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WHAT WE STAND FOR



REVOLUTION ON THE MARCH

It is not so long ago that people who talked about "Revolution" were regarded either as starry-eyed dreamers or fanatics of dubious mental stability. Revolutions were things which had either all happened in the past, or happened in backward countries on the other side of the world. Today, the scepticism of the cynics doesn't look so credible. On May, 1st of this year, the soldiers of the Provisional Revolutionary Government marched into Saigon, completing the decisive defeat inflicted on the mightiest nation on earth by the Communist revolutionaries of Indochina. The cynics who talked about the Vietnamese war as "the lost revolution" had to eat their words. The victory of the revolutionary forces in Indochina has been a staggering blow to the capitalist world, and a massive impetus to the struggle of workers everywhere.

But today, when the bourgeois journalists talk about the problem of revolution, they are not generally thinking of far-away peasant lands. Because in 1975 the revolution has come back to haunt the oldest and most established ruling classes: the bourgeoisies of capitalist Europe. When the old fascist regime was overthrown in Portugal, a massive working class struggle was launched, which has shaken all the structures of Portuguese capitalism. For the first time in fifty years, in Portugal, organisations of workers power, workers councils, have arisen to challenge the power and the privileges of the capitalist class. Today, the spectre of revolutionary struggle is haunting the whole of Southern Europe. While Portugal is the storm-centre, Spain, Italy and France could be drawn in at any moment: a broad workers vanguard, of young militant workers who have not experienced the defeats and disappointments of their parents, has come into existence. The struggles of these vanguard workers have gone outside the control of the old bureaucratic leaders of the working class movement, reviving forms of struggle like factory occupations, flying pickets, violent clashes with the forces of "law and order". Once again, for the first time since the defeat of the Italian, French and Greek workers in the 1940's revolution is on the march in Europe. The militants of the revolutionary left in Europe now number in tens of thousands.

In order to be able to understand how all this has happened, it is necessary to look at the change in the world situation which occurred in 1968.

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WHILE THE
 REVOLUTION IS
 VICTORIOUS IN
 INDOCHINA.....



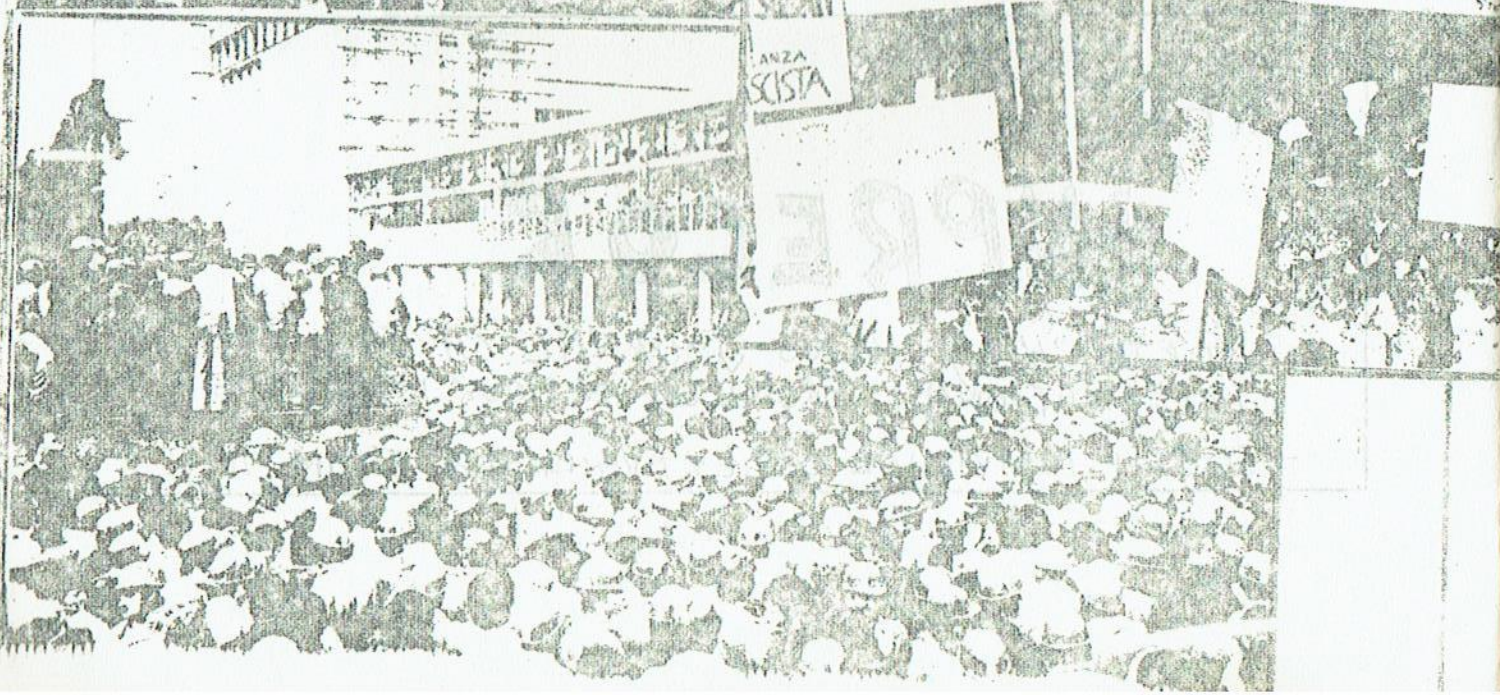
But today, when the bourgeois parties talk about the problem of revolution, they are not generally thinking of far-away places like Indochina. Because in fact, the revolution has come back to haunt the bourgeois and most despised ruling classes, the bourgeoisie of capitalist Europe. When the revolution comes to Europe, it will be a revolution of the masses, a revolution of the workers.

