on towards a Scottish Communist Republic. Our vast audiences are catching up the idea already all right; and ideas win in the long run against ridicule and force. Put that in your pipe, 'Granny'."

(From "The Vanguard", September, 1920.)

* The Hon. Erskine of Marr contributed a series of articles called "Celtic Communism" to John Maclean's paper "The Vanguard". May we respectfully invite

President Dr. Robert D. McIntyre S.N.P.

to emulate his distinguished predecessor and write an article for our "Scottish Vanguard"?

- and may we then call him "Comrade Bob"? (Ed.)

Ptr. & Pbr. C. Lawson, c/o Bookstore, 105-7, Morrison Street,
 Edinburgh, 3. 18.6.69