

MANIFESTO '81



Workers Revolutionary Party marchers call for the building of Community Councils on the Lambeth Week of Action demonstration on February 4

TORY COUNTER-REVOLUTION THE WRP REPLY

Adopted unanimously by the Fifth Congress of the Workers Revolutionary Party held from January 31 to February 3

1. ATTENTION all workers, trade unionists, students, unemployed, youth, immigrants, pensioners, small shopkeepers and tenant farmers.

The Tories are deliberately provoking a state of national emergency. They are working towards violent class confrontation as a pretext to drive down living standards and do away with basic democratic rights and liberties.

Since coming to power in May 1979 the Thatcher government has systematically prepared the army, the police, the judiciary and the capitalist state bureaucracy for a pre-emptive strike against the trade unions and the working class. Using the element of surprise, the Tories will bring out the

army to terrorise the masses into dictatorship.

That is why the Workers Revolutionary Party says — Watch out for this violent conspiracy by the Tories and the capitalist state machine. Prepare now!

2. The ruthless policy of the Thatcher government is to de-nationalise and scrap industries in Britain. They are shutting down vast areas of industry in steel, cars, machine tools and shipbuilding and creating redundancies at the present rate of 40,000 a month.

Every week 120 firms go bankrupt as a direct result of Thatcher's crippling policy of high interest rates. Companies cannot afford to borrow for investment, while

their exports are priced out of the world markets by the artificially high value of the pound.

At the same time the Tories have abolished all exchange controls so that funds can roam abroad in search of profits in the dictatorships of Chile, Brazil and South Africa where there are no legal trade unions and political opponents are tortured to death.

While millions of working people are being plunged into the fear and suffering of the Tory slump and hyperinflation, the City of London is enjoying a bonanza. The banks are awash with money — thanks to the record interest rates — and the London Stock Exchange index is at a record high.

From being the 'workshop

of the world', the Tories are turning Britain into the 'financial bucketshop of the world', fit only for City parasites, money swindlers and merchant bankers. This is capitalism and imperialism at their dead end.

From now on they can only hope to continue on the basis of industrial barbarism and political terrorism unprecedented in their bloody history. They want slaves instead of trade unionists, and human robots instead of workers.

Reagan's White House

3. The landslide victory of Ronald Reagan in the US Presidential elections

in November 1980 has rapidly intensified the class struggle all over the world. As the new leader of world imperialism, Reagan represents the most counter-revolutionary sections of the American ruling class.

He takes office as the US economy plunges into its deepest-ever crisis: industrial output is falling, plant utilisation is down to its lowest since the 1930s Great Depression, 8 million Americans are out of work, and interest rates have jumped back to 16 per cent.

The twin aims of Reagan's administration are to wage war on the living standards of the American working class and to put in motion the biggest nuclear arms build-up in history.

His domestic policies

which centre on sweeping cuts in public spending will be accompanied by a sharp escalation in the trade war against Western Europe and the Common Market countries.

Ex-President Carter's tentative tariffs on steel and other manufactures will be replaced by inflexible barriers.

Meanwhile, US-made products, cheapened by the fall of the American dollar, will be flooded on to West European markets. In turn, the West German and French governments will strive to place the burden on to Britain.

This will inescapably increase the slump conditions of the bankrupt British economy and spur the Thatcher

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government into more desperate counter-revolutionary actions against the masses.

Anti-union conspiracy

4. The Thatcher government is planning to use the trade unions as the scapegoat for the explosion of mass unemployment and hyperinflation. Its immediate objective is to smash the trade unions in a far more brutal way than in 1926 at the time of the General Strike.

The preparations are well in hand for this violent confrontation with the organised working class. The huge salary increases for the military and the police, the lavish recruitment campaigns for the armed forces, the unbridled use of telephone-tapping and mail-opening, the naked role of the Special Branch and the SPG against the trade unions and the passing of Whitelaw's prison camp Act which abolishes *habeas corpus* — all these establish the class war violence which the Thatcherites are actively stoking up.

Unemployment officially stands at over 2.4 million and it is rapidly accelerating towards the 3 million mark. At the same time, inflation is driving up the cost of living and placing an unbearable burden on the poor, the down-at-heel and the out of work.

5. 'The Times' reported on July 17, 1980, that the Cabinet has instructed Whitehall to draw up plans to recruit an army of blacklegs for the State of Emergency.

This bears all the hallmarks of the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies (OMS), the strike-breaking force which Baldwin used to smash the 1926 General Strike and starve the miners back to work.

Now the Tories — most of whom have never done a productive day's work in their lives — have introduced the doctrine of 'work for your dole'.

This is the beginning of a slave labour force in Britain which will be pitted against the trade unions.

Thatcher's showdown with the trade unions is centred on her anti-union laws. The decision to restrict the number of pickets to six is a flagrant move to create picket line provocations in which the police and the SPG will use unrestrained violence to make wholesale arrests.

Counter revolution prepares

6. The Tories are taking advantage of the confusion and inertia created by the reformists in the TUC and the Labour Party, both left and right. These bureaucrats are floundering around without policies for the crisis.

While the TUC fiddles, the trade unions are literally burning in the fires of Thatcherism.

They are all wistfully hoping that a Labour government will come on the scene sooner or later and patch something up. This is a dangerous fantasy.

In the first place, Thatcher has declared that she will not make a U-turn, and nor will



SAS 'hit team' at the Iranian Embassy siege in May 1980

she back down like Heath did in 1974. If she hands over to anyone, it will be the conspiracy of the Privy Council, the generals and the police chiefs.

And secondly, in the event that a Labour government of Foot and Healey was brought to power, it would play the part of Allende's government in Chile.

Its job would be to demoralise and divide the working class so that in a short time the military and the police would depose the parliamentarians and install a junta.

7. The most powerful element in Thatcher's arsenal is surprise. Behind the outward appearance of calm, the Tories and the civil war generals are going full speed ahead for a violent confrontation with the masses and the imposition of the

Tory blueprint for a paupers' Britain.

They want to provoke a situation where they will be able to supersede parliament with a select group of non-elected Privy Councilors and generals representing big business, finance capital, the aristocracy, royalty and the armed forces.

This is why they are busy creating a State of National Emergency — so that they can justify setting parliament aside.

On BBC Television on November 20, 1980, Lord Carver, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, derided talk of an army takeover in Britain saying that the army would not break the law.