A MASS WORKERS' VANGUARD HAS



EUROPE

W L'ORGANIZZAZIONE
 DEMOCRATICA
 DEI SOLDATI



The 1968 the ruling classes of the world got a nasty shock. In February, the National Liberation Front in Vietnam launched a major offensive, which led to street fighting in Saigon and the take-over of the American embassy by Communist insurgents. During April, there was a massive upsurge amongst German youth, following the attempted assassination of the Berlin student leader, Rudi Dutschke. In May-June 1968 there was a general strike of 10 million workers in France, which threatened to lead to a revolutionary situation: this general strike was accompanied by factory occupations on a massive scale. Later, in the autumn of 1968, the invasion of Czechoslovakia organised by the Russian bureaucracy, was met with resistance by both workers and students in this country. Even in Britain, in October, 100,000 people demonstrated in support of the Vietnamese revolution.

1968 marked a change in the world situation - revolution was on the rise. But of all these events, undoubtedly the most remarkable and significant was the upsurge amongst the French workers. This upsurge came as a huge shock for those workers who said that the working class no longer had any revolutionary potential, or had become "integrated" into capitalist society. Despite the fact that the initial events in Paris were sparked off by students, during the "Night of the barricades", the events eventually involved ten million workers - occupying their factories, hoisting the red flag, marching on huge demonstrations and demanding an end to Gaullism and its replacement by a popular government. After twenty years of relative social peace, the working class exploded onto the European political scene as a revolutionary force.

But 1968 was just a beginning. Since then, there has been a steep rise in workers struggles all over Europe - starting with the Italian "hot autumn" of 1969, which involved 11 million workers going on strike. But Europe is only one region in which revolutionary struggle has been on the rise. The defeat of Portuguese imperialism in Africa, and the victories of the revolutionary movements in Indochina are ample evidence of this.

What is the explanation of the intensity of the growth of revolutionary struggle on a world scale? The answer is very simple: since the late 1960's the world capitalist system has gone into deep crisis. The present economic crisis shows very clearly that capitalism is a system of anarchy and waste, which is incapable of meeting even the most basic needs of millions of world. Despite the growth of knowledge and technology, the capitalist system is incapable of preventing the growth of widespread famine, which haunts the underdeveloped world like a legacy from the dark ages. In this situation the poor and the oppressed are beginning to fight back. Increasing numbers of workers in the advanced capitalist countries are beginning to realise they are not living in the land of plenty but in a land of unemployment, inflation, the erosion of democratic rights etc - and many are starting to look for solutions to all these problems.

The situation in the world today therefore presents a sombre picture. Starvation goes hand-in-hand with extremes of wealth; the development of the most advanced scientific theories takes place at the same time as the widespread acceptance of the most primitive beliefs - racism, nationalism, religion and so on; the advanced technology which has been developed over the past

thirty years is used to construct bigger and more destructive weapons, rather than being used to solve the problems of humanity; and all the capitalist governments of the world are unable to control the workings on their own economies - they stand helpless before the catastrophe which is overtaking their economic system.

The IMG believes that the alternative to this insane situation is a world-wide system of socialist planning. We believe that humanity has the means at its disposal to solve its problems, which cannot be solved by charities and other well-meaning bodies, but only by a fundamental re-organisation of society. This cannot however be achieved by merely wishing for it. The ruling classes of the world will not give up their power and their privileges without a struggle; indeed, they will go to any lengths to hold onto their power. We have to organise to defeat them, so that we can open up a new chapter in the historical progress of mankind.

MARXISM - THE UNITY OF THEORY + PRACTICE

The theory of Marxism gives us a way of understanding all the contradictory developments in the world, and shows how an understanding of the world can be used to change it. Marx showed how the history of various types of class society - slave society, feudalism, capitalism - in which the ruling class exploiting the various subject classes. Marx, showed, in his work "Capital", how the capitalist class exploited the proletariat - the industrial working class. He also showed how in every class society a class struggle takes place, in which the various classes fight to dominate society. But no ruling class ever gives up power without a struggle; it can only be dispossessed through a social revolution. Thus the capitalist class carried out their own revolution to establish their own rule - the English revolution of 1649. Marxism is not a closed system: it is an open-ended theory, which is capable of integrating new findings on the basis of experience and practice. That is what Marxists mean when they talk about the "unity of theory and practice". Marxist political practice is a practice based on theory. Marx's theory of capitalist society was developed and expanded by Lenin, Luxemburg and others, who formulated the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party. Marxism therefore analyses the development of society from the point of view of the working class. It is above all a guide to action, a theory of how to transform the world. It is the indispensable weapon for the working class to achieve political power.

TROTSKYISM

On a world scale there are a number of different currents which claim to be revolutionary or Marxist. What then is different about the the Trotskyists? Why does the I.M.G. call itself a Trotskyist organisation?

Obviously the name "Trotskyist" is derived from Leon Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian revolution. Trotsky became convinced that the revolution had degenerated, and that a powerful bureaucracy had usurped political power. He argued that the official Communist parties had become counter-revolutionary, and no longer represented the real interests of the working class. He argued for the necessity to build new Communist parties.

