# INDEPENDENCE IN EUROPE MAKE IT HAPPEN NOW!

THE 1992 MANIFESTO OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY



6 North Charlotte Street Edinburgh Telephone +44 (0131) 226 3661

#### A MESSAGE FOR THE VOTERS OF SCOTLAND

## FROM ALEX SALMOND MP CONVENER OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY

The 9th of April will be a milestone in the history of Scotland. At this General Election we are faced with our most important choice for many generations: a choice between power and powerlessness: a choice between a dismal past and a better future. A choice to go forward into the mainstream of Europe, or to be stuck in a backwater of Britain.

And every Scottish voter will have to choose which route to take.

Alone amongst the political parties in Scotland, the Scottish National Party is offering a way forward which will produce social justice, social concern and economic progress. There is no other party which is fighting not only for political freedom for Scotland, but also for economic freedom for Scots.

That economic freedom means dignity, peace and prosperity. It means an attack on poverty and real action to create jobs. It means a new and hopeful future for all our people.

That future is now within our grasp. Those who tell you that it cannot be achieved are those who - for their own reasons - do not want it to be achieved. The policies of the Tartan Tories, whether led by Ian Laing or Donald Dewar, are the policies of Scotland's past. Kinnock and Major are equally irrelevant to Scotland's needs.

Only the Scottish National Party has a vision of what must happen in Scotland.

Only you can make it happen.

This time - Vote for Scotland

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#### 1 INTRODUCTION

SCOTLAND is a living, breathing, exciting country. Its resources are vast and varied, its people skilled and dynamic, its name and history respected throughout the world.

By rights, we should be a confident, open people, enjoying living in one of the wealthiest nations in Europe.

Instead, we are forced to devote all our resources and energy to resisting the policies of a London government we neither voted for nor believe in

It's time to put these wasted, futile years behind us and be a nation again.

Independence in Europe will put Scotland's wealth to work for Scotland's people.

It will bring us our own Parliament, committed to fairness and social justice for all. And it will give us a direct, powerful voice in Europe and the wider world.

Scots must face up to their responsibilities. We must stop blaming others for our problems, and start governing ourselves.

Only the SNP can make this happen. Only the SNP cab change Scotland for the better.

That's why, at this election, you should vote for the Scottish National Party.

#### 2 SIX STEPS TO INDEPENDENCE

INDEPENDENCE IN EUROPE is the only policy which will bring stability to Scotland. The status quo is thoroughly discredited. Devolution would result in endless feuds with Westminster. Independence is the immediate, logical and clear cut answer to the question of how Scotland should be governed.

The path to independence has been well mapped-out by other countries. In this century, nearly fifty Commonwealth nations have harmoniously untied the knot linking them to London.

There are six steps to Independence:

**STEP ONE**: You vote for the only party honestly offering to bring real power back to Scotland - the Scottish National Party.

**STEP TWO**: We win the majority of Scottish seats at the election. That gives us the mandate to negotiate Independence.

**STEP THREE**: We keep the Scottish Office running smoothly while the negotiations with Westminster are conducted.

**STEP FOUR**: The negotiations should be completed within six months. We register our agreement with Westminster at the United Nations, sealing it in international law. Meanwhile - as confirmed by eminent legal opinion - as a successor state to the United Kingdom, Scotland continues to be part of the European Community.

**STEP FIVE**: We ask you to approve a new written Constitution for Scotland, incorporating a Bill of Rights, in a national referendum.

**STEP SIX**: Within a month, a Scottish general election is called under full proportional representation - the first free election in a free Scotland. The SNP will contest this election but the people will choose the Government that they want.

#### 3 A CONSTITUTION FOR SCOTLAND

AN INDEPENDENT Scotland will have a written Constitution, like most other modern democracies, which will include a Bill of Rights clearly setting out the rights and responsibilities of citizens and state alike. The Constitution will include:

★ Guaranteed fundamental rights and liberties for all persons at least as extensive as the European Convention on Human Rights, which will be incorporated into the law of Scotland.