But when Dame Judith Hart, the ex-Labour Cabinet minister, pointed out that the Tories could change the law

within 24 hours to give the army complete legal powers, Carver was speechless.

The Tories are hoping the working class and its middle-class allies will be bullied into silence until they are ready to throw up their early morning street barricades and road blocks in the working-class estates and 'dormitory' areas.

Then, armed with lists of names and addresses of leading trade unionists, leftists and all known protesters, they will move into action with mass arrests in an atmosphere of terror, brutality and arrogance.

8. We warn again — the Tory plans for counter-revolution are well-advanced. They began immediately following the defeat of the Heath government in February 1974 at the hands of the miners, and

they have been gathering speed ever since.

During the five years of Labour government the preparations went ahead under the benign sponsorship of the Labour traitors who fear social revolution as much as the Tories.

This has been carried out by Britain's 'state within the state' — the faceless top Whitehall bureaucrats, the Cabinet chiefs, the top brass of the armed forces, the spy chiefs of MI5 and MI6. They emerged as the real power standing behind the skirts of parliamentary democracy.

The general staff of the 'state within the state' advanced its counter-revolutionary plans incorporating all the lessons from the military occupation of the north of Ireland including the mass repression of the civilian population through constant surveill-

ance, torture, internment and selective assassination.

Special detention centres have already been assigned in Britain and facilitated by the prison camp Act which the Tories stampeded through parliament in 48 hours in October 1980.

On November 26, 1980, Home Secretary Whitelaw presented the first of two Bell 222 police helicopters to Scotland Yard as the most advanced police weapons in the Tory class war.

The helicopters are equipped with TV cameras, an illumination system, loud-hailers, fixed binoculars, a winch and special infra-red sensory devices. This 'spy in the sky' can be quickly converted into an aerial gunship with eight police snipers on board.

9. Preparations have been made for the country to be divided into military sectors each ruled by a martial law administrator with its own pass system. They plan to isolate whole communities from each other and starve them into submission as the Bolivian miners were starved into submission.

Live military operations have been conducted in the art of sealing off the entrances to high rise flats by the deployment of rubber-tracked light tanks and armoured cars.

Since the beginning of this year night-time manoeuvres involving these civil war techniques have been regularly taking place in the streets of London and other major cities.

Detachments of troops, carefully selected for their racist views and brutality, are being trained for these monstrous tasks.

They are being modelled on the killers of the Special Air Services (SAS) and this explains why Thatcher was so eager to involve them in the Iranian embassy siege and then to glorify the cold-blooded executions they carried out.

The army high command has decided that there will



THATCHER . . . Class war policies



Steelworkers staged 13-week strike in early 1980 over wages and jobs

be no half measures. Trade union activists, Labour left-wingers, members of the Workers Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party, etc., will be interned without trial in the first hours of the Emergency.

We are living in the menacing shadow of this grave emergency right now. Thatcher and her government are heading for a class confrontation such as Britain has not seen since the aftermath of the 1914-1918 World War and the unequivocal aim of this operation is the setting up of a military-police dictatorship.

We must not waste a moment's time. The working class must prepare to defend itself from the Tory terror to come.

10. The defence of basic democratic rights and living standards urgently demands action by the working class and the trade unions.

We call on the masses to mobilise in demanding that the TUC must mobilise the working class to fight the Tories. Their failure to do this so far clearly indicates a real danger of a betrayal and defeat such as the working class suffered in 1926.

Trade unions, historically speaking, are the working class in Britain. This is the first, and therefore the oldest, working class in the world and the birthplace of trade unions.

But the world slump dooms the trade unions to impotence, as the present reformist inertia testifies. Only the social revolution can defend and regenerate the trade unions.

The bloody events in Turkey, Bolivia and South Korea demonstrate that the common mentor of the attempted destruction of the unions by the capitalist state is the world-wide crash of industry and credit.

Without a social revolution capitalism in its death agony will inevitably destroy the unions as German fascism did in the 1930s.

Reformism — as successive Labour governments have shown — because of its policy of class collaboration with the Tory enemy, is not only incapable of defending the unions, but continuously undermines their strength and opens the door for state control of unions and their destruction.

Occupation committees

11. Workers who bear not the slightest responsibility for the capitalist slump must categorically reject sackings, closures and the rundown of the social services.

The cowardly acquiescence of the TUC leaders and Labour MPs must be ended by class action — the occupation of factories and work places.

We call for the formation of Occupation Committees comprising representatives from the shop floor as well as staff, technical and supervisory sections who support the occupation policy.

The committees must fight to keep the factories open and oppose the economic sabotage of the employers.

They would appoint groups of qualified technicians and workers to inspect the company's books and to end the



'Stalag Salisbury Plain' — the army prison camp opened by Whitelaw during the prison officers' dispute in December 1980

financial secrecy of management.

This is how the committees would openly make out the case for nationalising the company and introducing workers' control.

The committees would constitute a preparatory step towards the conquest of political and industrial power and the nationwide administration of industry by a Workers' Revolutionary Government.

By establishing Occupation Committees the working class embarks on the crucial road of organising socialist planning in industry and commerce.

Community Councils

12. Tory policy is the forcible reduction of living standards. This is not an act of class violence

against individuals, but against the working class as a whole, as well as large sections of the middle class.

The Tories are taking away livelihoods of whole communities. Places like Shotton, Corby, Consett, Port Talbot and Dundee are literally being sentenced to death.

There is absolutely no chance of getting another job. After the redundancy money is spent, hundreds of thousands of workers will have nothing left to hope for.

And it is not only workers in the manufacturing industries who are affected. All those employed in local service and supply industries suffer as well — small shopkeepers, employees of multiple stores, self-employed tradesmen and component makers etc.

In these same communities, Tory spending cuts have already taken place,

depriving them of essential services in the field of education, health and public transport.

Children have to travel further to attend more crowded schools, while patients are forced to travel longer distances to their nearest hospital.

The increase in school meal prices has halved the number of children taking them; the increase in health, dental and prescription charges has led to an incalculable deterioration in public health.

13. Every community hit in this way is a living monument to Tory greed and callousness. The collapse of social and economic life will become so intolerable it will lead to spontaneous outbreaks of revolutionary struggle.

The working class and sec-

tions of the middle class will have no choice but to take action to prevent a descent into Thatcher's military-monetary dictatorship. This will constitute the embryo mass movement towards social revolution.