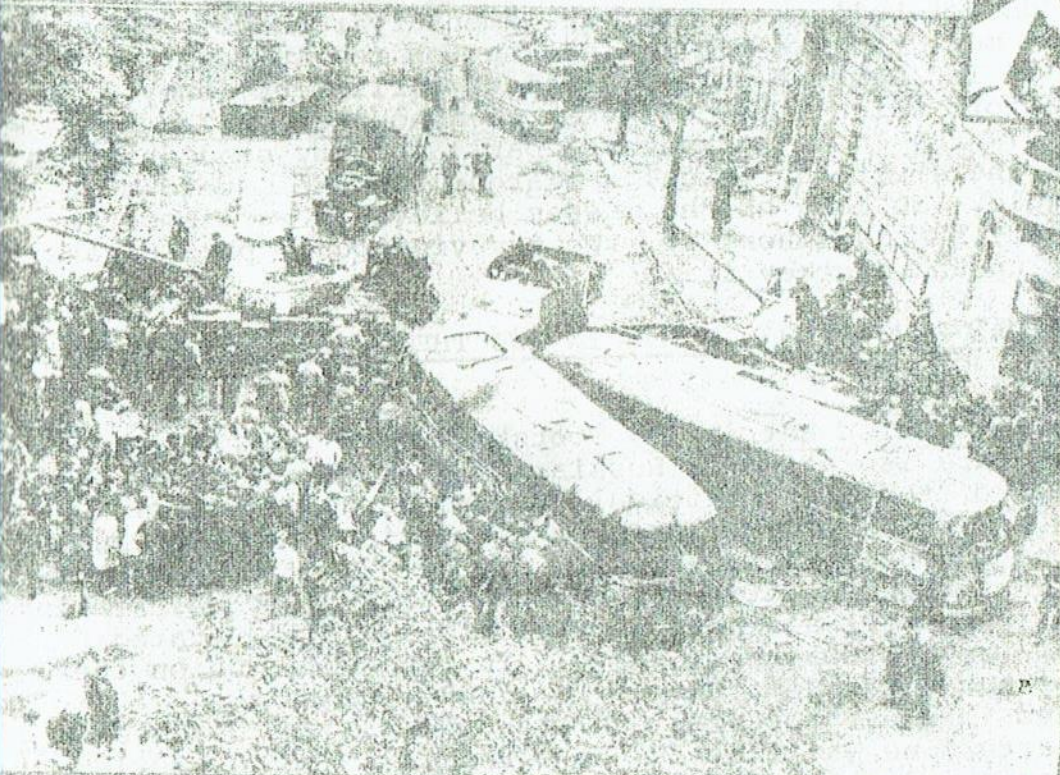
WORKERS RESIST RUSSIAN INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA



FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY



LEON TROTSKY
— LEAD THE FIGHT
AGAINST STALINISM
IN RUSSIA



WORKERS UPRISING : HUNGARY 1956

So when the IMG says it is Trotskyist, we are merely saying that we are Communists - but Communists who stand in the tradition of Marx and Lenin, not the tradition of Stalin and the bureaucratic leaders in the Kremlin. What do the Trotskyists stand for?

1. THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD TO SOCIALISM AND WORKERS POWER

The overwhelming evidence of history is that it is impossible to achieve socialism through parliament or the ballot box. The ruling class of every country is quite prepared to break its own laws, if it thinks that its interests are threatened. Thus in Greece in 1967, the generals took power only two weeks before the elections - which they thought that the left would win. In Chile, in September 1973, the military junta overthrew the elected Allende government, which they thought was incapable of defending the interests of the rich. These events show that the state apparatus - the police, army, bureaucracy, are not "neutral", to be used by either side. On the contrary, they exist to serve the interests of the ruling class. The bourgeois state apparatus cannot be captured by the workers - it must be smashed and replaced with a workers state.

Only the working class and the other oppressed sections of society can make a revolution. Nobody can legislate a revolution from parliament; it requires the self-activity, self-organisation and the mass struggle of the working class itself. This struggle must lead to the working class constructing its own institutions of power - the apparatus of a workers state. For the IMG this means a state based on democratically elected workers councils; elected directly from the places where workers live and work, with delegates subject to instant recall by the people they represent. Workers power means a system of direct, participatory democracy which will be a thousand times more democratic than the parliamentary system, which enables workers to choose which of two capitalist parties will oppress them for the next five years!

The fact that we do not believe in the parliamentary road to socialism does not mean that we are against having revolutionary M.P.'s elected. If IMG members were elected to parliament, they would use the platform which this gave them to denounce parliament itself. During 1974 the IMG stood several parliamentary candidates in order to denounce the electoral farce, and argue for the development of the mass struggle. So long as the masses believe in parliamentary democracy, we cannot simply ignore it. We try vigorously participate in it to break it up and destroy it.

2. FOR THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND THE OTHER "COMMUNIST" COUNTRIES.

In this book "The Revolution Betrayed", Trotsky argued that because of the backwardness and isolation of Russia, and because of the virtual destruction of the most politically conscious sections of the working class during the Civil War, the revolution had degenerated and political power had been usurped by an all-powerful bureaucracy. The supreme political representative of the new bureaucracy was Stalin, who conducted massive purges against oppositionists and liquidated the old leaders of Lenin's Bolshevik party. In the Soviet Union there is no semblance of socialist democracy. The dead hand of the bureaucracy reaches into every aspect of life. Anyone who deviates from the latest party line is liable to be persecuted. This has led many people in Russia and other East European countries to become cynical about socialism. And one of the reasons why "Communism" was for so long such a dirty word in the West, was precisely because so many people equated it with the regime in Russia. The IMG says: the only way to

TO BUILD A MASS REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL



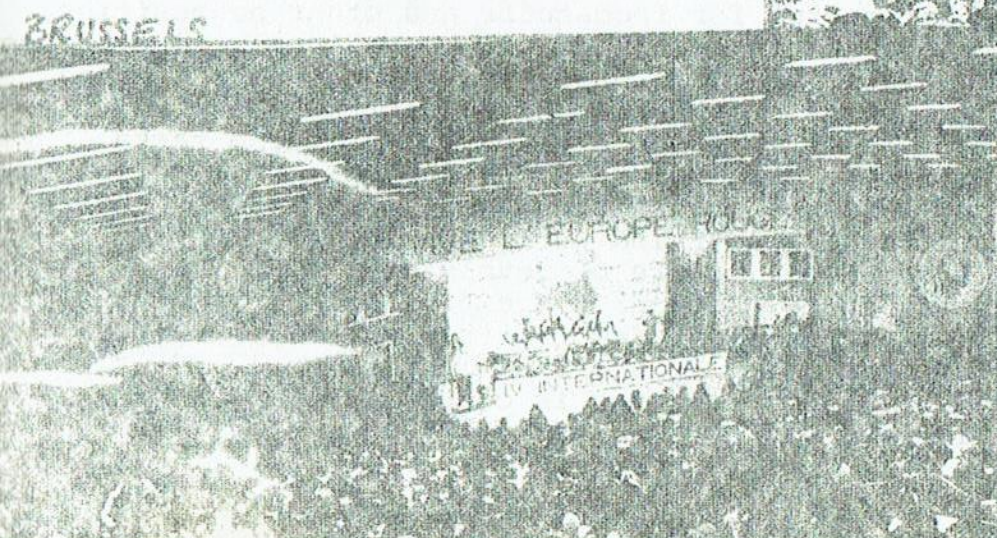
PARIS



LISBON



MONTREAL



BRUSSELS

regenerate Russian social, economic and political life is to overthrow the domination of the bureaucracy.