- ★ The outlawing of discrimination on grounds of sex, race, colour, religion, personal beliefs, status or sexual orientation. Economic and social rights will also be guaranteed, covering working conditions, retirement pensions, housing, health services and education.
- ★ Freedom of Information, save on the limited range of matters in which confidentiality is required in the public interest.
- ★ The right of Scottish people to sovereignty over our territory and natural resources, recognising the rights and obligations of European Community membership, which shall be subject to confirmation by a referendum.
- ★ The right of Scottish citizenship to everyone resident in Scotland everyone born in Scotland, and such other persons as the Parliament of Scotland may prescribe.
- ★ A single chamber of Parliament, elected to a four-year fixed terms by proportional representation.
- ★ Government by a Prime Minister and Cabinet who are members of and have the support of the Scottish Parliament.
- ★ The Head of State to remain the Queen and her successors in a limited and constitutional monarchy, until such time as the people of Scotland decide otherwise.
- ★ Supreme judicial power to be vested in the Court of Session and the High Court of Judiciary, which will have the power to set aside any proposed legislation which contravenes any provision of the Constitution. The independence of the judiciary will be guaranteed.
- ★ The right to vote for all citizens over 16, with the provision for holding referenda.
- ★ Within the areas entrusted by law to local government, local authorities will be guaranteed genuine autonomy and freedom from interference by central government.

#### 4 ACTION FOR JOBS

ONLY WITH Independence in Europe can Scotland be put back on the road to full employment. The SNP's *Medium Term Recovery Strategy* - an accompanying document to this manifesto, previously published - provides full details and costings of the SNP's economic and social policies for the first four-year Parliament of an independent Scotland.

Scotland is an inherently rich country; our problem is that we lack control of our own assets and resources.

Since 1979, £100 billion of our North Sea oil and gas revenues have been wasted by Westminster, with £40-50 billion forecast for the 1990s. An SNP government will use some of the vast resources which remain to help fund full employment.

By investing in manufacturing and other key areas of the Scottish economy, we can get our country back to work again.

Our Action for Jobs strategy, which will be the priority on Independence, includes:

- ★ Setting up a Scottish Exports Unit to boost overseas sales of our goods in key world markets;
- ★ Establishing a National Apprenticeship Scheme to guarantee every youngster a high basic skill on top of his or her education:
- ★ Bringing in new training and employment grants to encourage workers to recruit the long-term unemployed at fair wages;
- ★ Investing in the rail network in a programme of electrification;
- ★ Increasing spending in vital infrastructure areas such as roads, water and sewage;
- ★ Stimulating new investment through an Industrial Equity and Investment Fund;
- ★ Creating a Scottish Steel Corporation to undertake a substantial programme of competitive investment in steel;

- ★ Increasing structural funding support for the fishing industry:
- ★ Introducing a wide-ranging Research and Development Programme to maintain and develop Scotland's reputation for industrial excellence;
- ★ Giving the Scottish Tourist Board a realistic marketing budget, with the target of doubling the number of visitors to Scotland over a five year planning period.

The SNP has put the entire *Medium Term Recovery Strategy* through an Input-Output model of the Scottish economy. This showed that 200,000 jobs will be created during the four years of the first Scottish Parliament.

Over those four years an SNP Government will also introduce a national minimum wage. This will equal half the median male earnings, which on present rates would mean that no one in Scotland will earn less than £3.40 an hour.

An SNP Government will co-ordinate the introduction of the minimum wage with its European partners as part of the Social Europe Agenda, to ensure that no one country's competitive position is undermined by such a development.

Our ambition for Scotland is for a high wage, highly skilled and highly competitive economy.

In a modern, progressive European society such as Scotland, it is ridiculous that a job should be regarded as a luxury. With Independence, the right to work will be established as a basic human right.

#### 5 EDUCATION FOR LIFE

EDUCATION IS one of the cornerstones of a developed society. An SNP government will ensure it is freely available to all our people.