What is urgently needed is a form of organisation which unites them together in the common struggle against the Thatcher regime and its capitalist state machine.

It must embrace all sections of the community involved in production, commerce and the maintenance of local services.

This crisis situation calls for the building of Community Councils.

Since the Community Councils arise directly from the desperate urgency of the world slump and the collapse of industry and the social services, they would have to deal with all aspects of the social and economic crisis

facing workers and sections of the middle class.

At the very heart of the Community Councils will be the trade unions. But the Community Councils will make the struggle for jobs, living standards and basic democratic rights the responsibility of the whole community and not only local bodies like the trades councils.

The Community Councils must incorporate existing local community bodies which have sprung up almost overnight in some areas — for example, community groups against police violence, against racism, against hospital and school closures, against cutbacks in local facilities such as playgrounds and libraries, against the cuts in medical facilities and university education, and also tenants and ratepayers' organisations.

They must open their doors to all those fighting the Tories — local Labour groups, other political organisations in the labour movement and other people regardless of their religion, colour, nationality and even if they mistakenly voted Tory at the last general election.

In some areas, the core of the councils would be the Occupation Committees which had taken over factories and whole industries to rescue them from wholesale closure.

A decisive element in their activities would be the organised maintenance of these factories and workplaces until such time as they could be incorporated into a socialist plan and re-opened for production.

Nationalised industries

14. Under the euphemism of 'privatisation' the Tories have set out to dismember the nationalised sector of industry, such as the British National Oil Corporation, the



Yorkshire police battled to break pickets at Hadfields, Sheffield, in March 1980

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Post Office, British Rail, British Airways, the docks and power generation.

They do so in order to leave the most profitable sectors for the vultures of monopoly capital to gorge themselves on.

Thatcher calls it 'setting free the creative genius of the British people'. We call it bare-faced robbery of the post-war reforms secured by the British working class, after generations of struggle against the greed and waste of private ownership.

Labour MPs and trade union leaders complain bitterly of this rip-off but do nothing.

Only the Occupation Committees, backed by Community Councils, can and must oppose these sinister measures and defend the principle of public ownership unconditionally by occupying them.

The break-up of these state monopolies means also the most vicious attacks against union organisation, wages, conditions and jobs. Thus the fight in these industries is inseparably linked to the control and management of them by the workers organised in their unions.

Workers defence guards

15. The Community Councils would take responsibility for uniting, organising and mobilising the masses in the area they cover against the Tory class war attacks. They would be responsible for alerting and mobilising the masses to the danger of a military coup. Their task would be to organise a round-the-clock vigilance to detect and compile information on the movement of troops, the police and black-legs.

They would create units of Workers' Defence Guards based on the trade unions, strikes, factory occupations and street committees, as well as the youth and immigrant organisations.

They would take the initiative in mobilising tens of thousands on to the streets the moment the Tories brought out the troops.

To frustrate the terror and provocation of the capitalist state and its agents, the Workers' Defence Guards would create their own intelligence system.

Revolutionary youth committees

16. The youth who are among the hardest-hit by the Tories would be mobilised through Revolutionary Youth Committees to be active in the work of the Community Councils.

There are now almost 300,000 school-leavers without a job and condemned to a future of becoming state paupers. A job, marriage and a home to live in and raise a family are out of the question.

As the economic life in communities is collapsing and inner-cities are falling into decay, so social and sporting facilities are being wiped out. Driven on to the streets by sheer boredom and restlessness, the youth then become the target of the

police, the SPG and Thatcher's 'short, sharp shock' treatment.

The Revolutionary Youth Committees will organise unemployed youth, apprentices, student and immigrant youth. They will provide social and sporting activities as well as the opportunity to take part in the political struggles against Toryism.

A central issue will be the demand for the trade unions to recruit unemployed youth as members. This is the way to stop the Tories from splitting the employed and the unemployed and to prevent Tory plans to use school-leavers as a cheap slave labour force.

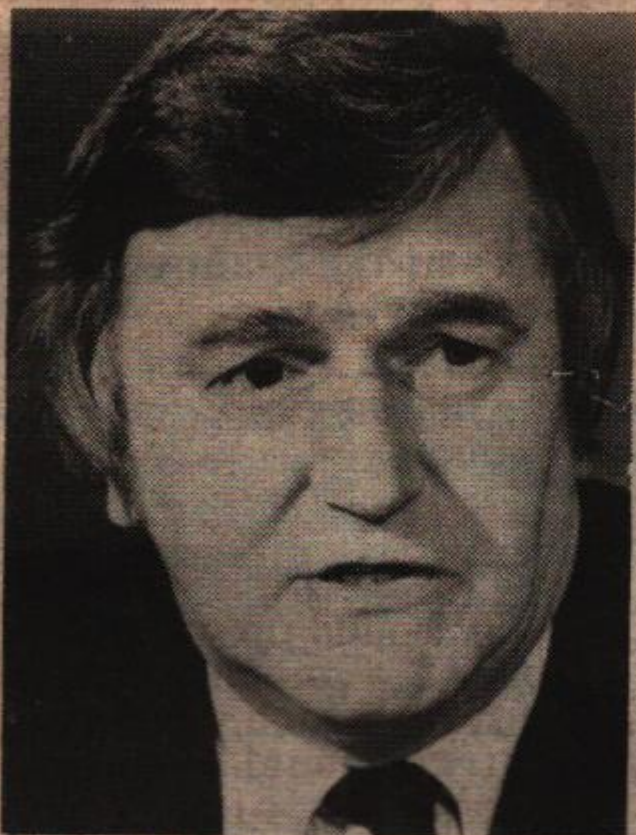
The Revolutionary Youth Committees will take an active part in the Community Councils and form the backbone of the organisation of the Workers' Defence Guards.

Local government

17. Labour-controlled councils must come into the forefront of the campaign to build Community Councils. On their own they cannot withstand the Tory onslaught on local government finances which threatens to destroy local services and amenities as well as thousands of public service jobs.

They must put themselves at the head of the oppressed in the local communities and become their champions in defending the democratic interests of the masses.

Where local Labour councils take up the fight against



Councillor Knight, Lambeth Council's Labour leader



Environment Secretary Heseltine — gunning for Lambeth

the government's cuts and powers and introduce rate and rent rises to maintain social services, they must be supported.