The slogan of the heroic Hungarian workers rising of 1956 - for workers councils! - must be raised again in all the East European countries. In order to help achieve this, the Fourth International is building clandestine revolutionary organisations in all the East European countries.

While the Soviet bureaucracy oppresses the working class in its own country, it shows less and less enthusiasm for the revolution internationally, proclaiming a policy of "peaceful coexistence". The IMG says: there can be no peaceful co-existence with capitalism! The strategy of peaceful coexistence, within which the Soviet bureaucracy judges everything from the point of view of its own narrow interests, shows the profoundly conservative nature of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet bureaucracy, desperate to retain its power and its privileges, is afraid of the self-activity of the working class both in Russia and internationally. They fear that an upsurge anywhere in the world threatens to disturb the political passivity of the Soviet masses - which is the very cornerstone of the bureaucracy's power. Hence the stony silence from Moscow when the Vietcong entered Saigon - they looked at it not from the point of view of the international working class movement, but from the point of view of whether this would damage their relations with the United States. And hence also the hysterical hostility to the May '68 upsurge in France.

The IMG, despite its differences with the official Communist parties, and its position in favour of political revolution in the Eastern bloc, nevertheless defends Russia and the other workers states against imperialism. Despite their bureaucratic deformation, these societies have abolished generalised commodity production - that is to say, by virtue of the socialised nature of the economy and genuine national planning, these societies are no longer capitalist. It is the non-capitalist nature of these states which the IMG defends.

3. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE THIRD WORLD: PERMANENT REVOLUTION

We referred earlier to the plight of the peoples of the "third-world" - the colonial countries. Trotsky, in his theory of "permanent revolution" showed how capitalism was incapable of solving even the most basic problems of these people. To take any steps in the third world towards the development of the economy, and the beginnings of industrialisation, it is necessary to carry out a number of basic steps. First it is necessary to solve the land problem - the destruction of the large estates and the parasitic landlords, demanding a huge tribute from the poor peasants. Second, it is necessary to create a genuine national market for foodstuffs and other necessities, and thirdly it is vital to create genuine national independence - a complete break from imperialism in order to stop the debilitating effects of tying the economies of these countries to the needs of the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is impossible to carry out these tasks without breaking with all the local vassals and servants of imperialism, that is to say, without making a socialist revolution. As Che Guevara said: either the revolution in the third world will be a socialist revolution, or it will be a caricature of revolution. The IMG rejects the stages theory of revolution: the experience in Indochina shows concretely that the notion of a "democratic, anti-imperialist, bourgeois" stage of the revolution is a myth. The national bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries is completely tied to the interests of imperialism and has no progressive role to play.

The Fourth International therefore believes that it is impossible to have a strategic alliance with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism: on the contrary, the only possible alliance is the alliance of the WORKING CLASS AND POOR PEASANTRY against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie, a historically bankrupt class completely tied to the coat-tails of imperialism, has no progressive role to play! The only countries which have been able to go forward are those which have dealt with their own "national bourgeoisie" in the course of dealing with imperialism - that is to say those countries in which a socialist revolution has taken place.

4. THE BUILDING OF A MASS REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

No revolutionary struggle is purely "national" in scope. Every struggle has implications for, and affects, every other. This can easily be seen when we consider the effect of the Vietnamese struggle on the development on the revolutionary movement in the advanced capitalist West. The most effective way to link these struggles, to generalise their experiences, and to consciously generate international revolutionary action, is to build a mass revolutionary International. This is the project which the Fourth International has set itself. Mass revolutionary parties as part of an International would involve tens of thousands of members. The organisations of the Fourth International are at best only organisations numbered in thousands; they are only the nuclei of the mass parties of the future. Nevertheless, we think it is important to begin internationally from the beginning. This enables us to develop our analysis on the basis of international experience; it enables us to develop, co-ordinate and centralise our work on an international basis. It means that we can make a real contribution to the development of the revolutionary movement in other parts of the world. In Britain, the ideology of nationalism is particularly strong, even on the political left. The IMG fights to create a real internationalist current in the workers movement.

THE ROLE OF THE IMG

The role of a revolutionary organisation is to champion all the struggles of the oppressed, and to try to transform these struggles, so as to make them consciously anti-capitalist. But despite the fact that we support every struggle of the exploited and oppressed, it remains true that the main force for transforming society is the industrial working class.

REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The industrial working class has constructed powerful organisations both trade unions and political parties. The unions are essentially defensive organisations. despite some very limited and partial exceptions, the essential role of the unions is to improve the lot of the working class within the capitalist system. It is quite possible to be a very militant trade unionist, to fight for better wages and conditions, without being opposed to the capitalist system at all. Lenin, in his very important pamphlet "What is to be Done?", argues that if trade union consciousness does not go beyond attempting to get more within the framework of the system, then it is a form of bourgeois consciousness. To develop a revolutionary movement it is necessary to develop revolutionary political consciousness. Although trade union consciousness can develop spontaneously, revolutionary political consciousness cannot. It has to be consciously fought for by a revolutionary organisation.

Although the trade unions cannot substitute for a political party, the reverse is also true. The best form of defense for the working class is to have all-inclusive organisations to defend its basic interests. That's why the IMG stands for 100% trade unionism. A revolutionary organisation however cannot be all-inclusive. It consists of the most politically advanced and conscious workers and intellectuals. In order to be able to carry out the political line of a revolutionary organisation, the membership must be able to argue and fight for it. This means that a revolutionary organisation has to recruit selectively, ensuring that all members understand its programmatic positions.