All students will have the right to a free education. Repair and modernisation of buildings will be made a priority. As part of the Medium Term Recovery Strategy, capital allocations for education will be increased to meet local authorities needs. Tory legislation, such as national testing and opting out, will be repealed.

Within a new Scotland in the new Europe, there will be a full place for teaching Scottish heritage and culture; modern languages and European studies will be equally important.

The SNP guarantees to retain and protect Catholic schools, recognising that the exercise of this right is entirely a matter for the Catholic community - in line with the European Convention on Human Rights, which the SNP will incorporate into a written Constitution.

School boards will be restructured as School Consultative Councils, with a wider and more representative membership.

Higher examinations will continue as the basis of entry to higher education. Instead of student loans, and index-linked student grant will be paid independent of parental contributions.

The **Medium Term Recovery Strategy** has already provided costed provision for nursery education for all children of three and four years old whose parents wish them to have access to such facilities.

This will be assured by the end of the first four year parliament.

An SNP government will establish a collegiate University of the Highlands, based in Inverness.

#### 6 ARTS AND THE MEDIA

THE SNP regards the arts as a vital part of our national life. We will encourage the widest possible enjoyment of and participation in all forms of the arts. The diversity of Scotland as a multi-cultural society will be encouraged.

The SNP will create a Scottish Ministry for the Arts, with responsibility for the central government element of arts funding.

A National Theatre in Scotland and a Scottish Academy of the Arts will be established, to provide leadership and stimulation in the arts.

Arts organisations which do not have their own capital or covenanted funding will have the right of appeal against arbitrary withdrawal of funding when their main gender is a public body.

Whilst an independent Scotland will import the best in broadcasting internationally, Scottish-sourced programmes will increase, generating substantial employment opportunities. Up to 40% of programmes will be produced by Scottish based independent production companies. The SNP will create an accountable and well-funded Scottish Broadcasting Corporation, and a Scottish Broadcasting Authority.

The editorial independence of the public broadcasting service will be protected by Charter. Unlike the present situation, all the licence money collected in Scotland will be spent on public sector broadcasting in Scotland. Awards of franchises to independent television stations will be on the basis of technical and artistic merit, not by financial auction.

Scottish produced programmes will be promoted as viable product for satellite and cable television. We will also facilitate an expansion of the media to allow for the articulation of minority interests and cultures.

#### 7 HEALTH

THE SNP will retain and develop the National Health Service. In an independent Scotland, comprehensive healthcare of the highest standard will be free to all at time of need and at point of need.

Under Labour and the Tories, the NHS has been badly neglected. An SNP government will increase resources to bring our health spending back into line with our European neighbours. Once again Scottish health care will be the envy of the world.

As part of the *Medium Term Recovery Strategy*, the SNP will increase health expenditure in Scotland by 15 per cent in real terms over four years. This will bring health spending in Scotland - in terms of share of the Gross Domestic Product - up to the European average. Over he four years of the Strategy, one-third of this extra spending will be financed by extra Tobacco Duties.

An SNP government will abolish charges for prescriptions, eye care and essential dental work. Action will also be taken to improve Scotland's dental health record, which remains the worst in Europe.

Privatisation within the health service will be abolished, and any hospitals which have opted out will be returned to full NHS control.

The health service will be administered by elected health boards, with central authority vested in a Health Commission.

Labour will not say how much money they would spend on health, although they know exactly how much they want to waste on the Trident Programme. Nothing better illustrates the need to gain Scottish control over Scottish resources and spending priorities.

#### 8 DEFENCE

THE SNP is committed to a non-nuclear Scotland. An independent Scotland will immediately withdraw from the UK's Trident Programme, and will order nuclear weapons and installations off our soil.

While both America and Russia are dismantling their nuclear arsenals, Labour and the Tories are committed to expanding Britain's nuclear capability.

