

MANIFESTO

Workers Revolutionary Party

General Election October 10, 1974

Issued by the Central Committee
of the Workers Revolutionary Party

THE GENERAL Election is being held in the shadow of a threatening economic catastrophe. Britain is on the brink of national bankruptcy.

The jobs, wages and living standards of millions of working people are threatened with destruction. The capitalist system of private ownership for profit is entirely to blame.

The Workers Revolutionary Party is the only party fighting this election on a socialist programme. We say that the right to a decent standard of living for millions of workers and their families can only be defended by nationalizing the banks, the land and basic industry without compensation and under workers' control. Nothing short of that.

The bankrupt and outmoded capitalist system must be replaced by the common ownership of the means of production.

No illusions in parliament

IN fighting for a socialist programme in this election, we know that it cannot be won through the ballot box.

Parliament is a major instrument of the capitalist state machine for the defence of private ownership and the oppression of the working class.

The election itself will not resolve anything for the working class. Socialism can only be achieved by mobilizing the strength of the working class independent of and against the crisis-ridden capitalist state and its parliamentary relics.

The Labour Party and Communist Party, who tie the working class to the parliamentary road, are playing the game of the Tories and their capitalist backers. When our candidates are elected to parliament, they will fight to expose it for what it is and to mobilize the working class on a socialist programme for the taking of state power.

For the issue forced upon the working class by inflation and slump is to take state power. This is the only way forward to achieve a socialist solution to the capitalist catastrophe.

Every other party calls upon the working class to vote support for capitalism and its state. But the conquest of power cannot be accomplished without the building of a revolutionary leadership, the Workers Revolutionary Party, to give con-

scious and material expression to the aspirations of the working class.

Mobilize the working class

EVENTS this year have proved where the real power lies — outside parliament.

The Heath government tried to smash the trade unions and was forced out of office by the miners' strike. The engineers' union successfully challenged the authority of the National Industrial Relations Court set up by Act of Parliament.

And finally, parliament was contemptuously swept aside by the forces of reaction in Northern Ireland. The extreme right wing Ulster Workers' Council, chaperoned by the British army, disrupted the Ulster economy and destroyed the puppet Northern Ireland Executive.

The lessons must be learned and acted upon. Everything depends on mobilizing the strength of the working class against the class enemy.

We call on all Labour Party members and trade unionists to vote Labour in constituencies where the Workers Revolutionary Party is not standing.

We call on the electors to return a Labour government with a massive majority.

In the struggle to compel the Labour leaders to implement the socialist programme for which we alone fight, they will be exposed and must be driven out of the labour movement.

TRADE unionists, housewives, professional workers and young people! Read our manifesto, study our programme to our public meetings and read our daily newspaper, Workers Press.

WE URGE you to vote for our candidates. To vote for the Workers Revolutionary Party is to vote for the building of a revolutionary leadership for a socialist Britain. Above all, we urge you to join the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The crisis of capitalism

DOMINATING the election is the worst-ever international capitalist crisis.

Every single capitalist country has vast trade debts. Share prices collapse, production falls, while the price of foodstuffs and raw materials soars. The spectre of mass unemployment far worse than the 1930s haunts the working class and the middle class.

The working class faces the threat of reversal of everything gained since the end of the war in 1945. At that time the ruling class feared the strength of the working class so much that they deliberately adopted inflationary policies to prevent a class confrontation. Governments, banks and finance houses created more and more credit to keep production and purchasing power expanding.

The US Treasury printed billions of paper dollars in a desperate bid to maintain capitalism in the face of a resurgent international working class determined never to be driven back to the conditions of the 1930s.

This policy was embodied in the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement which guaranteed the value of these paper dollars in gold.

But on August 15, 1971, ex-President Nixon withdrew all

gold backing from the dollar. This was the trigger to turn controlled inflation into uncontrolled inflation: no capitalist now knew what any paper currency was worth.

A three-year orgy of speculation resulted. It drove up the cost of living for millions of working-class families all over the world. Bankers, speculators and large international firms moved out of paper money and made huge profits by buying and hoarding basic necessities of life.

This is how the capitalists protected their own interests against inflation: by causing even greater inflation for the working class.

The quadrupling of oil prices in 1973-1974 was the inevitable outcome. It brought the world economic crisis to a devastating new stage. The deficit in payments caused by the increased cost of oil is \$60 billion per year. This alone would use up the total financial reserves of the main capitalist countries within the next three and a half years.