The IMG works inside the trade unions to advance the struggles of the working class, and through that process to win workers to revolutionary positions. One of the biggest obstacles to the fight for revolutionary policies is the existence of the trade union bureaucracy. Many unions have completely undemocratic constitutions, and most put a great deal of power in the hands of full-time officials. The trade union bureaucracy represents a layer which has been freed from full-time work, and enjoys a relatively privileged position within the working class. The role of the bureaucracy is to mediate between the union membership and the employers. Often conflict develops between the bureaucracy and the union members. The IMG stands for: trade union democracy, The election of all full-time officials; no full-time official to receive more than the average industrial wage; all elected officials to be subject to instant recall. We stand for the democratic organisation of strikes and all other struggles; for elected strike committees and occupation committees, responsible to regular mass meetings of all those involved in the struggle!

THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE WORKING CLASS

In most advanced countries there are two sorts of political parties within the working class. First, the social-democratic parties, like the British Labour Party. Many of these parties never started out as socialist parties; today they are all reformist to the core. Whilst sometimes talking about socialism the real role of these parties is to prop up and defend capitalism. The fact that these parties generally have a mass following makes them very useful to the bourgeoisie. Time after time they are used to save the capitalist system from awkward situations. As Trotsky said, the role of the social democrats is to deal with the working class by giving it regular doses of chloroform. We believe that in the last analysis these parties are tied to the bourgeoisie in their own countries.

The other major parties of the working class are the pro-Moscow Communist parties, which the IMG characterises as Stalinist. The Stalinist parties carry out a similar role to that of the social democrats, only with a rather more "left" rhetoric. In some countries, such as Italy, the Stalinist parties have become virtually indistinguishable in their policies from the social democrats. The degeneration of the international Communist movement was a function both of the severe defeats suffered by the revolutionary movement between the two world wars, and the degeneration of the major party of the Communist International - the Russian party.

The IMG fights to defeat the political influence of all reformist

parties inside the working class. However, workers will not lose their confidence in the reformist mis-leaders of the working class outside of their own experience. As the class struggle intensifies it is quite possible that all left-wing organisations will grow. The important thing for the IMG is to develop sufficient implantation in the working class so that its political line can be tested in practice, against the line of the reformist organisations. Of one thing we can be sure: if the working class is not won at some future stage from the reformist organisations, then the future is one of betrayal and defeat. We have only to look at what the failure of the reformist strategy of the Chilean social democrats and Stalinists led to, to understand the possible consequences of failing to win the working class from reformism.

THE LABOUR PARTY

The Labour Party has always been a party of class collaboration. It was not until 1918 that the Labour Party adopted in its constitution the aim of the re-distribution of wealth and the socialisation of the economy (the famous "clause four"). But today, the aims of 1918, which never meant much anyway, are a completely dead letter. The Labour Party is one of the bourgeoisie's "natural parties of government": politically it is bourgeois through and through. Thus, politically, we cannot characterise the Labour Party as a workers party. However, it remains true that the large majority of the individual and affiliated members of the Labour Party are working class. The loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the working class, in terms of electoral support, is to the Labour Party. There thus exists a major contradiction between the bourgeois politics of the party and its working class base. The contradiction cannot be exploited by revolutionaries by merely making demands on the Labour leaders, and thus hoping that they will somehow be "exposed". The mass of workers will only break from the Labour Party through their experience in struggle.

Nonetheless, revolutionaries demand of all parties of the working class that they break politically with the bourgeoisie. The IMG will continue to push through this demand concretely, fighting for base of the Labour Party to break with the bankrupt policies of the leadership. The instrument for carrying out this task is the formation of united front bodies to fight against individual policies of the leadership - for example, Ireland, the EEC etc. - in the future possibly incomes policy. The IMG tries to systematically involve Labour Party members and organisations in its initiatives and campaigns, to go through an experience of struggle with them, and on this basis to show them the bankrupt nature of the policies of the leadership.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The British Communist Party is the battered and pathetic remnant of what was once a revolutionary party. Founded as the result of the fusion of a number of socialist sects, it was always weak theoretically - reflecting the insularity and weak political roots of Marxism in Britain. Because of its political weakness, the British party was one of the parties which succumbed most easily to the degeneration and Stalinisation of the Communist International. Once this process was complete, the British CP became one of the most loyal and abject mouthpieces of international Stalinism. The British CP is the party which supported the Moscow trials and the purges, the party which

supported the theory of the "Trotsky-Fascists", the party which covered up for the betrayal of the Spanish revolution by Moscow, the party which supported the second imperialist war, the party which played an active strike-breaking role during the second world war and after, the party which supported the invasion of Hungary and the butchery of the heroic workers uprising in that country in 1956. This history of this party is a filthy history of class betrayal and apology for Stalinism: its failure to gain any significant support in the working class over fifty years is eloquent testimony to that way in which it has dragged the good name of Communism through the mud. In its phase of senile decay, since the adoption of the "British Road to Socialism", the CP has tied itself to the coat-tails of left-reformism, more and more taking on the political colouration of its social democratic allies. It now proclaims the "peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism", in flat contradiction to the Leninist theory of the state. In order to carry out this operation, it has tried to distance itself from Moscow - especially after the disastrous effects of Hungary on party membership. Nonetheless, the CP remains opposed to those who are fighting for socialist democracy in the workers states. The IMG stands for the political defeat of this party, which has nothing to offer the British working class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

There are a number of different organisations of the revolutionary left in Britain, and it is impossible to discuss them all here. The most important, apart from the IMG, are the International Socialists and the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). The WRP, despite its claim to be Trotskyist, combines an increasingly rightward drift with an intense sectarianism. Its right-propagandism and abstention from many important struggles (Ireland, Anti-racism, women's oppression) make this organisation a useless instrument for revolutionary struggle. Revolutionary practice, in 1975, cannot be reduced to the ritualistic selling of a daily paper, combined with yearly rallies at the Empire Pool!