Both of the UK parties want to base Trident submarines on the Clyde, far away from London. The SNP will not tolerate Scottish waters being used as a dumping ground for weapons of mass destruction. The existing Polaris nuclear weapons fleet will be removed from Scotland as soon as is possible.

An independent Scotland will have strong conventional defence forces. But there will be no place for scandalously expensive, impractical and ultimately useless nuclear weapons.

Instead, we will invest the £1.5 billion, which is Scotland's share of the Trident programme from 1992, into vital areas such as health, housing, education and jobs.

In other words, when we stop investing in weapons we can't use, we'll be able to start investing in things we can use.

An independent Scotland will inherit the Treaty obligations of NATO membership but membership of a nuclear weapons based alliance system is inconsistent with the SNP non-nuclear defence policy. As long as NATO strategy remains based on nuclear deterrence the SNP will negotiate to disengage from

the NATO Command structure in a manner which does not destabilise the defence interests either of Scotland or of Europe.

An SNP Government will seek to co-operate in defence matters with other European countries on the basis of a conventional defence strategy. This policy is very much in line with the emerging European identity in defence matters.

An SNP Government will fulfil our international obligations to UN ( or in the future, to European ) peace-keeping forces, which is why we will maintain the full complement of the current Scottish Division.

#### 9 LIVING IN A SAFE SCOTLAND

THE SNP is also completely opposed to the dumping of imported nuclear waste in Scotland. We will not let Scotland become the world's nuclear dustbin, risking the health of all our people and the clean image and prosperity of our industries.

Labour, the Tories and the Democrats support the reprocessing of deadly nuclear waste at Dounreay. We will ban this, and refuse any applications for a nuclear waste dump on Scottish soil.

Nuclear fuel - whether spent or active - remains deadly for hundreds of years. To willingly import it from other countries is lunacy of the first order.

The Scottish National Party pledges to work towards a safer, cleaner Scotland. A Scotland without the nuclear menace.

But other urgent measures are also required to safeguard our environment and make sure that he people of Scotland live in a safe, environmentally friendly society.

An SNP Government will establish an Environmental Protection Agency responsible to Parliament and independent of the Executive. Its job will be to control pollution, and make certain the all new developments are environmentally sound.

An SNP Government will ban the importation of toxic waste, encourage the recycling of raw materials and support wholeheartedly the international initiatives that are essential to protect our planet.

An Independent Scotland would also urgently review its energy needs and take measures to fulfil our outstanding potential for developing and implementing clean and renewable sources of energy for the future.

Our country has the best tidal and wind energy resources in Europe - we shall put them to work for a safer and greener Scotland.

#### 10 HOUSING FOR PEOPLE

POOR PUBLIC housing is the scourge of Scotland. Dampness, long waiting lists, lack of funding and run-down properties have created a legacy of intolerable misery.

Nearly two-thirds of council rent collected is paid back out in load charges, This crippling capital debt must be written off to meet the immediate and crying need for decent homes.

As detailed in our *Medium Term Recovery Strategy*, an SNP government will write off this burden over the four years of the first Scottish Parliament.

This move will help Scottish councils to provide a decent home for every family. In addition, new houses will be built - including sheltered homes - and an effective modernisation and repair programme undertaken.

All tenants will retain the right to buy their council homes, although abuses in the system will be curbed and sales matched with new house-building.

In the private sector, the SNP will make owner occupation a viable, low-risk option. We will retain mortgage tax relief, and investigate a fixed rate mortgage system.

#### 11 THE RURAL ECONOMY

SCOTLAND'S Rural Economy has been under siege for generations. An SNP Government will recognise the vital importance of our rural areas, and take positive steps to maintain the rural population, and provide new opportunities for young people who would otherwise have to leave.

For FARMING, which is the backbone of the rural economy, the SNP will act to reduce farmers exposure to short term interest rates by establishing and Agricultural Finance Bank.