This year's UK payments deficit will be at least £4,000m on top of last year's £1,500m deficit. And oil is only one factor in these massive debts. This spells national bankruptcy.

So deep is the resulting crisis of credit and banking that a number of banks, like the Herstatt in Germany and the Franklin National in the United States, have collapsed.

Now leading bankers are unable to meet the borrowing requirements of the big firms that bank with them. This is what happened when one of Britain's 'Big Four' clearing banks, the National Westminster, refused further funds to Ferranti. It was an open admission that banks can no longer go on financing industry, and collapses and closures are on the way.

The dozens of firms which cannot raise bank loans find impossible to raise capital on the

stock market where there is a collapse of confidence. Only 1 per cent of investment capital in British industry in the past year came from newly-floated shares. Add to industry's inability to raise cash the enormous cost increases of raw materials, electricity, coal and steel, and its inability to continue paying wages is obvious.

Nationalization is the answer

TENS of millions of jobs are at risk in the immediate future. This is the real face of inflation: it is caused by capitalism, not by the working class.

Now the capitalists have the job of surviving in competition with each other and at the same time beating the working class into submission to pay for the crisis. What global inflation has produced is not 'too much money chasing too few goods', but too much capital chasing too little of the surplus value created by the working class.

In this situation nationalization of basic industry without compensation under workers' control does not arise as some far-off, abstract question. It is immediate. An historic imperative. Workers face either a permanent place on the dole or a political struggle for the expropriation of their industries to defend the right to work.

WE SAY that prices CANNOT be controlled except by the nationalization of the food monopolies and big food chains without compensation and under workers' control; sufficient housing CANNOT be provided without the nationalization of the land, construction firms and the building societies, with protection for small savers.

No confidence in capitalism

SUCH is the faith of the capitalist class in their own system that they are selling shares in an atmosphere of complete pandemonium.

The London share market has fallen by more than 100 points this year, wiping £10 billion off share values. The index has reached its lowest point since 1959, and in real terms, the lowest for 50 years.

In other words, the market has already fallen more dramatically than it did during the 'Great Crash' of 1929-1931.

Millionaire financier Mr Slater, partner of ex-Tory Cabinet minister Peter Walker in Slater Walker Securities, told financial journalists recently that his recipe for survival was to get his hands on gold, a bicycle, tins of sardines, baked beans and a machine-gun.

While Slater and his friends are grabbing what they can and running for the hills, their associates in the Tory Party are saying that trade unionists are greedy, disrupting the economy and not pulling together for the good of the nation!

No to the 'social contract'

THE three main parties, Labour, the Tories and the Liberals, say their main aim is 'to beat inflation'. They mean beating the working class.

Inflation is not something above the class struggle. It cannot be solved peacefully. It means the victory of one class over the other: revolution or counter-revolution.

The capitalist solution is to restore value to paper money by driving down the standard of living of the working class, by making them eat less and earn less.

THE LABOUR Party leaders want to inflict this attack on the working class by stealth with their corporatist 'social contract'.

THE TORIES want to use mass unemployment backed by the military and the police.

THE LIBERALS want state pay laws and mass unemployment... without the military. Very 'liberal' of them!

The class content is, in every case, the same. Big business, in

Turn overleaf

Our ten candidates



TOXTETH
John Dillon
(Ford worker)
Agent: J. Ford
96-98 Granby Street,
Liverpool, 8.
051-709 1150



HAYES AND HARLINGTON
Royston Bull
(Journalist)
Agent: P. Armitage
84 East Avenue
Hayes, Middlesex
01-573 4538



PONTEFRAC & CASTLEFORD
Trevor Parsons
(Miner)
Agent: T. Bavage
5, Bridge Street,
Castleford
08775 59539



ABERAVON
Jim Bevan
(Steelworker)
Agent: M. Burrows
9 Cwmavon Road,
Port Talbot
063-96 6971



WALLSEND
Kevin Flynn
(Shipyards worker)
Agent: J. Gains
61a Garville Road,
Wallsend,
Northumberland
0632 621495



LAMBETH CENTRAL
Sylvester Smart
(Engineer)
Agent: P. Rankin
271 Brixton Road,
London SW9
01-737 2877



HACKNEY NORTH & STOKES NEWINGTON
Michael van der Poorten
(Printworker)
Agent: A. J. Robertson
115 Stoke Newington
Road, N16
01-249 2175



SWINDON
Kate Blakemore
(Hospital worker)
Agent: R. Fitzpatrick
55 Elmira Road,
Swindon
0793 692240