The largest organisation of the revolutionary left is the International Socialists (IS). IS is a classic centrist organisation. Its approach to politics is one which systematically capitulates to bourgeois ideology in the working class, pushing to the background "awkward" questions like women's oppression and Ireland. In their own "Rank and File" movement, they have tried to restrict trade unionists under their influence to purely trade union questions. At the March 1974 conference of "Rank and File" they ensured the defeat of a resolution which sought to get the demands for equality for women and a fight against racism written into the programme of "R and F", on the grounds that these demands were "too advanced!" They have failed to fight for a programme of transitional demands, preferring instead the classical reformist approach of immediate demands, coupled with propaganda and demagogy about socialism. All this adds up to a tail-endist approach in the working class, which is coupled to a growing sectarianism. Despite this, there are many able and dedicated militants inside IS, drawn to the organisation by their disgust for the antics of the Labour and Communist Parties. We say to these comrades: fight inside your organisation for a return to Trotskyism, to the theory of permanent revolution, to the transitional programme! (Come back to Trotskyism, come back to the Fourth International!) - PAINT THIS OUT

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

The working class, in its trade union struggles, spontaneously formulates immediate demands which are within the framework of the

system. Demands for a shorter working day, or for most more money, are not in themselves revolutionary. For the reformists, the way they deal with this situation is simply to champion demands within the framework of the system, while holding out socialism as a far-off paradise. But for them, the immediate struggle and the long-term goal are in no way connected.

The IMG intervenes in the day-to-day struggles of the working class in order to try to make them consciously anti-capitalist. We do this by introducing into them transitional demands, which start from the immediate needs and concerns of the working class, and on the basis of these concerns and experiences show how the struggle can be posed as part of the struggle against capitalism itself. A good example of this approach is the demand for a sliding scale of wages - an automatic increase in wages as prices go up. This demand introduces into the struggle that workers are not to blame for higher prices and should be automatically compensated for them. By introducing the questions of responsibility for higher prices, this demand raises the whole question of the nature of the capitalist system. Transitional demands, by posing concrete solution to the problems of the working class, point the way to an overall socialist solution. A programme of transitional demands cannot be granted by the capitalist system, because although many of the demands - such as the sliding scale of wages - appear perfectly reasonable to many workers - they imply a complete change in the way that the system works.

A programme of transitional demands - a transitional programme - is a revolutionary programme. But instead of merely spelling out the wonders of socialism, the transitional programme starts from the day-to-day problems of the workers, and shows how these problems can only be finally resolved by a socialist solution.

PARTIAL AND DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

Despite the method and approach of the transitional programme, it is incumbent on revolutionaries to support all democratic and partial demands. When workers demand an extra £5 a week, this is not of course a revolutionary demand, but in that it materially benefits the working class, and the struggle for this goal helps develop the fighting strength of the working class, then revolutionaries give such demands unconditional support. Similarly, when demands are put forward for the carrying out of democratic rights, such as the right to demonstrate, for free selling of papers and holding of public meetings, even the right to vote for 18 year olds, then we give such demands absolute support. But in doing so, we are not supporting bourgeois-democracy as such, but defending the elements of proletarian democracy which already exist within the framework of capitalism. Thus the defence of democratic rights, is in no way the same as the defence of bourgeois-democratic institutions.

THE UNITED FRONT

The IMG stands for the greatest possible unity in the trade union and socialist movement. But we are not for unity for sentimental reasons but because a united struggle is the most effective form of struggle. On the other hand, there is no point in having unity if it means capitulating to the reformist or centrist politics of our opponents. The IMG therefore fights for the right of all tendencies within the Labour movement to participate in political struggles, but within the united front to be able to present their own analysis and political positions. Unlike some "revolutionary" organisations which never participate in any activity except their own, the IMG is involved in a wide variety of united political campaigns - the Troops Out Movement, anti-fascist committees - and many others. We fight for all struggles of the working class to be generalised, for the

full weight of the trade union and socialist movement to be brought to the aid of militant sections in struggle. The magnificent solidarity shown by the rest of the Labour movement during the two miners' strikes and the support shown the miners by students and others - was exemplary, and was important in helping to win these struggles. During individual working class struggles, we fight for trade unionists and others to provide material support in terms of finance, pickets, solidarity committees, and where appropriate, solidarity strikes. In all these joint campaigns we fight for no exclusions, for democratic rights of participation to be extended to every organisation of the socialist and trade union movement.

WORKERS CONTROL

The IMG fights for workers' control of production. Workers self-management, the full management of every aspect of production, is only possible within the framework of democratic planning - that is to say in a workers state. Workers control is something different. By workers control, we mean the fight to assert the right of the working class to control the way in which production is organised at the level of the factory, even under capitalism. The first aspects of this struggle are the demands for full information about management finances and plans - for the opening of the books!, - without which the workers cannot determine what is in their best interests. Moreover, we fight in the first instance for the right of workers veto, over hiring and firing, over management movement of men and machines, over the speed of production, over the organisation of the factory in general. In this way the workforce can effectively defend its immediate interests under capitalism, and through this process gain the knowledge and experience necessary for workers self-management of the economy.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The revolutionary party is the indispensable weapon of the working class in taking power. A revolutionary party has to be a mass party with deep roots in the working class. Such a party would make all progressive demands its own, and support the movements and demands of all oppressed layers. The IMG seeks to build a democratic centralist party, in which there is full freedom of discussion, democratic decision making, but unity in action. The revolutionary party must be the memory of the working class. The working class internationally has a long history of revolutionary struggles. It has engaged in numerous struggles of a revolutionary type, and employed numerous different tactics to pursue its aims. It is the task of the revolutionary party to codify and analyse all these experiences, and draw out the lessons in order that they can be applied to the current struggles of the working class. The party must also act as the centraliser of the experiences of the class. Consciousness in the working class is very uneven, and the struggles of the working class do not develop in an even way. The task of the revolutionary party is to fight to overcome this unevenness, generalising the experiences of the class, introducing more militant forms of struggle into more backward areas and so on. Without the hammering intervention of the revolutionary organisation the struggles of the working class will remain uneven, fragmented and disunited. The IMG considers itself to be one of the nuclei of the future revolutionary party, but we are convinced that such a party will be formed essentially on our programme. Whilst the IMG is absolutely in favour of overcoming the fragmentation of the revolutionary left, this cannot be done merely by uniting all the different organisations, regardless of differences of programme,

method and approach. Such a move would be the prelude to a new split a bad and premature experience of unity on the revolutionary left would put an end to prospects for unity once and for all. The I.M.G. therefore favours the maximum possible discussion and debate with other organisations of the revolutionary left, and of course, we always try to achieve the maximum possible unity in action around our campaigns and initiatives.