This is a necessary and correct tactical measure to defend all past gains and to create the conditions for nation-wide opposition to build up for the defeat of the government.

Only by initiating the campaign for Community Councils can Labour councils mobilise and unite the broad

masses against the Tory slump and Heseltine's cuts.

Trade unions in the public service must give their full support to this campaign. They must avoid at all costs fighting Labour councils on sectional issues. All issues should be subordinated to the main fight against the Tory government, with mutually-agreed settlements within this context.

The fight is not with Labour councils, but against the Tories because it is the Tories who are to blame for the cuts. The whole trade union movement and the TUC must give full support to the firemen and other sections of the 4 million-strong public service work-force who are now fighting against the 6-per-cent Tory pay limit and for their jobs.

The Councils would be called upon to deal with the mass of social problems caused by Thatcher's monetarist catastrophe.

One of the paramount questions facing thousands of working people is the desperate shortage of housing created by Tory and Labour governments.

The Community Councils would not only have to prepare comprehensive building plans, but as an immediate measure they must requisition all unoccupied property, large hotels and the homes of the aristocracy to house the homeless and rehouse those living in insanitary and slum conditions.

The councils would also go to the aid of those faced with the burden of exorbitant gas, water and electricity bills promptly.

They would force the immediate abolition of rents and rates for the unemployed and institute a graduated system of rates based on income. At the same time a moratorium would be introduced on mortgage payments for the unemployed and the poor.

In short, the Community Councils will form the local and regional basis for the Workers' Revolutionary Government pledged to implement a socialist planned economy.

Workers' Revolutionary Government

18. Every step forward by the working class in resisting Tory conspiracies and building Community Councils, Occupation Committees, Workers' Defence Guards and Revolutionary Youth Committees poses directly the question: what kind of government will secure the basic democratic rights of workers, end unemployment and inflation and guarantee decent living standards?

Unquestionably, only a Workers' Revolutionary Government which derives its power from the Community Councils will carry out such an historic task.

Such a government would have nothing in common with the reformist Labour governments of the past. It would be based on the unity of all sections of the working class to defend basic rights by disarming the capitalists, breaking the resistance of the counter-revolutionary organisations and taking political power.

The basic condition for the victory and survival of such



Workers Revolutionary Party contingent marching with Lambeth councillors and trade unionists

a government is that the entire state apparatus must pass into its hands and that it is supported by the organisation of the most oppressed sections of the working class.

Parliament and basic rights

19. Thatcher has revealed the real nature of parliament — that it is an instrument of the capitalist state machine. It is through parliament that the Tories are instigating their counter-revolution.

The Tories have no mandate whatsoever for what they are doing. They blinded the electorate with a lavish propaganda campaign in which they promised tax cuts, lower inflation, no wage controls, better employment opportunities, especially for young people, and relief for the old aged pensioners.

Every single one of these pledges was violated in the first 18 months of Tory rule. Nor did the Tories declare that the purpose of their government was to arm the capitalist state with the plans and weapons of counter-revolution and to impose their slump policies through violent class confrontation.

In the last century the working class set out under the banner of Chartism to use parliament to protect its rights. Then it built the Labour Party in the early 1900s in the historical hope that it could get socialism through parliament and the election of Labour governments.

But this has been completely disproved by history. Now that the capitalist slump has completely ended any hope of reforms, parliament has reverted to its true role in the class war — to rubber stamp Tory violence against the masses.

The policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party is not to ignore parliament nor to bypass it. We will always participate in general elections in order to expose parliament for what it is.

In the May 1979 general election the WRP stood 60 candidates throughout Britain and placed our revolutionary socialist programme before the masses. We will continue to exercise our legal and democratic right to argue our socialist point of view in every single avenue that is open, including parliamentary election.

20. Reformist Labour governments — like the six which broke faith with the working class in the post-war years — inevitably

betrayed because they were based not on the independent strength of the working class, but on the reactionary institutions of a capitalist parliament tied and subordinated to the capitalist state.

Reformism's greatest betrayal is the lie consistently peddled by right and left-wing trade union leaders, Labour parliamentarians, Stalinist peaceful roaders and revisionist charlatans that parliament, i.e. bourgeois democracy, is the only safeguard against dictatorship and war.

On the contrary, the basic democratic rights of the working class, earned in centuries of working class struggle against parliament, can in no way be confused with parliament and bourgeois democracy which is part of the capitalist state and serves today as a facade for military-police conspiracies against basic rights.

In Allende's Chile, in Weimar Germany and in present-day Ulster, what the world slump has revealed is that one man-one vote is a rotten deception so long as the working class does not decisively break the political and industrial power of the ruling class.

The WRP however does not advocate the boycotting of parliamentary elections but will use every legal means, as it has done in the



ts to defend social services, jobs and living standards on February 4, 1981



past, to propagate its revolutionary programme and win the majority of the working class to support a Workers' Revolutionary Government based on democratically elected Community Councils.

The Workers Revolutionary Party rejects totally the policy of individual terror. Social revolution is irreconcilably opposed to anarchistic violence which cannot substitute for the will, the passion, the energy and the imagination of tens of millions guided by a revolutionary theory and organisation.

Planned socialist economy

21. The Workers' Revolutionary Government will carry out the complete rationalisation and expropriation of big business without compensation and organise the planned operation of industry, banking and commerce under workers' control. It will implement a planned socialist economy based on the needs of people and abolish forever the anarchy of the world capitalist market and the system of private exploitation.

Revolutionary nationalisation of industry alone will provide the basis for the con-

tinuous development of the economy and full employment.

At the same time it will protect the small producers, shopkeepers and professional people from complete annihilation in the jaws of the monopolies.

There is no intention whatsoever to take over high street shops or one-man businesses. Whereas the big monopolies want to eliminate them, a workers' government will protect them.

Products sold in the big state-owned supermarkets will be made available to the corner shops to sell at exactly the same price. VAT will be abolished forthwith.

In the case of small farmers they will be given their land, provided with low-interest loans to buy modern farming plant and equipment and, where possible, encouraged to undertake co-operative farming. The huge private estates of the landed aristocracy will be confiscated and nationalised.

The nationalisation of the banks has become an unpostponable necessity. The 'Big Four' — National Westminster, Lloyds, Barclays and Midland — who made hundreds of millions in profit last year, are squeezing the lifeblood out of the working class and damning its industrial communities to extinction.