COVENTRY NORTH-EAST
Alan Wilkins
(Aircraft worker)
Agent: K. Block
433 Foleshill Road,
Coventry
0203 863720



NEWHAM NORTH-EAST
Vanessa Redgrave
(Actress)
Agent: J. Hill
258 Green Street,
London E7
01-472 2837

MANIFESTO

Continued

the monopolies and banks, seek the kind of government which allows them to set about eliminating their weaker competitors — reducing the amount of capital seeking a return from the available surplus value — and, above all, subjecting the working class and trade unions to 'national discipline'. This will mean an iron dictatorship to impose unemployment and the most vicious cuts in living standards.

We want to issue the clearest warning to the millions of trade unionists who will cast their traditional vote for Labour.

● Do so where there is no Workers Revolutionary Party candidate to keep the Tories, Liberals and Nationalists out. But understand that this is only the start of a political struggle against the class collaborators in the Labour Party leadership.

The next Labour government will come into immediate conflict with the working class. Wilson, Jenkins, Prentice and the Labour leaders will take the road of Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour renegade who betrayed the working class in 1931 and formed a National government with the Tories.

No wonder the Wilson Cabinet and the NEC fought so desperately against a full policy-making conference to adopt a manifesto dictated by the rank and file of the Labour movement. They want a free hand to serve their Tory masters and the international bankers.

Labour's record of treachery

JUST look at the wretched record of the minority Labour government. It came to office in March with Wilson's declaration that he was 'the custodian of the manifesto'.

But the Labour leaders betrayed it line by line. For seven months the minority Labour government has been nothing more than a Trojan Horse for Tory policies. In parliament the Labourists 'left and right, were willing pawns of the Tories, Liberals and Nationalists. They acted only in accordance with the dictates of the Opposition parties. In effect it was an unofficial coalition.

● Phase Three was enforced. Nurses, hospital workers, teachers and local government workers were forced into strikes to get decent wage increases.

● The Tory Housing Finance Act is still on the statute books.

● Michael Foot's Act replacing the Industrial Relations Act still embodies clauses that are of great danger to the trade unions and the working class. Even the TUC consider Foot's Act inadequate.

● The NIRC was only smashed when the engineers' union refused to accept Foot's advice to go to the court and instead took all-out indefinite strike action to prevent the seizure of all its assets and funds.

● Benn abjectly retreated on all nationalization proposals and when the first major bankruptcy occurred, Court Line, he handed out £16m to the board of directors.

● Prices soared higher than ever with Mrs Williams' £700m

subsidies only subsidizing the profits of the food monopolies.

● Chancellor Healey approved the £1,200m Tory cuts in public expenditure and extended the working class in hook to the international bankers by negotiating the biggest-ever overseas loans.

● Tory-arranged nuclear tests were conducted without consultation with parliament or the Labour and trade union movement.

● Callaghan consolidated membership of the Common Market, sent arms to the fascist junta in Chile and authorized naval training with the racist regime of South Africa.

● Ulster Secretary Merlyn Rees intensified the army terror against the working class of Northern Ireland: continued internment without trial, assassination squads and admitted that the notorious Special Air Services (SAS) was deployed there.

● Jenkins whitewashed the activities of police agents provocateurs (the Kenneth Lennon affair) and extended the spying and violence of the Special Branch and the armed Special Patrol Groups.

Workers, housewives and young people must ask themselves the question: is such a leadership going to defend them from the impact of the capitalist economic crisis? The Workers Revolutionary Party says they will not.

● WE ARE for the return of a Labour government with the biggest possible majority, but only so that the working class can finally deal with the Labour leaders and build the necessary revolutionary leadership.

● We support Wilson and company to prove in practice that they will always defend the continuation of capitalism at the expense of the working class.

To call uncritically for a Labour government is to line up with Tory newspapers like 'The Times', 'Financial Times', and 'The Economist' who want Labour back.

Why do such reactionary mouthpieces of the ruling class want Labour in office? Because they need the treacherous reformists in the Labour leadership and the TUC to spearhead attacks on the working class while the Tories, in disarray since the miners forced Heath out of office in February, regroup for dictatorship.

The Tories and the Army

THE TORIES are already making intense behind-the-scenes preparations which go beyond the outcome of this election. Following his hurriedly-arranged meeting with President Ford in Washington on September 9, Heath has become the leading advocate of a coalition.