AGAINST CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION:

THE SOCIALISM THAT WE WANT

The capitalist system has always been a system of exploitation and inhumanity, based on the wealth of the few, and the exploitation and misery of the millions. The exploitation and oppression of capitalism express itself in many different ways.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM -for the right of nations to self determination

Capitalism is based not only on the exploitation of the industrial working class in the advanced capitalist countries, but also on the SUPER-EXPLOITATION of the workers and peasants of the third world. The IMG supports all struggles of the toiling masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialism; that means, full support to all national liberation movements. The Fourth International fights within national liberation movements to turn them from purely nationalist aims, to fighting for the socialist revolution. We stand for a world wide federation of socialist republics in which the rich nations will help to rapidly industrialise the poor. This can only be done on the basis of a world plan for socialist economic development. The only way forward for the peoples of the third world is the socialist revolution and the end to the exploitation by another!

The world's oldest imperial power is Britain. With its empire gradually whittles away, Britain gradually turned towards neo-colonial forms of exploitation, investing huge sums of capital abroad, especially between the beginning of the century and the first world war. Britain's oldest colony is Ireland. In the early 1920's Britain imposed partition on Ireland, continuing to dominate the South (ironically called the "free state") economically, while exercising direct political control on the North through the Orange ascendancy and the union with Britain. In this way Britain stemmed the revolutionary dynamic of the Irish struggle, frustrating the demand for national unity and independence, and reinforcing sectarianism. This neat solution has come up against the very sectarian nature of the six country statelet. The on-going struggle of the nationalist population in the North for civil inevitably raised the whole question of national re-unification: sectarianism and national oppression is built into the very nature of the six countries.

Ireland will only be finally free from British domination when a united Ireland breaks the economic domination of British Capital: this can only be achieved through the establishment of a 32-country workers republic. This is what the Fourth International and its Irish section (the Revolutionary Marxist Group) fights for. However, within that context, the struggle of the Orange bloc is absolutely progressive. The IMG therefore gives unconditional support to all those militants and organisations fighting against British imperialism and the Orange bloc, no matter what secondary difference "we may have them".

The IMG demands: British troops out of Ireland! Self-determination for the Irish people! To fight for these demands, and to take them into the working class movement, the IMG supports the building of the Troops Out Movement.

FOR THE DEFEAT OF RACISM - FOR HUMAN EQUALITY

The ideology of racism and the inequality of races stems from the history of imperialism, from hundreds of years of oppression of the black races of the world by the European races. A pre-condition for the defeat of racism is the defeat of the whole imperialist system. But the defeat of racism will require a conscious ideological struggle against all forms of racist ideology. We shall follow the example of Cuba - the country in which racism has been most systematically uprooted. A workers state will not allow freedom of expression for racist ideas and propaganda. The cancer of racism will be fought, to quote Malcolm X, by any means necessary. The IMG fights against all forms of racism; we are for the right of black people to organise separately to fight for their own interests and self defence. We stand for an end to the super-exploitation of immigrant workers, for the right for all workers to travel freely without interference, with full rights in the country in which they work. We fight against all fascist and racist organisations, and especially against all racist ideas in the Labour movement itself.

AGAINST SEXISM - for the liberation of women, for an end to the oppression of gay people, for the liberation of human sexuality!

Engels once said that the sexual division of labour constituted a "world historic defeat for the female sex". This defeat is perpetuated by capitalism, via the continuation and consolidation of the nuclear family. The oppression of women is expressed in numerous overt and covert ways, which add up to considering the female sex as a sort of extended support system for men, who carry out all the meaningful and "important" activity themselves. The oppression of women further distorts all relations between the sexes in a tragic way: both male and female sexuality is mutilated. The ending of the oppression of women is thus a pre-condition for the liberation of humanity as a whole. Capitalism is totally incapable of achieving this; the liberation of women is a revolutionary task, which is inter-twined with the struggle for socialism. But we do not think that a socialist revolution will automatically liberate women, destroy the nuclear family and create spontaneous and equal relations between the sexes. This requires a conscious struggle and the self-organisation of women; it will take a long struggle, both before and after the socialist revolution, to finally up-root hundreds of years of the sexual division of labour. We are therefore in favour of the building of an autonomous women's liberation movement - the precise relationship of which to the revolutionary party cannot be specified in advance, but which must be autonomous enough to formulate, express and fight for the specific interests and demands of women.

The nuclear family and rigid conceptions of sexual "normality" have created an attitude to homosexuality which is little further advanced than the middle ages' conception of witchcraft. We reject the conception that human sexuality is universally heterosexual: the development of human society will see a flowering of different forms of sexual and familial relationships which cannot be determined in advance. Within capitalist society we fight for: an end to the oppression of gay people, for the right of all sexual minorities to express their sexuality! For an end to the sexual oppression of young people and school students!

The IMG fights for equal pay for women; equal opportunity in education and job training; free abortion and contraception on demand; and end to discriminatory practices in all fields of social life; for twenty-four nurseries under community control; for the self organisation of women to fight for these demands!

AGAINST THE EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS OF THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES:
For socialist republics based on workers self-management!

The working class in the advanced capitalist countries is eminently capable of running society for itself on the basis of a system of workers democracy. We are for workers control of production, leading to a system of workers self-management. In this struggle we fight for the nationalisation of industry under workers control, with no compensation, leading to a system of workers self-management. In this struggle we fight for the nationalisation of industry under workers control, with no compensation for the bourgeois owners! We fight for an end to the farce of bourgeois democracy and in favour of workers democracy - the democracy of workers councils which are federated on a local and national scale. We are against the sham of bourgeois class justice, which under the guise of "equality before the law" protects the interests of the rich and the powerful. We are for an end to the police and the standing army: for a workers militia! All this adds up to the creation of a workers state. Such a state would struggle for a rapid increase in technology and productive wealth, for the shortening of the working day and an escalating increase in leisure time for all workers. A society run on the basis of profitability has shown itself incapable of systematically applying the most advanced technology to the productive process. A democratically-centralised national economic plan is the only way to change this situation. Such an economy would rid itself of the unnecessary production and false needs created by the capitalist advertising machines. Let the workers themselves determine the economic priorities of society!