They are now shipping these profits abroad in a series of multi-million pound deals to buy up banks in the United States and elsewhere.

One of the most urgent demands must be to force them to open their books so that the secret fortunes of



FOOT

the big monopolies and the idle rich can be exposed and put to productive use by workers' control of the banking industry.

The vast assets of the banks represent wealth stolen out of the sweated labour of workers here and overseas. Only when these funds are under the control of a socialist planned economy can the present monetary anarchy be ended and

the savings and deposits of small savers be protected.

22. The huge burden of rents borne by the working class and small businesses will be wiped out by the nationalisation of the land without compensation.

It will be accompanied by the nationalisation of the major construction monopolies and the big suppliers without compensation and under workers' control.

This will enable a huge expansion to take place in the building of houses, hospitals, schools, roads, railways and factories.

It will strike a crippling blow to the parasites of the monarchy, the church and the aristocracy who still draw millions from ground rent.

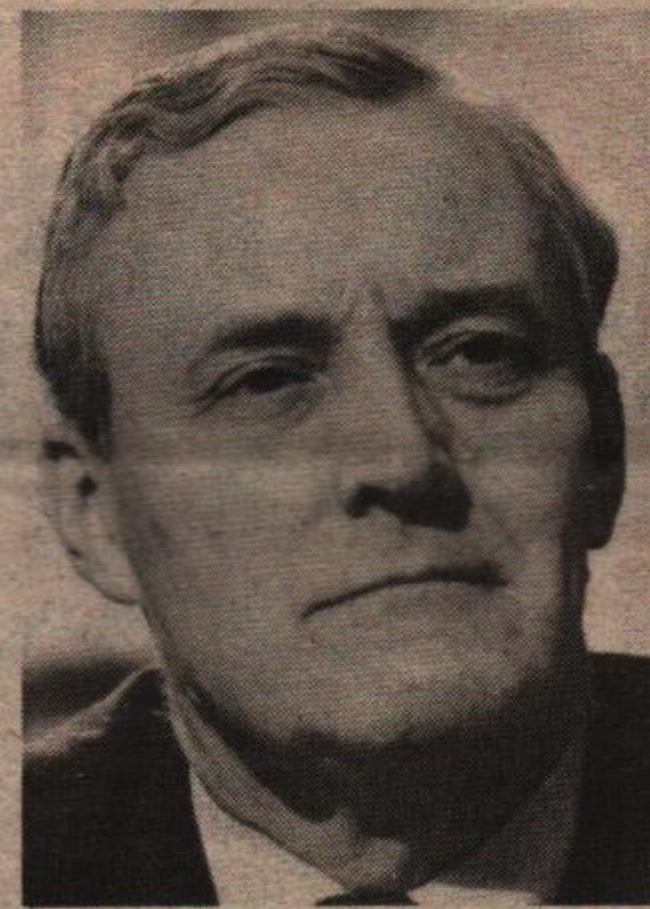
It will provide the opportunity for Community Councils to plan new housing projects and re-open factories at present condemned to the scrap heap.

Not only will the cuts in social services be restored but nationalisation will provide the finances for the maximum expansion of health and education facilities and the provision of the finest care for the elderly and the disabled.

Nationalisation carried out by the revolutionary initiative of the masses is in-

dissolubly bound up with the creation of a monopoly of foreign trade which will prevent international capital from undermining the socialist economy.

The runaway increases in the price of basic foodstuffs must be met by the nation-



BENN

lisation of the big food monopolies without compensation and placing them under workers' control.

We say take the profit out of food. It is a basic necessity of life and should not be the source of super-profits by international monopolists and commodity speculators.

Also nationalise the food wholesalers and supermarket retailers who are all 'middlemen' taking their cut

of the profits before it reaches the housewives' shopping bag and the kitchen table.

Nuclear power

23. A characteristic of capitalism's malignant crisis is the unplanned and unsafe proliferation of nuclear power.

In their rapacious greed for profits, the big monopolies are endangering whole communities with these nuclear radiation timebombs.

The Workers' Revolutionary Government will impose an immediate moratorium on all nuclear power projects while nuclear reprocessing contracts will be cancelled and stopped.

A complete scientific review will be undertaken of nuclear energy policy and alternative power sources developed to the maximum.

Smash the capitalist state

24. The violence, cruelty and arrogance of the British ruling class cannot be overcome by pacifist defiance and humanitarian appeals.

No ruling class in history

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has ever given up its power and privileges peacefully and the British Tories are certain not to be an exception.

That is why the Workers Revolutionary Government will have to act at once against all forms of counter-revolutionary conspiracy and violence.

This means disbanding the standing army, the SAS, the police, the Special Branch, the SPG and the secret police, MI5 and MI6. All their secrets will be published without delay.

In place of the imperialist armed forces, the Workers' Militia will be built. In training, discipline and ideological education the Workers' Militia will be based upon the principles laid down by Lenin in the Russian Revolution.

'The workers do not want an army standing apart from the people; what they want is that the workers and soldiers should merge into a single militia consisting of all the people.' (Lenin, 'A Proletarian Militia', Volume 24, p.180.)

The Workers' Militia will be recruited from the working class and the trade unions and responsible to them. Their sole purpose will be the defence of the basic democratic rights of the working class and the conquests of the masses in seizing power.

The monarchy, the Privy Council, the House of Lords and the judiciary will be abolished along with the hidden 'state within the state' and Whitehall's power clique.

The task of the masses under revolutionary leadership is to smash the capitalist state machine and put in its place a socialist government based on nationalised property relations, the Community Councils and Workers' Defence Guards.

All capitalist laws will be repealed. This will include all legislation against trade union rights, the conspiracy and Official Secrets laws, the so-called 'Prevention of Terrorism Act', the immigration laws and those which persecute religious or racial minorities.

The Workers' Revolutionary Government together with the Community Councils will adopt a new law creating the Workers' Socialist Republic whose foundations will be the nationalised economy and the inviolability of workers' rights.