Such a gang-up will be the third main parties would be nothing more than the ante-chamber to some form of dictatorship. It would immediately pass draconian laws against the working class and the unions and set about foisting the recession on the backs of working people

with the aid of the army and the police. Heath is preparing for his counter-scenario of a 'living' scenario described by Frank Kitson, commander of the Infantry Training School at Low-Warminster, in his book, 'Low-Density Operations':

'If a genuine and serious grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of living, or those who now dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the power of the police to handle. Should this happen the army would be required to restore the position rapidly.'

● The Workers Revolutionary Party was the first and only party to alert the army and only party to these dangers in our manifesto for the February 28 General Election. In warning that the military-police operations at Heathrow Airport were a dress rehearsal for attacks on the working class, we said:

'The plans for a dictatorial Britain are far more advanced than many people realize. These military conspiracies are being advanced in the closest consultation with extreme right-wing Tories, British Intelligence and the most reactionary sections of the ruling class.'

The Tory and Liberal Press, the reformists, the revisionists and other renegades laughed at our warnings and said they were 'alarmist'. 'Were we right or weren't we?' Our warnings have been vindicated a thousandfold. No one seriously disputes what the Heathrow exercises — started by Labour — are all about. Writing in the latest issue of 'Monday News', magazine of the Tory Monday Club, a serving officer states:

'The army is, today, an institution of considerable political significance. Its generals are chosen by the Prime Minister and the current generation are Tory-selected. The politicians need the army — and not just in Northern Ireland. For at least two years now it has been a topic of conversation in the messes of the army that sooner or later it will be called upon to act in England itself. The operations at Heathrow are ominous signs that this is not just a remote possibility. It is, in fact, as a force that has to be reckoned with in political circles.'

The Tory manifesto specifically calls for the strengthening of the army, the police and the Special Constabulary to deal with the working class. Shadow Cabinet minister Geoffrey Rippon has made the call for the establishment of a 'citizen's reserve' to be used for strike-breaking. When Colonel David Stirling's 'Great Britain 75' was 'rumbled', one of the documents written by the founder of the SAS stated:

'I have talked to individuals of varying rank in the armed services and in the Territorial Army, local authorities, directors of some major companies and to some senior members of the late Conservative government. To these reactionary attempts to form para-military, strike-breaking forces. Wilson can only make inane remarks about "superannuated colonels"; Defence Secretary Mason, an ex-miner, talked about "blimpest reaction"; Jenkins told Rippon he was making "a frightful ass of himself"; and the Brighton TUC refused even to discuss the issue.'

Workers Press has been in the forefront of explaining that these are not the plans of cranks.

Stirling's operation is controlled and directed by the top brass in the British army. Their aim is to distribute contrived propaganda about private armies on the move to create the conditions for frightened sections of the middle class and the British army loose against the working class.

● These conspiracies of the capitalist state make absolutely concrete our demand for the disbandment of the standing army and the police and their replacement by a workers' militia drawn from the trade union movement.

Stalinists disarm working class

LISTEN to the treacherous line of the Communist Party. Their manifesto contains a call to 'democratize the armed forces' and the removal of right-wing officers.

This is the Stalinist line the world over. It raises the criminal illusion that there is a 'progressive' side to the armed forces. In practice this meant inviting the generals into the Allende government in Chile to carry out the fascist coup.

In Portugal it means the Stalinist leaders joining a Popular Front regime with General Antonio Spínola and the armed forces to hold back the struggles of the working class.

Tory road to dictatorship

SECTIONS of the Tory Leadership are no longer even talking in electoral terms. Sir Keith Joseph, shadow spokesman on home affairs, delivered the main economic platform of the Selsdon group in the party when he called for mass unemployment.

They would be prepared to allow such companies as Ferranti to go bankrupt rather than offer state assistance,' said 'The Times' (September 19, 1974).

The Selsdon group do not seem to have much confidence that a Conservative administration would follow their advice.

What kind of administration are they looking for? The partial answer lies in the political activities of Enoch Powell. This extreme right-wing Tory, who left parliament in February is now standing in an Ulster constituency for a reactionary Loyalist party headed by West, Paisley and Craig.

It means that Powell is taking the extra-parliamentary, paramilitary road. He joins a group of Protestant extremists who set out to wreck the puppet Northern Executive using extreme right intimidation of the working class. Powell, the man who once said 'I am the virus that kills socialists', has moved from Wolverhampton to South Down to cement his political relations with these sinister political forces, the British army and British Intelligence.