The SNP will assist smaller farmers with marketing and find appropriate ways of preventing their exploitation by large retail chains. The SNP will consult on a viable and effective new entrants scheme, and ensure that farming attracts lively, new and enthusiastic entrants, keen to develop agriculture in Scotland.

As a member of the Council of Ministers of the EC, the SNP will also seek to extend the Less Favoured Areas scheme with a structural programme to strengthen the rural economy, similar to the Western Isles IDP.

We will also insist that proposals for reform of the Common Agricultural Policy do not discriminate against Scottish farmers.

FISHING is ten times more important to the Scottish economy than to the UK. 30, 000 jobs are dependent on the success of the industry.

An SNP Government will reject outright any scheme for transferable quotas.

Such schemes endanger the family based industry which exists around our coasts by threatening to concentrate quota allocations in the hands of a few fishing companies. We will introduce an effective and properly funded decommissioning scheme and will seek a conservation regime which will include the introduction of 80mm square mesh panels for the white fish fleet

In keeping with the SNP's international commitments, and SNP Government will also seek to include pelagic species in European food aid to the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

In specific areas the SNP will implement plans to overcome generations of neglect. This includes a proposal within the *Medium Term Recovery Strategy* for the establishment of a Western Isles Task Force, which will draw up a ten year development plan for the regeneration of the Western Isles economy. The creation of new transport links will be an essential part of this strategy as will be the development of Gaelic within the local economy.

An SNP Government will establish a Land Commission to take active steps to ensure productive and fair use of large estates. Land is the basic resource of Scotland and should not be misused by multi-millionaire owners.

#### 12 INDEPENDENCE AND EQUALITY

THE WRITTEN CONSTITUTION of an independent Scotland will contain a provision outlawing any discrimination on the basis of sex.

An SNP Government is committed to a Parliament that has a fairer balance of the sexes, and will ensure that the working practices of the Parliament do not - as at Westminster - discriminate against women.

The SNP will strive for equal pay for work of equal value, in line with European guidelines, equality of entry and working conditions and security of employment. The SNP will ensure good quality, affordable community based child care facilities for working women.

An SNP Government will make certain that there are sympathetic housing allocation policies for all women, and particularly for abused women, and will secure adequate refuges for the victims of domestic violence.

As far as racism is concerned, the SNP utterly rejects any discrimination on racial or ethnic grounds. The Bill of Rights will outlaw such discrimination. The presence in Scotland of people from diverse origins is a source of enrichment for Scottish society.

Citizenship of Scotland will be granted to anyone living in Scotland or born in Scotland, regardless of race or colour.

An SNP Government will ensure that education reflects the multi cultural and multi racial aspects of Scottish life.

The Bill of Rights will also offer protection and redress to those discriminated against as a result of sexual orientation.

#### 13 AN ATTACK ON POVERTY

SCOTLAND HAS the highest proportion of low-paid full-time workers in the UK. More than a third of our employees are struggling to make ends meet.

Those who are unemployed face an even more difficult task in finding enough money to pay the bills.

With Independence Scotland will be a confident and prosperous nation. The SNP is committed to the eradication of poverty - which is an affront to living standards and human dignity - as a priority. The SNP's *Medium Term Recovery Strategy* shows exactly how poverty can be wiped out by an Independent Parliament

An SNP government will undertake a comprehensive review of the social security system. Benefits will be raised in real terms by 10 per cent over four years, with child benefit increased by £10 a week for every child.

Young people and students will once again qualify for assistance, and a national minimum wage and a new national household minimum income will be established.

Leave from work for family reasons, including paid maternity and paternity leave, will be in line with the best provisions available in Europe.

#### 14 PENSIONS - A FIRST CLASS DEAL FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

OUR ELDERLY folk deserve justice and dignity. In an Independent Scotland they will get it.

The Tories have robbed our senior citizens blind since 1979. By cutting the link between earnings rises and pension increases in 1980., they have taken £17.65 a week from a single pensioner and £28 a week from a couple.

Labour would restore less than a third of these cuts. An SNP government will reinstate pensions in full in relation to earnings over a four year period.