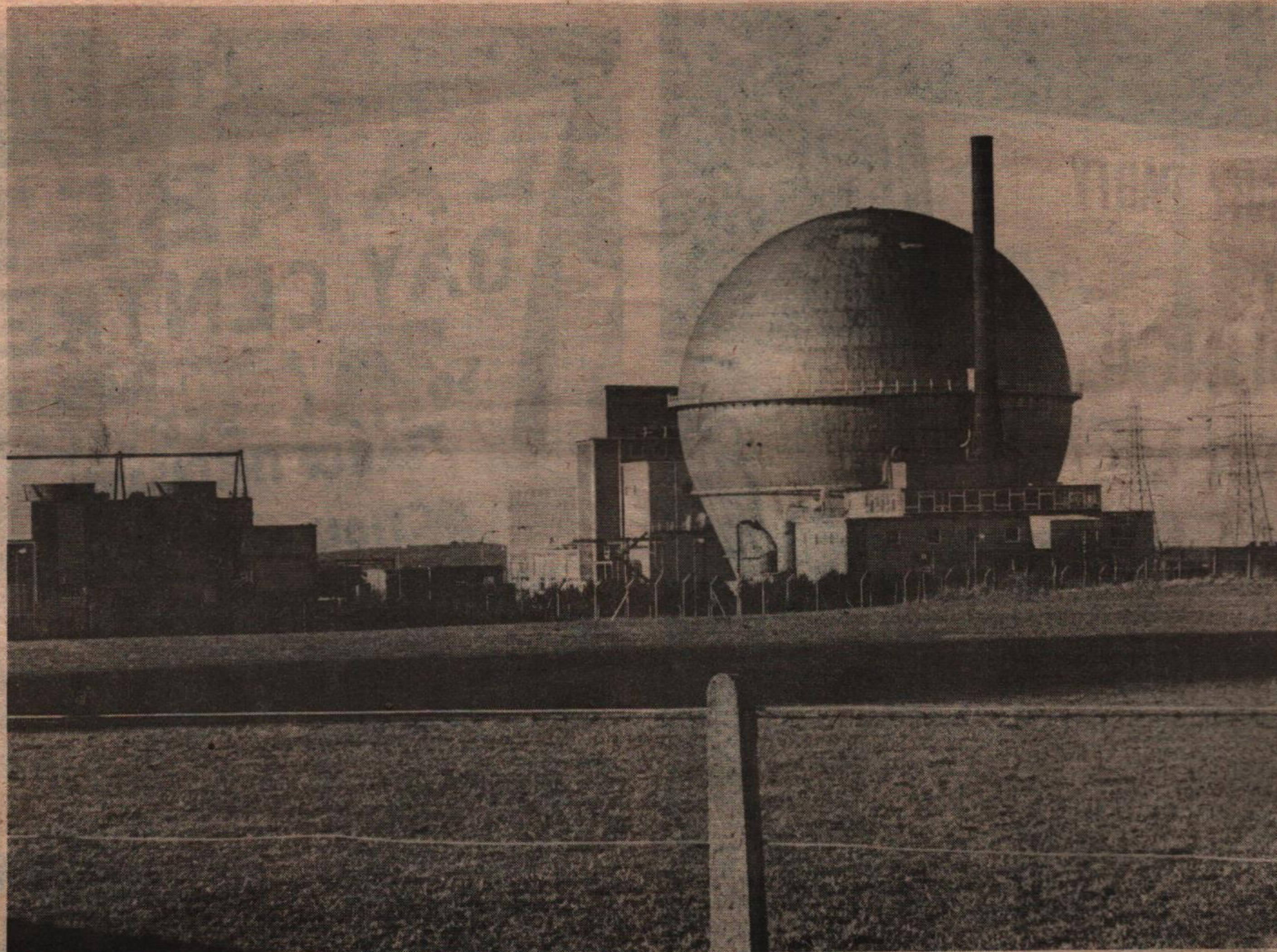
Culture, art and science

25. Unemployment is rife in the entertainments industry — cinema, theatre, television, music, ballet and opera. Newspapers are closing down and so are publishing houses, studios and playhouses.

But for the thousands who are without jobs, there are many thousands more who will never even get the opportunity to express their artistic talent.

This is because the cultural life of Britain is also coming under the remorseless impact of capitalism's slump and Thatcher's counter-revolutionary policies.

The rapid intensification of the class struggle has thrown the intelligentsia and those from the 'educated class' into a profound crisis.



The Windscale nuclear energy complex — a grim health hazard?

On the one hand many of them morally reject what is taking place around them, but they are materialistically tied to the bourgeois class and therefore its state.

The ruling class coerces them to believe that the existing order, however 'blemished', is better and safer than the promise of socialism.

This is where Stalinism has played such a vile historical role. In the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, the Stalinist parties won the commitment of many talented artists, writers and scientists who embraced the cause of socialism and sided with the struggles of the working class movement.

But their ideals were crushed by the lies, the crimes, the falsifications and the bloody Moscow Trial

purges of the Stalinist bureaucracy which turned them into political cynics and sceptics.

Under Stalin's regime and until the present day, art and culture are regimented and terrorised to 'toe the party line' in a brutal perversion of socialist emancipation.

Only Trotsky's Fourth International has the historical distinction and honour of having waged an unrelenting struggle against Stalinism and rescuing the principles of Marxism and establishing their continuity in the international working class.

The Workers' Revolutionary Government will nationalise the privately-owned TV companies and major recording companies and place them under workers' control.

It will reorganise and fi-

nance the film industry under socialist ownership and encourage in all possible ways the development of education and culture through the mass media.

There will be planned expansion of all facilities for the development of the arts and sciences. The workers' state will ensure development of artistic expression free of government direction.

Man's history now stands in the full light of the scientific age. But the ruling class barbarians want to use technological innovation for their own greedy interests against the masses, to advance their counter-revolutionary plans for mass repression and dictatorship and to develop hideous weapons of nuclear destruction.

In the hands of the work-

ers' state scientific achievements will be harnessed to transform the horizons of culture, entertainment, leisure and education.

Education will be freely provided for all children from nursery to university.

Together with their professional colleagues in all branches of the sciences and arts, and collaborating with organisations of the trade unions, the community councils and parents and youth organisations, teachers will be responsible for organising and developing the school curriculum.

For the first time, all individuals will have the opportunity of access to the cultural heritage of all mankind.

Professional workers have an appointment with history — to shake off the doubts and illusions of yesterday and to

put their great talents and training at the service of the working class in the struggle for the socialist revolution.