His allies in Britain are General Sir Walter Walker's scab army and the Ultra-right National Front. They are trailing around sections of the financially ruined

middle class and backward workers with reactionary appeals to racism, patriotism and anti-trade unionism.

Trade union leaders like Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones, who speak on the same platform with Powell, play a shameful role in boosting Powell's filthy bandwagon.

Powellism means mass unemployment. He stands for the big monopolies in the complete destruction of small businesses; that is the reality of his 'free market forces' policy. He also stands with the general staff of the army in trying to inflict these policies at bayonet point.

The Workers Revolutionary Party has been alone in carrying out a principled struggle to expose the military-police preparations of the state machine and the links with its training ground in Ulster. We have warned that the National Front is nothing but a tool of the Police to be used in direct connection with the state's own preparations against the working class.

We say that the working class is the most powerful force in society. It is the only progressive class. The Workers Revolutionary Party gives full support to all workers in struggle to protect their living standards and jobs, to win decent wages, to fight redundancies and lay-offs with occupations.

The real preparation for the defeat of reaction in all its forms, including the emergence of fascist movements, is to fight for socialist policies in the building of the revolutionary party.

● Smash the cliques of military conspirators. Defend the basic democratic rights of the working class. Build the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Our socialist programme

THE Workers Revolutionary Party and its candidates put forward a socialist programme to solve the problems facing the working class and the middle class:

● HALT RISING PRICES. Nationalize the food monopolies, and the supermarket chains without compensation and under workers' control. Abolish the speculative commodity markets.

● STOP UNEMPLOYMENT. Take basic industry and the banks into public ownership without compensation and under workers' control. Occupy factories threatened with redundancies or closure. Demand a sliding scale of wages and hours.

● HOMES FOR ALL. Nationalize the land, the construction industry and building societies without compensation and under workers' control with protection for small savers. Requisition all unused buildings and office blocks for a crash rehousing programme. A national house-building programme financed initially from the confiscated profits of the banks and property speculators.

● EXPAND THE SOCIAL SERVICES. A free universal health and education service. Restore all cuts in spending. End private medicine and the profit schools. Nationalize the drug industry without compensation under workers' control. Retirement and disability pensions to be at the average wage and tied to the cost of living.

● ABOLISH ALL ANTI-WORKING CLASS LAWS. Repeal laws on the unions, picketing and conspiracy. Repeal the Housing Finance Act. Abolish the House of Lords and the monarchy. Legislate a Charter of Basic Working Class Rights.

● A SOCIALIST FUEL POLICY. Workers' control and the planned expansion of mining, electricity and gas. Nationalize the fuel monopolies and North Sea oil and gas.

● A SOCIALIST TRANSPORT POLICY. Workers' control on the railways, aviation, the docks and the bus service. Nationalize road haulage. For an integrated transport system based on need and not profit.

● NO TO THE COMMON MARKET. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the EEC. For a Socialist United States of Europe.

● A SOCIALIST FOREIGN POLICY. Withdraw from NATO and all imperialist pacts. Relinquish remaining colonies and withdraw troops from Northern Ireland, Cyprus and all overseas territories. Break off diplomatic and trade relations with all right wing dictatorships.

● ABOLISH THE FORCES OF REPRESSION. Disband the standing army and the police. Replace it with a militia drawn from, and responsible to, the Labour and trade union movement.

Only one way forward

THESE tasks can only be accomplished by the working class in struggle under the revolutionary leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Workers, know your strength. Develop it in struggle. Place no expectations in parliamentary elections. Hold no illusions in the Labour ministers. All the historic gains of the working class over 200 years were won by struggle. Today those gains must be defended in struggle.

We call on you to vote for the Workers Revolutionary Party candidates in the constituencies where we are standing.

In all other constituencies we ask you to vote Labour in order to return a majority Labour government. This must be the start of the widest mobilization of the working class for socialist policies against such a government in order to defend jobs, wages and living standards from the impact of the threatening catastrophe.

In the struggle to compel the reformist Labour leaders to implement the socialist programme we have outlined, they will be exposed and must be driven out. The conditions will be created in this way for the building of the alternative revolutionary leadership in the labour and trade union movement, the Workers Revolutionary Party.

We call for a massive recruitment campaign to the Workers Revolutionary Party from all sections of the working class and the professions. To everyone who rejects capitalist anarchy and violence, and wants to fight for socialism, we say —

● There is only one way forward

● Join the Workers Revolutionary Party.

September 20, 1974.

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Workers Revolutionary Party

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