In the *Medium Term Recovery Strategy*, we will use Scotland's wealth to give our pensioners justice and a decent, guaranteed income.

The SNP will increase the basic state pension immediately by £6.35 - on top of the proposed rates - to £60.50 for a single pension, and by £10.10 to £96.80 for a married couple.

We will use Scotland's voice in the European Community to campaign for a common Euro-pension of £90 for a single person and £130 for a couple.

A Cold Climate Allowance will be paid automatically every week during the winter to everyone on a retirement pension as well as to those on income support, family credit or housing benefit.

#### 15 HELP FOR THE DISABLED

DISABLED PEOPLE have the absolute right to live their lives without suffering from discrimination or hardship.

Provision for the needs of the disabled will be an important part of the economic and social programme in and independent Scotland.

There should be an element of positive discrimination in terms of employment. Disabled people are excellent employees, yet the current law stipulating that larger companies make up 3 per cent of their workforce from the disabled population is practically ignored.

An SNP Government will police this legislation effectively, making sure that employers meet their obligations. We will also review the current appalling grant assistance available to employers for giving work to the disabled.

New homes will take account of the needs of wheelchair users, and proper community care will be established. Where possible, special needs children will be educated in mainstream schools.

The SNP favours the introduction of a concessionary national transport pass for the disabled and pensioners.

#### 16 TAX REFORM

AN SNP Government will bring fairness to the taxation system in Scotland. In the first year of Independence, two measures will be taken:

To help the low paid in particular, the SNP will introduce a 20 per cent low basic rate of income tax on the first £3,000 of taxable income, giving a typical earner and extra £3.60 per week compared to the 1991/92 tax system.

To pay for this policy, the SNP will lift the ceiling on employees national insurance contributions, which currently applies to earnings over £405 per week. Like everyone else, the better-off will pay national insurance on the whole of their earnings. This will remove the anomaly whereby earners just above the

national insurance ceiling pay a 9 per cent lower marginal tax rate than people who earn below this level. The national insurance ceiling is the antithesis of progressive taxation.

National insurance contributions will be reconciled on an annualised basis, in order to protect the small number of workers whose earnings are concentrated on a seasonal basis.

#### 17 THE CALL TO ACTION

THE FORTHCOMING General Election will be Scotland's Independence Election. The SNP is a responsible, modern political party firmly rooted in the tradition of European social democracy. The SNP's policy of Independence in Europe will bring stability to the governance of Scotland.

We will negotiate firmly but fairly with Westminster to produce a settlement which is in the interests of all out people, yet leaves us as England's friendly neighbour. We will ask you, the people of Scotland, to approve the deal we have struck in a referendum. Then the people will elect the government of their choosing at Scotland's first general election as an independent state. All this can happen **NOW**. You - and we - have the power to make it happen.......**NOW**.

Vote For Scotland.

Vote for the Scottish National Party.

#### GO FOR IT .....!

### A MESSAGE FROM SEAN CONNERY

This is a now or never time for Scotland. We are true internationalists and we have friends all over the world. They're waiting to see if Scotland will go for it - or cop out. Everyone can see that nothing will ever change if we don't break with the old, outdated Union.

I can't imagine that anybody who lives in Scotland can really want not to be independent: can want to turn their back on their own identity and their own nation. Being an independent Scot is the most natural thing in the world to me.

But you can't get independence without voting for the SNP. That's why I joined. The other parties will talk for ever but devolution with an assembly is a mish-mash that can only lead to trouble.

Scotland will never know what it can achieve unless it tries. When I travel the world I see Scots who have made it in every other country. But why not at home? There has to be something wrong with the system. Only Independence can set it right.

A lot of daft nonsense is talked about Scotland being too small. Actually, we're a fair sized country, with a small population, but vast resources. That should mean we re booming but we re not. And we never will be unless we change now.

I have only one message for my fellow Scots: this is your chance - go for it!

Sean Connery

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