Foreign policy

26. The foreign policy of the Workers' Revolutionary Government will be the extension of its home policy.

It will be based upon two unshakeable premises:

- (a) Implacable hostility to the forces of imperialist and bureaucratic reaction; and
- (b) Unconditional support for all states, revolutionary movements and national liberation movements fighting imperialism.

All secret diplomacy will be ended and all secret treaties and correspondence between imperialist Britain and other capitalist states will be revealed. All military agreements with the United States and West European imperialism will be abrogated forthwith.

27. In a desperate bid to save their bankrupt system, the Tories have created military alliances with the most despotic regimes within and without the Commonwealth and NATO.

Thatcher has lined up with the most ultra-reactionary sections of US imperialism and the most reviled regimes on the face of the earth — the Chilean junta, the Zionist imperialist gangster regime in Israel, the racist dictatorship of South Africa and the butchers of Indonesia.

This international front of counter-revolution is aimed principally against the working class as well as the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The WRP calls on all trade unionists, youth, students to resolutely oppose the war preparations of the US and NATO powers against the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Despite our deep political differences with the bureaucratic leaderships of these states, the WRP continues to defend the conquest of the October Revolution — the nationalised property and the planned economy — against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration.

We warn that in the revolutionary crisis in Britain, the Tories will invoke old imperialist alliances and try to crush the Workers' Revolutionary Government and Community Councils with foreign mercenaries.

Any attempt to smash the power of capital or weaken US military power in Britain will provoke immediate retaliatory action and military intervention by US imperialism and its allies.

28. The Workers' Revolutionary Government can defeat such an assault only if it builds the maximum unity of the international working class, principally with the US working class, and the oppressed colonial peoples against imperialism.

The Socialist United States of Europe within a World Federation of Socialist States would end forever the threat of imperialist war, the huge growth of wasteful arms expenditure and the reactionary chauvinism of the imperialist states which leads to trade wars, interest rates wars and monetary anarchy.

Socialism and the Common Market are totally in-



Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) fighters march to regain their national rights

compatible. For over two decades the EEC has been the main stimulant of runaway inflation, high interest rates and the systematic destruction of agriculture and industry.

Politically it has provided the framework for the collaboration of the most reactionary capitalist forces against the USSR, the European working class and large sections of small farmers and businessmen.

Under no conditions would a Workers' Revolutionary Government support the EEC or its associate bodies.

Oppose protectionism

29. A Workers' Revolutionary Government will immediately impose complete control over all foreign trade and abolish the Stock Exchange.

The rich will be deprived of the laws of inheritance which have been responsible for sustaining power, wealth and property in the hands of a parasitic minority.

All forms of protectionism and economic nationalism will be totally opposed, as will import controls. Import controls only divide workers on a national basis. They cannot save jobs when slump conditions are hitting every corner of the capitalist world.

Instead of fighting the common international capitalist enemy, import controls pit British workers against the brothers and sisters in West Germany, Japan and the United States, and vice versa.

It means taking the livelihood and food from a worker overseas to prop up bankrupt capitalism at home. It sets the workers of one country against those of another when they have a common, internationalist interest in fighting for socialism.

The curse of 'over-production', inherent in the contradictions of capitalism and dramatised by the huge food surpluses in the EEC, cannot be overcome by breaking up the world economy into 'national' fragments — as the Labour 'lefts', the TUC leaders and the Stalinists propose.

The solution lies in dissolving the national state and abolishing all national barriers for the development of the productive forces on a planned socialist basis on an international scale.

30. The most sinister threat facing British and West European workers is the rapid escalation of war preparations against the USSR symbolised by the 7,000-odd missiles stationed in the NATO perimeter.

Thatcher has saddled Britain with the highest military budget in Western Europe, while we have the lowest living standards and the highest prices for food and services.

Thatcher has offered sites for 160 Cruise missiles in Britain and recommended the purchase of the US-made Trident nuclear missile system costing billions of pounds.

This demonstrates how Tory war policy is now synchronised with that of the Pentagon-CIA.

It completely exposes and demolishes the reformist-pacifism of Stalinism which



A trade union demonstration in Belfast against government cuts

is based on secret diplomacy between the 'Big Powers' to achieve so-called 'peaceful co-existence' and even 'universal disarmament'!

This is a cynical deception which disarms the working class. The only guarantee of peace is the establishment of a Workers' Revolutionary Government which will withdraw immediately from NATO and the EEC, withdraw troops from West Germany, the Middle East and the Far East and Africa. Only revolution can stop war.

Support the PLO

31. The foremost responsibility of the Workers' Revolutionary Government and the British working class would be to extend all material and political support to the national liberation and national revolutionary movements fighting imperialism.

This would include arms and weapons and training as well as air and naval support.

This would not be only out of revolutionary conviction but with the profound understanding that this would be the practical defence of the British revolution and an integral part of the struggle for the world socialist revolution.

British workers will honour their great debt to the heroic Vietnamese people who bore the brunt of the struggle against US imperialism.

The revolutionary government will do everything in its power to help the people of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos overcome the ravages of war and build a prosperous economy.

With immediate effect the British revolution will put supplies of arms and volunteers at the disposal of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to hasten its victory over Zionist imperialism.

No material or political support will be spared to ensure the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland.

Full diplomatic status will be granted immediately to the PLO under the chairmanship of Yassir Arafat as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

There can be no peace in the Middle East without self-determination for the Palestinian people, the overthrow of the illegal Zionist state and the establishment of a democratic secular state of Palestine where Moslems, Christians and Jews can live together in harmony.

This policy incorporates total opposition to the Camp David conspiracy between Washington, Beigin and Sadat and carries full solidarity with the people of the occupied territories who are fighting the 'self-rule' plot.

The British revolution will extend complete support to the struggling alliance between the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement as they face the blood-thirsty intrigues of the CIA, the Lebanese fascists and the Israeli Zionists.

It fully endorses the decisions of the Confrontation and Steadfastness Front and the Baghdad Summits to unite against Zionist imperialism and to isolate and destroy the US puppet regime of Anwar Sadat, the self-styled shah.

At the same time the Workers' Revolutionary Government will express its support for and confidence in the Egyptian masses, a mighty component in the Arab nation, to overthrow Sadat, and for the Sudanese masses to give the same treatment to Numeiry's bloody regime in Khartoum.

32. The Workers' Revolutionary Government will build the strongest political and economic alliances with all those states who have been

in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle.