Lenin once said that communism was "electrification plus soviets". Even in Russia in the nineteen twenties this was an over-simplification. At the risk of over-simplifying again we could say that the socialism we want is AUTOMATION PLUS WORKERS COUNCILS. Humanity can only be free when all unnecessary work has been abolished, when the economy is completely automated. In this situation all human labour will be creative labour, which is nothing other than the self-realisation of the individual and society as a whole. In this situation the barriers between manual and intellectual labour, between work and leisure, between work and art, can be broken down. Such a society will be a society of human solidarity and co-operation, in which the good of society coincides with the good of the individual. Only the socialist movement offers this future: the capitalist system is incapable of providing it.

SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM

The victory of socialism and the Communist future of mankind is not at all inevitable. It is quite possible for man to regress as well as to progress. The fact the humanity now possesses the means to completely destroy all human civilisation is a dramatic demonstration of the possibility that socialism will not be achieved. But equally, the present world economic crisis shows the absolute necessity for putting an end to capitalism once and for all.

The working class has not suffered any decisive defeats since the second world war. The defeats which have taken place - in Chile and Indonesia for example - have taken place against the backdrop of the massive rise of workers struggles in Europe and the victories

of the revolutions in China, Cuba and Indochina. For capitalism to stabilise itself for another period would mean inflicting some decisive defeats on the working class in Europe, Japan and the USA the strongest and most self-confident working classes in world. To inflict these defeats implies decisive confrontations of civil war proportions, in which the trade unions and other workers organisations will be smashed. Such a development is extremely unlikely without a whole series of capitalist victories in the struggles ahead.

Trotsky's phrase, that the world was rotten ripe for socialism, has never been more true. But it remains the case that in order to win, the world working class to construct revolutionary parties of the Leninist type. It is not enough to be in favour of socialism - it is necessary to organise to fight for it. The ruling classes of the world are already organised: they have their police forces, their goon squads and their armies. They have their "counter-insurgency" networks, their experts in torture, and their political police. They have immense financial and other resources. Our enemy is very strong. All over the world the political, economic and social resources of the bourgeoisie are being shored-up with a perfected counter-revolutionary apparatus - and to this apparatus they are not afraid of applying the most sophisticated technology. Even in Britain, as the examples of the counter-insurgency "experts" Kitson and Clutterbuck shows, various sections of the bourgeoisie are considering the possibility that it will be necessary to violently repress the working class. The revolutionaries do not have all the time in the world and neither does the working class. The building of the revolutionary party, as a section of the Fourth International, is on the order of the day. For it remains true that the overwhelming majority of mankind have nothing to lose but their chains: they have a world to win.

THEMES OF STRUGGLE FOR THE FIGHT-BACK AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

Throughout this pamphlet we have tried to give an outline of the general political analysis of the IMG. However, starting with today's conditions and today's consciousness, the IMG advances the following themes of struggle, on which we fight for unity throughout the Labour movement, to meet the crisis, to begin to meet the capitalist attack and generate a counter-offensive by the working class.

INFLATION

While the capitalist class squeals about inflation, it is the working class which is hardest hit, both through devaluation of wages and cuts in public expenditure. We fight for: a rising scale of wages, social security and other benefits and social expenditure; no incomes policy under capitalism; no cuts in welfare expenditure; a cost of living index drawn up by the unions on a monthly basis; committees of housewives and trade unionists to invigilate prices; workers control of prices.

THE FIGHT BACK AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

For the right to work; factory occupations against redundancies; nationalisation under workers control of all bankrupt companies or those creating redundancies; an emergency programme for housebuilding no loss of pay, open the books! full pay for the unemployed!

FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: AGAINST THE STRONG STATE

Defence of all democratic rights, especially those rights which express the rights of the exploited and oppressed to pursue their struggle. Repeal the anti-terrorist and anti-conspiracy laws, repeal of all laws which infringe the rights of trade unionists and pickets; reversion to unanimous jury verdicts; full democratic rights for rank-and-file soldiers; disband the Special Patrol Group, the Special Air Service and all other agencies of state terror.

IRELAND

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all British troops; immediate release of all internees; self-determination for the Irish people!

AGAINST RACISM, FOR THE DEFEAT OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS

Repeal the racist Immigration Acts! an end to all discrimination against racial minorities; disband the fascist organisations; for united action against racists and fascists; no platform for fascist!; support for independent black organisations and caucuses within the Labour movement.

THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

Full legal and economic independence and equality for women; equal pay for women! Free abortion and contraception on demand! Twenty four hour nurseries under community control; equal opportunity in all fields of life.

FOR PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

For full democracy in the trade unions and other working class organisations; and end to bureaucratic privileges; right to recall and elect all officials; no-full time official to receive more than the average workers wage; an end to all bans and proscriptions in the Labour Party and other workers organisations.

SOLIDARITY WITH WORKERS STRUGGLES THE WORLD OVER

Against imperialist oppression, solidarity with all national liberation movements. Against all imperialist alliances, for withdrawal from N.A.T.O. Solidarity with the struggles of the Portuguese workers, vanguard of the European proletariat! No to the bosses Common Market, for a United Socialist States of Europe!

/ These demands are not just words on paper, but themes of struggle. They have to be fought for in practise. The I.M.G. works towards the building of a tendency in the trade unions to fight for these demands. We call on all those who agree with these demands to join us in fighting for them, whether or not they agree with our politics as a whole.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE

Beliefs of all workers in the world are based on the same principles of justice and equity. The workers of the world are united in their struggle for the betterment of their lives. The workers of the world are united in their struggle for the betterment of their lives. The workers of the world are united in their struggle for the betterment of their lives.

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