It would abolish the rapacious trade relations employed by the imperialists to keep the underdeveloped world in poverty and technological backwardness and discuss future oil supplies from the standpoint of an equal trading partnership, shared technology and socialist planning.

All trade sanctions against the USSR and revolutionary Iran will be lifted and South African holdings in British banks confiscated.

33. The Workers' Revolutionary Party is deeply opposed to the war between Iraq and Iran.

It does disastrous damage to the revolutionary achievements of the masses in both countries and thereby objectively serves the interests of imperialism and Zionism.

It leaves the PLO dangerously isolated in Lebanon

and assists the next stages of the Camp David conspiracy against the Arab revolution.

We call for the immediate cessation of fighting, the complete withdrawal of Iraqi forces to pre-war boundaries and the settlement of all territorial claims by negotiations.

Our opposition to the war does not diminish our support for the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in Iraq insofar as it continues to uphold its struggle against imperialism and Zionism and to support the Palestinian revolution.

We support the members of the Confrontation and Rejection Front — Libyan Jamahiriya, Syria, Algeria, South Yemen and the PLO — who stand in the forefront of the struggle for the self-determination of the Arab masses.

Similarly the Workers' Revolutionary Party salutes the courageous struggle of Colonel Gaddafi whose

Green Book has guided the struggle to introduce workers' control of factories, government offices and the diplomatic service, and in exposing the reactionary manoeuvres of Sadat, Beigin and Washington.

We oppose implacably the slanderous attacks of the capitalist media on the leader of the Libyan revolution and the General People's Congress which are a smokescreen for war preparations against Libya by the Zionist-Sadat alliance.

We stand ready to mobilise British workers in defence of the Libyan Jamahiriya and to explain the teachings of the Green Book as part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Workers' Revolutionary Government would unhesitatingly end the hated legacy of British imperialism in revolutionary Iran by adopting a policy of selfless aid and fraternal co-operation to assist Iran out of the rut of underdevelopment and exploitation.

All British troops and warships will be unreservedly withdrawn from the Persian Red Sea and Indian Ocean. All Iranian assets frozen by British banks would be released and all Iranians guilty of crimes against the Revolution would be handed back to face trial.

Ireland

34. For more than ten years British imperialism's armed forces have used the most barbarous practices to terrorise the Irish working class in the north of Ireland.

Hundreds murdered, thousands interned, framed, beaten, interrogated, tortured and detained without trial.

British imperialism has the dubious distinction of having the only concentration camp now in use in the whole of Western Europe.

They have failed to crush the Provisional IRA and the spirit of Republicanism.

But the Tories — and the Labourites — have created a brutalised professional army which is being kept in readiness for attacks against the British working class and the establishment of dictatorship.

It is in the common interests of the Irish people

CONTINUED PAGE 14

I would like to join the WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

FILL
IN
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& POST
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0JT

Name

Address

Trade Union Age if under 21 years

Date

MANIFESTO '81

FROM PAGE 13

and the British working class that this sinister threat be ended by a revolutionary government which will not only withdraw the troops forthwith, but disband the army unconditionally, release all political prisoners and compensate the Irish workers for the brutality and destruction perpetrated by the British occupation army.

Government policy in relation to the north of Ireland would be based on scrupulous observance of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination for the Irish people.

Youth

35. The greatest asset in the struggle against Toryism and the capitalist state machine and the only pledge for the victory of revolutionary socialism is the allegiance, energy and courage of working class youth.

The youth are the mortal enemy of capitalism and imperialism because the system condemns millions of them to a life without hope, jobs or homes.

The Tories are throwing hundreds of thousands of young people on to the dole and proposing to control them through violent repression.

In the final analysis, the ruling class will try to dispense with them as cannon fodder in a nuclear war.

The Workers Revolutionary Party calls on all youth to join the Young Socialists, the youth section of the WRP.

We urge you to build Youth Centres which are being set up in the major cities of Britain.

Here youth can train and equip themselves with the knowledge and skills necessary to take part in the establishment of Community Councils, Workers' Defence Guards and the struggle for a Workers' Revolutionary Government.

36. The world slump and the class war Thatcher government have



Actress Helen Mirren opening the Youth Training project in Brixton in January this year

exposed the political bankruptcy of the present-day leaders of the British working class.

The Labour Party and TUC reformists as well as the Communist Party hacks have shown themselves as nothing more than impotent hostages of the capitalist system.

They are completely incapable of solving a single major problem of the working class. They cling tenaciously to the political institutions of bourgeois democracy and violently oppose independent class action which raises the question of workers' power.

In doing so, they facilitate the conspiracies of the Tories and the capitalist state machine.

Only a new revolutionary leadership can lead the working class and its middle class allies out of the dangerous illusions of parliamentary reformism and into the clear light of the struggle for Community Councils and a Workers' Revolutionary Government.

New leadership

37. The hour is late and the gravity of the situation cannot be overstressed. But such a leadership exists in the form of the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The ICFI continues the

practical and theoretical work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky in carrying out the programme of world revolution, fighting every revision of Marxist theory and resolving the crisis of working class leadership.

At the centre of this struggle against capitalist barbarism and war is the unconditional defence of the USSR, Vietnam, China and Eastern Europe against imperialist attack.

Without the successful achievement of this task and the defence of the old conquests of the working class no new strategic victories can be achieved.

Stalinism, social democracy and revisionism are completely bankrupt. They can defend nothing and systema-

tically prepare the working class for more barbarous defeats and more disastrous betrayals internationally.

Thus the only answer to the intensified war preparations of imperialism and the conspiracies of the capitalist state to unleash the slump and institute military-police dictatorship at home is the worldwide mobilisation of the working class and toiling peasantry under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International — nucleus of the world party of socialist revolution.

We call upon all workers, trade unionists, students and youth to join the Workers Revolutionary Party NOW! We urge you to fight the threatening menace of the crisis-ridden capitalist state

headed by the Tories and the police-military conspirators.

Campaign for the policies outlined in this document in every factory, shop, place of work, college and university in your locality.

Fight to build the Workers Revolutionary Party as the mass revolutionary party of the working class.

Develop dialectical materialist theory to guide the revolutionary practice of millions in the struggle for workers' power.

Assure the victory of the working class and the successful creation of a Workers' Revolutionary Government by joining the Workers Revolutionary Party, building the circulation of the daily News Line and building the Young Socialists.

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